

Yuval

Vol. VI

**JEWISH
ORAL TRADITIONS
AN INTERDISCIPLINARY
APPROACH**

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YUVAL
STUDIES OF THE JEWISH MUSIC RESEARCH CENTRE
Volume VI

JEWISH ORAL TRADITIONS
AN INTERDISCIPLINARY APPROACH

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem
Faculty of Humanities

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JEWISH ORAL TRADITIONS
AN INTERDISCIPLINARY APPROACH

PAPERS OF A SEMINAR INITIATED AND DIRECTED BY
Frank Alvarez-Pereyre

Edited by

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FOREWORD

For four years between 1982 and 1986 the Jewish Music Research Centre hosted research seminars devoted to the Jewish oral traditions. Organized in collaboration with the *Language Traditions Project* of the Hebrew University, these seminars were directed by Frank Alvarez-Pereyre.

Researchers in different fields (linguistics, musicology, literature and folklore) met and worked together week after week. They dealt with shared material that they approached with their own tools and research habits in the attempt to achieve results of an interdisciplinary type.

Several topics were chosen: biblical and post-biblical cantillation; aspects of the Judeo-Spanish folksong; specific rituals of the Hassidic communities. After four years of work, several studies were completed, the majority of which are to be found in the present volume.

The volume also contains an article devoted to the Yemenite musical traditions, a topic that occupied another research group headed by S. Arom and U. Sharvit, between 1981 and 1986.

This volume represents one of the numerous outcomes of continued collaboration between the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the French Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS) and more specifically between the Jewish Music Research Centre and the Laboratoire de langues et civilisations à tradition orale (LACITO).

It is our pleasure to thank the Director of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique P. Papon and Mrs. J.M.C. Thomas, Director of LACITO, both of whom authorized S. Arom and afterwards F. Alvarez-Pereyre to stay in Jerusalem for long periods, thus enabling bilateral cooperation to be established on solid and longlasting grounds.

Israel Adler

ABBREVIATIONS

- EJ² Encyclopaedia Judaica. Jerusalem 1971-1972.
EH אנציקלופדיה עברית (Encyclopedia Hebraica)
HOM A. Z. Idelsohn, *Hebräisch-orientalischer Melodienschatz...*, vols. I-X, 1914-1932. Berlin, Vienna, Jerusalem.
JNUL Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem.
NGD The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, ed. Stanley Sadie.
NSA National Sound Archives, JNUL.
Yuval Yuval — Studies of the Jewish Music Research Centre.

TOWARDS AN INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDY OF JEWISH ORAL TRADITIONS

Frank Alvarez-Pereyre

In this article we propose to discuss and illustrate the need for pursuing the study of the oral aspect of Jewish traditions on a well-defined interdisciplinary basis. We shall discuss the concepts of oral tradition and of interdisciplinary methodology in the context of Jewish studies; the theoretical framework in which such an interdisciplinary methodology can be contained; and the tools to be used in the collecting and analysis of data. Throughout, we shall keep in mind the advantages and implications for the different domains of Jewish studies arising from the implementation of a multi-dimensional point of view in research. In attempting to construct a coherent theoretical and methodological whole, we shall base ourselves on a series of research enterprises relating to different aspects of Jewish traditions, as they have been undertaken by teams of specialists in different disciplines.

The first part of this paper will discuss the state of research with regard to concepts of oral tradition and interdisciplinary methodology. The second will try to show, on the basis of research in progress, the benefits of an interdisciplinary study of Jewish oral traditions. The third part suggests a methodological framework and tools for the use of linguists, historians, musicologists, anthropologists, and others.

CONCEPTS AND FIELDS OF RESEARCH: STATE OF THE ART

The concept of oral tradition is entirely pertinent in characterizing societies that do not possess a written linguistic code. A researcher studying such a society cannot make use of local writings about the musical theories of the community, nor of musical scores for the vocal or instrumental repertoire. He does not find published collections of tales or legends, or manuscripts mentioning technological innovations, or war chronicles, or agricultural information, or books of recipes, medical treatises, dictionaries or grammars, all documents that might have been produced if writing had been part of the local culture. This kind of context implies certain consequences.

The student must observe every extant phenomenon of this culture, so that he will understand and be able to describe the kinship systems, the ways of growing vegetables, the musical theories and repertoire, the history, the politics, the language, eating habits, economic system. To this end, language must be conceived as leading to a whole series of data relating to an enormous number of social, cultural and economic elements specific to the civilization being studied. However, not everything is attainable through language. The student must thus attempt to uncover the different semiological systems at work in this society.

What has been the tendency of research in confrontation with societies of the written word? Scholars have been tempted to overlook the priceless information that the spoken language could offer them, to neglect the living phenomena, and to restrict their theoretical frame of reference.

In the Jewish sphere, written records are abundant. Moreover, the Book is a basic element of Jewish culture. This does not necessarily mean that people behave and think according to what is written in the traditional works of Jewish law, or, at least, not exclusively. The student must look at the people themselves to know what they are, and must ask whether people belonging to the Jewish cultural sphere have developed customs, products and other elements which have left no written trace. It would then be necessary to describe the oral aspect of the tradition and to carefully study the links perhaps established between the written and the oral. Finally, one must seriously ask oneself if historical research should rely only on the written sources. Can one justifiably deny that the oral dimension of tradition can transmit a part of the collective memory? Would it not be desirable to see how far the oral traditions allow us to go back into the past, and how far they reflect the different constituent elements of Jewish traditions?

LITURGICAL TRADITIONS

It has of course been recognized that these living traditions can illuminate "the meaning of past historic sources" and even "reach a real historical significance", if they are confirmed by data arising from early written sources; thus, the historian cannot hope to fully understand Jewish liturgical music if he does not attentively consider the dialectic movement that has installed itself between the written and oral aspects of the traditions.(Adler 1984:88)

Nevertheless, the amount of systematic research devoted to the living oral traditions since A. Z. Idelsohn's pioneering work has not been very great.¹ But

1 One may cite, apart from A. Z. Idelsohn, research by R. Lachmann, E. Gerson-Kiwi, J. Spector, L. Levi, U. Sharvit, A. Shiloah, Y. Mazor, R. Katz and D. Cohen. The great number of recordings in the National Sound Archives at Jerusalem also represent a remarkable effort of collection and cataloguing.

this quantitative limitation is not the only one. The work done in the field was carried out by specialists who believed and still believe that "only the 'musical' part of the tradition has been orally transmitted." (Adler 1984:88)

In a preceding study (Alvarez-Pereyre 1985a) we have tried to show, however briefly, the possible advantage musicologists might derive in their work on oral traditions if they were not almost only working on the basis of the tables of melodic formulas (*lûah zarqā*) in their analysis of the living traditions of the cantillation of the Torah and Prophets. This musical material could usefully be approached with certain linguistic tools, leading to recognition of the fact that the oral traditions were transmitted by an ensemble of oral parameters that the classical concept of music does not in itself cover.

Linguists, for their part, have not reversed this situation, for they have not yet analyzed the extant musical material in the hope of establishing its laws of linguistic organization, which go well beyond the principles traditionally attributed to the accentuation signs in the Masoretic period and afterwards. Nor have they looked for supplementary oral parameters. Both linguists and musicologists have held to an explicit and classic conception of the accentuation signs and their function, and thus they have indirectly led to the almost complete neglect of other traditional material such as the "reading" of the Mishnah or the Zohar.²

JEWISH LANGUAGES

During a lecture held at a seminar for teachers of linguistics specializing in Jewish languages,³ Professor H. Rabin remarked that research relating to these languages was developed for the sake of illuminating the corresponding literatures. The studies devoted to Hebrew have been primarily prescriptive and not descriptive, and the lack of grammatical studies for the spoken languages is striking. Up to the present, linguists have taken far greater interest in the written aspect of Jewish languages than in the oral.

In fact, as in the field of music, linguistic studies have indeed devoted some effort to the living aspect of Jewish traditions.⁴ However, the general situation described by Professor Rabin is confirmed by other specialists in speaking of

2 But cf. Bayer 1982 for an attempt to treat the text of the Mishnah. See also Bayer 1971 for musical rendition of the Talmud.

3 Institute of Jewish Studies, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1983.

4 See, for instance, Morag 1962 and 1963, K. Katz 1981, Bar-Asher 1978, Chetrit 1980, Beem 1967, Guggenheim-Grünberg 1958, Herzog 1965; and the collective research carried out within the Language Traditions Project, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Judeo-Spanish, Judeo-Arabic and Yiddish.⁵ If this is the case with the better-known examples, what can one say of the many Jewish languages which have not been favoured with any research, and which include some that offer no written sources at all to the student?

One may hope that more and more specialists will come to agree with the arguments presented by J. Mansour in justifying his study of a spoken Jewish language, the Judeo-Arabic of Baghdad. He declares that this variety of language has preserved elements not found in written Arabic or even in upper-class spoken Arabic, for the spoken language, in so far as it has not been influenced by the written — defined by its own specific features — contains linguistic particularities that do not occur at all in the written. Moreover, Judeo-Arabic, like every Jewish language, contains numerous Judaistic and Hebrew linguistic elements (Mansour 1985, see also Blanc 1979).

It is hoped that more and more living material will be systematically and carefully collected and studied, in such a way that the functional and complementary concepts of “tradition of reading”, “Jewish interlinguistics” and “Jewish intralinguistics”, as defined by S. Morag (1965 and 1969), P. Wexler (1981) and D. L. Gold (1981), will be concretely illustrated.

At this point a fundamental question arises. Can the synchronic identity of a Jewish language be properly established if this is done by comparison with another language, Jewish or not, in a context where these languages have not been described in themselves? This is the essential question confronting the linguist who deals with Jewish languages, and he will carry a heavy responsibility if he treats only one aspect of these, without applying his analysis to the general and structural study of his chosen language.

The results achieved by a systematic, multidimensional and interdisciplinary interest in the oral aspect of Jewish traditions, it seems to us, might enable a significant change in the theoretical and practical hypotheses of historians in this domain.

Jewish oral tradition is of course not the only field where the quantity of information that can be gained from the patient and systematic collecting and study of the oral sources has been underestimated. It is only recently that European society has come to recognize, not without resistance, the existence of a field of study preoccupying a new generation of linguists, anthropologists and musicologists who for some time have been devoting their time and their knowledge to civilizations without writing. To give a striking example, a pluralist

5 Sala 1976 comments that the numerous Judeo-Spanish dialects have not yet been minutely and exhaustively described; Bunis 1983 appeals for a more detailed knowledge of Judezmo in itself and points out that field research is still possible.

study of the dialects of French still seems strange even to those who defend regional languages for political reasons, as well as to linguists who, precisely because they neglect the oral and contemporary evidence, believe that everybody talks the same kind of oral French.

Scholars dealing with Jewish oral traditions may perhaps benefit from the attempts that have been carried out over a period of many years to transform traditional linguistics when applied to "exotic" languages and, in practice, to define the interlinguistics and intralinguistics of African languages. Thanks to the methodology used these innovations have had many and important repercussions in other fields of research.⁶

This reference to other fields of research shows that a general situation exists where the oral aspect of traditions and of everyday realities is somewhat neglected, and where the notion of interdisciplinary research is not central. But one must not forget that several internal reasons have induced scholars in the Jewish domain to demonstrate a marked preference for written materials, and to overlook or neglect entire areas of oral information. We have already spoken of the existential and cultural importance of the Book in the Jewish world. Scholars, then, tend to believe that all is in the Book and that it is futile to assume the existence of facts of another kind. In practice, and as a direct consequence and illustration of this attitude, few specialists have taken an interest in the traditions of the cantillation of the text of the Mishnah, whether linguistic or musical, since, in contrast to the Bible, few normative written elements exist for the transmission of this text.

One must also note the curious paradox that the renaissance of Hebrew and the establishment of the State of Israel are to a great extent accompanied by the scholarly neglect of the specific languages and customs of the Jewish communities, perhaps under the influence of a false notion of integration. And this precisely when so many surviving traditions and the processes of hybridization that they are undergoing would seem to call for systematic research, in Israel and outside it.

Why then has interdisciplinary research — in the sense we are using — not been more strongly developed in the domain of Jewish oral traditions? This situation may be explained first of all by the objective difficulties that the student faces when he wishes to work on different dimensions of life and very divergent semiological systems. To this is added the difficulty of linking these different dimensions, of organizing them so as to establish a pertinent image of a cultural or social entity, or of a particular social, economic or cultural element.

6 For the theoretical and methodological frameworks of such research, see Bouquiaux and Thomas 1976, Paulian 1975, Thomas and Bahuchet 1981 and Arom 1981.

Several scholars have confirmed in their work that only integrated, comprehensive research can lead to a real understanding of a social or cultural fact.⁷ However, to others research appears conclusive when the results that each specialist has achieved in his own domain have been set end to end, each on the basis of a separate theoretical framework (see e.g. Nketia 1986).

We shall go on to show the theoretical and practical pertinence, for Jewish traditions, of a frame of reference that articulates the oral dimension of the data and the interdisciplinary methodology.

SOME EXAMPLES OF RESEARCH WORK

The Jewish oral traditions, we hope to show, call for an integrated methodology which will conduct the scholar to the specificity of every phenomenon, large or small, without causing the neglect of its past or present ties with society or the culture to which it belongs.

It may be useful to describe briefly certain research undertakings in order to better illustrate the ensemble of theoretical and methodological principles that will be presented afterwards. We shall refer here to a programme of interdisciplinary research carried out between 1982 and 1986 by several specialists in Jewish studies who have set themselves the task of transforming their approach to their several objects of interest. Wherever appropriate we shall also refer to research not specific to Jewish studies.

THE JUDEO-SPANISH POPULAR SONG

Let us first speak of the attempt made to establish a typology of the Judeo-Spanish popular song. The term popular song should not lead specialists in literature, linguistics or ethnography to think that a cultural element, apparently exclusively musical, does not concern them. Equally, musicologists should be prepared to take into account the linguistic identification of the texts, and to analyse the comments of the bearers of the tradition on their own repertoire.

If you ask a literary specialist what exactly is the specificity of a Judeo-Spanish romance, he will tell you that one must examine its prosody. At the same time, you will learn that the prosodic definition suggested for the romances derives from the written sources of the last three centuries, and especially from the Spanish evidence of the romancero tradition; further, that little research has been done with a broadly anthropological approach to the living traditions of

7 For examples relating to oral literature and ethnography, see Calame-Griaule 1970 and Ferry 1977.

the Judeo-Spanish popular song. You will also discover that your informants give the same name to pieces that a specialist would distinguish under different appellations (*cantiga* or *endecha*, for instance); and that specialists sometimes substitute *endecha* for *romance* when a piece considered as identical to a romance from the point of view of music and text is sung in a mourning context.

The reason for such an apparently confused state of affairs is the simple fact that each different characterization of the same fact is based on a different criterion. This does not mean that each statement is false. However, a satisfactory image of the phenomenon will be achieved only when each point will have been evaluated in accordance with its relative pertinence, and afterwards replaced within a systematic framework of research.

Some years ago, specialists in Judeo-Spanish traditions working in the fields of linguistics, musicology, literature and folklore undertook a study of the oral traces of Judeo-Spanish songs (*romance*, *cantiga*, *endecha*, *copla*, etc.). They proposed to establish what the informants say about the songs they sing, the names they spontaneously give them, and any other commentary — social context, linguistic variety, changes in the melody, etc.; the literary identity of the texts — the narrative structure, from the largest units to the smallest, and the prosodic characteristics; the linguistic identity on all levels of linguistic structuration; the musical identity (presence or absence of instrumental accompaniment, individual or collective character of the chant; musical structuration); and the social and anthropological characteristics of the performances including the sociological rules affecting the performance of different songs, the role of gestures and mimicry, etc. (see Alexander and others, "Towards a Typology of the Judeo-Spanish Folksong" in this volume).

The specialists concerned consider that a pertinent understanding of any category of Judeo-Spanish popular song will only be achieved when the multidimensional information acquired through parallel work on the different dimensions of the existence of the cultural fact will have been interlinked (cf. Alvarez-Pereyre 1985a). This would apply to an even greater degree if the same research sought to report on the geographic and cultural variety which may manifest itself within the Sephardi sphere.

What is the practical outcome of such research? The results may involve the historical identity of the Judeo-Spanish popular song; the synchronic structure and the variations of texts and melodies; the specificity of the oral and written aspects of the same cultural fact, and their respective dynamics; a comparison between the facts of Judeo-Spanish linguistics and the dialects of Spanish, on the synchronic and diachronic levels; the relations established and being established between the Judeo-Spanish communities and their former Spanish neighbours or their former or present neighbours in Israel or other countries; the possible

influences that each of the constituent elements (language, music, text, social aspects, etc.) exercises over the others.

What has been said above for the Judeo-Spanish popular song could just as well be said for the popular songs of other communities, including the Israeli popular song. It could be equally valid in other fields of research, such as the popular tale, for instance, or a typology of Jewish oral literatures.

THE HASSIDIC MARRIAGE

Let us take a second example. For several years a linguist and a musicologist have been studying a specific aspect of the marriage ceremony (the symbolical dance with the fiancée) in the Hassidic communities of Israel (see Mazor and Taube, "A Hassidic Ritual Dance" in this volume). They have considered this aspect from the ethnographic, linguistic, literary and musical points of view, with the object of establishing the system of rules on which this particular moment of the wedding is based. These rules, shared by all the communities studied or only some of them, on one or another level of the general phenomenon, have been investigated for all the elements of the fact studied.

It became clear in the course of the work that the study of this particular episode was leading to an ethnography of marriage in the Israeli Hassidic communities. The study of the words spoken during this episode provides access to linguistic information which can be used in a description of the Yiddish language or in the context of a "Jewish interlinguistics"; and the study of the music allows the student to attain a broader symbolical and social comprehension of the dance in Hassidic communities. Comparative study of the individual commentaries expressed by the marriage participants, and of the different normative aspects which can be assumed to be expressed on the ethnographic level, throws light on the installation of the Hassidic communities in Israel and on the ideological options adopted by each of these communities as regards their identity, their relation to earlier Hassidism, and their philosophical and social aims in Israel today.

JEWISH CANTILLATION

Our last example is the study of Jewish cantillation. Here three slightly different aspects can be approached: the conditions in which typology of Jewish traditions can be established; the way of studying the musical and linguistic material transmitted within a community; the historical development of a tradition as it can be established on the basis of written and oral sources. In listing these three aspects, we have in mind parallel research carried out by several scholars

documenting various aspects of the liturgical and paraliturgical traditions — cantillation or reading of the Torah, the Haftarah, the Mishnah, and so on — transmitted in several communities (cf. Alvarez-Pereyre 1985a).

A typology of Jewish liturgical music can evidently be established on the basis of different points of view or types of criteria. If one is concerned with the relation between the melodies and the context of their performance, one will have a precise image for each community, available, as a result, for future comparative analyses. A different image will be obtained if one considers the distribution of the texts according to specific contexts of the liturgy. It may also happen that several communities call the accentuation signs (the *te'amîm*) by local names, whose meaning and internal organization do not reflect the elements of the canonical list of these signs. It may also be that in several communities, and each time in a different fashion, there is no perfect correlation between the list of written graphemes and the structural definition of the transmitted oral material.

A typology of Jewish liturgical music should in fact depend first of all on the meticulous description of all the above-mentioned elements within each community considered on its own. This first stage has the function of describing the balance and the dynamics existing between the elements studied, for a given community. After this, comparisons become possible.

One must add that applying an analysis of the atomist type to music and also to every other aspect of the oral material, will lead only to an infinite quantity of partial results if no structural framework has first been established to allow each of these results to find its functional status.

To this outline can be added the study of questions such as cultural and social changes, diachronic study of the liturgy, and the parallel use of oral and written documents in understanding a particular tradition.

As an example, let us look at a case where the investigators were in a position to collect the Judeo-Portuguese liturgical tradition in Bordeaux and Bayonne, two neighbouring towns in the French south-west (a living tradition recorded by several informants).⁸ They were able to examine closely the statements made by the bearers of the tradition on the subject of their liturgy — its social, musical, historical and pedagogical aspects, and to discover exactly how the informants had learnt the tradition they perpetuate. They could verify all the sociological aspects linked to moments of the liturgy and procure an ensemble of musical manuscripts reflecting the oral tradition of one of the last *hazzanîm* to have sung, from 1920 to 1950, the liturgy which predominated in these towns from 1750 to 1950. The same *hazzan* made available to them written documentation

8 Research in progress. See Jewish Music Research Centre, Annual Report 1983, p.24, and subsequent reports.

relating to the recent publication of a part of this liturgy. They were also able to use two works published in 1920 and 1950, which attempt to present the Judeo-Portuguese liturgy practised in the two towns. Finally, they benefited from a coherent ensemble of musical manuscripts going back to the first half of the nineteenth century, reflecting part of the liturgical tradition of Bayonne (cf. Adler 1989, vol. I, p. 7-22).

On the basis of the documentation listed above it will be possible to establish an image of the oral traditions relevant for the two towns, where the Judeo-Portuguese heritage is no longer exclusive or preponderant; an image of the contemporary Judeo-Portuguese oral tradition, with the help of oral sources that reflect the period between 1945 and 1985; and a diachronic image of the two parallel traditions, at least for the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Of these three aspects it will be possible to consider the collective and individual rules and attitudes, whether social, musical or linguistic. One can expect complementary results, including a clear understanding of the mutual influences of the two towns (on this subject, we can know the respective impact of written and published sources and purely oral borrowings, and the non-musical reasons for the influences). One will also be able to make a contribution to the important question of the representativity of written sources when they are brought face to face with the complexity of oral sources.

HISTORICAL AND LINGUISTIC RESEARCH

In two other fields of research, history and linguistics, we shall not give examples of research in progress, but rather attempt to define the methodological implications involved in the two following questions:

1. How can a historian profit from the abundant and available oral documentation existing in each society?
2. Can one pertinently undertake linguistic descriptions that depend on field research and on a broad use of the oral linguistic material?

What is the purpose of historical research? The historian owes it to his discipline to approach societies and culture from a diachronic point of view. While it is true that scientific history is no longer a chronicle of kings, queens and battles, it is equally true that historians have developed a tendency towards a synchronic image of the society that interests them. The same historian turns himself into an economist, an ethnographer, or a demographer, at different moments of his work, whatever the subject of his research.

If he systematically uses the material contained in the oral tradition, the historian in the Jewish field will acknowledge how generously the oral material

leads him towards unsuspected aspects of primary material of which the written traces, if any exist, present a more limited and official picture (such as is found in genealogies, biographies, recipes, myths, linguistic terminologies); towards facets of purely oral material concerning the basic legal frameworks of Jewish life; as well as material on relations between Jewish communities, or Jewish and non-Jewish communities, on economic organization, and so on.

The result of all this is that absolutely new dimensions of research emerge from within the society itself. Not only the synchronic aspect of a local history appears, but also migrations, cultural contacts, borrowings. If these matters are considered in terms of the structural identity of the community, they will lead to entirely new results. The scholar will realize that the written sources often treat stereotyped or classical themes, and that they only partly reflect a given situation in cases where part of the population has not mastered the written code. The student thus bears the responsibility of going out and collecting, confronting and organizing the incredible quantity of living testimonies that the members of a community can express and provide, in different contexts and on hundreds of themes.⁹

This historian will also see the possibilities of continuing some of the classic and significant research already undertaken in the field of Jewish studies often on the basis of written documentation alone, or, perhaps, insufficiently exploited oral material.¹⁰ What has been said for historical research can equally well apply to sociological or ethnographical descriptions.¹¹

If we turn to linguistics, we see that the discussion begins with the frontiers of the field of research. More than one specialist is of the opinion that interdisciplinary methods can be of no use here, since linguists are preoccupied mostly with phonology, morphology and syntax. According to this conception no non-linguistic material is of value. The only justification for using non-linguistic data would then seem to be associated with the work of the socio-linguist — but this is not linguistics, in the specialists' meaning — or the lexicologist or semantician.¹²

9 For the principles and points of view outlined here, see Vansina 1961; for illustrations of recent interdisciplinary historical research, see Bensa and Rivierre 1982 and Latouche 1984.

10 For examples of diachronic or synchronic historical and anthropological research see Zafrani 1983, Goitein 1983, Leslau 1957, Gutwirth 1980 and Goldberg 1983.

11 For the use of linguistic data in different disciplines, see Alvarez-Pereyre 1987.

12 Not all specialists in semantics and lexicology are convinced that intensive field research and the use of interdisciplinary tools would improve their results. Perhaps they should look again at the wistful confession (Ferry 1981, p.159, in Africa): "In working as a linguist, but in sharing their lives, I was able to observe that words often had another meaning than that given in the translation."

If we think of phonology, morphology or syntax, we must insist on the kind of advantage that can be foreseen in undertaking fieldwork for "purely" linguistic reasons. The most elementary benefit is that the student is then in a position to collect an impressive quantity of linguistic material pronounced by numerous interlocutors in varied situations. The more restrictions the linguist sets up, whether theoretical or methodological, regarding the informants, the contexts and the materials, the more chance his corpus has of not being pertinent. This does not mean that any interlocutor can be an informant, or that no distinction should be made between a monolingual and a trilingual informant, at successive stages of the work. Nevertheless, is it not true that every linguistic system should reflect the most collective rules of a language, whatever the moment or the level of the description? In practice, this implies that preference will be given, in certain contexts, to monolingual interlocutors — but not exclusively, and in others to plurilingual informants.

In effect, every restriction in the sincere and entire consideration of the living material means, without the shadow of a doubt, that the linguist will establish his work on the basis of categories and principles that do not belong to the language he is supposed to describe. Such interferences can be clearly realized if the linguist rethinks for himself the practical conditions in which he constructs his corpus, and examines his theoretical definition of the object studied, the tools and procedures used during the analysis, and the general concepts, often not articulated, that he holds regarding language in general and linguistic description.

Moreover, how can the linguist attempt any comparative work if from the beginning he does not first define the specificity of each of the languages to be compared? Or if he inserts into one or other of these languages categories or principles which belong to other languages or which arise from theoretical presuppositions which have not been confronted with the linguistics of the field? For only the knowledge of differences can prove the effective pertinence of possible similarities. And if a satisfactory description of a language is not available, how can one go on to socio-linguistic, semantic or even anthropological studies?¹³

THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL PROPOSITIONS

While collecting material as well as later, one must distinguish the most frequently recurring dimensions of research. These are the ways in which the people themselves think and speak of the point being studied (ritual, language, repertoire, etc.); the social functions and contexts that define this point; and the study of the

13 For detailed discussion of all these points, of the tools of research, and illustrations, see Bouquiaux and Thomas 1976; Alvarez-Pereyre, 1979, 1984, 1987.

internal structure for each object dealt with. Within each of these dimensions the most collective rules and contents defining the object must be discovered. This is made possible by the parallel study of several individual performances. One will thus discover the collective systems and models valid within a community, as well as individual variations. As has often been said, no system or tradition can be studied with the help of a single informant, even if admittedly excellent. No individual variation, behaviour or style can be appreciated without knowledge of the rules shared by the whole community.

REPRESENTATIONS, FUNCTIONS AND STRUCTURES

In dealing with informants' representations one must distinguish linguistic terminology from personal commentary. Linguistic terminology is the way in which a society or a group of individuals name the objects being studied, more or less collectively. Personal commentaries are of course individual and may take varied verbal forms. A general image may be perceived emerging from the personal points of view, although the particularities associated with one or other individual should not be neglected. A third way of conveying a society's idea of itself may be the transmission of traditional texts from generation to generation, over longer or shorter periods.

In the case of social existence of an event or an object, a ritual or a belief, one must distinguish between the sociological characteristics that define it and the function or functions that it fulfils — these not being interchangeable.

The structural and functional study of an object should at first be carried out on the synchronic level. Synchrony being but one moment of diachrony, every synchronic description of extant facts provides numerous elements for historical reconstructions.

In studying the object, whatever its size and nature, three essential rules should apply. First, the different constituent elements of the object are explicated. Then, one must define an order of priorities in the tasks to be undertaken at different stages of the research. Finally, a list of pertinent parameters are established for each constituent element. On this level the analysis cannot be based on elements from the sphere of people's representations, or knowledge of the rules governing the sociological distribution, or preliminary hypotheses concerning the structural identity of the phenomenon studied.

The potential parameters do not all have an operational status in the structural definition of a musical piece, a text or a linguistic document. Only those that play a functional role in the structural definition of the object should be distinguished and studied in full detail. The same can be said for each of the pertinent units that should be described for each constituent parameter.

The analysis of these parameters and units follows three rules. The student must know the recurrence and regularity of each of them. They should be defined on the basis of their nature and their paradigmatic and syntagmatic comportment. Finally, this definition is only made possible by the comprehensive analysis of a given piece, object or attitude, on every level of the analysis, whatever the complexity of the phenomenon and for each of the parameters and units.

Going in the other direction, from functional parameters to constituent elements or dimensions, the student will see that the pertinent parameters can function on different levels of a given code, whether musical, linguistic or behavioural, for the same or different structural "needs", and that they can function in different ways when they are placed in the various structural contexts that define the object studied.

Having presented this ensemble of tools, let us briefly illustrate it to show how it is possible to give specificity to each object studied. Our first example is the study of the contents of oral literature. Here the student must choose one of two options. Either he considers that the texts he is studying reflect the society or culture of which they are an integral part, or that they are a dynamic aspect of the society itself. If he adopts the first alternative, he will use the texts alone as a basis for his work, running the risk of restricting the pertinence of his results. In the second case he will have to be fully aware of the data appertaining the community. His work will then consist of the elucidation of the texts, in relation to the non-textual facts that are seen to be pertinent to the understanding of their content as well as of their cultural and social impact.¹⁴

A second example, the study of the reading of the Mishnah, has shown that different texts of the Mishnah can be read or sung with the aid of different parameters which, however, correspond to the same basic principles recognized by a given community, on both the musical and linguistic levels, for the reading of this text.¹⁵

"CULTUREMES" AND SOCIAL STRATEGIES

While it is easy to speak of phonemes and morphemes, or of narrative or musical units, it is more difficult to isolate behavioural or cultural units. But the problem is not insoluble. Several scholars have discussed it and have proposed some methods of taking into account the specific character of anthropological and historical material.¹⁶

14 Cf. Calame-Griaule 1970, Boucharlat 1975, Alvarez-Pereyre 1976 and 1985a.

15 Cf. Alvarez-Pereyre 1990, and the fifth article in this volume.

16 Cf. Pike 1964, Levi-Strauss 1964, Aroutiounov 1981 and Molino 1981.

Their contribution can perhaps be summed up as follows: every cultural fact only exists through the relations it has with other cultural facts. Cultural facts, their contexts and their functional relations should be considered in an "emic" fashion, or, in other words, on the basis of strategies internal to the society studied.

These principles can be adopted by specialists in the Jewish field even if they must keep in mind certain particularities due to the history of the Jewish communities. One must distinguish between communities which have lived in the same place for a long time — which does not mean that they have not undergone internal change or not been subjected to external influences — and those where only oral documentation is available, being provided by the members of a displaced or dissolved community. In Israel and some large cities outside it there is a third research context, that where several Jewish communities coexist (without speaking of the places where some few representatives of numerous different communities live together). These communities can be studied for themselves, or else through an interest in the processes of hybridization that do not fail to appear.¹⁷

Concretely speaking, how should the historian or the anthropologist procede? Reference to two themes of research — prayer, and the economic organization of a community — may help us to answer this question.

In the case of prayer one is dealing with an object which depends partly on musical and textual data, and also on elements relating to the calendar, the participants, the places, and so on. The musician and the historian may concentrate on the historical dimension of this theme. The first will inquire into the sources of the musical material, its evolution in time, the borrowings perceptible to the ear and the analysis of the melodies. This diversity of interests calls for a preliminary and coherent study of the musical material available here and now, and of the information of various kinds held by the possessors of the tradition, including people who are not necessarily expert as regards the liturgy.

The historian will use the same kinds of material. Admittedly, he is not a musicologist, but he will be careful to consider the elements in the musical material that may be helpful in his work. He will also have an anthropological approach to the musical fact, asking what are the linguistic terminologies applied to the prayers, the melodies, the systems of accentuation, who are the bearers of the tradition, and what is the social context. Further, what does a lexical and semantic analysis of this material yield, and a geo-linguistic and socio-linguistic study? Other questions concern the social organization of the community

17 For methodological discussion and examples, see Weinreich 1962 and Goldberg 1983.

and how it affects the organization of the prayers, or even vice versa; the types of prayers and their sociological distribution; the musical and cultural values attached to the music and the liturgy; the relations between these aspects and other cultural aspects; the migrations, partial or complete, seasonal or permanent that may have taken place, and their consequences on the organization of the liturgy; the historical relations between Jewish and non-Jewish communities, and their consequences.

In trying to answer these questions the historian or the anthropologist must choose between the temptation to hold to the canonic image of prayer in the Jewish environment, and a readiness to allow for the emergence of every specific phenomenon of a given community. In choosing the second alternative he will obtain results some of which will reflect the ideas of classical sociology; others will lead to an understanding of the economic organization of the society, for this economic organization will have determined the particular elements of the prayer cycle; a third group will show the way to some specific preoccupation of the community studied, a preoccupation perhaps translated into a specific mythology which will have had an impact on the classical allegorical texts of Judaism.

A scholar investigating the economic organization of a community must be prepared to treat the technology, the seasonal migrations, the social organization and the language. This does not mean that every specialist must establish the syntax of the language spoken by his interlocutors. Neither will he necessarily — though the contrary may also be true — have to concern himself with the comprehensive system of family relationships as it is organized in the community.¹⁸ Nor will he necessarily have to deal with all the technological processes.

Interdisciplinary research, in history and anthropology, as in other fields, is not research that treats anything and everything. It is an enterprise dealing with a given object, which attempts to establish all its constituent elements, all its basic dimensions and its pertinent parameters, whatever the nature and kind of correlation that exist between all these data.

The scholar will attempt to establish the organization that has developed between the functional dimensions and the collective and individual strategies through which the fact studied exists. To attain this end, the number and type of informants should not be limited. Each must be correctly identified; the oral

18 The subject of family relationships in the context of Jewish communities is still a neglected field of research. For an example of significant results achieved by a frank approach to the subject, see Bahloul 1985.

material must be considered in itself; the constituent elements should not be confused, and the stages of the analysis remain distinct; all available verbal documentation and all living ethnographic information should be used.¹⁹

Historical or anthropological studies of Jewish communities may benefit from the methodological and theoretical scheme proposed in this article. Musicologists, linguists and the literature specialists studying Jewish cultures no doubt owe to themselves to be historians and anthropologists as well.

19 For examples of such analyses in non-Jewish fields, see Claudot 1978, Drettas 1979 and 1980, Arom and Thomas 1974.

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PLURIVOCALITY IN THE LITURGICAL MUSIC OF THE JEWS OF ṢANʿA (YEMEN)

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In collaboration with Nurit Ben-Zvi, Yaakov Mazor and Esther Sheinberg

INTRODUCTION

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— Counterpoint

CONCLUSIONS

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WORKS CITED

INTRODUCTION

Musicologists today agree that the traditional music of the Yemenite Jews has unique stylistic characteristics. These characteristics are found in the musical

existence of certain specific musical elements common to all the Yemenite Jews. The search for these musical elements has been a main concern in the ethnomusicological studies of this Jewish tradition. Indeed, several scholars have striven—each in his or her own way—to deepen our understanding of the traditional musical styles of the Yemenite Jews.

Plurivocality, the simultaneous occurrence of different musical events in vocal performances, is one of the most salient characteristics of Yemenite Jewish music. In this article we will attempt to define the structure of this musical phenomenon in its performance context.

THE STATE OF RESEARCH ON YEMENITE JEWISH MUSIC

The first scholar to try to capture the characteristics of the musical styles found among Yemenite Jews was Abraham Zvi Idelsohn (1882-1938). He based his research on field work material collected in the Yemenite community in Jerusalem between 1907 and 1921 as part of his comprehensive research on Oriental Jewish music. Idelsohn focused on the observation of liturgical and paraliturgical events, and on the recording of selected informants with the Edison phonograph, at that time a revolutionary research tool.

Idelsohn's purpose in his study of Yemenite Jewish music was to transcribe sample selections from the traditional repertoires in Western notation and to classify these samples in melodic categories on the basis of scales and characteristic motives. His findings on the Yemenites' music were published in three articles (Idelsohn 1908, 1917 and 1918) and in volume 1 of his HOM.

Idelsohn was the first scholar to describe the basic characteristics of the Yemenite musical repertoires: the almost total predominance of vocal music with sparse use of ideophones (drum and metal plate); the functionality of the music, reflected in the distinction between the liturgical, paraliturgical and secular realms; and the strict division between the roles of men and women in performance (men perform only religious music and women only secular music). In his analytical studies of Yemenite music Idelsohn focused on liturgical music, paid only minor attention to the paraliturgical repertory, and gave only a few lines to the women's secular repertoires.

The first study of Yemenite Jewish music to be published after Idelsohn was that by M. Ravina (Ravina 1938). This article includes the notation of nineteen wedding songs from the women's repertory and a discussion of the problems of transcribing this music arising from its melismatic character.

In the 1950s Johanna Spector and Edith Gerson-Kiwi recorded Yemenite Jewish music extensively, including the hitherto poorly documented repertoires of women's songs. In two articles (Spector 1952 and Gerson-Kiwi 1968), these

authors attempted a description of the forms and modal frameworks of the women's repertory.

In more recent publications, other authors have further contributed to the study of diverse aspects of Yemenite Jewish music. Avigdor Herzog focused on the relationship between music and text in the liturgical music (Herzog 1968); Shlomo Hofman studied the variants of one tune (Hofman 1968); Yehuda Ratzabi focused on the text-music relationship (Ratzabi 1968); Amnon Shiloah treated the role and world view of a creative individual in the Yemenite cultural context (Shiloah 1969); and finally, Avner and Noemi Bahat contributed to the study of paraliturgical repertories (Bahat 1981, 1982 and 1986).

These scholars' studies and the intensive field research carried out by Uri Sharvit between 1971 and 1978 revealed the hitherto unknown variety of Yemenite Jewish music. In the introduction to the comprehensive anthology edited by Yehiel Adaqi and Uri Sharvit (Adaqi and Sharvit 1981), Sharvit distinguishes between five different musical styles among the Yemenites. Each style corresponds to a region (Adaqi and Sharvit 1981:XVIII). Some musical pieces are common to more than one regional style, but in most cases the differences between the regions are perceptible.¹

Within each regional style, Sharvit distinguishes four types of music by using a combination of functional and stylistic criteria: liturgical readings of sacred texts; prayer tunes; paraliturgical songs; and secular songs. The first three types are exclusively performed by men, the last by women. Each of these types of music can be further subdivided. Idelsohn, for example, tried to devise an internal division of the liturgical music on the basis of musical modes and motives. These criteria, however, are not always relevant to the definition of style, and the validity of Idelsohn's classification remains questionable. Employing the tools of modern ethnomusicological research, Sharvit concluded that a classification of Yemenite music must be based on functional as well as on stylistic criteria derived from the culture-bearers' concepts (see Sharvit 1981 and 1982).

PREVIOUS STUDIES OF PLURIVOCALITY IN THE YEMENITE JEWISH SONG

The phenomenon of plurivocality in Yemenite Jewish music was already observed by Idelsohn. His findings on this aspect of Yemenite music were not based on

1 For example, in the paraliturgical *hallelôt* of the Jews of the al-Ḥugariyya district, one finds poems sung to tunes from central Yemen, the same poems sung to special tunes from al-Ḥugariyya and special al-Ḥugariyya poems sung to local tunes (Sharvit and Yaacov 1984).

sufficient data and for this reason his statements are of a very general character: "The Yemenites are used to sing always in high voice and in unison, and only those voices of the choir which cannot ascend high, sing low in [a parallel] octave or fourth. Nevertheless it happens that one who stays in the lower part sings also in [a parallel] sixth, but this combination is harsh to their ears and the chief singer usually reprimands whoever does this, since the most pleasant music for the Orientals is the unison." (Idelsohn 1918:27; English translation after Schleifer 1986:110)

Gerson-Kiwi's work was the first serious attempt towards systematic research on plurivocality among the Yemenites (Gerson Kiwi 1968). She distinguished between five types of "part singing" in this tradition: "vocal bourdon style" (or "drone organum") in which one group of singers performs the melody and a second group continues to sing the text on one pitch, the tonic of the mode, in the manner of arhythmical drone; "choral polyphony in organum technique" defined as "a many voiced parallel organum...filled with a variety of parallel intervals"; "vocal ostinato" where two voices split and one of them develops a short ostinato motif; "heterophonic part singing" where every musical phrase starts "in the fashion of a strict organum which very soon softens down to a heterophonic singing in the narrowest possible space of a second"; and "parallel organum", strict parallel singing on the interval of a perfect fourth between the parts. Gerson-Kiwi found most of the plurivocal sections in the congregational responses of the liturgy.

As often occurs with pioneering studies, one may rethink some of Gerson-Kiwi's conclusions. One difficulty in her work was that her data corpus was not comprehensive enough. Furthermore, musical characteristics of one type of plurivocality according to her classification were found also in examples of other types. Singing in parallel fourths, for example, is not only found in the fifth type but also in the second and the fourth; the ostinato motif characteristic of her third type appears also in examples of the first type, and so forth.

The phenomenon of plurivocality attracted Uri Sharvit's attention as well. Notwithstanding his interest in other aspects of Yemenite music, he occasionally refers to singing in parallel fourths and fifths (see Sharvit 1980:39, note 8, and 1982:191; Adaqi and Sharvit 1981:XXIII). He also provides a basic description of the phenomenon of "modulation" appearing in certain types of Yemenite plurivocality.²

2 "Often a modulation process accompanies [the singing in parallel vocal parts]. During the singing one of the participants decides to slightly lower the pitch of the tune (usually by an interval of a half tone or a full-tone), and gradually takes part or even all the congregation with him. After several such "lowerings," initiated by different

The present study was undertaken on the initiative of Simha Arom of the CNRS, as part of a program carried out in cooperation with the Jewish Music Research Centre at the Hebrew University, in view of systematic research on Yemenite Jewish plurivocality. Uri Sharvit brought to the team his deep insight into the musical culture of the Yemenite Jews, the result of intensive field recording of all types of Yemenite music in seventeen communities in Israel and numerous interviews with key informants. Simha Arom contributed his extensive experience in research of orally transmitted polyphonies and in the molding of methodological tools for their study. The team also included three research assistants: Nurit Ben-Zvi, Yaakov Mazor, and Esther Sheinberg.³ The corpus of recordings used for this research is part of the National Sound Archives at the Jewish National and Universitary Library in Jerusalem.⁴ The research was carried out between 1981 and 1986 and focused exclusively on plurivocality in the liturgical music of the Jews from *San'a*, the capital of Yemen.

BASIC DESCRIPTION OF THE PHENOMENON

In listening to liturgical and paraliturgical music in a synagogue of Jews from *San'a*, one can distinguish between several types of performance: solo singing by the *hazzan*, some monodic singing by the congregation, and to a much greater extent plurivocal singing by the congregation.

Plurivocality or multipart singing is found, in different degrees, in all the services of *San'a* Jews. On a first listening one can identify three characteristics of plurivocality. First, all phenomena of plurivocality are in measured rhythm. Second, the singing is essentially syllabic and the relation between the temporal values is always 2:1, except in one case (see under "Counterpoint"). Third, within the plurivocal texture transpositions occur which may affect the entire plurivocal network or part of it.

individual participants on different occasions, the congregation (or part of it) reaches a point where it is hard to sing the tune, because their voices are so "low". Then someone decides to raise the pitch of the tune, and he takes part or even all of the congregation with him. Such raising is done in general at an interval of approximately a fourth, so that almost always we find singing in parallel parts at an interval of approximately a fourth. After such "raising" the process of "lowering" begins again" (Adaqi and Sharvit 1981:XIII).

3 Other research assistants also participated in this research at different stages: Yocheved Kohai-Boaz, Tzipora Kahanovitz, and Ephraim Yaacov.

4 We are grateful to the Director of the Archives at the time of the seminar, Avigdor Herzog, and the Archives technician, Abraham Nahmias, for their assistance.

Further attentive listening allowed a preliminary classification of plurivocality on the basis of the intervallic relationship between the parts, as follows:

- a) Parallel singing in perfect intervals (fourths, fifths and octaves) in different degrees of strictness. This type appears in most prayers.
- b) Parallel singing in imperfect intervals (thirds, seconds, and others). In extreme cases, this type of singing creates the accoustical cluster-like effect. This type appears in two prayer sections: *pesûqê de-zimrah* and *qerî'at šema*^c.
- c) Various degrees of regularity within non-parallel plurivocality, including contrapuntal elements. This type appears only at weddings.

PROBLEMATICS

The examination of numerous sound documents corroborated the impression of the existence of the above mentioned phenomena. Several types of measured plurivocality were manifested, sometimes including transpositions. The systematic occurrence of these phenomena led to the assumption that they are governed by certain basic rules. On this assumption, three fundamental questions were posed concerning the structural properties of the phenomena, the regularity of their occurrence, and the process of their unfolding. A number of other questions naturally arose in the course of our work.

At the first stage of our research, we focused on the structural properties of plurivocality both on the horizontal and vertical levels. On the horizontal level we looked for the basic melodic and/or rhythmic patterns. On the vertical level, we looked for regularities in the occurrence of simultaneous pitch combinations. The second step was to study the relationship between these structural components and related extra-musical elements, chiefly the text. Finally, we observed the processes of crystallization and unfolding of plurivocal phenomena on three temporal levels: any fragment of a given service which can be considered as a liturgical unit in the overall framework of the service; a service in its entirety; and different performances of the same service in the same community over prolonged periods of time (several months, a year or more).

Apart from the analysis of the tonal material, we looked for possible interrelationships between these plurivocal phenomena and other elements of the musical performance such as changes in dynamics and the way of dividing the musical material between the *hazzan* and the congregation. Finally, other extra-musical variables were considered in relationship to these phenomena, such as the type of liturgical function, the duration of the services, the size of the congregation and the degree of social cohesiveness among the congregation members.

TERMINOLOGY USED IN THIS STUDY

Our purpose in establishing definitions of the terms to be used in our research was to create a terminology that would, on the one hand, reflect the performers' concepts concerning plurivocality and on the other, be precise enough to clearly reflect our own perception of the different aspects of the phenomenon.

At the outset of the project we tried to understand the musical terms employed by the Yemenites regarding the subject of this study, meeting several times with several of our key informants. The purpose of these meetings was to examine whether the members of the ethnic group use terms that correlate with some or all the musical phenomena noticed by us. However, no such correlations were found. The musical terms employed by the Yemenites, i.e., *šîrah*, *negînah*, *qerî'ah* and *amîrah* refer mostly to melodic and functional aspects and are used on and off, without a consistent correlation to plurivocality or any other musical phenomenon.⁵

We therefore turned to Western musicological terms, but here also we saw that the terminology does not always faithfully and exactly reflect a number of phenomena most frequently found in this particular musical realm. To achieve a maximum degree of clarity and precision in our description of the diverse aspects of plurivocality we thus had to redefine existing Western terms in order to frame them to these particular phenomena. This redefinition was applied to the following terms: musical phrase, song in parallel intervals, heterophony and counterpoint.

Musical phrase in the context of this study refers to the largest melodic unit identified by its recurrence in the musical continuum. The phrase is sometimes divided into smaller melodic units, each characterized by its position in the phrase. Small melodic units may be further subdivided into minimal units, distinguished from each other by the regularity of their occurrence and/or the regularity of their position in a larger melodic unit or in the largest one (i.e. the phrase) and/or by way of arrangement of the stock of sounds which constitute these units.

Song in parallel intervals relates to the performance of the most common melodic patterns moving in parallel perfect fourths and fifths. There are three such types: strict parallelism refers to a chanting where the interval between the parts remains rigorously identical, sound by sound; in the schematic type one

5 The only ethnic term that refers to sonority, an aspect of the music treated in our research, is *beyahad* ("[singing] together"). However, the Yemenite use of this term is ambiguous. On the other hand, we found that aesthetic judgements concerning different types of singing are consistent. For example, strict parallel singing and melodic heterophony are defined as "good" and "beautiful".

part performs fewer sounds than the part carrying the basic melodic pattern; in the florid type one part performs more sounds than the part carrying the basic melodic pattern.

Heterophony is defined here as any plurivocal phenomenon where no pattern or order can be identified in the relationship between the parts. We distinguish between two types of heterophony: melodic and rhythmic. In melodic heterophony there is no systematics in the simultaneous appearance of the different pitches. In rhythmic heterophony there is no synchronization between the performers as to the rendering of time values (both types of heterophony can appear together or separately within the same section of the liturgical event).

Counterpoint here refers to the superimposition of two or more different melodic units of equal duration, whose unfolding is not parallel.

RESEARCH PROCEDURES AND FINDINGS

The research procedures consisted mainly of the constitution of a representative corpus and the development of a suitable methodology including the elaboration of an original notational system, resulting in the elucidation and description of the various plurivocality types and techniques as they are manifested in the corpus.

A. THE CORPUS

To test the validity of our early assumptions, we constituted a recorded corpus of music representing the different liturgical events in which plurivocality appears. This corpus consists of forty hours of recordings and includes four types of liturgical events in which we find substantial occurrences of plurivocality: 1) Five events of the *hōša^cnā rabbah* vigil which includes five sections performed in plurivocality: reading of the entire book of Deuteronomy, *pesûqê de-zimrah*, Song of the Sea, *hallel*, and reading of *šema^c*; 2) Two events of the *Ašmorôt* service; 3) Five events of the wedding ceremony including three sections with plurivocal occurrences: *ševa^c berakôt* (Seven Benedictions recited in the presence of the newlyweds), Psalm 55, and *hallelôt*; 4) Numerous examples of psalm chanting, on different liturgical and para-liturgical occasions.

B. PRELIMINARY CLASSIFICATION OF THE CORPUS

After a first survey of the recorded material, the plurivocal phenomena appearing in it could be divided into two groups: parallel plurivocality and non-parallel

plurivocality. One of the main difficulties was the development of systems of transcription answering the demands of the specific structural properties of each group.

C. DEVELOPMENT OF NOTATIONAL SYSTEM

The plurivocal liturgical singing of the Yemenites is mainly founded on basic melodic units repeated throughout various prayer sections in different realizations, ranging from the schematic to the florid types, and thus posing difficulties in the precise discrimination between the plurivocal processes. It became clear to us that conventional musical transcriptions were unsuited for our purpose. Indeed, conventional transcription presented two shortcomings. First, the notation of quasi-repeated materials without relevance to any modification in the plurivocal process, would consume many sheets of music paper not enabling the necessary concentration of information about large processes in a small space, which seemed necessary to visualize at a glance the process of building-up plurivocality in large sections of the liturgy. Second, many acoustical details usually accounted for in conventional transcriptions were irrelevant for our study.

We required, then, a musical transcription that would allow us to describe exclusively the information that emerged as relevant to the problematics of our study. Our transcription also had to describe large musical processes concisely, by reducing the time needed for transcription to a minimum while achieving a maximum of information in a narrow space. These aims were reached by developing three separate elements. All the relevant materials were concentrated in a graphic scheme drawn on one special card able to describe at a glance up to twenty minutes of music. The data were classified according to the parameters relevant to plurivocality such as: pitch, rhythm, dynamics, timing, number of participants in the event and manner of performance. A clear system of symbols with fixed localization in the card was designed to represent each parameter. Finally, a system for checking the correlation between the different parameters was developed.

To appreciate the differences between a conventional musical transcription and our card one can compare figures 1 and 2. The card in figure 2 contains information about a musical segment 10 minutes and 48 seconds long whose beginning only is conventionally transcribed in figure 1. The complete list of symbols and abbreviations employed in the card is given in the appendix to this article.

Figure 1: Conventional transcription of *Limmûd* tune for *hôša'nâ rabbah*

A

B

C

The musical score consists of ten staves of music in bass clef. The key signature is two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The notation includes various rhythmic values, triplets, and sextuplets.

- Staff 1: A series of eighth and sixteenth notes, mostly in pairs.
- Staff 2: Continuation of the eighth and sixteenth note patterns.
- Staff 3: Introduction of a triplet of eighth notes.
- Staff 4: More triplet markings over eighth notes.
- Staff 5: Sextuplet markings over eighth notes.
- Staff 6: Further sextuplet markings.
- Staff 7: Continuation of the sextuplet patterns.
- Staff 8: Sextuplet markings.
- Staff 9: Sextuplet markings.
- Staff 10: Sextuplet markings.

Figure 2: Card transcription of music in figure 1

Yx CNRS 1		Community <i>Yemen / San'a</i>		Place of recording <i>Jerusalem</i> <i>Šalom we-re'ût synagogue</i>				Date of recording 28.9.72			
		Event <i>hoša'ana rabbah</i>						YC 415 Orig. no. of recording			
		Tune <i>limmûd tune</i>						Ⓕ/S			
Duration in seconds	(1) Text	(2) Plurivocality Low ← → High		(3) Prevalent intervals	(4) Melodic scheme	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10) Notes
A. 17 sec.	Deut. 22:4-5						MR	f	10-15	q	
B. 25 sec.	22:6 22:7 22:5-7										(2) The boy sings with the upper part. All IEP are sung by the boy
C. 112 sec.	22:8-22										
35 sec.	22:22-24										
84 sec.	22:25-23:5										
138 sec.	23:6-23										
165 sec.	23:24-24:16										
47 sec.	24:17-22			Ø							
11 sec.	24:22-25:2			8							
14 sec.	25:2-3			Ø (4)							pause in the recording

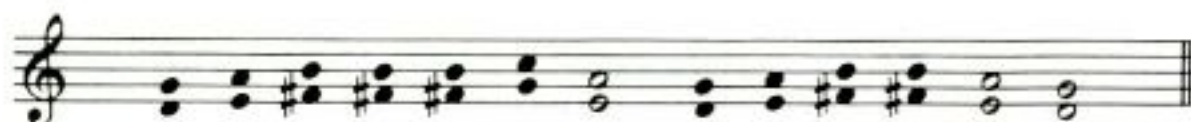
D. ELUCIDATION AND DESCRIPTION OF THE VARIOUS TYPES OF PLURIVOCALITY

The reader will find that in the final analysis—as presented in the conclusion—the typology of the Judeo-Yemenite plurivocality of Şan'a falls into four categories: parallel intervals in melodic movement; parallel intervals without melodic movement (cluster); melodic heterophony; counterpoint. In the following description, however, the various types will be presented as they emerged during the research process. Thus, the types are discussed here according to a preliminary distinction between parallel and non-parallel plurivocality.

1) PARALLEL PLURIVOCALITY

Strict parallelism

The first category which we examined in greater detail was chanting in parallel intervals. This type appears in long sections of the liturgy in which plurivocality is built up gradually. The interval between the simultaneous parts may be perfect (fourth, fifth, octave) or imperfect (third, sixth, second, seventh). The strict parallelism between the parts creates a simultaneous reproduction of the same mode on a different pitch⁶ in the framework of a single octave. For example, if the mode of the basic melody is G-A-B-C-, the sequence G-A-B (two consecutive whole tones) will not be paralleled by D-E-F natural (one tone and a half tone) but by D-E-F sharp.



Example 1

The identical modal profile of all the parts in strict parallel plurivocality neutralizes the very notion of hierarchy between a “principal” and “superimposed” part. Furthermore, in this type of plurivocality there seems to be a direct correlation between the degree of importance of the ceremony and the social cohesiveness of the congregation, and musical parameters such as rhythmic precision, tempo and dynamics on the one hand, and strict parallelism of perfect fourths and fifths, on the other.

6 The term “mode” as employed here refers to a stock of sounds and the intervals between them that serve as a basis for the composition of a melody.

Another characteristic particular to strict parallel plurivocality is transposition. Transpositions are shifts in the pitch level of the whole plurivocality network. The number and occurrences of transpositions within one liturgical unit is unlimited. Two kinds of transpositions exist: seconds (major and minor) downward and a perfect fourth upward.

In the first case, the downward, the initiative comes from an older, respected member of the congregation. At the beginning of a versicle, he deviates from the pitch level of the basic melodic pattern by a second (major or minor) downward, raising his voice and "pulling" other members of the congregation with him until everybody in the different parts has adjusted to the new pitch level. The process of transposition, from the initial individual deviation until the completion of the congregational adjustment, lasts a few moments during which, of course, intervallic aggregates foreign to the system occur.

In the upward kind of transposition, the initiative generally comes from children. One child deviates from the higher part by a fourth upwards. The process of realignment of the parts to the new pitch level occurs in two ways: either the child who started the deviation sustains the new pitch level systematically until the whole congregation gradually joins him or he touches the new pitch level intermittently, then establishes himself on it and is finally followed by the rest of the congregation as in the first case.

Usually an alternation occurs between the two kinds of transposition: one to three shifts of a second downward followed by a fourth upward (see figure 3). Naturally, transpositions of seconds downward are much more frequent than transpositions of a fourth upward. It should also be noted that there is no regularity in the occurrence of the two kinds of transposition.

Schematic parallelism appears in two situations: (1) during the initial organization of strict parallel chanting; (2) during the transition from one register to another in the course of transposition, as described above.

Florid parallelism is also found in two transitional situations: in the process of crystallization of strict parallelism and after all parts achieve a maximum degree of cohesiveness in strict parallel, in a strict measured manner, and at perfect intervals.

2) NON-PARALLEL PLURIVOCALITY

Non-parallel plurivocality comprises of two techniques: heterophony and counterpoint. We distinguished two kinds of heterophony: melodic and rhythmic. Various types of melodic heterophony appear in the singing of psalms on various occasions. Rhythmic heterophony is found in the performance of *pesûqê de-zimrah*. Counterpoint was detected only in the Seven Benedictions of wedding ceremonies.

Figure 3: Transpositions as reflected in a card

Yx (-1) CNRS 1 (22)			Community Yemen / San'a		Place of recording				Date of recording 28.9.72			
			Event hoša'ana rabbah		Jerusalem				YC 417 Orig. no. of recording			
			Tune limmûd tune		Šalom we-re'ût synagogue				(F)/S			
(1) Text			(2) Plurivocality Low ← → High		(3) Prevalent intervals	(4) Melodic scheme	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10) Notes
Deut. 34:10								FR	f	20	s	same
" " "							2 ↑	MR			q	
" " " (aramaic)								FR			s	
Deut. 34:11								FR			s	
" " "							3 ↑	MR			q	
" " " (aramaic)								FR			s	
Deut. 34:12								FR			s	
" " "								MR			q	
" " " (aramaic)								FR			s	
" " "							5 ↓	MR			q	pause in the recording

Heterophony

The examination of non-parallel plurivocality first centered around the chanting of psalms. In order to describe this plurivocality we focused on the uncovering of the formal structure.

A unit of event is one psalm or a chain of psalms, based on a melodic scheme which, according to the circumstance, may or may not be the same as in another unit of event. When the same text appears in two different units of event, which imply the use of different melodic schemes it will of course be performed according to the scheme corresponding to the event.

Since the plurivocal phenomenon is limited here to heterophony (i.e., slight sporadic deviations from a basic monody) it seemed necessary to focus first on uncovering the formal structure of the melodic units. In this material we found that each unit of event contains a chain of phrases based on the same musical material. The musical phrase and the textual versicle are usually in agreement; that is, the last melodic unit of the phrase coincides with the end of the versicle. Each phrase ends in unison.

Continuing our research, we looked for other relevant characteristics: the complex of correlations between the parameters of function, presumed basic melodic scheme on which the unit of event is based, and text units; and the correlation between the appearance of congruence of musical phrase and verse on the one hand, and between each of the three parameters mentioned above on the other.

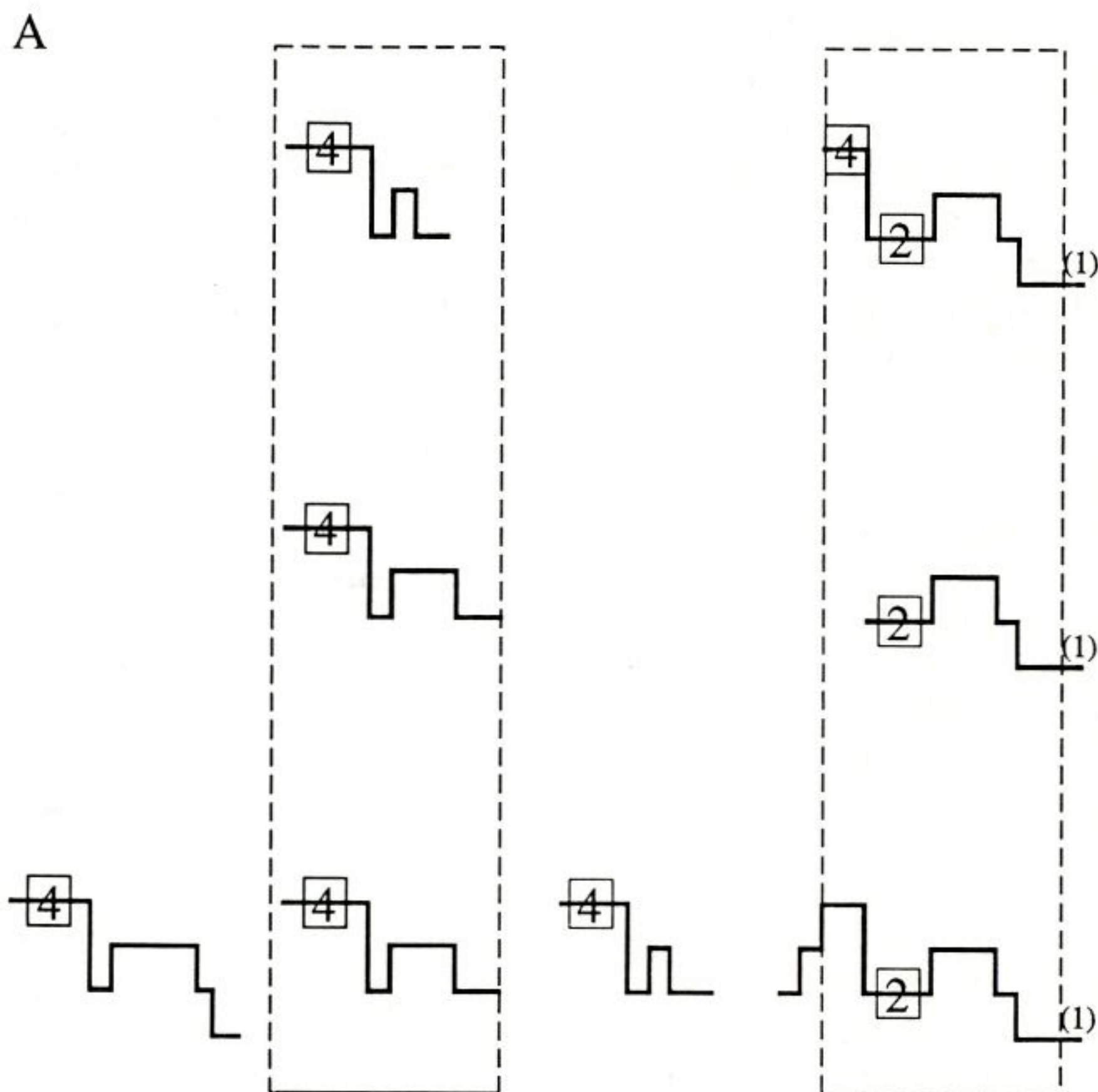
For these purposes we attempted to design tables of correlation between function/text unit (relating each psalm to the event in which it is performed, e.g., Psalm 92 is performed on Sabbath eve, Psalm 111 on the eve of the Three Festivals, etc.); between melodic scheme/text unit; and between melodic scheme/function.

We also attempted to develop a card that would describe non-parallel plurivocality. While the card designed at the outset of the project to describe plurivocality in parallel intervals was intended to show, at a glance, changes on long range processes in the plurivocal texture (where the ending of phrases was not relevant), here we had to focus on the unfolding of short range musical processes within single phrases and their internal articulation. Two experiments were made to produce a graphic system of notation that would show the degree of relevance of the melodic unit in the understanding of the plurivocal process. Both cards were found unsuitable.

In order to describe the unfolding of the heterophonic process, it appeared necessary at this stage of our work to focus on the definition of the horizontal axis, that is: the melody. We tried to find criteria for the determination of the limits of a melodic scheme. At the present stage we tend to suppose that there were five different types of melodic scheme underlying the psalm singing

musical repertory of the San'a Jews (see Fig. 4). Each of these schemes appeared in a particular liturgical context, except for the first (type A), which appeared in three different contexts applied to different texts. The differentiation between each melodic scheme was based on a combination of two musical parameters: appearance, pitch, and position of the axis tone in each melodic scheme; and the relationship between the time duration and pitch of the three sounds that end a melodic scheme.

The following figure represents in graphic form the five types of melodic scheme, marking the liturgical contexts in which they are performed and the type of psalm. Also indicated are the two musical parameters whose combination served as the basis for our distinction between the five types.



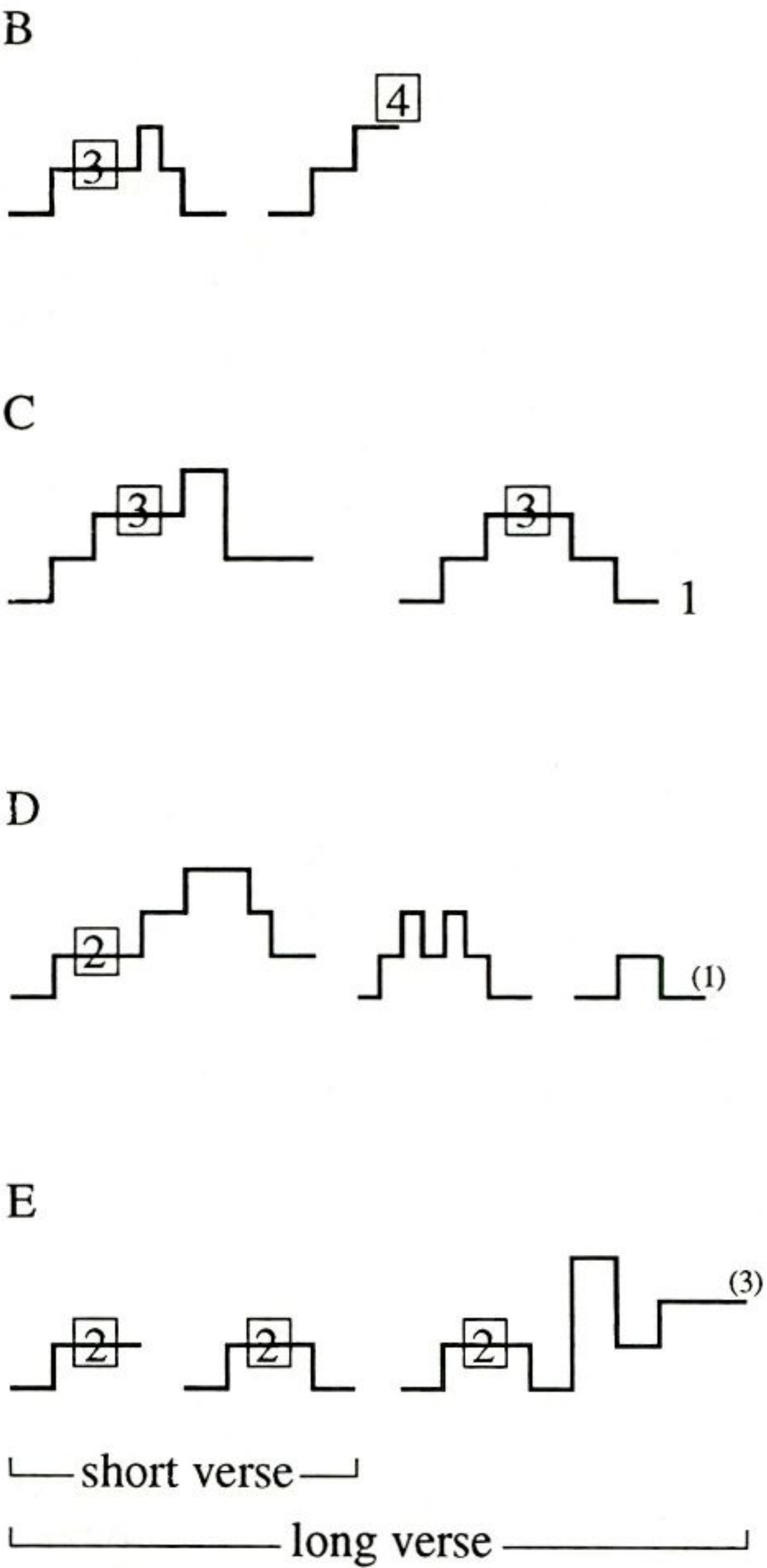


Figure 4: Melodic schemes in psalm singing

To characterize each of the five types, we compared all the melodic schemes that appear in this corpus, without considering their functional context. We did so by using tables that describe the sounds of any scheme spread over the syntagmatic axis and the frequency of the appearance of these sounds on the paradigmatic axis. These tables showed that with very few exceptions the ending of a phrase is clearly defined by a sound of longer duration, that in the majority of cases the phrase is subdivided into two melodic units, and that a pivot tone is clearly present in each melodic unit. In most cases it was also possible to determine the existence of a middle cadential tone, according to the longer duration of the sound and/or the repetition of a minimal melodic unit opening the phrase and appearing immediately after it, and/or by a breath.

Although each melodic unit is based on a pivot tone and a middle cadential tone, the pitch of each of these sounds is not necessarily fixed. The reason for this is that in the process of plurivocal singing some of the performers commute the pivot tone with a higher one (usually a second or a third, rarely a fourth), while the rest of the congregation continues on the pivot tone in its original pitch (see Ex. 2).

Miz-môr shîr le-yôm ha-sha-bat :

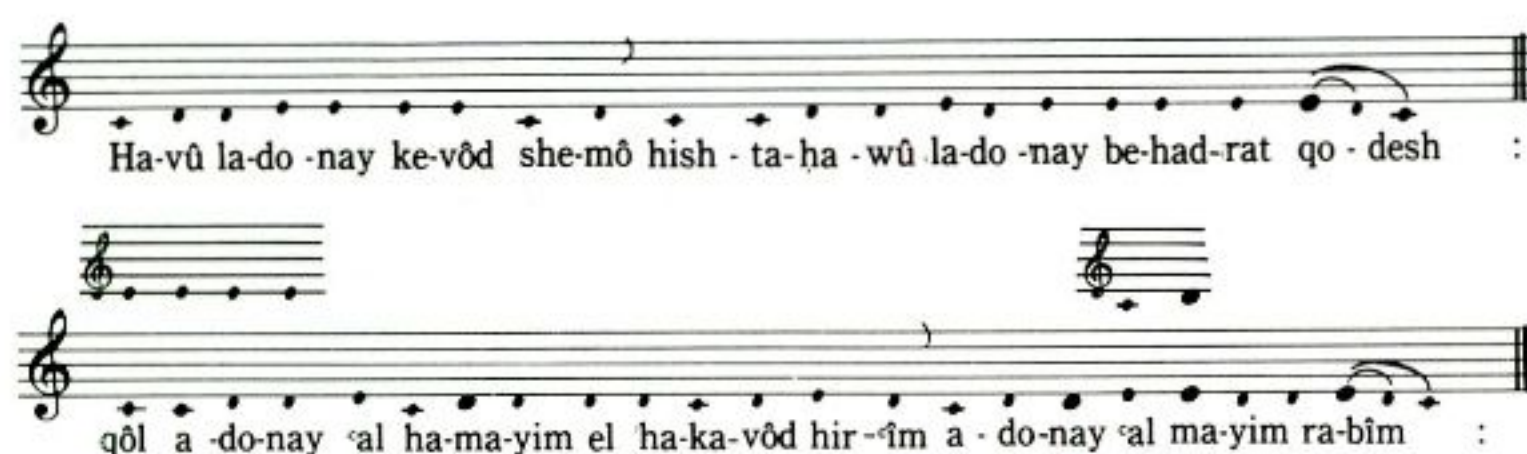
Tôv le-hô-dôt la-do-nay ul-za-mer le-shim-kha 'e-le-yôn

Le-ha-gîd ba-bo-qer has-de-kha we-e-mû-na-te-kha ba-lê-lôt :

'A-lê 'a-sôr wa-'a-lê na-vel 'a-lê hi-ga-yôn be,khi-nôr :

Example 2

The process of commutation of the middle cadential tone is similarly cristallized by employing all the sounds of the melodic scheme (whose ambitus is not larger than a fourth), except the finalis. The result is that the vertical intervallic relations in these spots are usually of a second or a third. It has to be pointed out that commutations occur also in other sections of the phrase (see Ex. 3).



Example 3

After examining the material we found that the Yemenite plurivocal heterophony consists of a melody realized in different ways while rigorously maintaining its melodic profile. At the same time, sounds occur that belong to the musical mode of the melody but exceed its melodic profile and appear sporadically in different positions. For this reason one has to refer to them as commutation sounds beyond the heterophonic process. Since their appearance is not regular, we cannot regard them as a plurivocal construction of any other type. The only systematic rule that regulates the appearance of the commutation sounds is a limitative one: in the middle cadential sound any sound can appear except the finalis. Another limitation relates to the structure, and as a result also to the form: all phrases end in unison. This particular type of plurivocality, which characterizes the singing of psalms, is an extreme case since it does not fulfill the conditions that allow us to classify it as one of the inventoried types in ethnomusicology.

Rhythmic heterophony: parallel intervals without melodic movement

In listening to the performance of the morning prayer section *pesûqê de-zimrah* the impression is of a dynamic cluster. This dynamic is expressed in two ways: the changes of pitch appearing in the texture; and the rhythmic movements that can be heard in it. Sporadic melodic elements stand out above this cluster.

An analysis of the material shows that in the *pesûqê de-zimrah* one cannot talk about melodic units in the usual sense. The prayer of each individual in the congregation is based on a recto-tono sound, sometimes with an initium. This singing is measured, and the pitch of the recto-tono is the result of the individual's choice. Moreover, in the process of prayer, each congregant may shift the pitch of his recto-tono as well as the timing of the shift.

The possibility of individual choice in the selection of pitch as well as in the timing of the shifts, indicates that the pitch element is not relevant to the vertical structure. This liberty in performance is the factor causing the changes heard in the sound texture, and creating the cluster effect perceived by the listener.

Although the singing of each individual is measured, no durational unit is common to all the congregants, that is, each participant may choose his own tempo. However, each individual is aware of the common recitation of the text by his fellows and therefore the de-synchronization does not exceed the limits of the textual verse. It is precisely this de-synchronization which creates the rhythmic heterophony.

As for the sporadic melodic elements that stand out from the cluster-like texture, one must note their presence in the texture, but their nature, localization and frequency of appearance are not fixed. They cannot therefore be considered a structural element.⁷

Counterpoint

Counterpoint refers here to two or more melodic units of identical duration that are superimposed without creating parallel motion. Counterpoint appears exclusively at weddings, that is, at the *huppah* (marriage ceremony) and the Seven Benedictions meal, in connection with two texts only: Psalm 45 and Seven Benedictions.⁸ Careful listening to performances of these texts revealed three features: responsorial singing, public responses, and plurivocal chanting consisting of many types of plurivocality, mainly measured plurivocality, only one of which is counterpoint.⁹

The aim of our analysis here was to see if the contrapuntal elements were structural and if the phenomenon was the result of a coherent superimposition of various melodic units of different content.

We were able to distinguish three melodic schemes associated with counterpoint, labeled A, B, C. The B scheme appears in two forms: B and B¹ (see Ex. 4).



Example 4

- 7 We noticed that *širat hay-yam*, The Song of the Sea (see Exodus 15), which is performed directly after *pesûqê de-zimrah*, is always sung in strict parallelism. The last versicles of *pesûqê de-zimrah* function as a gradual transition from this cluster-like rhythmic heterophony into strict parallelism.
- 8 This phenomenon occurs in an exact manner in the four long benedictions, 4-7. In the short three, 1-3, public participation is limited to the response "amen" in unison, in parallelism, or in heterophony.
- 9 Responsorial singing of psalms at weddings is not systematic. The alternation may occur between a soloist and the public or between two soloists. Sometimes the versicle is divided into two, that is, the soloist sings half the versicle and the congregation (or the second soloist) answers with the second half. In other cases, the alternation is between entire versicles, that is, one versicle is performed by the soloist, and

The A scheme is melismatic when performed by a soloist and syllabic or slightly melismatic when performed by the public in counterpoint with other schemes (see Ex. 6, 9a and 10 below). The B scheme is always syllabic and the C scheme is always melismatic (see Ex. 8 and 10).

On the horizontal axis, the three melodic schemes constitute the monodic three musical phrases, and, on the vertical axis, they form the basis of the contrapuntal parts.¹⁰ In the monodic sections the schemes can appear in an array of combinations: A alone; B alone (including B¹); A and B; A and C; A, B and C.

The number of vertical combinations of the schemes in contrapuntal sections is limited to the following: A over B is the most standard pattern of vertical combination (see Ex. 5); A over B¹ and B over B¹ are less frequent (see Ex. 6 and 7); finally, C over B or B¹ is very unusual (see Ex. 8). These realizations of the different superimposed schemes always have identical duration.



Example 5



Example 6

the subsequent versicle by the congregation (or the second soloist). Several versicles in sequence may also be sung by one soloist alone or by the entire public. On the other hand, in the performance of the Seven Benedictions, certain sections are exclusively for the soloist, and others for the public.

- 10 The phrase for singing the texts discussed here can be recognized because scheme C appears at the end of it. Concerning the relationship between music and text: in the performance of Psalm 45 there is a congruence between musical phrase and versicle. There is also a congruence between the musical phrase and the first three, short, benedictions. The other benedictions include two musical phrases. In benedictions 4-6 the second phrase is a monody, and only in the seventh is there plurivocality. The difference between the texts is reflected also in the division of the phrase into units: in Psalm 45, the phrase consists of 3-4 units, while in the benedictions the phrase has 3-5 units.

be - ts - lem de mût tav - nî - tô

be - ts - lem de mût tav - nî - tô

be - ts - lem de mût tav - nî - tô

ts - lem de mût tav - nî - tô

Example 7

e - den mi - ke - dem

mi - gan e - den mi - ke - dem

Example 8

Our impression concerning the complexity of plurivocality in Yemenite wedding ceremonies was confirmed. The contrapuntal phenomenon is not the only component in the phrase or in the whole benediction. Other phenomena also appear:

- Units in which other types of plurivocality described above, such as parallel singing and heterophony with or without bourdon, are employed;
- Units in which a symbiosis between two types of plurivocality, parallel singing and heterophony, appear simultaneously in the realization of one scheme (Ex. 9a-b);

we - re - ût

we - re - ût

we - re - ût

gi - lah we - ri - nah

gi - lah we - ri - nah

gi - lah we - ri - nah

Examples 9a and 9b

c) Units that combine counterpoint with one of the above mentioned types of plurivocality (Ex. 10a-b);

(a)

(b)

Example 10a-b

d) Counterpoint with bourdon (Ex. 11).

Example 11

It is worthwhile to notice that scheme C, which always appears at the end of phrases, is performed in unison or in the strict parallel type and seldom in heterophony. This characteristic of plurivocality at weddings is similar to the singing of psalms, where phrases move from heterophony to unison cadences, that is, from complex to less complex plurivocal textures.

Considering the short duration of the units, and the possibility that scheme A may include a kind of enlargement (see Ex. 12), we can understand how the plurivocal texture of certain phrases becomes complex to a point where the identification of the contrapuntal phenomenon and its localization might pass unperceived.

The musical notation for Example 12 consists of two staves. The top staff, labeled 'A', and the bottom staff, labeled 'B', both display the same sequence of Hebrew lyrics: "qôl sa - sôn we - qôl sim - hah qôl ha - tan we - qôl ka - lah". The melody is written on a single-line staff with a treble clef. The notes are mostly quarter and eighth notes, with some slurs indicating phrasing. The lyrics are written below the notes, with hyphens indicating syllable placement across notes.

Example 12

Two rhythmic aspects stand out in the Seven Benedictions: the last benediction differs from the others in that the articulation between the melodic units is stressed by a 3 to 1 relationship between the duration of the last and the penultimate sound (as opposed to 2 to 1 in all the other plurivocal types); the measured style is somewhat looser in the melismatic melodic scheme C.

CONCLUSIONS

This study was intended not only to define processes of plurivocality not yet studied, but also to describe the way in which we forged our methodology.

All the plurivocal phenomena in the liturgical and paraliturgical singing of the Jews from San'a can be classified into four categories on the basis of the musical processes occurring in them. All four types are performed in measured rhythm, the proportion between the duration of the sounds being 2 to 1 (except one case in the paraliturgical singing at weddings where the proportion was 3 to 1).

The characteristics of each type can be briefly summarized as follows:

1) Parallel intervals with melodic movement:

The singing in parallel intervals is conducted on perfect intervals — fourths, fifths, octaves — and imperfect intervals — thirds, seconds and their inversions — in

different degrees of rigorousness which we defined as strict, schematic and florid on the basis of the most frequently recurring melodic schemes.

The principle of parallelism is based on the simultaneous reproduction of the same mode within one octave. This phenomenon of a melodic unit performed simultaneously in two voices, in which the size of the interval in each voice does not depend on the concept of completing the unfolding of the two voices as in the diatonic system, is, as far as we know, a rare if not unique phenomenon in orally transmitted plurivocality.

This plurivocal system is tied to a process of systematic transposition realized in a fixed scheme: a lowering of a second (or a number of seconds) followed by a raising of a fourth. Throughout the duration of this type of singing, an indefinite number of transpositions may occur. There seems to be a direct correlation between the social cohesiveness of the community and the importance that the congregants give to the liturgical event and the degree of strictness in the plurivocality.

2) Parallel intervals without melodic movement (cluster):

This type appears exclusively in the *pesûqê de-zimrah*. This parallel singing (without melodic movement) emanates from a series of sounds, each sung by the congregants *recto-tono* on a different pitch and arbitrarily selected by each individual. The intervals between the voices are therefore not relevant. The pitch and timing of the pitch shift of each *recto-tono* can be freely changed by the performer.

Although this type of plurivocality is measured, there is no defined unit of duration common to all congregation members. This deliberate de-synchronization creates the effect of a rhythmic heterophony. The combination of this rhythmic phenomenon with the changes of pitch gives rise to a constantly changing sound mass texture.

3) Melodic heterophony

The singing of psalms is based on a cyclical continuum revolving around the same phrase. The length of the phrase melody usually coincides with the length of the versicle. This melody is a model with several possibilities of simultaneous realization, resulting in a heterophonic rendition. However, this heterophony is purely melodic, because the unit of duration is common to all the performers. One limitation relates to the formal aspect: the last sound of the phrase is consistently performed in unison.

4) Counterpoint

Contrapuntal singing is an exceptional phenomenon and appears only at wedding ceremonies. Even there, it does not exist independently but appears side by side

with other types of plurivocality, such as heterophony and singing in parallel intervals.

Our study shows that in the liturgical music of the Jews of San'a the use of one or other plurivocal technique is basically determined by the circumstances and/or the function with which it is associated (festivals, wedding ceremonies, psalm singing or more or less "elevated" moments of liturgical services). Thus, the pertinence of the musicological analysis is corroborated by the cultural criteria. Furthermore, in the light of the typology which has been established here, it appears that among the four techniques which have been identified, three — types 1, 2, and 4 (i.e. strict parallel chant, "cluster" chant without melodic movement and the particular modalities of contrapuntal chant) — do not seem to have been previously described in the ethnomusicological literature.

APPENDIX

Legend of Card (See Figures 2 and 3)

Part A of the card (data on top of the card, until 1st double line)

- Yx CNRS I: call number of the recordings analysed in this project.
- Community: Designation of location (country, locality) of original provenance of the community, e.g.: Yemen, Ṣanʿa
- Event: Designation of the circumstance (liturgical, para-liturgical, etc.), e.g. *hošaʿnā rabbah*; The Seven Benedictions for marriage.
- Tune: vernacular designation of the melodic type. E.g.: *limmūd* tune; *qerīʾah* tune; *sīrah* tune, etc.
- Place of recording: E.g.: Jerusalem, N.S.A.; Jerusalem, syn. *Šalôm we-recût*.
- Date of recording: In case of copy, indicate date of original recording only.
- Orig. no. of recording: Indicate original call number of N.S.A.

Part B of the card (data below 1st double line)

This part includes a detailed description of all the features relevant to the study of the plurivocality of this performance in a synoptic display.

- Col.1: Text (duration given in seconds)

The content of this column is determined by the changes occurring in the plurivocal procedures, as shown in col. 2.

All text designations are given in Hebrew.

Biblical texts (except when part of the *siddûr*) are designated by book, chapter and verse.

Liturgical texts are usually written out, eventually preceded by the liturgical designation (e.g. *šaharît*, *mûsaf*, etc.).

Text written in red indicates “i.e.p.” phenomena (see legend of “plurivocality”, col.2).

- Col. 2: Plurivocality
















This column, to be read vertically from above downwards, presents a condensed analysis of the plurivocal procedures of the performance.

Pitch is indicated horizontally (low to the left, high to the right); each space between two consecutive vertical lines indicates the step of a second, without distinction between major and minor seconds.

The nature of the interval which separates two melodic lines is indicated by Arabic numerals, e.g.: 4 (= fourth), 3 (= third), 8 (= octave), etc.; "T" indicates the tritone.

Following is a legend of conventional signs used in this column:

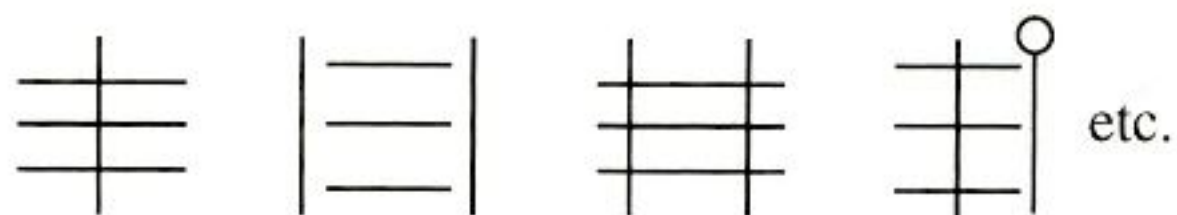
1. Melodic lines

	Cantor [or other soloist(s)]	Boy(s) Congregation	Boy(s) and cong. on the same pitch	
a)				= main melodic line
b)				= strict parallel line
c)				= embellished line
d)				= schematized line
e)				= bourdon

2. Non identified pitches ("n.i.p.")

"N.i.p." are indicated by two horizontal lines, between and/or crossing the melodic line(s).

E.g.:



3. Interminant elements of plurivocality ("i.e.p.") red colour

- a) — = single tone
- b) \wedge = part of a motive
- c) $\text{^}\wedge$ = entire motive

4. Indication of continuous/discontinuous melodic lines

- a) C = continuous
- b) DC = discontinuous

— Col.3: Prevalent intervals

This column presents a profile of the prevalent intervals occurring between two or more melodic lines.

Arabic numerals indicate intervals as specified in col. 2.

Red colour indicates the dominant interval in the plurivocal complex.

Whenever useful, the intervals will be indicated in notation.

0 = unison.

— Col. 4: Melodic scheme

This column indicates, in notation, the melodic scheme of the main melodic line. Notes framed by red colour indicate recitation tone(s).

(N.B. To be checked: relevance of final and mediant tones to the plurivocal phenomenon)

— Col. 5: Transposition

Transpositions(s) of the melodic line(s) are indicated by Arabic interval-numerals, followed by an arrow. Downward and upward arrows indicate downward and upward transposition. In the case of transpositions of more than 2 melodic lines, with divergent intervals, these are indicated in succession, starting from the lowest melodic line, and are separated by a comma, e.g. 2, 3, 5.

— Col. 6: Rhythm

MR = measured time units

FR = free rhythm

Indications of tempi (acc. = *accelerando*; ral. = *rallentando*) are given in the notes (col. 10) with reference to col.6.

— Col. 7: Dynamics

f = forte

mf = mezzoforte

p = piano

Gradual changes are indicated by arrows.

— Col. 8: Number of participants

Always indicate here (even approximately) the number of participants.

— Col. 9: Performance practice

h = *hazzan* (cantor)

s = other soloists

q = *qahal* (congregation)

— Col. 10: Notes

Notes are always preceded by the Arabic number (in parenthesis) of the column to which the note refers.

Summary of abbreviations:

acc. = accelerando

C = continuous

DC = discontinuous

F = recording in function

f = forte

FR = free rhythm

i.e.p. = intermittent elements of plurivocality

h = *hazzan*

mf = mezzoforte

MR = measured time units

p = piano

q = *qahal*

ral. = rallentando

S = study recording

s = (other) soloist(s)

T = tritone

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TOWARDS A TYPOLOGY OF THE JUDEO-SPANISH FOLKSONG: *GERINELDO* AND THE *ROMANCE* MODEL

Tamar Alexander, Isaac Benabu, Yaacov Ghelman,
Ora (Rodrigue) Schwarzwald and Susana Weich-Shahak

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Appendix 1: The Texts of *Gerineldo*

Appendix 2: *Gerineldo* — Textual Alternations

Appendix 3: Phonetic Transcriptions

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INTRODUCTION

The work presented here marks a preliminary phase in a long-term project which seeks to define the Judeo-Spanish folksong as represented in its geographical

distribution, by reference to a typology based on parameters which reflect the multi-dimensional character of the folksong. A definition will be obtained, therefore, when the different types of folksong in the Judeo-Spanish repertoire are identified.

Because the Judeo-Spanish folksong is a complex, dynamic phenomenon comprising, at the very least, two components, text and music, an interdisciplinary approach is necessary in order to arrive at a comprehensive definition. Our analysis, therefore, is conducted in accordance with parameters which take into account the multi-dimensional character of the Judeo-Spanish folksong: literary, musical, linguistic and performance.

In studying the Judeo-Spanish folksong, scholars have used the following terms to identify the genres which make up the repertoire: *romance*, *cantica*, *cante*, *copla*, *canción*, *endecha*, terms which the singers themselves use in classifying their repertoire. Neither scholars nor singers, however, appear to have a consistent notion of the factors which define each of the above-mentioned categories, either with regard to the structural organization of the genre or to its cultural identification. As a starting-point, therefore, we have selected the *romance* category, perhaps because it is, if not the first to capture scholarly interest, certainly the one which has attracted the most attention.

In order to arrive at a comprehensive definition of the *romance* and to test the advantage of focusing on the material from an interdisciplinary standpoint, as well as to illustrate the practicability of this methodological approach, we have selected the *romance* of *Gerineldo* as the basis for a case study. The choice of this romance was suggested by its very wide currency among Judeo-Spanish and Iberian communities, as well as for its long bibliographical record.¹

The advisability of identifying the specificity of the Judeo-Spanish *romance* is confirmed by some recent findings (see Armistead & Silverman 1984). The assumption first made by Menéndez Pidal that Judeo-Spanish romances preserved known as well as lost early versions of medieval *romances* circulating in the Peninsula prior to 1492, has been shown to have a limited application.

Primarily a Hispanic form, the *romance* model preserved by Judeo-Spanish speakers has retained the dynamic character it acquired in the Peninsula but has drawn on a variety of sources for its content and its music, and the characteristic "openness" of the model is confirmed by the application of the melody of a *romance* as *contrafacta*. (see Seroussi and Weich-Shahak 1990-1)

The corpus for the first phase of the project has been selected from the large collection of recordings of Judeo-Spanish romances at the National Sound Archives

1 For a large number of Peninsular versions see Catalán & Cid, vols. V, VI, VII and VIII.

(NSA) in the National and University Library of Jerusalem. It consists of thirteen versions of *Gerineldo*, six comprising the *romance* singly and seven in which this *romance* combines with that of *La boda estorbada* (see Appendix 1).² These versions were recorded by S. Weich-Shahak in Israel between 1977 and 1985 from eight informants originating from Judeo-Spanish speaking communities in Morocco.

In studying the thirteen versions comprising the corpus of this article, the general parameters already outlined have been sub-divided into analytical components.³

- 1) Under the literary parameter the prosodical, morphological, and narrative structure of the text was studied.
- 2) Under the musical parameter interest focused on the morphological, melodic and rhythmic structure of the music.
- 3) Under the linguistic parameter the language of thirteen versions was subjected to a phonological, morphological, syntactical and lexical analysis.
- 4) Finally, from the variety of components which constitute the functional parameter, interest focused on the performer, stressing the gestures and mimicry employed during the performance.

In the subsequent analyses, each parameter is studied separately. Following this, the types of correlation between two or more parameters have been outlined. At the end, the results are arranged on two levels: the structural organization of the material and its cultural identification. In principle, each of the parameters analysed may theoretically throw light on both levels and it is the aim of our interdisciplinary project to explore both levels fully.

At the conclusion of the first phase of work, the results of the literary and musical analyses appear to point to the structural organization of the *romance*, while the linguistic analysis and the analysis of performance allow us to approach the question of cultural identification. The first two parts of this study present,

- 2 *Gerineldo* also appears to be a popular *romance* in the Iberian peninsula. Single and combined versions of *Gerineldo* in the Hispanic version have been studied by Menéndez Pidal, Catalán & Galmes (1954). Criville i Bargallo (1987) choose it as a case-study for his musicological investigation on the formal typology of the romance in the peninsular tradition. For musical transcriptions of versions from Gran Canaria see, Trapero; from León see, Fernández Núñez; from Valladolid see, Díaz Viana, Díaz & Val.
- 3 This study forms part of a collaborative project in the course of which I. Benabu dealt with the literary parameter, S. Weich-Shahak with the musical one; O. Schwarzwald dealt with the linguistic parameter, T. Alexander and I. Ghelman with performance. Both the introduction and the conclusion were written by F. Alvarez-Pereyre and I. Benabu. The appendixes were prepared by S. Weich-Shahak (Appendix 1) and O. Schwarzwald (Appendix 2 and 3).

therefore, the results of the literary and musical analyses, results which enable us to understand the basic structure of the multi-dimensional *romance*. The third part presents the results of the linguistic analysis, through which it will be possible, eventually, to point to the Judeo-Spanish specificity of the corpus studied. Regarding the fourth part of our study, the analysis of performance, it has only been possible to conduct a survey on a smaller scale during the first phase of work. The results thereof correspond to a more restricted portion of the corpus and cover a smaller number of informants. However, what facts have been determined enable us to observe the individual role pertaining to performance and the code of gestures.

On the basis of an analysis of the narrative structure, it is possible to reconstruct the narrative thread of the *romances*. Most versions of *Gerineldo* begin directly with the Princesses's solicitation and thus focus, from the start, on her initiative in the seduction. Gerineldo's submissiveness, bordering on subservience, bolster this impression of her. The illicit nature of her passion is also conveyed by linking her seduction of Gerineldo with the deception of her father:

¿A qué hora vendré, señora, a qué hora daré al castillo?

Ya eso de la medianoche cuando el rey está dormido.

(AB2, also in AB1-3, EA, EC1, GB/35, RG1, & SB)

In the second sequence the recriminations levelled at Gerineldo for not appearing at the appointed time convey the urgency of desire through the Princesses's fear that it will be frustrated. That this constitutes the significance of these recriminations is supported by AB1 in which Gerineldo arrives at the appointed time and is nevertheless subjected to her violent outburst. Her initiative in the affair is underlined by the fact that she is the one to facilitate access to her room. In most versions she lowers a golden ladder, in two Gerineldo finds the ladder already in position and in GB1, her initiative is presented in very explicit terms: *Bajó la dama las enaguas y abrióle puerta y postigo*

She is the one, therefore, to be awoken by the King's sword (4th sequence), the instrument by which she is made aware that her deception is discovered (all versions). Again, she must rouse the slumbering Gerineldo, urge him to flee and think of his escape route. In some versions the narrative is elaborated to show Gerineldo's passivity and submissiveness — he is depressed, does not know where to go — in contrast to her resoluteness.

The Princess is absent from the 5th sequence: in it the King confronts Gerineldo in the garden and elicits the truth from him. Significantly, in two versions, the King absolves him of any responsibility (RG1&2). However, the passive Gerineldo is now imposed on by the King to marry the Princess (all versions). This is the sequence in which judgement is passed on the Princess. From one who

has been controlling developments, she becomes someone whose fate is decided by others: the King tries to enforce a marriage and fails and Gerineldo refuses to marry her because of his oath. It is worth pointing out that although Gerineldo's refusal figures in all versions, it appears out of character and that at this precise juncture the rhyme-scheme breaks down.

It comes as no surprise, therefore, to find that *Gerineldo* (somewhat misleadingly named so) is attached to a *romance* in which a woman must strive to restore her reputation. In *La boda estorbada* a woman is abandoned by her lover and his promise of marriage goes unfulfilled: she is thus shown as the victim of circumstances. When *La boda* is taken as a sequel to *Gerineldo*, it shows a woman setting out on a path of expiation. As in *Gerineldo*, the woman takes every initiative. She decided on the course of action to follow when the period for the lover's return expires and he does not appear. She decided on pursuit, elicits the King her father's blessing, dons a disguise, obtains knowledge of Gerineldo's whereabouts from a passing shepherd and eventually confronts him.

In some versions, Gerineldo's weakness is recalled at this juncture for the Princess forces him to marry against his will:

Maldita la peregrina que viene en mi busqueda
que los amores que tengo no me los dejó gozar. (AB1)

Other versions (RG1&2) delay the moment of revelation by means of an extended dialogue and omit Gerineldo's reaction altogether.

However they make it amply clear that the final triumph is the Princesses's.

Las fiestas y los torneos para la princesa son
y la otra desgraciada en un convento está ya.

Both romances seem to be comprised of parallel functions, which may be expressed thus:

	Function	<i>Gerineldo</i>	<i>La boda</i>
1.	Proposition	Solicitation (1st seq)	Promise (1st seq)
2.	Fulfilment or non-fulfilment	Assignment & consummation (2nd seq)	Non-fulfilment of promise (2nd seq)
3.	Complication	Discovery by King/P+G (3rd & 4th seq)	Discovery of Gerineldo (3rd seq)
4.	Crisis	Confrontation (5th seq)	Confrontation (4th seq)

A. THE TEXT

A. PROSODY

The material studied consists of the *romance* of *Gerineldo* sung on its own (5 singers — 7 versions), *La boda estorbada* sung on its own (1 singer — 1 version), and *Gerineldo* sung in conjunction with *La boda estorbada* (3 singers — 6 versions).

The versions studied confirm the accepted prosodical identification of the *romance* as a series of sixteen-syllable lines composed of two octosyllabic hemistiches with caesura, with assonance at the end of the second hemistich. The smallest independent prosodic unit, therefore, is the line, which is composed of two constitutive hemistiches.

Each line in the versions of *Gerineldo* studied here consists of sixteen syllables divided in two hemistiches of eight syllables (ending in an unstressed syllable); in the versions of *La boda estorbada* the first hemistich consists of eight syllables and the second of seven syllables (ending in a stressed syllable). There is a small amount of irregularity within individual hemistiches, but in most cases, the syllabic irregularity has no semantic bearing on the line. Hemistiches are most frequently lengthened by adding particles such as:

	<i>Gerineldo</i>	<i>Boda</i>
(1) "y"	AB1/17, 31 AB2/16 EC1/16 GB1/8, 15 GB2/8, 18 GB3/12, 16 MA/12, 14	RG1/15
(2) "ya"	GB2/29 GB3/27	GB2/2 GB3/1
(3) "que"	AB1/23 EC1/25 GB1/27	
(4) Subject pronoun	GB1/26 RG2/37	

There are cases where, in one version, the line is syllabically irregular and yet in another version by the same singer the irregularity disappears, e.g. AB1/19 (*Gerineldo*), which scans regularly in AB2 and AB3, and AB2/13 (*Boda*) which scans regularly in AB1 and AB3.

In comparison with the other singers, GB shows a marked tendency to lengthen lines and RG to shorten lines.

Gerineldo has assonance in i-o and *La boda estorbada* in -a. In the versions studied, the rhyme scheme most often breaks down in the closing lines of each romance: AB1/41-42 (*Ger*); AB2/39-40 (*Ger*); AB3/38-39 (*Ger*); EC1/28-30 (*Ger*); GB1/ 26-27 (*Ger*); GB1/29-30 (*Boda*); GB2/37 (*Ger*); GB2/28-29 (*Boda*); RG1/38-39 (*Ger*); RG1/20 (*Boda*); RG2/40-41 (*Ger*); 20 (*Boda*).⁴

In both *romances*, the rhyme scheme is interrupted at a decisive point in the narrative, i.e., at a point where a resolution is imminent. The reason for the interruption at this particular stage in the *romance* is unclear at present. Further work on a more extensive corpus of *romances* may well shed light on this issue.

In the case of *Gerineldo*, the rhyme breaks down in all versions at the same point in the narrative, when the king resolves to observe silence after discovering the lovers, and places his sword between them as a warning. The line in question reads: “mas vale que yo me calle, y no lo diga a ninguno” (AB), and in its various form, it is also the line which most consistently shows syllabic irregularity (EC2/19; GB1/15; GB3/21, MA/26; RG1/24). Cast in a similar form, the line has been found in another *romance* in i-o (NSA, Y4588/17), “Desde chiquita en la cuna”, where it is also set in the proximity of the line “como la que sufre y calla las faltas de su marido”, it also interrupts the rhyme scheme.⁵ Since both *romances* deal with the theme of infidelity the line may well be one of a stock of reactions to infidelity as expressed in *romances*.

In GB2/20 and GB3/18 “paisano” causes a break in the rhyme scheme, but on consulting GB1/12, it becomes clear that this is caused because the singer inverts the order of two words in the two coordinating clauses which make up the line. Thus instead of singing: “¿Qué haré yo de mí, paisano? ¿Qué haré yo de mí, mezquino?” (GB1) which preserves the rhyme, GB sings: “¿Qué haré yo de mí, mezquino? ¿Qué haré yo de mí, paisano?” (GB2 and GB3).

Other breaks in the rhyme scheme of *Gerineldo* occur with “pusiera” (GB1/17; GB2/25; GB3/23) and “encontraría” GB1/21 and “encontrara” GB3/28.

4 It is interesting to note that RG1 & 2 show the form “ponido” (line 25), which preserves the rhyme, in preference to the usual form of the past participle of “poner-puesto”, but it is impossible to draw any conclusion without evidence of the speech of the informant.

5 Se lo diré a mis hermanos se matarán a cuchillos,
se lo diré a mis hermanas lo dirán a sus maridos.
Más vale que yo me calle y no lo diga a ninguno
que no hay mujer en el mundo que el sezo tenga cumplido
como la que sufre y calla las faltas de su marido.

Besides the breakdown in the rhyme scheme at the end of *La boda*, which has already been mentioned, no further breaks were found in the versions studied.

B. MORPHOLOGICAL ORGANIZATION

In the *romances* under investigation, a morphological unit always constitutes an independent clause, and as in the case of the prosodical analysis, the minimal unit at this level generally coincides with the line.⁶ A morphological unit may be composed of one of the following formulations:

1) Simple Clause

Type a — simple:

Entre besos y abrazos los dos quedaron dormidos. (*Ger*)

Un día estando en la mesa con su padre vino a hablar. (*Boda*)

Type b — with duplication:

¿A qué hora vendré, señora, a qué horas daré al castillo? (*Ger*)

¿Para cuántos años, conde, para cuántos años vas? (*Boda*)

¡Oh, que cara tan bonita! ¡Oh, que cara tan salada! (*Boda*)

Type c — invocations (which function as imperatives)

Gerineldo, Gerineldo, mi caballero pulido. (*Ger*)

Vaquerito, vaquerito, por la Santa Trinidad. (*Boda*)

2) Two coordinating clauses

Quitó espada de su cinto y se la puso por testigo. (*Ger*)

El rostro ya se le ha ido pero el lunar aquí está. (*Boda*)

3) A complex clause (main and subordinate)

Si matare a Gerineldo, mi reino estará perdido. (*Ger*)

¿De quién son estos caballos, que los llevan a ensillar? (*Boda*)

Generally these formulations occur within the confines of one line. However, if they extend over more than one line, each line constitutes an independent syntactic entity of one of the formulations listed above:

(Simple Clause)

Viéndole estaba la reina desde su alto castillo,
limpiando paños de seda para darle al rey vestido. (*Ger*)

6 In many instances, the hemistich, within the confines of a line, may constitute an independent syntactical unit. In such cases there is an identifiable break between hemistiches but their functionality lies in their combination.

(Two coordinating Clauses)

Se han formado unas guerras desde Francia a Portugal
y a Gerineldo lo llevan de capitán general. (*Boda*)

(Complex Clause)

Si vienes de las Italías parte Francia y Portugal
¿qué tal está la princesa con su rostro y su lunar? (*Boda*)

Finally, a morphological unit may be in narrative or dialogue form, and the two are not mixed within the same unit. This holds true for all the versions of *Gerineldo* and *La boda* studied. A wider reading of *romances* shows that such a mixture within the same unit is indeed rare.

C. NARRATIVE STRUCTURE

The narrative content of *Gerineldo* and *La boda* consists of a plot composed by a number of sequences in a fixed order. In delineating the boundaries of a sequence, the analogy with a dramatic scene is useful.⁷ A new sequence is determined by a shift in time or location, or by a shift of focus to a different dramatic personality.

The sequences of the plot may be functionally divided into:

- 1) Sequences in which the action is complicated
- 2) One sequence showing the crisis and resolution of the action.

An exordium may introduce the action.

According to Segre's definition of "plot", the order of sequences is fixed, for it is this order which gives the plot its distinctiveness.⁸ In the case of the *romances* which have been studied, reference to the many printed versions available confirm the fixed order of the plot sequences. Even in the most garbled versions, where entire sequences are omitted, their order is maintained.

In *Gerineldo*, there are five sequences:

- I. Solicitation — the princess solicits Gerineldo and arrangements are made for their assignation.
- II. Assignation — the princess admits Gerineldo into her room where the affair is consummated.

7 Diego Catalán has drawn attention to the dramatic quality of the *romance* in his study on the poetics of the Romancero. See: Catalán 1979.

8 Among many other definitions of "plot", we have chosen Segre's for its conciseness (quoted from the Spanish translation): "plot" = "el contenido del texto en el mismo orden en el que se representa" (Segre 1976: 14).

- III. Discovery — the king discovers the lovers.
- IV. Realization — the princess realizes that she and Gerineldo have been discovered by the king.
- V. Confrontation — the king confronts Gerineldo with his discovery and resolution, and Gerineldo discloses his oath. The crisis here is postponed by circumlocution, which increases suspense: the king asks Gerineldo evasive questions though he knows the truth and Gerineldo answers the questions euphemistically though he is aware the king knows the truth.

Five out of thirteen versions studied contain an exordium.

The *romance La boda estorbada* has four sequences:

- I. Promise — Gerineldo promises to marry the princess within a certain period of time.
- II. Non-Fulfillment of promise — Agreed time lapses and Gerineldo does not return.
- III. Pursuit and discovery — the princess sets out in pursuit and traces Gerineldo.
- IV. Confrontation and resolution — the princess confronts Gerineldo in disguise and eventually reveals her true identity. Crisis postponed by a series of questions and answers.

Sequences are often articulated by means of a line of narrative which explicitly states the connection between sequences. This is usually done by repeating a key idea (or even a key word) expressed in the last line of a sequence within the opening line of the new sequence:

Gerineldo End of 1st sequence

A eso de la medianoche cuando el rey está dormido. (GB2-6)

Beginning of 2nd sequence

Medianoche ya es pasada y Gerineldo no ha venido. (GB2-7)

End of 2nd sequence

Entre besos y abrazos los dos quedaron dormidos. (MA-20)

Beginning of 3rd sequence

Ellos en el dulce sueño el buen rey que ha consentido. (MA-21)

End of 3rd sequence

Sacó espada de su cinto y entre los dos la pusiera. (GB1-17)

Beginning of 4th sequence

Con el frío de la espada la infanta que ha consentido. (GB1-18)

La boda estorbada

End of 1st sequence

Si a los siete años no vuelvo princesa, te casarás. (AB1-6)

Beginning of 2nd sequence

Los siete años ya han pasado Gerineldo sin llegar. (AB1-7)

End of 3rd sequence

Darte yo un doblón de oro si me llevas donde está. (AB2-17)

Beginning of 4th sequence

La ha cogido de la mano la llevó hasta su portal. (AB2-18)

All double versions contain the exordium in *La boda*, which supplies a reason for Gerineldo's departure. It acts, therefore, as the narrative nexus between the two *romances* and is thus functionally unlike the exordium of *Gerineldo* which only expresses an exhortation but has no bearing on the narrative itself. This may well be why it is omitted in most versions of *Gerineldo*.

The narrative content of a sequence may be further divided into the events which make up a sequence. An event constitutes the minimal structural unit and may be defined as the smallest independent semantic unit at the narrative level. As with the minimal prosodical and morphological unit, it usually coincides with the line.⁹

An event may be functional and as such contain narrative facts which characterize the development of a sequence, or it may contain narrative elaboration. The order of functional units is usually fixed, as is that of the sequences (see Table 1); however a functional unit may be reordered so long as the reordering does not compromise the logical progression of the narrative. For example, in most versions of *Gerineldo*, the princess's recrimination (unit 7) comes before Gerineldo makes his presence felt; in AB1 2 & 3, Gerineldo makes his presence felt first and is then exposed to the princess's recriminations (see Table 2). Logical progression does not suffer.

Units which provide narrative elaboration are more open to reordering and they may either precede or follow the functional unit. However, as with the functional unit, the principle of logical progression must not be compromised. Thus, in *Gerineldo*, the line about Gerineldo wearing soft shoes may be attached to (i) the princess's instructions for the assignation (GB1, unit 5); (ii) the description of Gerineldo on arrival at the assignation (RG2, unit 10); (iii) the description of Gerineldo as he climbs up to the princess's chamber (AB1, EC2, GB3, unit 11).

9 When it extends over more than one line, the functional component is usually contained within one line.

TABLE 1: NARRATIVE STRUCTURE OF GERINELDO

1. The figure in parentheses, following the description of each event, indicates the number of lines in which the content is expressed.
2. Abbreviations: P = Princess; G = Gerineldo; K = King.

<i>PLOT SEQUENCE</i>	<i>NARRATIVE EVENT</i>		<i>VARIANTS</i>
<i>Exordium (2)</i>	<i>Functional units</i>	<i>Elaboration</i>	<i>Narrative detail</i>
I.	1. P solicits G	(2) (i) P watches G washing K's cloths (2)	P/queen
	2. G feels mocked	(1)	Length of time P wants to spend with G
	3. P reassures G	(1)	
	4. G asks for details of assignation	(1)	
	5. P supplies time of assignation	(1)	Time of assignation
II.	6. Appointed time strikes; G does not appear	(1/2)	Time
	7. P's recriminations on G for not appearing	(1/2) (ii) P blames G for not appearing (1)	
	8. G makes his presence felt	(1)	Manner (knocks, sighs) From the one who knocked/sighed
	9. P asks for identification	(1/2)	
	10. G identifies himself	(1) (iii) Soft shoes worn for precaution (1)	Manner (lowers ladder/opens door)
	11. P facilitates access	(1) (iv) G finds bed ready and P and G get in (2)/ Lovers proceed to bedroom (1)	
	12. P and G make love	(1)	
III.	13. K senses what is going on	(1) (v) K asks for cloths and gets no reply (1) /K asks for G to bring cloths and is told G is out (3)	

<i>PLOT SEQUENCE</i>	<i>NARRATIVE EVENT</i>		<i>VARIANTS</i>
<i>Exordium (2)</i>	<i>Functional units</i>	<i>Elaboration</i>	<i>Narrative detail</i>
	14. K goes in pursuit (1)		
	15. K discovers lovers (1)		
	16. K's dilemma (2)	(vi) K pities his plight (1)	Reasons for not killing P(/queen) or G emotional/political
	17. K resolves to observe silence (1)	(vii) K compares himself to acquiescing wife in keeping silent (1)	
	18. K leaves his weapon as warning to lovers (1)		
IV.	19. P awoken by K's weapon (1)		P/queen; weapon's edge/its coldness
	20. In face of danger, P urges G to leave (2)	(viii) G wakes up depressed (1/2)	
		(ix) Asks P where to go and P advises escape through garden (2)	
	21. P and K meet as P flees (1)		
V.	22. K questions G (1)		About why he looks so pale/about his whereabouts
	23. G replies euphemistically (1/2)		He's been gathering rosebuds/he's slept in a garden where his senses were overcome by the scent of a rose
	24. K admonishes G that he knows the truth (1)	(x) G denies nothing and is exonerated by K (2)	
	25. K resolves P and G must marry (1)	(xi) K expels G (1)	Time of marriage
	26. G informs K of his oath (1)		Oath on the virgin/his prayer(?)=book/his parents

TABLE 2: CHART OF NARRATIVE EVENTS IN *GERINELDO* VERSIONS

INFORMANT	I					II					III					IV					V						
AB 1	Ex+i	1	2	3	4	5	6+ii	8	9	10	7*	11+iii	12	13+v	14	15	vi+16*	17+vii	18	19	20*	21	22	23*	24	25	26*
AB 2	Ex+i	1	2	3	4	5	6+ii	8	9	10	7*	11	12	13+v	14	15	vi+16*	17+vii	18	19	20*	21	22	23*	24	25	26*
AB 3	Ex+i	1	2	3	4	5	6+ii	8	9	10	7*	—	12	13+v	14	15	vi+16*	—	18	19	20*+viii	21	22	23*	24	25	26*
EA	—	1	2	3	4	5	6+ii	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	—	—	16*	—	18	19	20*+ix	—	22*	23	24	25+xi	—
EC 1	—	1	2	3	4	5	6+ii	7*	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	vi+16*	17+vii	18	19	20*+viii	21	22	—	—	—	—
EC 2	Ex	1	2	3	4	5	6	—	8	9	10	11+iii+iv	12	13	—	—	16*	17+vii	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
GB 1	—	1	2	3	4	5+iii	—	—	—	—	—	11	12	13	—	15	vi+16*	17+vii	18	19	20*	21	22	23	24	25	26*
GB 2	—	1	2	3	4	5	6*	7	8	9	10	11+iv	12	13+v	14	15	vi+16*	17+vii	18	19	20*+viii	21	22	23	24	25	26*
GB 3	—	1	2	3	4	5	—	7*	8	9	10	11+iii	12	13	14	15	vi+16*	17+vii	18	19	20*+viii	21	22	23	24	25	26*
MA	Ex + 1	1	2	3	4	5	6*	7*	8*	9	10	11	12	13	—	15	vi+16*	17+vii	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
RG 1	—	1	2	3	4	5	6*	7*	8	9	10	11+iv	12	v+13	14	15	16*	17	18	19	20*+ix	21	22	23	24+x	25	26*
RG 2	—	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10+iii	11+iv	12	v+13	14	15	16*	17+vii	18	19	20*+ix	21	22	23*	24+x	25	26*
SB	—	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Upper-case roman numerals refer to the plot sequences outlined in Table 1.

Arabic numerals refer to the functional unit of a narrative event, as described in Table 1.

Lower-case roman numerals refer to units of narrative elaboration as listed in Table 1.

Symbols

* = Content expressed in two lines.

— = Omission of a unit.

B. THE MUSIC

The analysis of the music is based on three musical parameters: the formal, rhythmic and melodic structure of the song. We shall first consider the formal structure of the whole song, then the morphological structure of the functional units that constitute the song, and then, the melodic and rhythmic material of the functional units.

A. FORMAL STRUCTURE

The melodies of the romance of *Gerineldo* are strophic and consist of the repetition of one musical stanza throughout the text. This functional unit repeats itself identically or with slight variations until the end of the song, keeping its musical constituents constant.¹⁰ Example 1 includes the transcription of the first musical stanza of each version. Example 2 contains the full transcription of one version, including all the musical strophes (and corresponding verses).

B. THE MORPHOLOGICAL STRUCTURE OF THE STANZA

Each musical stanza, in all the nine versions, accomodates two lines of the text, i.e. four hemistiches. Each hemistich is sung to one musical phrase. Accordingly, each musical stanza consists of four musical phrases. This division into four phrases becomes evident due to their equal duration, measured in beats. For example in the version GB1 each musical phrase consists of twelve beats (see Example 3). The twelve beats of each phrase are structured by a recurrent pattern of stressed and unstressed beats, creating a rhythmic scheme of a definite meter in which bars of two and three beats (binary and ternary) are combined in a fixed series: 2+3+3+2+2, creating an hemiola-like pattern. The relative lengths of the notes, i.e. their rhythmic values, are maintained in all the four phrases comprising the strophe (see Example 4)

10 The material which has been considered for the musical analysis encompasses the following versions: GB1, EC2, SB, EA, MA, EC1, AB1, AB3, RG1. Some versions from the corpus have not been considered for the musical analysis because they are sung to the same tune with almost no variations (GB2 and GB3 are sung as GB1; AB2 is sung as AB1; RG2 is sung as RG1). Version EC2 was added to the corpus although it was sung following a written version of the text. It was included because it offered another tune for *Gerineldo*. As in the case of the two tunes sung by AB, this tune proves that a romance can be sung to different tunes, and vice versa, that one tune can be used to sing several romances. However, the NSA collection proves that in most cases a single tune is attached to each romance, even when the informants are aware of alternative tunes used for the romance in other geographical locations.

	1st phrase	2nd phrase	3rd phrase	4th phrase
GB1	Ge-ri - nel-do Ge - ri-nel do	mi ca - ba-lle-ro pu-li - do	quién te me die-ra,es-ta no -	che dos ho-ras a mi ser-vi - cio.
EC2	Quién tu - vie-ra tan for-tu - na	pa-ra ga-nar lo per-di - do	co-mo tu-vo Gi-ri-nel - do	ma-ña - ni-ta de do-min - go.
SB	Gi-ri-nel -do Gi - ri-nel - do	mi ca-ba -lle-ro pe-li - do	quién te me die-ra,esta no -	che es-ta no-che,ami ser-vi - cio.
EA	Gi-ri - nel-do Gi - ri-nel - do	mi ca - ba-lle-ro po-li - do	quién te me die-ra,esta no -	che tres ho - ras a mi ser -vi - cio.
MA	Quién tu - vie-ra tal for-tu-na	pa-ra ga-nar lo per-di-do	co-mo tu-vo Gi-ri-nel - do	ma-ña - ni-ta de do-min - go.
EC1	Gi-ri - nel-do Gi - ri-nel - do	mi ca -ba- lle-ro pu-li - do	quién te me die-ra,esta no -	che tres ho - ras a mi ser -vi - cio.
AB1	Quién tu - vie - ra tal for-tu-na	pa-ra ga-nar lo per-di-do	co-mo tu -vo Gi-ri-nel - do	ma-ña - ni-ta de do-min - go.
AB3	Quién tu - vie-ra tal for-tu-na	pa-ra ga-nar lo per-di - do	co-mo tu-vo Gi-ri-nel - do	ma-ña - ni-ta de do-min-go.
RG1	Gi-ri-nel-do Gi - ri - nel - do	mi ca-ba-lle-ro po - li-do	quién te me die-ra,es - ta	no-che tres ho-ras a mi ser -vi - cio.

Example 1

Gi-ri-nel -do Gi-ri-nel -do
 mi ca-ba - lle ro po - li - do
 quien te me die-ra, es-ta no - che
 tres ho - ras a mi ser-vi - cio.

Como soy vues-tro cri-a - do
 se-ño-ra bur-láis con-mi-go. Yo no bur - lo Gi-ri-nel -do
 que de-ve - ras vos lo di - go.

A que ho-rás da ré se-ño-ra
 y a qué ho-rá da-ré, al cas-ti - llo? A, e-so de la me-dia no - che
 que mi pa-dre, es-tá ven-ci - do.

A, e-so-de la me-dia no-che
 Gi-ri-nel -do no ha ve-ni - do
 mal-ha-ya tú Gi-ri-nel - do
 quien a-mor pu-sò con-ti - go.

E-lla en es - tas pa-la-bras
 Gi-ri-nel-do dió un sus-pi-ro
 que ven-go a lo pro-me-ti-do
 que a mi puer-ta dió un sus-pi-ro.

Ge-ri-nel -do soy se-ño - ra
 ha-lló la, es-ca - le - ra pues - ta
 de-re-cho su-bió al cas-ti - llo
 en-tre pa - la-bra, y pa-la-bra
 el sue-ño lós ha ven-ci - do.

A, e-so de la me-dia - no - che
 que su pa-dre ha con-sen - ti - do
 ma-ta-ré yo a Gi-ri-nel -do
 vi-vi - ré con su sus-pi - ro.

Example 2

Si ma-ta-re a Ge-ri-nel-do
 que lo crí-e-des-de chi-co
 si ma-ta-re yo a mi hi-ja
 ten-go mi pli-to per-di-do.

Pu-so la spa-da en-tre me-dio
 que la sir-va de tes-ti-go
 con el frí-o de la es-pa-da
 la prin-ce-sa ha con-sen-ti-do.

Le-van-tá-te, Gi-ri-nel-do
 que ya sta-mos co-no-ci-dos
 que la spa-da de mi pa-dre
 la te-ne-mas por tes-ti-go.

Por don-dè da-ré se-ño-ra
 por don-dè da-ré al cas-ti-llo
 ve-te por a-quél jar-din
 a cor-tar flo-res y li-rios.

Bue-nos dí-as Gi-ri-nel-do
 ¿qué tie-nés tú Gi-ri-nel-do
 que te ve-o yo a ma-ri-llo?

De cor-tar flo-res y li-rios
 el co-lor yo lo he per-di-do
 Mien-tes mien-tes Gi-ri-nel-do
 con la don-ce-lla has dor-mi-do.

An-tes que a-pun-ta-ra el sol
 la sir-ve-ras de ma-ri-do
 co-ge tu ca-ba-llo blan-co
 y ve-tè de a-quél cas-ti-llo.

Example 2 (cont.)



Example 3



Example 4

This metric and rhythmic organization appears in seven versions, as we can see in the paradigmatic presentation of all the versions consisting of twelve-beat phrases (Example 5).

There are two exceptions to the twelve-beat phrases. First, AB1 in which not all the phrases in the stanza have the same length (the first and fourth have the same duration, eleven-beats, but the second and third phrases have twelve and nine beats respectively) a fact probably related to the rubato singing of the informant. Second, RG1 in which the same length and rhythmic values are maintained in all four phrases but their duration is of eight beats per phrase, structured as a 3+2+3 metric-rhythmic scheme. (Example 6)

We can say, so far, that the different melodic configurations of the phrases in all these versions, are based on the same rhythmic scheme, i.e., the series of rhythmic values is maintained with only very slight variations, while the pitches of the notes change.

Let us now consider the inner organization of the musical stanza, the pitches that constitute its melodic line, their appearances and repetitions, variations and

Common
rhythmic
model

a

a¹

GB1

b

c

a

a¹

EC2

b

c

a

a¹

SB

b

c

a

a¹

EA

b

c

MA

a

b

c

d

a

b

c

d

a

b

c

d

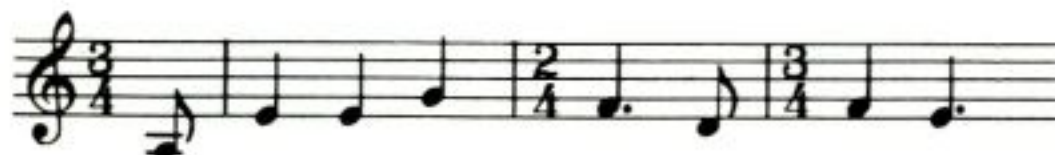
Example 5

permutations. In GB1 the first two phrases have common notes, at least partly, which enable us to state that the second phrase is but a variation of the first one, while the other two are clearly different. The structure of the stanza would thus be: a, a¹, b, c. Phrases a and a¹ have a common segment, m, at their beginning and different closing segments, n and p (Example 7).

Rhythmic scheme
of each phrase
RG1
1st phrase



2nd phrase



3rd phrase



4th phrase



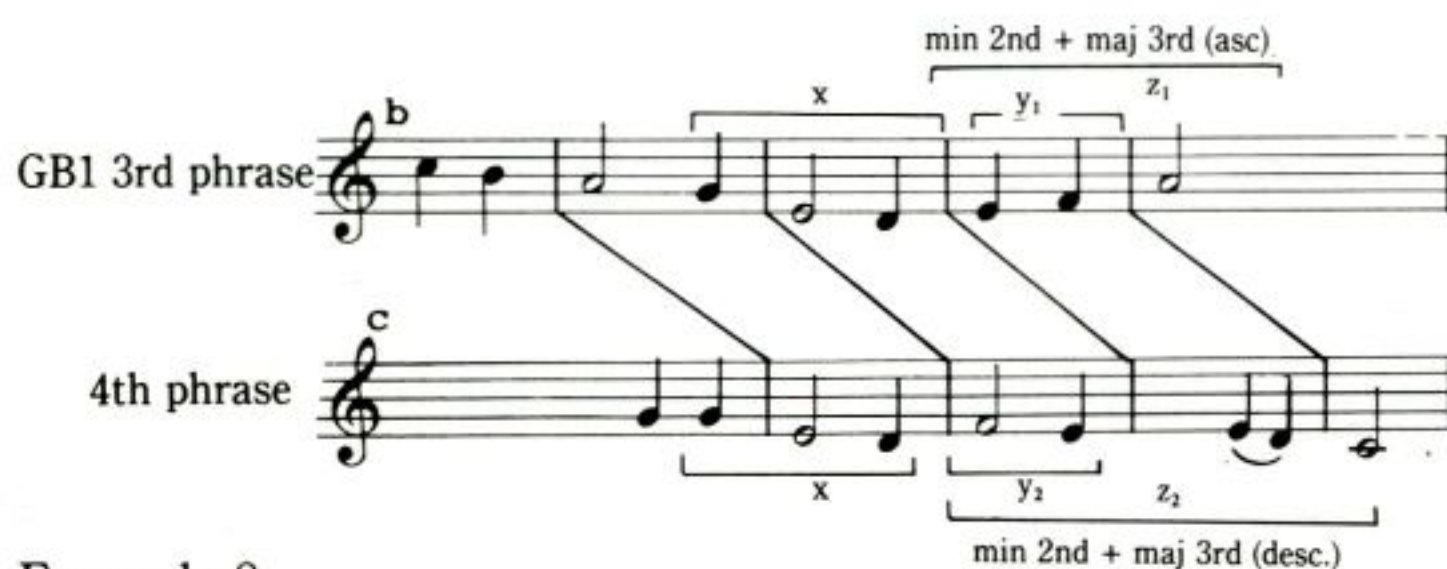
Example 6

GB1



Example 7

The third and fourth phrases (phrase b and c) have three common notes, G-E-D (subsegment x), then two notes F-E, with permutation (interchanging places; see subsegments y^1 and y^2) and an inversion (the same series of intervals in opposite directions; see subsegments z^1 and z^2). These relations between the third and fourth phrases of the GB1 version are present in an oblique way (see Example 8):



Example 8

To summarize, the inner structures of the musical stanzas in the versions presented here show three types of formal organization:¹¹

- the a a b c formal structure, in which the musical material for the first two hemistiches of the text, i.e. the first two musical phrases, is identical (version RG1);
- the a a¹ b c formal structure, in which the musical material for the first two hemistiches, i.e. the first two phrases, is similar but not identical, (versions GB1, EC2, SB, EA);
- the a b c d formal structure, where there is no repetition of musical segments (in versions MA, EC1, AB1, AB3).

As far as the morphological organization of the musical material is concerned, it is to be added that, within the limits of the stanza considered here as the maximal functional unit, one may observe two functional units of smaller dimension: the half stanza (two phrases) and the hemistich (one phrase). From the musical point of view, the half stanza can be defined on the basis of four criteria:

- The half stanza ends on a caesura, a larger note and/or a pause. This trait is also found at the end of hemistiches but, as was observed, the caesura for the half-stanza corresponds more often to the breath intake (breath intake occurs less frequently after the first or third hemistiches);
- when two phrases of a romance are linked (be it by added passing notes or by surpressing the pause or longer notes between the phrases) the link will appear between phrases 1 and 2, or 3 and 4, but not between 2 and 3, i.e. between the two halves of the stanza;
- the singer may occasionally repeat the melody of the second phrase of the half stanza;
- the half stanza ends frequently on the fifth degree of the scale (in two versions on the third and the second degrees respectively). This fourth criterion is to be found also in the analysis of the melodic material (see below).

The second small functional unit whithin the stanza corresponds to the hemistich. Its identity is based, as already noticed, upon the repetition of a same rhythmic pattern. This repetition of a permanent rhythmic pattern underlying melodic

11 The common formal structures of the Sephardic romance of *Gerineldo*, *abcd* and *aabc*, have counterparts in Criville i Bargallo's types A1 and A8 (or A4 which is surprisingly similar). However, his article does not include musical examples of types A4 and A8 and therefore it is difficult to assert whether the criteria used by Criville i Baragallo is the same as in the present study. In our study two phrases of similar contour and function but differing in several notes (for example, with open or close cadences) are considered as variations and are denominated with the same letter (a and a'). Criville's, however, provides different letters for each phrase unless one is an exact replica of the other.

units of different contour is kept throughout the romance, regardless of the segmentation of the melodic continuum into stanzas of four phrases along the three formal possibilities presented above (aabc, aa¹bc, abcd).

C. ANALYSIS OF THE MELODIC MATERIAL

Considering the scales of the tunes we find that five versions (GB1, EC2, SB, EA, AB3) are in a major scale (modus Do), one version (RG1) is in a minor scale (modus La) and three versions (MA, EC1, AB1) are in a mixed minor-major scale, whereas the first half of the melody is in a minor mode and the second half in a major mode (by rising the third degree of the scale by a half-tone higher).

The ambitus of the songs reaches between a major sixth to an octave, except for version SB, where the ambitus is of a fifth. In all the versions in major and minor modes (except AB3) the ambitus does not reach below the finalis (authentic mode) but in those in mixed minor-major scale, as well as in no.8, it extends to a fourth below the finalis (plagal mode).

As evident from the transcriptions of the songs and the following chart of first and last notes of the phrases (Example 9), the phrase corresponding to the end of the first textual line ends on the V degree of the scale, and that which corresponds to the second line ends on the first degree. This V-I progression, appears in seven of the nine versions considered in this study (in the other two the half phrase ends on III and on II). This progression may be also considered as an argument for considering the two phrases covering a half stanza as a musical sub-unit.

If we now compare the melodic lines of the nine versions, we find two groups. First, versions GB1, EC2 and SB have much in common, as do also MA, EC1 and AB1 (Example 10). The similarity of GB1, EC2, SB as well as that of MA, EC1, and AB1 appears also in the chart presenting the first and last notes of each phrase (Example 9) and of the whole strophe for all nine versions (Example 1).

The second group includes AB3 which is quite different from the others, sharing with the other versions only a few series of consecutive notes or sequences of intervals. However, AB3 shares with GB1, EC2, SB, and EA the major scale, but in a plagal mode.

Comparing EA with the other versions, we may say that it shows much more similarity with GB1, EC2 and SB than with any of the other versions. For example, the comparison between EA and GB1 (one of the first three versions) shows similarities in melodic lines, in intervals and in melodic direction. For instance, the first phrase starts in both songs with a rising melodic line, built on two constitutive intervals, the first with a wider ambitus than the other (in GB1, a minor third, E to G, and a major second, G to A, and in EA, a major third, C to E, and a minor third, E to G), as well as the common

First to last note of each phrase

1st phrase 2nd phrase 3rd phrase 4th phrase

First to last note of the strophe

GB1

EC2

SB

EA

MA

EC1

AB1

AB3

RG1

Example 9

descending fourth at the end of the first phrase, and the descending fifth in the third phrase.

By contrast to the similarities found between EA with the group of versions GB1, EC2 and SB, the differences between EA and the versions MA, EC1 and AB1, are much more evident.

The distribution of the nine versions regarding their common features may be summarized as follows:

1. Form: we find among the nine versions of our corpus three different formal structures built either of three or four units:

Example 10

The musical score for Example 10 is presented in two systems. The first system consists of four staves: GB1, EC2, SB, and MA. The second system consists of two staves: EC1 and AB2. Each staff is written in a treble clef with a key signature of one flat. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, beams, and slurs. The staves are labeled with abbreviations: GB1, EC2, SB, MA, EC1, and AB2.

1.1 the melodic material is repeated in the first two phrases in RG1, resulting in an aabc form;

1.2 the melodic material of the first phrase is repeated in the second one, with variation —different closing of the phrase (cadence)—in GB1, EC2, SB, EA, rendering the aa¹bc form;

1.3 the melodic discourse progresses with no repeated segments of the melody, in MA, EC1, AB1 and AB3, in an abcd form.

2. Scale: the versions studied belong to one of three scale types:

2.1 Most of the versions are in the major scale: GB1, EC2, SB, EA and AB3;

2.2 versions MA, EC1, AB1 are in a mixed major-minor scale which is based on the minor scale, with the alteration of the third degree (a half tone higher) in the second half of the melody (the third and fourth phrases of the melody of the *romance*);

2.3 one of the versions, RG1, is in a minor scale.

3. Ambitus: is quite similar in all versions, a major sixth to an octave, except EA, where the ambitus is a fifth. Considering the ambitus of the versions in relationship to the position of the finalis, the nine versions can be divided in two types:¹²

3.1 in almost all the versions in major scale, GB1, EC2, SB and EA, as well as in one version in the minor scale, RG1, the melody never reaches below the finalis (authentic mode);

3.2 in the versions in the mixed minor-major scale, MA, EC1, AB1 and in one in the major mode, AB3, the ambitus reaches a fourth below the finalis (plagal mode).

4. All the versions have a common formal structure of a strophic song, i.e., one musical stanza is repeated with slight variations throughout the whole text of the *romance*. Each stanza consists of four phrases of equal length and the

12 This feature may well be taken into consideration when we reach the stage of comparing the romances of Morocco with those sung in Eastern Mediterranean area, where, in many romances, as in their wedding songs, the ambitus does reach under the finalis and even forms a quite characteristic pattern. Of course it is too early to elaborate on this, but it seems accurate to point it out, even at this stage. See this feature in the transcription of an eastern romance, *Landarico*, in Weich-Shahak 1984; on the subfinalis pattern, see Weich-Shahak 1979/80.

same rhythmic scheme is repeated in all four phrases.¹³ Only in version AB1 the phrases are of unequal lengths.

5. Phrase-length: according to the number of beats per phrase, the versions of our corpus can be divided into three groups:

5.1 Versions in which each phrase is 12 beats long: GB1, EC2, SB, EA, MA, EC1 and AB3, in a rhythmic-metre sequence of 2+3+3+2+2;¹⁴

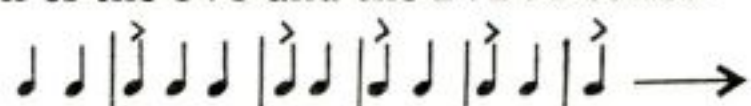
5.2 AB1 has some deviations from this strict pattern due to the rubato performance;

5.3 version RG1 has phrases which are 8 beats long in the rhythmic-metric sequence of 3+2+3.

In conclusion, five versions GB1, EC2, SB, EA, AB3 have the same scale, a major scale, in an authentic mode; GB1, EC2, SB, AB3 have an ambitus of an octave, and EA, of a fifth. Three versions MA, EC1 and AB1, with an ambitus

- 13 One more consideration can be mentioned concerning this last feature in the seven versions of 12 beats per phrase. These versions of *Gerineldo* have clear beats and periodical accents that determine a meter that is the combination of triple and double meters, known as the principle of the hemiola, i.e., the use of the measure of 6 in two ways: as 3+3, and as 2+2+2. In our versions this 2+2+2 series appears divided at the beginning and at the end of the musical phrase in the following asymmetric sequence: 2+3+3+2+2, always making a total of 12 units per phrase. (As we have seen, this meter is carried by a rhythmic scheme: ♩ ♩ | ♩ ♩ | ♩ ♩ | ♩ ♩ | ♩ | which appears with slight variations, as was shown in the corresponding rhythmic paradigm).

This hemiola type rhythm reminds us of some rhythms in flamenco dance that are used in the performance of *alegrías* and *soleares*. The rhythmic scheme of the *alegrías* and solea is also made up of the alternation of double and triple meter, in hemiola type, with a different distribution of the 3+3 and the 2+2+2 series:



which separates them from the *seguirillas*, whose rhythmic scheme is:



This particular series found in *Gerineldo* of 2+3+3+2+2 is common to a popular Spanish song in existence until today, called El Vito. Katz (1980:628). Josep Criville i Bargallo (1983:300) quoting from Hipolito Rossy (1966:262) states that the origin of El Vito is connected with a version of *Gerineldo* sung in Arcos de la Frontera. Other romances in our collection are also based on this same metric phrase-structure and the rhythmic pattern. E.g.: Un hijito la princesa (Yc 2269,2); Levantóse el conde Olinos (Y 4588, 21); Paseábase el buen Cidi (Yc 2325, 38); Estábase el morito (Yc 2325, 17); Por la calle de su dama (Y 4588, 23).

- 14 The analysis of the peninsular melodies of *Gerineldo* by Criville i Bargallo (1987:62) clearly shows that they are mainly syllabic, and that rhythmically the Iberian corpus is: "isocrónico, isométrico e isorrítmico". These conclusions coincide with the findings of the present study.

of an octave, are in a mixed scale, minor/major, in plagal mode, with a change in the third degree in the second half of the musical stanza. However, a most striking common feature is that eight of the nine versions analyzed (GB1, EC2, SB, EA, MA, EC1, AB1, AB3) have a common rhythmic scheme for all their phrases (except the rubato in AB1): twelve beats per phrase, organized in a fixed series of 2+3+3+2+2 beats.

In the corpus of nine songs analysed here, RG1 stands apart from the other versions in all features but one. Its scale is minor, in authentic mode, its ambitus is a minor seventh, and its rhythmic scheme of the phrases is different, in a total length of 8 beats per phrase, structured in a rhythmic metric scheme of 3+2+3. The only features common to RG1 and the other eight versions is that it also has four phrases of equal length in each musical stanza and an identical rhythmic scheme repeated with each phrase.

In contrast with the common rhythmic features that unify the corpus treated in this study, the melodic material of the different versions offers a much wider variety of possibilities. This variety is related to the differences between the versions in scale and ambitus, and also in the variety of the solutions that prevail in the melodic organization of the four successive phrases that, together, build up the stanza. Conversely one has to stress the great homogeneity of the musical material when considering its functional units: repetition of the stanza built upon the succession of four articulated melodic phrases; existence of two smaller units, the first one, consisting of two phrases, corresponds to the line of text and has been defined on the basis of four converging criteria (see p. 23); the second one, the single phrase, corresponds to the hemistich and has been defined on the basis of the repetition of a rhythmic entity.

To conclude this section some remarks on the structural organization of text and music in the *romance* are due. On the broadest structural level, the text is organized syntagmatically in narrative sequences which are articulated in logical order; the music is organized on the basis of the recurrence of a musical stanza which divides the text into a strophic structure. There is therefore no direct relation between text and music at this level. On the other hand, at the smaller structural level, there is a parallelism between the hemistich as defined by the prosodical parameter and the musical phrase as defined by the parameter of rhythm and melody.

Between these two levels, the prosodical, morphological and narrative parameters on the one hand, and the musical parameter on the other, point to the existence of a structural level which corresponds to the line. The line is a functional unit at the prosodical, morphological and narrative levels; at the musical level, the line has a defined status (cadences and pauses). Two lines are articulated to form one independent unit on the musical level and they may

also be articulated at the morphological and narrative levels. They are never articulated at the prosodical level.

C. THE LANGUAGE

The informants singing the *romances* studied here were born in Spanish Morocco (Tetuan, Larache, Arcila, Alcazarquivir). The language they were brought up on and are familiar with is the Judeo-Spanish of North Africa, known as Hakitia (see Benoliel 1977; Benichou 1945 and 1960).

It is a well-known fact, however, that in the last few generations, Hakitia was constantly influenced by the Spanish spoken in the Iberian Peninsula through colonialization. Teachers were imported to North Africa and through commercial, financial and cultural connections with Spain and Portugal the language has been gradually changing. This constant contact diminished the major variances between Hakitia and peninsular Spanish (Benichou 1960).

The present study is based on the thirteen sung versions of *Gerineldo* and *Boda* of the eight informants from North Africa (see Appendix 1). Only in the recording of Elvira Alfasi is there an actual reference to Hakitia: in the discussion preceding her singing the language problem is specifically mentioned. The participant admits the *romances* can be sung in Hakitia but in fact there is no clue whatsoever as to her criteria in distinguishing Hakitia from Spanish.

Based on a linguistic analysis, an attempt will be made to determine to what extent the *romances* reflect a Judeo-Spanish language tradition. One should bear in mind, however, that any poetic sung variety of a specific language, does not have to be identical with the natural spoken version. There might be a tradition of singing the poetic texts in certain environments with a special voice and tune and in a specific poetic style, and this tradition must not necessarily reflect the actual colloquial (vernacular) language. Both the poetic genre and the music might have some influence on the linguistic properties of the *romances*.

Four parameters will be considered here: phonology; morphology; syntax and textual variations; lexicon.

A. PHONOLOGY

The following Phonetic Chart describes the phonetic system used by the informants (see Appendix 3 for the full phonetic transcription).

Special signs: B = voiced bilabial fricative; θ = voiceless interdental fricative; D = voiced interdental fricative; (?) = glottal stop; Z = voiced palato-alveolar fricative (j in French); tS = voiceless palato-alveolar affricate (ch in English and Spanish); ñ = nasal palatal (coarticulated ny); X = fronted x; G = voiced velar fricative.

Phonetic Chart*

stops:	voiceless	p	t	k	(?)
	voiced	b	d	g	
fricatives:	voiceless	f (θ)	s	(X)	x
	voiced	B v (D)	(z) Z		(G)
affricates:	voiceless		tS		
	voiced		(dZ)		
nasals:		m	n	ñ	
liquids:			l r		
glides:			y	w	
vowels:			i e a o u		

* In parentheses are rare consonants found occasionally in the performance of some informants.

Consonants

Basically, the phonological system of Hakitia, as reflected in the *romances*, is the same as that of Castilian with the following differences:

1. The consonant /Z/ : Some informants use the allophones [Z] or [dZ] only in the hero's name "Gerineldo", where [x] occurs in the performance of other informants. Words like *muxer* "wife, woman" (*mujer*), *ixo* "son" (*hijo*), *xugar* "play" (*jugar*), *xuramento* "oath" (*juramento*), *xeneral* "general (noun)" (*general*), *koxido* "seized" (*cogido*), etc. are always pronounced as [x] even by those who pronounce *Zerineldo*, *dZerineldo*.

According to the descriptions available /Z/ and /dZ/ are characteristic features of Hakitia. The fact that these allophones are only pronounced by informants in isolated instances — *Zerineldo*, *dZerineldo* (EA,MA, SB) indicates that this feature is less widespread than it was (Benichou 1960:308-309). It should be noted that /Z/ and /dZ/ in the hero's name alternate in EA with /x/, showing that both pronunciations are familiar. It is a well-known fact in the development of language, that archaic features are retained as residues in proper names and in formula-type greetings and blessings.

2. Seseo: There is no /θ/ at the phonemic or phonetic level in the *romances* (see 1 in the Idiolectal Features below). Compare: Cast. *bendi θyón* Hak. *bendisyon*; Cast. *prin θesa* Hak. *prinsesa*, *printsesa*.

In addition to these distinct features there exist other phonetic features (3-8), which are to be found in Hakitia, as well as in regional variations of Peninsular Spanish.

3. In addition to the voiced bilabials *b* and *B*, there exists a labiodental voiced fricative *v*. These three phones do not occur in a complementary distribution. Sometimes they alternate as in *subyo*, *suvyo*, *suByo*, /subió/. Furthermore, they occur in exactly the same environments: word initially — *vivire*, *bivire*, *Bivire*, *Bibire*, /viviré/ “I shall live”, word medially after a vowel — *avlar*, *aBlar*, *ablar/hablar*/ “to talk” (see *subyo*).

In Judeo-Spanish in general and in Hakitia in particular, there is a phonemic distinction between /b/ and /v/. In many eastern Judeo-Spanish dialects [B] does not exist, but it does exist in Hakitia as an allophone of /b/. In Spanish, [b] and [B] are in complementary distribution, where [b] occurs word-initially or following a consonant, and [B] occurs after a vowel within or across word-boundary. The /v/ is viewed in Modern Spanish as an archaic phoneme which existed in Spanish but was replaced by the *b-B* distribution (Lapesa 1984). The realization of the labial and labiodental voiced consonants by all the informants singing Gerineldo demonstrates a very fluctuating situation, where *v* exists more often than in standard Spanish, proving the preservation of an old linguistic feature. The same phenomenon is detected in regional dialects such as Andalusian Spanish.

4. The consonant *s* is deleted word-finally in front of a word-starting with a consonant, or in a sentence-final position. There are numerous examples in the performance of all the informants except SB.¹⁵ RG’s versions are overloaded with such deletions, even in cases where /s/ is redundant. In *lo dos* /los dos/ “the two”, *s* is redundant, whereas in the case of *burlay* /burlais/ “laugh (2nd Pl)” it is grammatically necessary and is constantly omitted in RG’s versions (see our discussion in the Morphology Section).

This phenomenon is not unique to Hakitia, but is typical of Andalusian Spanish, too. There it is described as an aspiration of final /s/, however, in our texts, there is no example of [h] (aspirated *s*).

The deletion of /s/ has a special phonemic status. Although its deletion word-finally leaves a sequence of CV (consonant followed by a vowel) word-finally, this vowel does not necessitate the spirantization of /d/ changing it into [D] in the following word (see next section). The word with the missing final /s/ is frequently felt as still having it in this environment. Compare *eskalera De oro* /escalera de oro/ “gold ladder”, but *lo dos* /los dos/ “the two”, *me Dexaste* /me dejaste/ “you left (with me)”, but *do durmiendo* /dos durmiendo/ “two sleeping”, *lo Digo* /lo digo/ “I say it”, but *uno disen*¹⁶ /unos dicen/ “some (people) say”.

15 SB’s version is extremely short, and the informant sings it slowly and with some hesitation due to her poor health. She passed away a fortnight after the day of this recording.

16 In RG’s other version, it is “uno disen”.

This could be a part of the general tendency in the performance of the informants to omit consonants word (or syllable) finally before a consonant, or sentence finally. For instance:

n — *ifanta* /infanta/ “princess”, *komoviDo* /conmovido/ “touched”, *xardí* /jardín/ “garden”.

d — *voluntá* /voluntad/ “wish”, *triniDá* /trinidad/ “Trinity” (and see our discussion in the Morphology Section).

l — *karná* /carnal/ “carnal”.

5. The alternation between d and D is phonetically motivated, hence they both belong to the same phoneme /d/. [D] occurs when preceded by a vowel within or across word boundaries. For example, /que hare de mí/ > [ke are De mi] “what should I do”; /Y a eso de las doce y media/ > [ya eso De las dose i meDya] “about twelve and a half”; /pidiera vestido de oro/ > [piDyera vestiDo Di oro] “he asked for his gold cloth”, etc.

6. The allophone [D] occurs also as a realization of phonemic /s/ in /las escaleras/ > *laDeskaleras* “the stairs” (AB1), /quien es ese cual es ese/ > *kyen eDese kwal eDese* “who is it, what is it” (RG), /los dos echados/ > *los doD etSaDos* “the two lying down” (AB2), /estas horas/ > *estaD ora* “these hours” (RG1), /vienes a tentar/ > *vieneD a tentar* “you come to try (me)” (RG2), /eres el diablo/ > *ereD el diyablo* “you were the devil” (RG2), /mas antiguo/ > *maD antigwo* “longest serving (servant)” (RG2).

In all these cases the s is intervocalic. The change from a voiceless consonant into a voiced one is very natural intervocalically. Voiceless /s/ should have become [z] in this environment, but since z is rare in Spanish (see 8 below), a close approximate is D.

7. A similar assimilation process occurs in the case of intervocalic /g/ which becomes G in AB, MA and RG’s performances. Plosive g becomes fricative G intervocalically, being assimilated to the continuant feature of the vowels surrounding it. For instance /antiguo/ > *antiGwo* “old”, /digo/ > *diGo* “I say”, /contigo/ > *kontiGo* “with you”, /igual/ > *iGwal* “the same”, /para ganar/ > *para Ganar* “to win”, /testigo/ > *testiGo* “testimony”, /amigo/ > *amiGo* “friend”, /conmigo/ > *konmiGo* “with me”.

8. The consonant z does not occur other than before a voiced element (consonant or vowel) and it is extremely rare. For example, *dezde* /desde/ “from” (AB), *año(z) vas* /años vas/ “years you are going” (AB), *la(z) dose* /las doce/ “twelve o’clock” (AB), *trez oras* /tres horas/ “three hours” (EA), *florez i liryos* /flores y lirios/ “flowers and lilies” (EA). This is a simple voicing assimilation.

Vowels

The vowels used in the romances are /i, e, a, o, u/. The vowels are not tense, and are basically a little lower than their phonemic value, namely [I, E, a, O, U]. Their phonetic representation in Appendix 3 takes the phonemic vowel representations for spelling and lettra-setting convenience. Two features (9-10) are worth mentioning regarding the vowels:

9. Since /i/ is not tense, it sometimes alternates with /e/. For instance, *Gerineldo* ~ *Girineldo* (EA), *de oro* ~ *di oro* “of gold” (AB), /consentido/ *consentiDo* ~ *consintiDo* “felt” (EA).

10. The vowel /u/ is not tense either, therefore it resembles /o/. The difference between *polido* ~ *pulido* “well-groomed” found among the various performers can be explained in these terms, though it may stem from the archaic form of *pulido* which was *polido* (already attested in 1490). See discussion in Section d below.

Idiolectal features

1. The voiceless interdental fricative θ occurs just once in MA’s performance in the phrase *las faltas de su marido*, “her husband’s infidelities”. The first time MA pronounces it as [las falta θ de su mariDo] but the second time he pronounces [las faltas de su mariDo] — (see our discussion of seseo above).

2. Only in MA’s performance do we also find the glottal stop [ʔ] in the sentence “Y a esas horas son las doce”. The word *horas* is pronounced [ʔoras]. All the other informants do not have this sound at all.

3. The X (fronted palatalized; voiceless velar x) is occasionally pronounced by EC. In her performance X alternates with k or x in the name *Gerineldo*.

B. MORPHOLOGY

The following phenomena, distinctive when compared to Castilian, are worth mentioning here:

1. The deletion of /d/ at the end of abstract nouns. For instance, /novedad/ > *noveDa* “news”, /Trinidad/ > *triniDa* “Trinity”, /verdad/ > *verda* “truth”, /eternidad/ > *eterniDa* “eternity”. The deletion of /d/ in this position is very common in Judeo-Spanish, but it is very common in some areas of Spain as well.

2. The /s/ deletion word finally has already been discussed in the Phonology Section, but it is worth mentioning here as well. The /s/ plural morpheme and the second person singular ending are deleted quite often by all the informants, especially RG. For example, /en escuchas/ > *en eskutSa* “overhearing”, /nos/ > *no* “to us” /jardines/ > *xardine* “gardens”, /guerras/ > *gerra* “wars”, /los dos/ > *lo*

do “the two” /burláis/ > *burlay* “laugh at, mock”, etc. (and see our discussion of the parallel Andalusian phenomenon).

3. The pronoun *vuestro* is pronounced [westro] in the RG, MA and EA performances, without a labiodental fricative. Since both *v* and *w* are labial consonants, and their manner of articulation is similar — being both voiced and continuants — they are fully assimilated. Hence the pronoun is realized as *westro*.

4. The morpheme /y/ “and” is frequently added in the beginning of a sentence. Is this a special feature of extensive coordinate structures which these *romances* are marked with, is it just a vacuous word, filling the gaps between the tune and the sentence syllable structure, or perhaps is it only a stop-gap insertion, as often found in the spoken language? The fact that within various performances of the same informant the /y/ is added, as in the AB, GB, and RG performances, points to the plausibility of the second/third assumptions. The /y/ morpheme is just a filling-a-gap morpheme, which is frequently used in spoken language, or sometimes replaced by a schwa-hesitating vowel.

It should be noted that in east Judeo-Spanish story-telling, this stop-gap insertion is very frequent, too.

5. One of the morphological features which is narratively motivated is the modes of addressing the participants in the scene. There exists the polite address (*vous* vs. *tu* in French, *Sie* vs. *Du* in German, *usted* vs. *tú* in Spanish). The *romances* do not demonstrate these differences of addressing the participants, except for one occasion. When the disguised princess encounters Gerineldo (*el Conde Flores*), she addresses him by *podéis* “you could”, the polite form which stresses the distance between them. As soon as she reveals her identity, this distance is bridged and they use a familiar form of address.

6. Some verbal conjugations demonstrate rare uses:

a. Two morphosyntactic structures occur in the *romances* and they point to special archaic or very highly literated forms. These two structures are: 1) *vistióse* “she dressed up” in the AB performance instead of *se vistió* in GB’s, 2) *púsole* “she put for him” in the MA and RG performances instead of standard *le puso*, and *tiróle* “threw down to him” in the AB, EC, GB and RG performances instead of *le tiró*. The utilization of these last mentioned forms mainly by RG, who, as recalled is the oldest informant, points to the fact that she might be preserving some old morphological features existing in the old version of Gerineldo transmitted to her in her early childhood.

b. Similarly the archaic form *sos* in *sos el diablo* (phonetic soD) “you are the devil” in RG1’s performance is replaced by Modern Spanish *eres* (phonetic ereD) as in

the second version (RG2), indicating again, that an archaic form and its modern equivalent may be retained beyond the same informant.

Since *Gerineldo* is a poetic text, the appearance of archaic features, which do not exist in the spoken language, need not be surprising. The language of poetic genres is not identical to the everyday spoken language, not even to prose or narrative language, hence the occurrence of archaic and rare literary forms is quite acceptable in this style.

C. SYNTAX AND TEXTUAL VARIATIONS

On many occasions whole sentences or phrases are omitted from the romances sung by the same informants. Compare, for instance, AB's, EC's, and RG's various performances as presented in Appendix 1 and 2.

The fact that sentences, phrases or even words are missing in some texts is not a proof that these are not known to informants (see e.g. GB1, GB2 and GB3). These are differences of performance-competence, an observation which is supported by two findings:

1. The same informant "forgot" or "dropped" some elements in one version, but added them in another, as could be constantly seen in the textual alternations (Appendix II).
2. The remaining sentence structure is retained unchanged in spite of the omission of other sentences. That is to say, the sentence structure is kept complete even when environmental sentences are missing.

Since the singing is based on a memory of old songs, which were acquired by the informants in their early childhood and were not sung by them for very many years, the omission must be attributed to lapses of memory.

D. LEXICON

In general, the vocabulary found in the romances is the normal standard Spanish vocabulary. for instance, *saco*, *quito* "took out", *lona*, *seda* "canvas, silk" *escalera*, *escalerita* "stairs, ladder", *fortuna*, *peregrina* "fortune, pilgrim", etc. However, there exist a few peculiarities which need to be accounted for: 1. The words *escuridad* "darkness", *busqueda*(d)¹⁷ "search", *polido/pulido* "neat", *vacal* "cowherd", and *alfaje* "sword, knife" are not generally used in modern Spanish (e.g. Castilian). The words can be understood in modern Spanish because for most of them there exist similar roots or derived words, e.g. *oscuro* "dark", *buscar* "look for", *polido* "neat", *vaquero* "cowherd" *alfajeme* "a barber". Some of these words could be of

17 The Spanish standard word is *búsqueda*. In AB's performance there is a fricative [D] at the end of this word, as if it were *busquedad*. And if this is the base form, then it is unique.

old origin, and are known to be archaic, e.g. *escuridad*, *busqueda*, *polido*. Of these words, *escuridad* and *busqueda* exist in east Judeo-Spanish; the other words *polido*, *vaca* and *alfaje* are not generally known in Judeo-Spanish.

2. The word *puso* of the phrase *quien puso amor contigo* "who put love with you" is stressed ultimately, as often found in Judeo-Spanish and not penultimately as in Spanish (the use of *poner amor* "put love" which figures in the performance of all the informants, is not found in regular Spanish).¹⁸

Moreover, all the versions lack any use of (a) Hebrew-Aramaic words, and (b) Jewish themes. However, the phrase *quién es ése o cuál es ése* found in most versions has been traced to the Ferrara Bible of 1553 as a translation of the Hebrew phrase: *מי הוא זה ואי זה הוא* (Esther, 7:5).

The linguistic analysis of the texts shows that the following features are distinctively Judeo-Spanish: a. The use of the phonemes /Z/ and /dZ/ in the hero's name. b. The utilization of words such as *escuridad*, *busqueda(d)*, and c. the ultimate-stressed form of *puso*. In addition there are a number of features, which although characteristic to Judeo-Spanish in general and of Hakitia in particular, also occur in various dialects of Spanish, especially the Andalusian, with which North African Jews have had a direct contact over the years. However, it is also advisable to remark that the co-existence of special phenomena both in these romances and in dialectal Spanish could be the result of a drift, namely, that similar developments can occur independently in related languages after their separation from each other. These features include the use of *b-B-v*, the deletion of /s/ and /d/ word finally, the extensive use of /y/ "and", and the use of certain archaic morphemes and phrases.

The other features, although linguistically interesting, can be attributed to either the poetic literary genre (e.g. word order, morphological peculiarities and archaisms, lexical choice), or to idiolectal idiosyncracies.

D. PERFORMANCE (GESTURES AND MIMICRY)

The general aim of this preliminary study devoted to performance was to observe the gestures and mimicry that some of the informants expressed while singing the *romance* and to examine whether there are any correlations between text, song and gestures.¹⁹

18 The word is considered in this section rather than in the phonology section because of the differences in meaning obtained in *puso amor* (ultimately stressed) versus *puso espada* (penultimately stressed).

19 The term gesture has been understood here as a component which is used to distinguish a change from one static state to another. In this context, it appears relevant to raise the possible role of time in the performance of movements, and not only in the musical performance.

The basic material that has been used for this limited analysis is made of a series of pictures that were taken while three of the informants sang the *romance* at our request. These pictures were taken with a camera, during a single performance of each of the three singers, without consulting them previously as to the moments at which a particular picture should be taken and without reference to the general types of gestures and mimicry to be used in the performance. Each picture can be seen as representing either a still-motion in the flow of time, exemplifying a gesture which doesn't change, or as a bridge between one movement and the next.

Gestures were considered as an expression taking place parallel to the musical and textual components. As far as their interpretation, it was assumed that several correlations might directly or indirectly link two or the three parallel codes, as follows:

- A direct relation between the text and gestures, where a gesture is used to explain the text.
- A relation of addition or completion, where a gesture is used in place of a word.
- A relation of emphasis, where the text is emphasized by means of a gesture.
- A counter-relation between text and gestures.

In terms of types of gestures, it was put as an hypothesis that one or several of the underlisted types might appear relevant to the performances:

- a) personal gestures of individual performers;
- b) ethnic gestures typical to the performers community;
- c) gestures typical to the genre;
- d) gestures not connected with the performance;
- e) gestures typical to the song-performance in general.

It must also be considered that our documentation was done in an artificial situation: a natural environment of performance is more likely to give the performer a chance of expressing herself with greater freedom.

A. METHOD

Each singer was photographed in sequence during her performance without planning beforehand where and when to photograph. No repetitions were asked for during any part of the text of the *romance*. At the time of photographing, the text sung at that instance was written down. At a later stage, the previous word in the text corresponding to the picture was underlined (this process being possible because the "shot" of the camera was audible in the recording).

The pictures were organized in two sequences: 1) a general sequence (assigned with roman numerals) of the three singers, ordered synchronically; 2) an internal sequence of each singer expresses the diachronic continuity of the pictures. There

is, of course, no superposition between the two sequences, since the number of pictures is not equal to the extent of the text. The three performers who were photographed sung versions that were partly similar as far as the text of the *romance* is concerned.

On the basis of the pictures, the following parts of the body were observed in order to check whether they would convey any relevant information in arriving at an understanding of the semantic organization of the gestures: head, forehead, eyebrows, eyes, mouth, chin, neck, hands and torso.

Besides these physical components, and taking into account that each gesture includes dynamic and static elements, various components of the movements were studied: the gestures using different parts of the body, the amount of movement and space used, the use and change of body-weight (those are the movements of the body compared to a theoretical static position of the body).

Due to the different limitations that characterize the material related to performing (restricted number of informants, technique used to capture the gestures and mimicry during the performance, conditions of the field research), this part of the interdisciplinary study of *Gerineldo* is a first attempt towards the characterization of this romance, towards the understanding of the possible links that might exist between text, music and performance.

Some published studies have already shown what kind of benefits can be drawn from a systematic study of gestures when considering the structural organization of a text, as well as the data pertaining to the ethnic specificity of this text and of the gestures as a code inside a given culture (see Calame-Griaule 1977).

On the basis of the available material and when thinking of the categories into which the observed gestures can be organized, it is possible to understand how these gestures might help to characterize the romance as genre and also throw light upon the relationship between the informants and the text, and the music performed. In another way, and whatever the structural or personal importance, these gestures might have to be classified into another series of types according to their immediate narrative function (description, emphasis, etc).

As has already been said, the restricted material described here cannot provide a sufficient amount of data to arrive at any firm conclusion regarding the genre. It must be realized, however, that during the performances of *Gerineldo* the gestures were very few. They consisted mainly of changes in facial expression. One should remember that traditionally *Gerineldo* as a song is not performed before an audience. It is a song sung by women when they put their child to sleep or when they do their housework. The context in which the romance is sung might lead to a reduction in the number of gestures; these should nevertheless be studied in order to check their possible relevance.

B. ANALYSIS OF THE MATERIAL

Personal performance — Style

The three singers are of one ethnic group: Sephardi Jews who speak Judeo-Spanish and all three came to Israel from Tetuan. (It is difficult to comment on any ethnic characteristics in their performance since the corpus is too small and there is no alternative material for comparison with other groups of performers.) As far as the personal style of performance is concerned more elements seem to come to the surface. They definitely call for further systematic collecting and analysis.

The three singers performed the song sitting down:

RG is about eighty years old and her dress is traditional. She performed sitting on a bed. She covered her shoulders with a large shawl and her head with a kaffiyeh. She changed the position of her hand that was resting on her knee from an open fist to a closed fist or she sometimes lifted her hand.

AB is about 60 and was dressed in regular European dress: a brown sweater with a blue turtleneck shirt. She sat near the table with her hands resting on a book of songs and fidgeted with her glasses.

GB, about 40, dressed up for the occasion. She wore a lot of eye make-up and her jewelry and dress were mainly of red tones. Her favorite repertoire consists of loud wedding songs accompanied by drums. She was very nervous and didn't particularly want to sing *Gerineldo* claiming it wasn't in her repertoire and that she could not remember it. She suggested we speak to her aunt, who was better acquainted with *Gerineldo*. Her performance of the *romance*, however, was more theatrical than that of the two other informants. She sang *Gerineldo* with a tense expression on her face and hugged her knees as she did so.

RG's performance featured a larger number of gestures:

She leaves her hand open on her knee with a finger raised in warning, where the princess curses Gerineldo for not appearing at the appointed time: "Malhaya tú Gerineldo..." (v. 5);

she bends her hand, possibly to express the knocking at the door: "Y a la puerta dió un suspiro..." (v. 6);

she raises her hand at the point where the king considers killing Gerineldo: "O si mato Gerineldo..." (v. 11);

she leaves her hand open hence the king resolves to observe silence: "Las faltas de su marido..." (v. 13);

when the princess sends Gerineldo away, Ms. Gabbai lifts her hand in a gesture motioning him to leave: "Vete por esos jardines..." (v. 16);

she makes a facial gesture, or emotional expression at the point where the

king and Gerineldo meet in the garden: "Le han trastornado el sentido..." (v. 17); "No has tenido tú la culpa..." (v. 20).

In other words, the performing style of RG expresses sympathy with the words of the song, especially by her facial expressions and hand gestures which explain the text, complete or give emphasis to it just because the gestures are few and one movement of the hand can be important. The identification of the singer with the characters is seen through her gestures: clearly she sympathizes with the abandoned girl.

AB's performance may be characterized as an epic performance, in a low register, slow and almost without gestures. The singer's distance from the characters in the song could be seen in the way she sat behind the table and the use of academic props such as a book and glasses. In this way the singer showed us that she was not in a natural singing situation and she was only cooperating with researchers.

At the start, AB told us that she had already been recorded for research purposes and that all her songs were in a book. (She was referring to a booklet containing the incipits of the songs in her repertoire.) She did not use it at all, she only needed the booklet to be on the table.

AB leans forward as if descending stairs: "Al bajar las escaleras..." (v. 8).

She puts her hand to her throat: "Perdón, perdón mi señor..." at a moment she sings words which are not part of the song but for which the gesture acts as an emphasis.

The singer did say her throat hurt, that her voice was not in good shape and that she couldn't sing very high notes. In other words, her gesture of putting her hand to her throat could show physical discomfort, but the fact that she did it at the point where Gerineldo begs the king for forgiveness and not in another part of the text makes the gesture meaningful. We did not find any coherent relation between the gestures in her performance and the characterizations in the *romance*.

A preliminary appraisal of the characteristics of the genre:

1. There is no doubt that in the performance of the *romance* there are gestures which are typical to all singing in general and to sad songs in particular: eyes closed, eyebrows drawn together, an expression of suffering, a concerned expression, an expression of longing.
2. In the performance of *Gerineldo* the gestures were very few. They were mainly in the change of facial expression.
3. The function of the song influences the performance. *Gerineldo* is a song which is not usually sung for an audience. It is a woman's song. RG's husband

was embarrassed to sing the song or even to acknowledge that he knew the song, even though he went to the trouble to correct his wife or to join her from time to time.

One could say that in place of the natural setting of the performance of the song, each singer delivered a performance to fit her own personality. RG used only one hand sometimes (a gesture using only the hand, not the arm), that is, perhaps, a remnant of the natural situation. GB hugged her knees — creating an imitation of the natural situation. It suited her dramatic personality, that she should use her knees as if they were the sleepy child while she could move her body forward and backward in a rocking motion. She also showed us beforehand the motion of how a mother would rock her child while singing this song. Finally, AB created a distant replacement which was very foreign to the natural setting. She emphasized her position as part of the research group. Hands folded on a booklet with eye-glasses on the table.

The basic conclusion is, therefore, that when compared to a folk story, which does not exist without an audience, a song could “survive” also without audience, within the sphere of the folk-singer, in his inner world, and thus express the singer’s feelings and thoughts about the song. This conclusion seems to fit the *romances*, but not wedding songs or other songs which demand an audience and which are centered around the audience and the audience’s reaction. In the *romance* none of the singers looked at us, while in a more jolly song, *Paipero*, performed by GB during the same session when she created, through eye contact, a much more intimate, although theatrical, relationship with her audience.

It seems, therefore, that performance can be another parameter for describing the genre of certain songs. But in order to define those typologies which characterize the performance of the different genres one must study other genres such as: lamentations, wedding songs, lullabies, etc. Similarly, the corpus of *romances* in general and of *Gerineldo* in particular must be expanded. This study can be seen, therefore, as an experiment conducted under controlled conditions.

CONCLUSION

Given the restricted nature of the corpus used in this preliminary study, it is impossible to arrive at a comprehensive definition of the *romance* genre, though our work certainly goes in this direction. A typology of the Judeo-Spanish folksong on a large scale would employ the methodology presented in this study, but extend it to a more extensive corpus, representative of a large number of informants as well as of the geo-cultural distribution of Judeo-Spanish speakers. Furthermore, the parameter covering social functions and uses of the folksong, which has only

been subjected to a partial analysis in this study, needs to receive the same degree of attention as the other parameters.

The principal aim of this attempt towards establishing a typology of the Judeo-Spanish folksong, therefore, lies in the presentation of the methodological foundations which seem essential to any undertaking in this field. What does evolve from the results obtained, and clearly so, is that each parameter of the genre as a whole (literary, musical, linguistic, performance) relies on an organization of the components whose system we have attempted to trace. In one parameter, each component may function as an autonomous entity and it can be articulated, in varying degrees, to one or several components within the same parameter, while it can also be articulated to other components in different parameters. A structural definition of the corpus is obtained precisely when the components and their organization are described and their articulation and hierarchy determined.

It is essential, of course, that an analysis of this type should avoid resorting to any preconceived notions of the genre, whether they are drawn from traditions in scholarship or from the terminology used by the informants: rather, genre will be an *a posteriori* identification. Two genres, therefore, which have traditionally been identified as being distinctive, could either resemble each other or differ from one another in ways which may not have been apparent if the genre was defined extrinsically. To illustrate: two repertoires thought to belong to two different genres could be very close to another or even identical in their structural organization, and yet the same two repertoires could differ in their social uses. This appears to be the case with the Judeo-Spanish *endecha* (mourning song), whose specificity is allied to a social function but whose structural identity can resemble, for example, that of the *romance*.

It is equally important to emphasize how only the totality of the parameters of a genre will help in eliciting its cultural identification. In the study of *Gerineldo*, because of the nature of the material, it soon became evident that two parameters only, the literary one and the musical one, could be used for an understanding of the structural organization of this *romance*, and the other two parameters for a study of its cultural identification. However, a factor arising from the musical material lends support to the view that only the totality of parameters will contribute to a full understanding of the genre. *Romances* hailing from Judeo-Spanish communities in Morocco show that the ambitus does not go beyond the finalis, whereas in *romances* and wedding songs from Judeo-Spanish communities in the eastern Mediterranean, the ambitus consistently goes beyond the finalis.

Another factor to be considered with regard to cultural identification is that the degree of similarity between the Judeo-Spanish repertoire and its non-Jewish counterpart will vary. In certain cases, there will be a clear distinction of genre.

In others, one of the parameters of the genre will not be specifically Judeo-Spanish (e.g. the literary parameter) or it will appear to be so at first sight (e.g. the language of the *romances* in the Judeo-Spanish communities of the eastern Mediterranean). What is of importance here is that a distinction will never be established purely on the basis of the degree of similarity or difference at any one level. The question of cultural identification not only concerns the opposition between the Jewish and non-Jewish repertoire, but also the diversity of repertoire within the Judeo-Spanish communities in the whole world.

A typology of the Judeo-Spanish folksong, along the lines proposed in this study, will benefit from a consideration of the intrinsic complexity of the various genres in the repertoire. A vast project thus opens to specialists in various disciplines who wish to combine their efforts so as to open a window on the Judeo-Spanish heritage. But the methodological challenge reaches further to all specialists, in whatever discipline, who seek to describe and understand the complex question of the ways in which a culture manifests itself.

LIST OF INFORMANTS

Ref	Informant	Place and date of Birth	Date of Arrival in Israel
AB	Alicia Bendayan	Tetuán 1922	1967
EA	Elvira Alfasi	Larache ca. 1928	ca. 1965
EA	Rahma Lucasi	Tangier/Larache 1902	1964
EC	Ester Creciente	Tetuán ca. 1925	1965
FB	Flora Bengio	Tetuán 1915	1968
GB	Ginette Benabu	Tangier 1942	1967
MA	Moises Abitbul	Tetuán 1932	1964
RG	Rahel Gabai	Tetuán 1906	1956
SB	Sultana Bengio	Arcila 1909	1983
SS	Simi Suissa	Alcazarquivir 1925	1965

LIST OF RECORDINGS

Ref	National Sound Archives Ref	Informant	Place of Recording	Date of Recording	Age at time of Recording	Single or Combined Version
AB1	YC2117(5)	A. Bendayan	Ashqelon	4-07-1983	61	<i>Ger & Boda</i>
AB2	Y 3996(7)	A. Bendayan	Ashqelon	25-09-1983	61	<i>Ger & Boda</i>
AB3	YC2430(6)	A. Bendayan	Ashqelon	10-02-1985	63	<i>Ger & Boda</i>
EA	Y 2855(1)	*E. Alfasi (+ R. Lucasi)	Kiryat Malachi	16-06-1979	51	<i>Ger</i>
EC1	Y 2906(16)	E. Creciente	Ashdod	25-09-1978	53	<i>Ger</i>
EC2	YC1494(13)	E. Creciente	Ashdod	28-03-1979	54	<i>Ger</i>
GB1	Y 2989(3)	G. Benabu (+ S. Suissa)	Ashdod	20-02-1980	38 (55)	<i>Ger</i>
GB1	Y 2989(3)	F. Bengio	Ashdod	20-02-1980	65	<i>Boda</i>
GB2	YC2261(2)	G. Benabu	Ashdod	31-01-1984	42	<i>Ger & Boda</i>
GB3	YC2429(12)	G. Benabu	Ashdod	10-02-1985	43	<i>Ger</i>
MA	Y 3997(7)	M. Abitbul	Ashdod	25-09-1983	51	<i>Ger & Boda</i>
RG1	Y 2121(1)	R. Gabai	Moshav Mata	24-10-1977	71	<i>Ger & Boda</i>
RG2	YC2404(1)	R. Gabai	Moshav Mata	6-01-1985	79	<i>Ger & Boda</i>
SB	YC2287(42)	S. Bengio	Ashdod	25-06-1984	73	<i>Ger</i>

APPENDIX 1
THE TEXTS OF *GERINELDO*

Notes:

1. The texts are given in their regular Spanish spelling with one exception: capital Z sometimes indicates voiced palato-alveolar fricative in the hero's name Gerineldo.
2. (?) indicates a questionable sentence or phrase.
3. Phrases in parentheses indicate hesitations in the sung version.
4. Full phonetic transcriptions appear in Appendix 3.

AB1 (Yc 2117/5)

Quién tuviera tal fortuna para ganar lo perdido,
como tuvo Girineldo mañanita de domingo.
Viéndole staba la reina desde su alto castillo,
limpiando paños de seda para darle al rey vestido.
—Girineldo, Girineldo, paje del rey más querido,
¡quién te me diera esta noche tres horas a mi servicio!
—Como soy vuestro criado, señora, burláis conmigo.
—Yo no burlo, Girineldo, que de veras te lo digo.
—¿A qué hora vendré, señora, a qué horas daré al castillo?
—Y a eso de las doce y media cuando el rey está dormido.
Y a esas horas son las doce, cuando canta el gallo primo.
A eso de las once y media Girineldo esta vestido,
a eso de las doce y media Girineldo dio al castillo,
golpecitos dio a la puerta, la princesa lo ha sentido.
—¿Quién es ése o cuál es ése que a mi puerta ha combatido?
—Girineldo soy, señora, que vengo a lo prometido.
—Malhaya tú, Girineldo, y quien amor puso contigo,
medianoche ya es pasada y tú no habías venido.
Tiróle escalera de oro, por ella subió al castillo,
con zapatitos de seda para no hacer ruido.
Entre besos y abrazos los dos quedaron dormidos.
A eso de las dos y media el buen rey ha consentido,
pidiera vestido de oro, nadie que le ha respondido.
Viera la escalera puesta, por ella subió al castillo,
hallara a los dos echados como mujer y marido.

—¿Qué haré de mí, paisano, qué haré de mí, mezquino?
Si matare a Girineldo, mi reino estará perdido;
si matare a la princesa, viviré con su suspiro.
Más vale que yo me calle y no lo diga a ninguno,
como la que sufre y calla las faltas de su marido.
Quitó espada de su cinto y se la puso por testigo,
con el frío del acero la princesa ha consentido.
—Levántate, Girineldo, que los dos vamos perdidos,
que la espada de mi padre me la puso de testigo.
Al bajar las escaleras con el rey se ha consentido.
—¿Qué tienes tú, Girineldo, que estás triste y amarillo?
—He dormido en el jardín, que esta noche ha florecido,
la fragancia de una rosa me ha trastornado el sentido.
—No mientas tú, Girineldo, con la princesa has dormido;
si anoche fuiste amigo, mañana esposo querido.
(Perdón, perdón, señor rey)
—Juramento tengo hecho en la Virgen de mi estrella,
moza que sea mi dama de no casarme con ella.

La Boda Estorbada/Conde Flores

Se proclaman unas guerras entre Francia y Portugal,
y nombran a Girineldo por capitán general.
La princesa lo ha sentido y se puso a llorar.
—¿Para cuántos años, conde, para cuántos años vas?
—Para siete años, princesa, para siete años nada más,
si a los siete años no vuelvo, princesa, te casarás.
Los siete años ya han pasado, Girineldo sin llegar.
—Ya te puedes casar, hija, la decía su papá.
—Girineldo no se ha muerto, yo me iré en su búsqueda,
échame tu bendición, voy mi fortuna a buscar.
—Mi bendición ya la tienes, la de Dios te ha de faltar.
Vistióse de peregrina y se fue en su búsqueda.
En el medio del camino se encontró con un vacal.
—Vaquerito, vaquerito, por la santa eternidad,
¿De quién son estas vaquitas que las llevas a ensillar?
—De Girineldo, señora, mañana se va a casar.
—Darte yo un doblón de oro, si me llevas donde está.
La ha cogido de la mano, la llevó hasta su portal.
—Déisme una limosna, conde, que muy bien me la podéis dar,

que vengo de las Italías, parte Francia y Portugal.
 —Si vienes de las Italías, parte Francia y Portugal,
 ¿qué tal está la princesa con su rostro y su lunar?
 —El rostro ya se le ha ido, pero el lunar aquí está.
 —Maldita la peregrina que viene en mi búsqueda,
 que los amores que tengo no me los dejó gozar.
 —A poquito a poco, conde, a poquito a poco hablar,
 que si los tuyos son nobles, los míos son mucho y más;
 el niño que me dejaste no calla de llamar “papá”.

AB2 (Y 3996/7)

Quién tuviera tal fortuna para ganar lo perdido,
 como tuvo Girineldo mañanita de domingo.
 Viéndole estaba la reina desde su alto castillo.
 —Girineldo, Girineldo, paje del rey más querido,
 ¡quién te me diera esta noche tres horas a mi servicio!
 —Como soy vuestro criado, señora, burláis conmigo.
 —Yo no burlo, Girineldo, que de veras te lo digo.
 —¿Y a qué horas vendré, señora, y a qué horas daré al castillo?
 —Y a eso de la medianoche, cuando el rey está dormido.
 Y a esas horas son las doce, cuando canta el gallo primo.
 A eso de las once y media Girineldo está vestido.
 A eso de las doce y media Girineldo dió al castillo,
 golpecitos dio a la puerta, la princesa ha consentido.
 —¿Quién es ése o cuál es ése que a mi puerta ha combatido?
 —Girineldo soy, señora, que vengo a lo prometido.
 —Malhaya tú, Girineldo, y quien amor puso contigo
 medianoche ya es pasada y tú no habías venido.
 Tiróle escalera de oro, por ella subió al castillo,
 y entre besos y abrazos los dos quedaron dormidos.
 Y a eso de las dos y media el buen rey ha consentido.
 Pidiera vestido de oro, nadie que le ha respondido;
 viera la escalera puesta, por ella subió al castillo.
 Hallara a los dos echados como mujer y marido.
 —¿Qué haré de mí, paisano, que haré de mí, mezquino?
 Si matare a la princesa, viviré con su suspiro;
 si matare a Girineldo, mi reino estará perdido.
 Más vale que yo me calle y no lo diga a ninguno,
 como la que sufre y calla las faltas de su marido.
 Quitó espada de su cinto, se la puso por testigo,

con el frío del acero la princesa ha consentido.

—Levántate, Girineldo, que los dos vamos perdidos,
que la espada de mi padre nos la puso de testigo.

Ya bajaba Girineldo muy triste y amarillo.

—¿Qué tienes tú, Girineldo, que estás triste y amarillo?

—He dormido en el jardín, que esta noche ha florecido,
la fragancia de una rosa me ha trastornado el sentido.

—No mientas tú, Girineldo, con la princesa has dormido,
si anoche fuistes amigo, mañana, esposo querido.

(Perdón perdón, mi señor.)

—Juramento tengo hecho en la Virgen de mi estrella,
moza que sea mi dama de no casarme con ella.

La Boda Estorbada/Conde Flores

Se proclaman unas guerras entre Francia y Portugal,
y nombran a Girineldo por capitán general.

La princesa lo ha sentido y se puso a llorar.

—¿Para cuántos años, conde, para cuántos años vas?

—Para siete años, señora, para siete años nada más;
si a los siete años no vuelvo, princesa, te casarás.

Los siete años ya han pasado, Girineldo sin llegar.

—Ya te puedes casar, hija, la decía su papá.

—Girineldo no se ha muerto, yo iré en su búsqueda,
échame tu bendición y me iré en su búsqueda.

—Mi bendición ya la tienes, la de Dios te ha de faltar.

Vistióse de peregrina: —Voy mi fortuna a buscar.

El medio del camino se encontró con un vacal.

—Vaquerito, vaquerito, por la Santa Trinidad,
¿de quién son esas vaquitas que las llevas a ensillar?

—De Girineldo, señora, mañana se va a casar.

—Darte yo un doblón de oro si me llevas donde está.

La ha cogido de la mano, la llevó hasta su portal.

—Déisme una limosna, conde, que bien me la podéis dar,
que vengo de las Italías, parte Francia y Portugal.

—Si vienes de las Italías, parte Francia y Portugal,
qué tal está la princesa, con su rostro y su lunar.

—El rostro ya se le ha ido, pero el lunar aquí está.

—Maldita la peregrina que viene en mi búsqueda,
que los amores que tengo no me los dejó gozar.

—A poquito a poco, conde, a poquito a poco hablar,
que si los tuyos son nobles, los míos son y mucho más,
y el hijo que me dejaste no calla de llamar “papá”.

AB3 (Yc 2430/6)

Quién tuviera tal fortuna para ganar lo perdido,
como tuvo Girineldo mañanita de domingo.
Viéndole estaba la reina desde su alto castillo.
—Girineldo, Girineldo, mi caballero polido,
¡quién te me diera esta noche tres horas a mi servicio!
—Como soy vuestro criado, señora, burláis conmigo.
—Yo no burlo, Girineldo, que de veras te lo digo.
—¿Y a qué horas vendré, señora, a qué horas daré al castillo?
—A eso de las once y media, cuando el rey está dormido.
Y a esas horas son las doce, cuando canta el gallo primo.
A eso de las once y media Girineldo está vestido.
A eso de las doce y media Girineldo dio al castillo,
golpecitos dio a la puerta (/con zapatitos de lon..., de seda),
para no ser consentido,
golpecitos dió a la puerta, la princesa lo ha sentido.
—¿Quién es ése o cuál es ése que a mi puerta ha combatido?
—Girineldo soy, señora, que vengo a lo prometido.
—Malhaya tú, Girineldo, ¿quién amor puso contigo?
medianoche ya es pasada y tú no habías venido.
Entre besos y abrazos el sueño les ha venido.
A eso de las dos y media el buen rey ha consentido,
pidiera vestido de oro, nadie que le ha consentido,
viera la escalera puesta, por ella subió al castillo,
encontró a los dos durmiendo como mujer y marido.
—¿Qué haré de mí, paisano, que haré de mí, mezquino?
Si matare a Girineldo, mi reino estará perdido;
si matare a la princesa, viviré con su suspiro.
Sacó espada de su cinto, se la puso de testigo,
con el frío del acero, la princesa ha consentido.
—Levántate, Girineldo, que los dos vamos perdidos,
que la espada de mi padre nos la puso por testigo.
Se levantó Girineldo muy triste y abatido.
Al bajar las escaleras con el rey se ha consentido.
—¿Qué tienes tú, Girineldo, que estás triste y amarillo?
—He dormido en el jardín, que esta noche ha florecido,

la fragancia de una rosa me ha trastornado el sentido.
—No mientas tú, Girineldo, con la princesa has dormido,
si anoche fuistes amigo, mañana, esposo querido.

(Perdón perdón, mi señor rey)

—Juramento tengo hecho y en la virgen de mi estrella,
moza que sea mi dama de no casarme con ella.

La Boda Estorbada/Conde Flores

Se proclaman unas guerras entre Francia e Portugal,
y llaman a Girineldo por capitán general.
La princesa lo ha sentido y se puso a llorar.
—¿Para cuántos años, conde, para cuántos años vas?
—Para siete años, princesa, para siete años nada más,
si a los siete años no vuelvo, princesa, te casarás.
Los siete años ya han pasado, Girineldo sin llegar.
—Ya te puedes casar, hija, la decía su papá.
—Girineldo no se ha muerto, yo iré en su búsqueda,
échame tu bendición, voy ma fortuna a buscar. (?)
—Mi bendición ya la tienes, la de Dios te ha de faltar.
Vistióse de peregrina: —Voy mi fortuna a buscar. (?)
En el medio del camino se encontró con un vacal.
—Vaquerito, vaquerito, por la santa eternidad,
¿de quién son esas vaquitas que las llevas a ensillar?
—De Girineldo, señora, mañana se va a casar.
—Darte yo un doblón de oro si me llevas donde está.
La ha cogido de la mano, la llevó hasta su portal.
—Déisme una limosna, conde, que bien me la podéis dar,
que vengo de las Italías, parte Francia y Portugal.
—Si vienes de las Italías, parte Francia y Portugal,
¿qué tal está la princesa con su rostro y su lunar?
—El rostro ya se le ha ido, pero el lunar aquí está.
—Maldita la peregrina que viene en mi búsqueda,
que los amores que tengo no me los dejó gozar.
—A poquito a poco, conde, a poquito a poco hablar,
que si los tuyos son nobles, los míos son mucho y más,
y el hijo que me dejaste no calla de llamar “papá”.

EA (Y 2855/1)

Zirineldo, Zirineldo, mi caballero polido,

¡quién te me diera esta noche tres horas a mi servicio!
 —Como soy vuestro criado, señora, burláis conmigo.
 —Yo no burlo, Zirineldo, que de veras vos lo digo.
 —¿A qué horas daré, señora, y a qué hora daré al castillo?
 —A eso de la media noche, que mi padre está vencido.
 A eso de la medianoche Zirineldo no ha venido.
 —Malhaya tú, Girineldo, ¿quién amor puso contigo?
 Ella en estas palabras, Zirineldo dió un suspiro.
 —¿Quién es ése y cuál es ése que a mi puerta dio un suspiro?
 —Zerineldo soy, señora, veni a lo prometido (?)
 Halló la escalera puesta, derecho subió al castillo,
 entre palabra y palabra y el sueño los ha vencido.
 A eso de la media noche que su padre ha consentido.
 —Matare yo a Girineldo, viviré con su suspiro (/perderé yo mi...),
 si matare a Gerineldo que lo crié desde chico...;
 si matare yo a mi hija (/matare yo a la reina), tengo mi pleito perdido.
 Puso la spada entre medio, que la sirva de testigo,
 con el frío de la espada la princesa ha consentido.
 —Levántate, Girineldo, que ya stamos conocidos (/perdidos),
 que la spada de mi padre la tenemos por testigo.(?) (/ya está puesta por testigo).
 —¿Por dónde daré, señora, por dónde daré al castillo?
 —Vete por aquel jardín a cortar flores y lirios.
 —Buenos días, Zirineldo, buenos días... (el padre le encontró).
 —¿Qué tienes tú, Girineldo, que te veo yo amarillo?
 —De cortar flores y lirios el color yo lo he perdido.
 —Mientes, mientes, Girineldo, con la doncella has dormido.
 Antes que apuntara el sol, la sirveras de marido,
 coge tu caballo blanco y vete de aquel castillo.

EC1 (Y 2906/16)

—Girineldo, Girineldo, mi caballero pulido,
 ¡quién te me diera esta noche tres horas a mi servicio!
 —Como soy vuestro criado, señora, burláis conmigo.
 —Yo no burlo, Girineldo, que de veras te lo digo.
 —¿Y a qué horas vendré, señora, y a qué horas daré al castillo?
 —Eso de la media noche cuando el rey está dormido.
 Medianoche ya es pasada y Girineldo no ha venido.
 Malhaya tú, Girineldo, ¿quién amor puso contigo?
 medianoche ya es pasada y tú todavía no has venido.
 Ella en estas palabras, y a su puerta han combatido.

—¿Quién es ése, cuál es ése que a mi puerta dio un suspiro?

—Gerineldo soy, señora, que vengo a lo prometido.

Tiróle escalera de oro, por ella subió al castillo,

que de besos y abrazos el sueño los ha vencido.

Ellos en el dulce sueño, el buen rey ha consentido,

vio la escalera puesta y por ella subió al castillo,

encontró a los dos durmiendo como mujer y marido.

—¿Que haré de mí, paisano, que haré de mí, mezquino?

Si matare yo a la reina, viviré con su suspiro,

si matare a Gerineldo, mi reino estará perdido.

Más vale que mire y calle, no diga nada a ninguno,

como la mujer que tapa las faltas de su marido.

Sacó espada de su cinto y entre los dos la ha metido,

con el frío de la espada la infanta ha consentido.

—Levántate, Gerineldo, que los dos estamos perdidos,

que la espada de mi padre nos la puso por testigo.

Se levanta Gerineldo muy triste y descolorido,

cada escalón que baja, cada suspiro que daba,

y en el último escalón con el buen rey se encontrara.

—¿Dónde estabas, Gerineldo, dónde estabas esta mañana?

EC2 (Yc 1494/13)

Quién tuviera tan fortuna para ganar lo perdido,

como tuvo Gerineldo mañanita de domingo.

—¡Quién te me diera esta noche tres horas a mi servicio!

—Como soy vuestro criado, señora, burláis conmigo.

—Yo no burlo, Gerineldo, que de veras te lo digo.

—¿Y a qué horas vendré, señora, y a qué horas daré al castillo?

—Y a la hora de media noche, cuando canta el gallo primo.

Medianoche ya es pasada y Gerineldo no ha venido.

Ella en estas palabras, a su puerta dió suspiro.

—¿Quién es ése, cuál es ése, que a mi puerta dio un suspiro?

—Gerineldo soy, señora, que vengo a lo prometido.

Halló la escalera puesta, derecho subió al castillo,

con zapatitos de lona para no hacer ruido;

halló la cama hecha, almohada y cuatro y cinco,

que de besos y abrazos, el sueño los ha vencido.

Y eso de la medianoche, el buen rey ha consentido.

—¿Matare yo a la reina? Viviré con su suspiro.

¿Matare yo a Gerineldo? Mi reino será perdido.

Más vale que yo me calle y no se lo diga a ninguno,
como la mujer que tapa las faltas de su marido.

GB1 + SS (Y 2989/3)

—Gerineldo, Gerineldo, mi caballero pulido,
¡quién te me diera esta noche dos horas a mi servicio!
—Como soy vuestro criado, señora, burláis conmigo.
—Yo no burlo, Gerineldo, que de verdad te lo digo.
—¿A qué hora vendré, señora, a qué horas vendré al castillo?
—A eso de la media noche, cuando el rey está dormido,
con zapatitos de lona para no ser consentido.
Tiróle escalera de oro y por ella subió al castillo,
entre besos y abrazos, los dos quedaron dormidos.
Y a eso de la media noche el buen rey que ha consentido,
y miró a los dos durmiendo como mujer y marido.
—¿Qué haré yo de mí, paisano, qué haré yo de mí, mezquino?
Si matara yo a la infanta, viviré con su suspiro,
si mato yo a Gerineldo, mi reino estará perdido.
Más vale que mire y calle y no diga nada a ninguno,
como la mujer que tapa las faltas de su marido.
Sacó espada de su cinto y entre los dos la pusiera,
con el frío de la espada la infanta que ha consentido.
—Levántate, Gerineldo, los dos estamos perdidos,
que la espada de mi padre nos va a servir de testigo.
Y al día por la mañana con el rey se encontraría.
—¿Dónde vienes, Gerineldo, tan triste y tan abatido?
—Vengo del jardín, señor, de cortar rosas y lirios.
—Mientes, mientes, Gerineldo, tú con la infanta has dormido,
mañana por la mañana la sirveras de marido.
—Yo tengo hecho un juramento en el sol y en las estrellas,
que mujer que con ella estare de no casarme con ella.

La Boda Estorbada/Conde Flores

GB1 (Y 2989/3)

Cuando comensó las guerras de Francia y de Portugal,
mandaron al Conde Flores de Capitán general.
—¿Para cuántos años, conde, para cuántos años vas?

—Para siete voy, princesa, para siete nada más,
y si a los siete no viene, princesa, te casarás.
Pasan siete y pasan ocho, cerca de los nueve van.
Un día estando en la meza con su padre vino hablar.
—Ya te puedes casar, hija, que el conde ya no vendrá.
—No me puedo casar, padre, que el conde viviendo está.
Echame la bendición, que al conde me iré a buscar.
—Mi bendición ya la tienes, la de Dios te vale más.
Se vistió de peregrina y al conde se fue a buscar.
Y a la entrada de Granada con él me vine a encontrar,
con cuatro caballos blancos que los llevan a ensillar.
—¿De quién son estos caballos, que los llevan a ensillar?
—Señora, del Conde Flores que pronto se va casar.
—Déisme una limosna, conde, que muy bien me la puedes dar,
que vengo de las Italías, y no traigo que gastar.
—Tú que vienes de las Italías, ¿cómo van de por allá?
—La hija de la princesa se lo pasa en llorar,
a quien la pudiese oír y quien la pudiese hablar,
y en qué la conocería y en qué la conocerás,
—Y en su puro rostro y vello y su elegante lunar.
—El rostro ya se me ha ido, pero el lunar aquí está.
—Maldita la peregrina, que la trajo para acá(?),
que los amores que tengo no me los dejas gozar.
—A poquito a poco, conde, a poco poco en hablar,
que si tu padres son nobles, los míos son mucho más.
Y él la cogió de la mano y al caballo la subió,
y él la cogió de la mano y a escuridad se casó.

GB2 (Yc 2261/2)

—Gerineldo, Gerineldo, mi caballero pulido,
¿quién te me diera esta noche tres horas a mi servicio!
—Como soy vuestro criado, señora, burláis conmigo.
—Ay, yo no burlo, Gerineldo, que de verdad te lo digo.
—¿A qué horas vendré, señora, a qué horas vendré al castillo?
—A eso de la media noche, cuando el rey está dormido.
Medianoche ya es pasada, cuando canta el gallo primo,
medianoche ya es pasada y Gerineldo no ha venido.
—Malhaya tú, Gerineldo, ¿quién amor puso contigo?
Y ella en estas palabras, a la puerta ha combatido.
—¿Quién es ése y cuál es ése que a mi puerta se ha atrevido?

—Gerineldo soy, señora, que vengo a lo prometido.
 Bajó la dama las enaguas y a abríóle puerta y postigo,
 se encontró la cama hecha y en ella estan dos metidos,
 entre besos y abrazos los dos quedaron dormidos.
 Y a eso de la media noche y el buen rey ha consentido,
 pidiera vestido de oro, nadie que le ha respondido,
 viera escalerita puesta y por ella subió al castillo
 y encontró a los dos durmiendo como mujer y marido.
 —¿Qué haré yo de mí, mezquino, que haré yo de mí, paisano?
 Si matare yo a princesa, viviré con su suspiro;
 si matare a Gerineldo, mi reino estará perdido.
 Más vale que mire y calle y no diga nada a ninguno,
 como la mujer que tapa las faltas de su marido.
 Puso espada de su cinto y entre los dos la pusiera,
 con el frío de la espada la infanta que ha consentido.
 —Levántate, Gerineldo, los dos estamos perdidos,
 que la espada de mi padre nos va a servir de testigo.
 Ya se levanta Gerineldo muy triste y muy abatido,
 y al bajar las escaleras con el rey que ha consentido.
 —¿Qué tienes tú, Gerineldo, qué tienes que estás amarillo?
 —Dormí en un jardín de flores, que esta tarde ha florecido,
 la fragancia de una rosa me ha trastornado el sentido.
 —No mientas tú, Gerineldo, que con la infanta has dormido
 y antes que amanezca el día tú has de ser el su marido.
 —Juramento tengo hecho y a mis padres los antiguos,
 moza que ha sido mi dama, no he de casarme con ella.

La Boda Estorbada/Conde Flores

Se armaran a unas guerras de Francia para Portugal,
 ya se llevan a Gerineldo de capitán general.
 Como eso oyó la princesa se sentara a llorar.
 —No llores y tú, princesa, ni te quieras hacer mal,
 si a los siete años vengo, serei tu esposo leal;
 si a los catorce no vengo, niña, te puedes casar.
 Los sus años han pasado y no hubo novedad,
 pidió licencia a su padre para poderle buscar (ir a buscar).
 —Échame la bendición y sali yo al su búsqueda.
 —Mi bendición ya la tienes, la de Dios te vale más.
 Se vistió de peregrina y al conde se fue a buscar,

y a la entrada de Granada con él me vine a encontrar,
 con cuatro caballos blancos que los llevan a ensillar.
 —¿De quién son esos caballos, que los llevan a ensillar?
 —Señora, del Conde Flores, que pronto se va casar.
 —Déisme una limosna, conde, que muy bien la puedes dar,
 que vengo de las Italías y no traigo que gastar.
 —Tú que vienes de las Italías ¿cómo van de por allá?
 —La hija de la princesa se la va en llorar,
 a quien la pudiera ver, a quien la pudiera hablar,
 y en qué la conociera y en qué la conocerás.
 —En su puro rostro y vello y el su elegante lunar.
 —El rostro ya se me ha ido, pero el lunar aquí está.
 —Maldita la peregrina que la traiga por acá (?),
 que los amores que tengo no me los dejó gozar.
 —A poquito, a poco, el conde, y a poquito, poco en hablar,
 que si tus padres son nobles los míos son mucho más.
 Él la cogio de la mano y al caballo la subió,
 él la llevó a su cuarto, y a escuridad se casó.

GB3 (Yc 2429)

—Gerineldo, Gerineldo, mi caballero pulido,
 ¡quién te me diera esta noche dos horas a mi servicio!
 —Como soy vuestro criado, señora, burláis conmigo.
 —Yo no burlo, Gerineldo que de verdad te lo digo.
 —¿A qué horas vendré, señora, a qué horas vendré al castillo?
 —A eso de la media noche cuando canta el gallo primo.
 Medianoche ya es pasada y tú no habías venido.
 —Malhaya tú, Gerineldo, ¿quién amor puso contigo?
 A eso de la medianoche a su puerta oyó un suspiro.
 —¿Quién es ése y cuál es ése que a mi puerta se ha atrevido?
 —Gerineldo soy, señora, que vengo a lo prometido.
 Tiróle escalera de oro y por ella subió al castillo,
 con zapatitos de lona para no ser consentido,
 y entre besos y abrazos los dos quedaron dormidos.
 Y a eso de la madrugada, el buen rey que ha consentido,
 miró escalerita puesta y por ella subió al castillo,
 y miró a los dos durmiendo como mujer y marido.
 —¿Qué haré yo de mí, mezquino, que haré yo de mí, paisano?
 Si matara yo a la infanta, viviré con su suspiro;
 si matare a Gerineldo, mi reino estará perdido.

Más vale que mire y calle y no diga nada a ninguno,
 como la mujer que tapa las faltas de su marido.
 Sacó espada de su cinto y entre los dos la pusiera,
 con el frío de la espada la infanta que ha consentido.
 —Levántate, Gerineldo, los dos estamos perdidos,
 que la espada de mi padre nos va a servir de testigo.
 Ya se levanta Gerineldo muy triste y muy abatido,
 y al bajar las escaleras con el buen rey se encontrara.
 —¿Qué tienes tú, Gerineldo, que te veo yo abatido?
 —Dormí en un jardín de flores, que esta noche ha florecido.
 —Ya lo sé yo, Gerineldo, que con la infanta has dormido.
 Si con la infanta has dormido, tú has de ser el su marido.
 —Promesa yo había hecho a mis padres los antiguos,
 dama que fuera mi dama no ha de ser yo su marido.

La Boda Estorbada/Conde Flores

MA (Y 3997/7)

Ya se levantan unas guerras de Francia para Portugal,
 se llevan a Gerineldo de capitán general.
 Quién tuviera tal fortuna para ganar lo perdido,
 como tuvo Zirineldo mañana de domingo.
 Limpiando paños de seda para darle al rey vestido,
 mirándole está la reina desde su alto castillo.
 —Zirineldo, Zirineldo, mi caballero florido,
 ¡quién te me diera esta noche tres horas a mi servicio!
 —Como soy vuestro criado, señora, burláis conmigo.
 —No me burlo, Zirineldo, que de veras te lo digo.
 —¿A qué hora vendré, señora, a qué hora daré al castillo?
 —A eso de la media noche, cuando canta el gallo primo.
 Y a esas horas son las doce, cuando el rey está dormido,
 dieran las doce y la una y Zirineldo no ha venido.
 —Malhayas tú, Zirineldo, que amor puso contigo, (?)
 medianoche ya es pasada y tú no habías venido.
 Ella en estas palabras, Zirineldo dió al castillo.
 —¿Zirineldo, Zirineldo, quién era ese atrevido,
 que a dos horas de la noche viene a batir al castillo?
 —Zirineldo soy, señora, que vengo a lo prometido.
 Púsole escalera de oro, por ella subió al castillo,
 entre besos y abrazos los dos quedaron dormidos.

Ellos en el dulce sueño, el buen rey que ha consentido,
encontró a los dos durmiendo como mujer y marido.
—¿Qué haré de mí, mezquino, que haré de mí, paisano?
Si matare yo a la reina, viviré con su suspiro;
si matare a Zirineldo, mi reino estará perdido.
Más vale que yo me calle y no le diga nada a ninguno,
como la mujer que tapa las faltas de su marido.

RG1 (Y 2121/1)

—Girineldo, Girineldo, mi caballero polido,
¡quién te me diera esta noche tres horas a mi servicio!
—Como soy vuestro criado, señora, burláis conmigo.
—Yo no burlo, Girineldo, que de veras te lo digo.
—¿Y a qué hora podrá, señora, y a qué hora lo prometido?
—A eso de la media noche, cuando el rey ya está dormido.
Y a esa hora son las doce, cuando canta el gallo primo,
medianoche ya es pasada, Girineldo no ha venido.
Malhaya tú, Girineldo, ¿quién amor puso contigo?
medianoche ya es pasada y tú no has venido.
Ellos en estas palabras y a la puerta dió un suspiro.
—¿Quién es ése o cuál es ése que a mi puerta fue atrevido?
—Girineldo soy, señora, que vengo a lo prometido.
Púsole escalera de oro, por ella se había subido,
se agarraron de la mano y hacia la alcoba se han ido,
se pusieron a jugar como esposa con marido.
A eso de la media noche el rey pidió su vestido:
—Que lo traiga Girineldo como mozo más antiguo.
Unos dicen: —No está aquí; otros dicen: —Ya se ha ido.
Y el rey que estaba en escuchas y a su encuentro le ha salido.
Y encontró a los dos durmiendo como esposa con marido.
—O si mato a la princesa, tengo mi reino perdido;
o si mato a Girineldo, lo he criado entre chico.
Más vale que mire y calle y no diga nada a ninguno.
Sacó alfaje de su cinto y entremedias lo ha ponido,
con el frío del alfaje la reina se ha conmovido.
—Girineldo, Girineldo, ya estamos los dos perdidos,
que el alfaje de mi padre nos lo han puesto por testigo.
—¿Por dónde me iré yo ahora para no ser consentido?
—Vete por esos jardines, cortando floras (/rosas) y lirios.
Y el rey que estaba en escuchas a su encuentro le ha salido.

—¿Dónde vas tú, Girineldo, tan triste y tan amarillo?
 —He venido de un jardín, de cortar rosas y lirios.
 —No lo niegues, Girineldo, que con mi hija has dormido.
 —No lo niego yo, buen rey, que yo la culpa he tenido.
 —No has tenido tú la culpa, que mi hija la ha tenido.
 Y el sábado por la noche seréis esposa y marido.
 —Juramento tengo hecho y en mi librito lisar,
 mujer que ha sido mi dama de no casarme con ella.

La Boda Estorbada/Conde Flores

Se han formado unas guerras desde Francia a Portugal,
 y a Girineldo lo llevan de capitán general.
 —Si a los ocho años no vengo, niña, te puedes casar,
 con el que te de la gana y tú tengas voluntá.
 Pasaron los ocho años y para lo nueve va,
 pidió licencia a su padre para salir a buscar.
 Y en mitad de aquel camino se encontró con un vacal.
 —Vaquerito, vaquerito, por la Santa Trinidad,
 —¿de quién es esa vaquita que tan numerosa va?
 —Son del mozo Girineldo que para casarse está.
 —Te daré un doblón a ocho, como me lleves allá.
 La agarrara de la mano, y la puso en el porta.
 Le pidiera una limosna, Girineldo se la da.
 —¡Oh, qué cara tan bonita! y, ¡ay, que cara en salada!
 Si tú pasaras por Francia y allí encontrara otra igual.
 —No es menester ir a Francia que aquí presente está ya.
 Sos el diablo romano que vienes a tentar.
 —No soy el diablo romano, que soy tu esposa carnal,
 que el niño que me dejaste todo el día está: “papá”.
 Las fiestas y los torneos para la princesa son,
 y la otra desgraciada en un convento está ya.

RG2 (Yc 2404/1)

—Girineldo, Girineldo, mi caballero pulido,
 ¡quién te me diera esta noche tres horas a mi servicio!
 —Como soy vuestro criado, señora, burláis conmigo.
 —Yo no burlo, Girineldo, que de veras te lo digo.
 —¿Y a qué hora vendré, señora, y a qué horas daré al castillo?
 —Eso de la media noche, cuando cante el gallo primo.
 Medianoche ya es pasada, Girineldo no ha venido.

—Malhaya tú, Girineldo, ¿quién amor puso contigo?
Ella en esas palabras y a la puerta dio un suspiro.
—¿Quién es ése o cuál es ése que a mi puerta fue atrevido?
—Girineldo soy, señora, que vengo a lo prometido,
con zapatitos de seda para no ser consentido.
Tiróle escalera de oro, por ella se había subido,
se agarraron de la mano y hacia la alcoba se han ido,
se pusieron a jugar como esposa con marido.
Y eso de la medianoche el rey pidió su vestido:
—Que lo traiga Girineldo como mozo más antiguo.
Unos dicen: —No está aquí; otros dicen: —Ya se ha ido.
El rey que estaba en escucha y a su encuentro le ha salido,
y encontró a los dos durmiendo como esposa con marido.
—O si mato a Girineldo, lo he criado entre chico;
o si mato a la princesa, tengo mi reino perdido.
Más vale que mire y calle, no diga nada a ninguno,
como la mujer que tapa las faltas de su marido.
Quitó alfaje de su cinto, por en medio lo ha ponido,
con el frío del alfaje la reina se ha conmovido.
—Girineldo, Girineldo, ya estamos los dos perdidos,
que el alfaje de mi padre me le han puesto por testigo.
—¿Por dónde me iré yo ahora para no ser consentido?
—Vete por esos jardines, cortando rosas y lirios.
La fragancia de una rosa le ha trastornado el sentido.
Ellos en estas palabra, el rey salió a su encuentro.
—¿Dónde vas tú, Girineldo, tan triste y tan amarillo?
—He venido de un jardín, de cortar rosas y lirios,
la fragancia de una rosa me ha trastornado el sentido.
—No lo niegues, Girineldo, que con mi hija has dormido.
—No se lo niego buen rey, que yo la culpa he tenido.
—No has tenido tú la culpa, que mi hija la ha tenido.
El sábado por la noche seréis esposa y marido.
—Juramento tengo hecho y en mi librito lissar,
mujer que ha sido mi dama de no casarme con ella.

La Boda Estorbada/Conde Flores

Se han formado unas guerra desde Francia a Portugal,
y a Girineldo lo llevan de capitán general.
—Si a los ocho años no vengo, niña, te puedes casar,
con el que te dé la gana y tú tengas voluntad.

Pasaron los siete años y para los ochos va,(?)
 pidió licencia a su padre para salir a buscar,
 y en mitad de aquel camino se encontró con un vacal.
 —Vaquerito, vaquerito, por la Santa Trinidad,
 ¿de quién son esas vaquitas que tan rumborosa va?
 —Son del mozo Girineldo que para casarse está.
 —Te daré un doblón a ocho, como me lleves allá.
 La agarrara de la mano y la puso en el porta.
 Le pidiera una limosna, Girineldo se la da.
 — ¡Oh, qué cara tan bonita! ¡oh, qué cara tan salada!
 Si tú pasaras por Francia, allí encontrará otra igual.
 —No es menester ir a Francia que aquí presente está ya,
 —Eres el diablo romano que me vienes a tentar.
 —No soy diablo romano, que soy tu esposa carnal,
 que el niño que me dejaste todo el día está: “papá”.
 Las fiestas y los torneos para la princesa son,
 y la otra desgraciada y en un convento está ya.

SB (Yc 2287/42)

—Zirineldo, Zirineldo, mi caballero polido,
 ¡quién te me diera esta noche, esta noche a mi servicio!
 —Como soy vuestro criado, señora, burláis conmigo.
 —Yo no burlo, Zirineldo, que de veras te lo digo
 —¿A qué horas vendré, señora, a qué horas vendré al castillo?
 —A eso de la media noche, cuando el rey ya esté dormido.
 Medianoche ya es pasada, Zirineldo no ha venido.
 —Malhaya tú, Girineldo, quién amor...(¿que mis amores...)

APPENDIX 2

GERINELDO: TEXTUAL ALTERNATIONS

BASIC VERSION: RG1

Versions Compared: RG1, RG2, GB1 (SS, FB), GB2, GB3, SB, EA, MA, AB1, AB2, AB3, EC1, EC2

Notes:

Two asterisks ** mark identical text in different places.

Three asterisks *** mark changes in point of beginning and ending, and placement of lines.

Slashes indicate places of alternations:

one slash (/) — alternations between lines of the various informants versions,

two slashes (//) — alternations between paragraphs.

Capital Z indicates voiced palato-alveolar fricative.

//(MA, AB1, AB2, AB3, EC2)

Quién tuviera tal fortuna / Quién tuviera tan fortuna (EC2)

para ganar lo perdido

como tuvo Girineldo / como tuvo Zirineldo (MA)

mañanita de domingo.

Limpiando paños de seda (MA**) / Viéndole estaba la reina (AB1, AB2, AB3) /
--- (EC2)

para darle al rey vestido (MA) / desde su alto castillo (AB1, AB2, AB3**) / --- (EC2)
mirándole está la reina (MA) / limpiando paños de seda (AB1)** / --- (AB2, AB3,
EC2)

desde su alto castillo (MA) / para darle al rey vestido (AB1) / --- (AB2, AB3, EC2)
//

—Girineldo, Girineldo / Gerineldo, Gerineldo (GB1, GB2, GB3) / --- (EC2) /
Zirineldo, Zirineldo (EA, SB, MA)

mi caballero polido / mi caballero pulido (RG2, GB1, GB2, GB3, EC1) / / mi
caballero florido (MA) / paje del rey más querido (AB1, AB2) / --- (EC2)

quién te me diera esta noche

tres horas a mi servicio / dos horas a mi servicio (GB1, GB3) / esta noche a mi
servicio (SB)

—Como soy vuestro criado,
señora, burláis conmigo

- Yo no burlo, Girineldo / ¡Ay, yo no burlo, Gerineldo! (GB2) / Yo no burlo, Gerineldo (RG2, GB1, GB3) / Yo no burlo, Zirineldo (SB, EA) / no me burlo, Zirineldo (MA)
- que de veras te lo digo / que de veras vos lo digo (EA) / que de verdad te lo digo (GB1, GB2, GB3)
- Y a qué hora podrá, señora / A qué hora vendré, señora (MA, GB1, AB1) / Y á que horas vendré, señora (RG2, EC1, EC2, AB2, AB3) / A qué horas vendré, señora (SB, GB2, GB3) / A qué horas daré, señora (EA)
- y a qué hora lo prometido / a qué horas vendré al castillo (GB1, GB2, GB3, SB) / y a qué horas daré al castillo (RG2, EC1, EC2, AB2, AB3) / a qué hora daré al castillo (MA, AB1) / y a qué hora daré al castillo (EA)
- A eso de la media noche / eso de la media noche (RG2) / y a eso de la medianoche (AB2) / eso de la media noche (EC1) / Y a la hora de media noche (EC2) / y a eso de las doce y media (AB1) / a eso de las once y media (AB3)
- cuando el rey ya está dormido** / cuando el rey ya esté dormido.(SB) / cuando el rey está dormido** (GB1, GB2, EC1, AB1, AB2, AB3) / cuando canta el gallo primo** (MA, EC2, GB3) / cuando cante el gallo primo** (RG2) / que mi padre está vencido (EA)
- Y a esa hora son las doce / --- (RG2, GB1, GB3, SB, EA, EC1, EC2) / Y a esas horas son las doce (MA, AB1, AB2, AB3) / Medianoche ya es pasada (GB2) **
- cuando canta el gallo primo** (RG1, AB1, AB2, AB3, GB2) / --- (RG2, GB1, GB3, EA, SB, EC1, EC2) / cuando el rey está dormido ** (MA)
- medianoche ya es pasada / --- (GB1) / a eso de las once y media (AB1, AB2, AB3) / A eso de la medianoche (EA) / dieran las doce y la una (MA)
- Girineldo no ha venido. / Girineldo está vestido (AB1, AB2, AB3) / dZirineldo no ha venido (EA) / Zirineldo no ha venido (SB) / y Girineldo no ha venido (EC1, EC2) / y Zirineldo no ha venido (MA) / --- (GB1) / y Gerineldo no ha venido (GB2) / y tú no habías venido (GB3) **

*** //AB1, AB2, AB3 — CHANGE OF ORDER:

A eso de las doce y media

Girineldo dio al castillo

golpecitos dio a la puerta

la princesa lo ha sentido (AB1) / la princesa ha consentido (AB2) / --- (AB3)

// (AB3)

con zapatitos de lona..., de seda **

para no ser consentido **

golpecitos dio a la puerta**

la princesa lo ha sentido**

//

—Quién es ése o cuál es ése**
que a mi puerta ha combatido**

—Gerineldo soy, señora,**
que vengo a lo prometido**

//

*** //RG1, EC1, MA, GB2, GB3 Precede "Malhaya..." to "Quién es ese..."

*** / GB1, EC2 do not have either.

//

—Malhaya tú, Gerineldo,** / Malhaya tú, Gerineldo (GB2, GB3) / --- (GB1, EC2))
/ malhayas tú, Zirineldo, (MA)

quien amor puso contigo / y quien amor puso contigo (AB1, AB2) / --- (GB1, EC2)
/ que amor puso contigo (MA) / que mis amor... (SB)

*** --- SB's song ends here -----

medianoche ya es pasada** / --- (RG2, EA, GB1, GB2, GB3, EC2**)

y tú no has venido.** / --- (RG2, EA, GB1, GB2, GB3, EC2**) / tú no habías venido
(AB2) / y tú todavía no has venido (EC1) / y tú no habías venido (MA, AB1,
AB3)

//AB1, AB2, AB3 **

Tiróle escalera de oro** / --- (AB3)

por ella subió al castillo** / --- (AB3)

con zapatitos de seda ** / --- (AB2, AB3)

para no hacer ruido ** / --- (AB2, AB3)

Entre besos y abrazos / y entre besos y abrazos (AB2)

los dos quedaron dormidos / el sueño les ha vencido (AB3)

//

*** //AB1, AB2, AB3 above instead of lines until / * / (see p. XX)

Ellos en estas palabras / --- (GB1, AB1, AB2, AB3) / y ella en estas palabras (GB2)
/ A eso de la medianoche (GB3) / ella en estas palabras (EC1, EC2, MA, EA) /
ella en esas palabras (RG2)

y a la puerta dio un suspiro / a su puerta oyó un suspiro (GB3) / --- (GB1, AB1,
AB2, AB3) / y a su puerta han combatido (EC1) / a la puerta ha combatido
(GB2) / Zirineldo dio al castillo (MA) / Zirineldo dio un suspiro (EA) / a su
puerta dio suspiro (EC2)

*** // MA Next Lines Instead of "Quién es ese..."

Zirineldo, Zirineldo
 quién era ese atrevido
 que a dos horas de la noche
 viene a batir al castillo
 //

—Quién es ése o cuál es ése** / quién es ése y cuál es ése (EA, GB2, GB3) / quién
 es ése, cuál es ése (EC1, EC2) / --- (GB1, MA, AB1, AB2, AB3)
 que a mi puerta fue atrevido.** / que a mi puerta dio un suspiro (EC1, EC2, EA)
 / que a mi puerta se ha atrevido (GB2, GB3) / --- (GB1, MA, AB1, AB2, AB3)
 —Girineldo soy, señora,** / Gerineldo soy, señora (GB2, GB3) / Zerineldo soy,
 señora (EA, MA) / --- (GB1, AB1, AB2, AB3)
 que vengo a lo prometido** / veni a lo prometido (EA?) / --- (GB1, AB1, AB2, AB3)

// (RG2, GB1)**
 con zapatitos de seda ** / Con zapatitos de lona** (GB1)
 para no ser consentido **
 //

púsole escalera de oro ** / halló la escalera puesta (EC2, EA) / Tiróle escalera de
 oro (RG2, EC1, GB1, GB3) / bajó la dama las enaguas (GB2) / --- (AB1, AB2,
 AB3)
 por ella se había subido / derecho subió al castillo (EC2, EA) / por ella subió al
 castillo (MA, EC1) / y por ella subió al castillo (GB1, GB3) / y a abrióle puerta
 y postigo (GB2) / --- (AB1, AB2, AB3)

// (EC2, GB3)**
 Con zapatitos de lona**
 para no hacer ruido ** / para no ser consentido ** (GB3)
 //

//(EC2)
 halló la cama hecha
 almohada y cuatro y cinco.
 //

// (GB2)
 se encontró la cama hecha
 y en ella están dos metidos.
 //

// (GB1, GB2, GB3, MA, EC1, EC2)

Entre besos y abrazos / y entre besos y abrazos (GB3) / que de besos y abrazos
(EC1, EC2)

los dos quedaron dormidos. / el sueño los ha vencido (EC1, EC2)

//

*** // EA Instead of Next Four Lines

entre palabra y palabra**

y el sueño los ha vencido.**

//

Se agarraron de la mano / --- (GB1, GB2, GB3, EA, MA, AB1, AB2, AB3, EC1, EC2)

y hacia la alcoba se han ido / --- (GB1, GB2, GB3, EA, MA, AB1, AB2, AB3, EC1, EC2)

Se pusieron a jugar / --- (GB1, GB2, GB3, EA, MA, AB1, AB2, AB3, EC1, EC2)

como esposa con marido / --- (GB1, GB2, GB3, EA, MA, AB1, AB2, AB3, EC1, EC2)

/ * / AB1, AB2, AB3 "malhaya..." before "quién es...", cf. above

/ * / A eso de la media noche / y eso de la medianoche (RG2, EC2) / y a eso de la
media noche (GB1, GB2) / y a eso de la madrugada (GB3) / Ellos en el
dulce sueño (MA, EC1) / a eso de las dos y media (AB1, AB3) / y a eso de
las dos y media (AB2)

el rey pidió su vestido / el buen rey que ha consentido (GB1, GB3, MA) / y el
buen rey ha consentido (GB2) / el buen rey ha consentido (AB1, AB2, AB3,
EC1, EC2) / que su padre ha consintido (EA)

que lo traiga Girineldo / --- (GB1, GB3, EA, MA, EC1, EC2) / pidiera vestido de
oro (GB2, AB1, AB2, AB3)

como mozo mas antiguo / --- (GB1, GB3, EA, MA, EC1, EC2) / nadie que le ha
respondido (GB2, AB1, AB2) / nadie que le ha consentido (AB3)

Unos dicen - no está aquí / --- (GB1, EA, MA, EC2) / viera escalerita puesta (GB2)
/ viera la escalera puesta (AB1, AB2, AB3) / miró escalerita puesta (GB3) / vio
la escalera puesta (EC1)

otros dicen - ya se ha ido / --- (GB1, EA, MA, EC2) / y por ella subió al castillo
(GB2, GB3, EC1) / por ella subió al castillo (AB1, AB2, AB3)

y el rey que estaba en escuchas** / El rey que estaba en escuchas (RG2) / --- (GB1,
GB2, GB3, EA, MA, AB1, AB2, AB3, EC1, EC2)

y a su encuentro le ha salido / --- (GB1, GB2, GB3, EA, MA, AB1, AB2, AB3, EC1,
EC2)

Y encontró a los dos durmiendo / y miró a los dos durmiendo (GB1, GB3) /
 encontró a los dos durmiendo (MA, AB3, EC1) / Hallara a los dos echados
 (AB1, AB2) / --- (EA, EC2)

como esposa con marido / como mujer y marido (GB1, GB2, GB3, MA, AB1, AB2,
 AB3, EC1) / --- (EA, EC2)

// (GB1, GB2, GB3, MA, AB1, AB2, AB3, EC1)

—¿Qué haré de mí, paisano (AB1, AB2, AB3, EC1) / qué haré yo de mí, paisano
 (GB1) / qué haré yo de mí, mezquino (GB2, GB3), / Qué haré de mí, mezquino
 (MA)

qué haré yo de mí, mezquino (GB1) / qué haré yo de mí, paisano (GB2, GB3) /
 qué haré de mí, paisano (MA) / qué haré de mí, mezquino (AB1, AB2, AB3,
 EC1)

//

// (EA)

Mataré yo a Girineldo

viviré con su suspiro.**

//

o si mato a la princesa / O si mato a Girineldo (RG2)** / Si matare a Gerineldo
 (EA) / Si matare a Girineldo (AB1, AB3) / Si matara yo a la infanta (GB1,
 GB3) / si matare yo a princesa (GB2) / si matare yo a la reina (MA, EC1)
 / si matare a la princesa (AB2) / matare yo a la reina (EC2)

tengo mi reino perdido ** / lo he criado entre chico (RG2)** / que lo crié desde
 chico (EA?)** / viviré con su suspiro (GB1, GB2, GB3, MA, AB2, EC1, EC2)**
 / mi reino estará perdido (AB1, AB3)

o si mato a Girineldo / o si mato a la princesa (RG2)** / si matare yo a mi hija
 (EA?)** / matare yo a la reina (EA?)** / si mato yo a Gerineldo (GB1) / si
 matare a Gerineldo (GB2, GB3)** / si matare a Girineldo (MA, AB2, EC1)
 / si matare a la princesa (AB1, AB3) / matare yo a Girineldo (EC2)

lo he criado entre chico** / tengo mi reino perdido (RG2)** / tengo mi pleito
 perdido (EA) / mi reino estará perdido. (GB1, GB2, GB3, AB2, MA, EC1) ** /
 viviré con su suspiro (AB1, AB3)** / mi reino será perdido (EC2)

más vale que mire y calle / más vale que yo me calle (MA, AB1, AB2, EC2) /
 --- (EA, AB3)

y no diga nada a ninguno / no diga nada a ninguno (RG2, EC1) / y no le diga nada
 a ninguno (MA) / y no lo diga a ninguno (AB1, AB2) / y no se lo diga a ninguno
 (EC2) / --- (EA, AB3)

// (GB1, GB2, GB3, RG2, MA, AB1, AB2, EC1, EC2)

como la mujer que tapa / como la que sufre y calla (AB1, AB2)
las faltas de su marido
//

*** // MA Duplicated Lines

Como la mujer que tapa
las faltas de su marido.
//

*** MA Ends Here by the Duplication of the Last Two Lines.

*** EC2 Poetic Version Ends Here; The Story Goes On, Including The "Boda Estorbada"

Sacó alfaje de su cinto / Sacó espada de su cinto (GB1, GB3, AB3, EC1) / Quitó
alfaje de su cinto (RG2) / Puso la espada entre medio (EA) / quitó espada de
su cinto (AB1, AB2) / Puso espada de su cinto (GB2)

y entremedia lo ha ponido / y entre los dos la pusiera (GB1, GB2, GB3) / por en
medio lo ha ponido (RG2) / que la sirva de testigo (EA)** / y se la puso por
testigo (AB1) / se la puso por testigo (AB2) / se la puso de testigo (AB3) / y
entre los dos la ha metido (EC1)

Con el frío del alfaje / con el frío de la espada (EA, GB1, GB2, GB3, EC1) / con el
frío del acero (AB1, AB2, AB3)

la reina se ha conmovido / la infanta que ha consentido (GB1, GB2, GB3) / la
princesa ha consentido (EA, AB1, AB2, AB3) / la infanta ha consentido (EC1)

—Girineldo, Girineldo / Levántate, Gerineldo (GB1, GB2, GB3) / Levántate,
Girineldo (EA, AB1, AB2, AB3, EC1)

ya estamos los dos perdidos / los dos estamos perdidos (GB1, GB2, GB3) / que ya
estamos conocidos (EA?) / que ya estamos perdidos (EA?) / que los dos vamos
perdidos (AB1, AB2, AB3) / que los dos estamos perdido (EC1)

que el alfaje de mi padre / que la espada de mi padre (GB1, GB2, GB3, EA, AB1,
AB2, AB3, EC1)

nos la han puesto por testigo (?) / nos va a servir de testigo (GB1, GB2, GB3) /
me le han puesto por testigo (RG2) / ya está puesto por testigo (EA?) / la
tenemos por testigo (EA?) / me la puso de testigo (AB1) / nos la puso por
testigo (EC1, AB3) / nos la puso de testigo (AB2)

—Por dónde me iré yo ahora / por dónde daré, señora, (EA) ** / --- (SS, GB2, GB3,
AB1, AB2, AB3, EC1)

para no ser consentido / por dónde daré al castillo (EA) ** / --- (SS, GB2, GB3, AB1, AB2, AB3, EC1)

—Vete por esos jardines / vete por aquel jardín (EA) / --- (SS, GB2, GB3, AB1, AB2, AB3, EC1)

cortando rosas y lirios / a cortar flores y lirios (EA) / --- (SS, GB2, GB3, AB1, AB2, AB3, EC1)

// (GB2, GB3, AB1, AB2, AB3, EC1)

Ya se levanta Gerineldo / Se levantó Girineldo (AB3) / Se levanta Girineldo (EC1) / --- (AB1) / Ya bajaba Girineldo (AB2)

muy triste y muy abatido** / --- (AB1) / muy triste y amarillo (AB2) / muy triste y abatido**(AB3) / muy triste y descolorido (EC1)

y al bajar las escaleras / Al bajar las escaleras (AB1, AB3) / --- (AB2) / cada escalón que baja (EC1)

con el rey que ha consentido** / con el buen rey se encontrara (GB3) / con el rey se ha consentido (AB1, AB3) / --- (AB2) / cada suspiro que daba (EC1) //

// (EC1)

Y en el último escalón

con el buen rey se encontrara **

//

*** // RG2 Instead of the Next Two Lines

La fragancia de una rosa**

le ha trastornado el sentido.**

ellos en estas palabra**

el rey salió a su encuentro

//

// (SS)

Y al día por la mañana

con el rey se encontraría

//

Y el rey que estaba en escuchas** / --- (RG2, SS, GB2, GB3, EA, AB1, AB2, AB3, EC1)

a su encuentro le ha salido / --- (RG2, SS, GB3, EA, AB1, AB2, AB3, EC1)

—Dónde vas tú, Girineldo, / dónde vienes, Gerineldo (SS) / Qué tienes tú, Gerineldo (GB2, GB3) / Qué tienes tú, Girineldo (AB1, AB2, AB3) / Buenos días, Zirineldo (EA) / Dónde estabas, Girineldo (EC1)

// (EA)

buenos días... (el padre le encontró)

—qué tienes tú, Girineldo //

tan triste y tan amarillo / tan triste y tan abatido (SS) / qué tienes que estás amarillo (GB2) / que te veo yo amarillo (EA) / que te veo yo abatido (GB3) / que estás triste y amarillo (AB1, AB2, AB3) / dónde estabas esta mañana (EC1)

*** EC1's version is narrated from here on.

He venido de un jardín / Vengo del jardín, señor (SS) / dormí en un jardín de flores (GB2, GB3) / He dormido en el jardín (AB1, AB2, AB3) / --- (EA)

de cortar rosas y lirios. / que esta tarde ha florecido (GB2) / de cortar flores y lirios (EA) / que esta noche ha florecido (GB3, AB1, AB2, AB3)

// (EA)

el color yo lo he perdido.

//

// (RG2, GB2, AB1, AB2, AB3)

la fragancia de una rosa**

me ha trastornado el sentido**

//

—No lo niegues, Girineldo, / mientes, mientes, Gerineldo (SS) / mientes, mientes, Girineldo (EA) / No mientas tú, Gerineldo (GB2) / No mientas tú, Girineldo (AB1, AB2, AB3) / Ya lo sé yo, Gerineldo (GB3)

que con mi hija has dormido / con la doncella has dormido (EA) / tú con la infanta has dormido (SS) / que con la infanta has dormido (GB2, GB3) / con la princesa has dormido (AB1, AB2, AB3)

—No lo niego yo, buen rey, / --- (SS, GB2, GB3, EA, AB1, AB2, AB3) / no se lo niego buen rey (RG2)

que yo la culpa he tenido / --- (SS, GB2, GB3, EA, AB1, AB2, AB3)

No has tenido tú la culpa, / --- (SS, GB2, GB3, EA, AB1, AB2, AB3)

que mi hija la ha tenido / --- (SS, GB2, GB3, EA, AB1, AB2, AB3)

Y el sábado por la noche / el sábado por la noche (RG2) / Mañana por la mañana
(SS) / Y antes que amanezca el día (GB2) / si con la infanta has dormido (GB3)
/ Antes que apuntara el sol (EA) / si anoche fuistes amigo (AB1, AB2, AB3)

seréis esposa y marido / la sirveras de marido (SS, EA) / tú has de ser el su
marido (GB2, GB3) / mañana, esposo querido (AB1, AB2, AB3)

// (AB1, AB2, AB3)

Perdón perdón, señor rey (AB1) / Perdón perdón, mi señor ... (AB2) / Perdón
perdón, mi señor rey (AB3)

//

—Juramento tengo hecho / Yo tengo hecho un juramento (SS) / Promesa yo había
hecho (GB3) / --- (EA)

// (EA)

coge tu caballo blanco

y vete de aquel castillo

//

*** EA Finishes Here Saying: "no, no se casa con ella."

y en mi librito lissar / en el sol y en las estrellas (SS) / y a mis padres los antiguos
(GB2) / a mis padres los antiguos (GB3) / en la Virgen de mi estrella (AB1,
AB2) / y en la Virgen de mi estrella (AB3)

mujer que ha sido mi dama / que mujer que con ella estare (SS) / moza que ha
sido mi dama (GB2) / dama que fuera mi dama (GB3) / moza que sea mi dama
(AB1, AB2, AB3)

de no casarme con ella / no he de casarme con ella (GB2) / no ha de ser yo su
marido (GB3)

GB1 (with Simi Suisa = SS) ends here; FB denotes to her aunt, Flora Bengio,
singing the second part as a separate song.

LA BODA ESTORBADA / CONDE FLORES

Se han formado unas guerras / Cuando comenzó las guerras (FB) / Se armaran

unas guerras (GB2) / Ya se levantan unas guerras (GB3) / Se proclaman unas guerras (AB1, AB2, AB3)

desde Francia a Portugal / de Francia y de Portugal (FB) / de Francia para Portugal (GB2, GB3) / entre Francia y Portugal (AB1, AB2) / entre Francia e Portugal (AB3)

y a Girineldo lo llevan / y a Girineldo lo lleva (RG2) / mandarán al Conde Flores (FB) / ya se llevan Gerineldo (GB2) / se llevan a Gerineldo (GB3) / y nombran a Girineldo (AB1, AB2) / y llaman a Girineldo (AB3)

de capitán general / por capitán general (AB1, AB2, AB3)

*** GB3 Ends Here

//(GB2)

Como eso oyó la princesa
se sentara a llorar
—No llores y tú, princesa,
ni te quieras hacer mal;
si a los siete años vengo
seré tu esposo leal;
si a los catorce no vengo,
niña, te puedes casar **

//

// (FB, AB1, AB2, AB3)

La princesa lo ha sentido / --- (FB)

y se puso a llorar / --- (FB)

—Para cuántos años, conde,
para cuántos años vas

—Para siete años, princesa, / Para siete años, señora, (AB2) / Para siete voy,
princesa, (FB)

para siete años nada más / para siete nada más (FB)

//

si a los ocho años no vengo / y si a los siete no viene (FB) / si a los siete años no vuelvo (AB1, AB2, AB3) / --- (GB2)

niña, te puedes casar ** / princesa, te casaras (FB, AB1, AB2, AB3) / --- (GB2)

con el que te dé la gana / --- (GB2, AB1, AB2, AB3)

y tu tengas voluntad / --- (GB2, AB1, AB2, AB3)

Pasaron los ocho años / Pasaron los siete años (RG2) / Pasan siete y pasan ocho (FB) / Los sus años han pasado (GB2) / Los siete años ya han pasado (AB1, AB2, AB3)

y para los nueve va / y para los ocho va (RG2)(?) / cerca de los nueve van (FB) / y no hubo novedad (GB2) / Girineldo sin llegar (AB1, AB2, AB3)

// (FB)

Un día estando en la mesa
con su padre vino a hablar

//

pidió licencia a su padre, **

para salir a buscar / para poderle a buscar / ir a buscar (GB2)

// (AB1, AB2, AB3, FB, GB2)

—ya te puedes casar, hija, / --- (GB2)

la decía su papa / que el conde ya no vendrá (FB) / --- (GB2)

—Girineldo no se ha muerto / no me puedo casar, padre (FB) / --- (GB2)

yo me iré en su búsqueda / yo iré en su búsqueda (AB2) / que el conde viviendo está (FB)

échame tu bendición / échame la bendición (FB, GB2)

voy mi fortuna a buscar / yo me iré en su búsqueda / (AB2) / yo me iré en su busqueda (AB3) / que al conde me iré a buscar (FB) / y salí yo al su búsqueda (GB2)

—Mi bendición ya la tienes

la de Dios te ha de faltar / la de Dios te vale más (FB, GB2)

Vistióse de peregrina (AB1, AB2, AB3) / se vistió de peregrina (FB, GB2)

y se fue en su busqueda (AB1) / voy mi fortuna a buscar (AB2, AB3) / y al conde se fue a buscar (FB, GB2)

Y en mitad de aquel camino / En el medio del camino (AB1, AB3) / El medio del camino (AB2) / y a la entrada de Granada (FB, GB2)

se encontró con un vacal / con él me vine a encontrar (GB2, FB)

//

// (FB, GB2)

con cuatro caballos blancos
que los llevan a ensillar (GB2, FB)

//

—Vaquerito, vaquerito, / Vaquerito, vaquerito, (RG2) / --- (FB, GB2)

por la Santa Trinidad / por la santa eternidad (AB1, AB3) / --- (FB, GB2)

—De quién es esa vaquita / De quién son esas vaquitas (RG2, AB2, AB3) / De
quién son estas vaquitas (AB1) / de quién son estos caballos (FB) / de quién
son esos caballos (GB2)

que tan numerosa va / que tan rumborosa va (RG2) / que las llevas a ensillar
(AB1, AB2, AB3) / que los llevan a ensillar (FB, GB2)

—Son del mozo Girineldo / de Girineldo, señora (AB1, AB2, AB3) / Señora, del
Conde Flores (FB, GB2)

que para casarse está / mañana se va a casar (AB1, AB2, AB3) / que pronto se va
casar (FB, GB2)

—Te daré un doblón a ocho / Darte yo un doblón de oro (AB1, AB2, AB3) / --- (FB,
GB2)

como me lleves allá / si me llevas donde está (AB1, AB2, AB3) / --- (FB, GB2)

la agarrara de la mano ** / la ha cogido de la mano (AB1, AB2, AB3) / --- (FB,
GB2)

y la puso en el porta / la llevó hasta su portal (AB1, AB2, AB3) / --- (FB, GB2)

Le pidiera una limosna / -Déisme una limosna, conde (AB1, AB2, AB3, FB, GB2)

Girineldo se la dá / que muy bien me la podéis dar (AB1) / que bien me la podéis
dar (AB2, AB3) / que muy bien me la puedes dar (FB) / que muy bien la puedes
dar (GB2)

—Oh, qué cara tan bonita / que vengo de las Italías (AB1, AB2, AB3, FB, GB2)

y, ay, qué cara en salada / oh, qué cara tan salada (RG2) / parte Francia y Portugal
(AB1, AB2, AB3) / y no traigo que gastar (FB, GB2)

Si tú pasaras por Francia / -Si vienes de las Italías (AB1, AB2, AB3) / Tú que
vienes de las Italías (FB, GB2)

y allí encontrara otra igual / allí encontrara otra igual (RG2) / parte Francia y
Portugal (AB1, AB2, AB3) / como van de por allá (FB, GB2)

—No es menester ir a Francia // qué tal está la princesa (AB1, AB2, AB3) / la
hija de la princesa (FB, GB2)

que aquí presente está ya / con su rostro y su lunar (AB1, AB2, AB3) / se lo pasa
en llorar (FB) / se la va en llorar (GB2)

// (FB, GB2)

A quien la pudiese oír (FB) / a quien la pudiera ver (GB2)

Y quien la pudiese hablar (FB) / A quien la pudiera hablar (GB2)

Y en qué la conocería (FB) / y en qué la conociera (GB2)

Y en qué la conocerás

En su puro rostro y bello (GB2) / y en su puro rostro y bello (FB)

Y el su elegante lunar / Y su elegante lunar (FB)

//

—Sos el diablo romano / Eres el diablo romano (RG2) / El rostro ya se le ha ido
(AB1, AB2, GB3)) / El rostro ya se me ha ido (FB, GB2)

que vienes a tentar / que me vienes a tentar (RG2) / pero el lunar aquí está (FB,
GB2, AB1, AB2, AB3)

—No soy el diablo romano / maldita la peregrina (FB, GB2, AB1, AB2, AB3) / No
soy diablo romano (RG2)

que soy tu esposa carnal / que viene en mi búsqueda (AB1, AB2, AB3) / que la
trajo para aquí (FB)(?) / que la traigo por aquí (GB2) (?)

// (AB1, AB2, AB3, FB, GB2)

—Que los amores que tengo

no me los dejó gozar

—A poquito a poco, conde / a poquito a poco, el conde (GB2)

a poquito a poco hablar / a poco poco en hablar (FB) / Y a poquito poco en hablar
(GB2)

—Que si los tuyos son nobles / que si tus padres son nobles (FB, GB2)

los míos son mucho más / los míos son mucho y más (AB1, AB3)

//

// (FB, GB2) Y él la cogió de la mano (FB) / él la cogió de la mano (GB2)

Y al caballo la subió

El la llevó a su cuarto / --- (FB)

Y él a cogió de la mano

Y a escuridad se casó

//

*** FB, GB2 End Here

que el niño que me dejaste / el niño que me dejaste (AB1) / y el hijo que me
dejaste (AB2, AB3)

todo el día está “papá” / no calla de llamar “papá” (AB1, AB2, AB3)

*** AB1, AB2, AB3 End Here

Las fiestas y los torneos

para la princesa son

y la otra desgraciada

en un convento está ya / y en un convento está ya (RG2)

APPENDIX 3 PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTIONS

Phonetic chart

stops:	voiceless	p	t	k	ʔ
	voiced	b	d	g	
fricatives:	voiceless	f θ	s	X x	
	voiced	B v D	z Z	G	
affricates:	voiceless		tS		
	voiced		dZ		
nasals:		m	n ñ		
liquids:			l r		
glides:			y	w	
vowels:			i e a o u		

Notes:

Special signs:

B — voices bilabial fricative;

θ — voiceless interdental fricative;

D — voiced interdental fricative;

ʔ — glottal stop;

Z — voiced palato-alveolar fricative (j in French);

tS — voiceless palato-alveolar affricate (ch in English and Spanish);

ñ — palatal nasal (coarticulated ny);

X — fronted x;

G — voiced velar fricative.

In the phonetic transcriptions all punctuation signs were deleted; parentheses indicate a hardly heard sound. In regular phonetic notations it denotes a lifted sign. The morphological division is basically kept unchanged except for few cases of attachment as in the case of /i a/ 'and X' > [ya] /k a/ 'that X' > [ka], where single letters representing morphemes were added to the preceding or following morphemes.

AB1 (Yc 2117/5)

kyien tuyvera tal fortuna para ganar lo perDiDo
 komo tuvo xirineldo mañanita De Domingo
 vyendole staBa la reyna dezde su alto kastiyo
 limpyando paño(s) de seDa para Dare al rey vestiDo
 xirineldo xirineldo paxe Del rey mas kerido
 kyen te me Dyera esta notSe tres oras a mi servisyo
 komo soy vwestro kriyaDo señora burlays konmiGo
 yo no Burlo xirineldo ke De veras te lo Digo
 a ke oras vendre señora a ke oras dare al kastiyo
 ya eso De las dose i meDya kwando el rey esta DormiDo
 ya es(t)as oras son las dose kwando kantal gayo primo
 a eso De las onse i meDya xirineldo esta vestiDo
 a eso De las dose i meDya xirineldo Dyo al kastiyo
 golpesitos dyo a la pwerta la prinsesa lo a sentiDo
 kyen es ese o kwal es ese ke a mi pwerta (a) kombatiDo
 xirineldo soy señora ke vengo a lo prometiDo
 malaya tu xirineldo i kyen amor puso kontiGo
 meDyanotSe ya es pasaDa i tu no aviyas veniDo
 tirole eskalera di oro por eya suvyo al kastiyo
 kon sapatito de seDa para no aser ruiDo
 entre Besos i abrasos los dos keDaron dormiDos
 a eso De las dos i meDya el bwen rey a konsentiDo
 piDyera vestiDo Di oro naDye ke le a respondiDo
 saliya el al..., vyera la eskalera pwesta por eya suvyo al kastiyo
 ayara a los dos etSados komo muxer i mariDo
 ke are De mi paysano ke are De mi meskino
 si matare a xirineldo mi reyno estara perdiDo
 si matare a la prinsesa vivire kon su suspiro
 mas vale ke yo me kaye i no lo Diga a ninguno
 komo la ke sufre i kaya las falta(s) de su mariDo
 kito espaDa De su sinto i se la puso por testiGo
 kon el friyo Del asero la prinsesa a konsentiDo
 levantate xirineldo ke los do(s) vamos perdiDo
 ke la espaDa De mi paDre me la puso De testigo
 al baxar laD eskaleras kon el rey se a konsentiDo
 ke tyenes tu xirineldo ke estas triste i amariyo
 e DormiDo en el xardin ke esta notSe a floresiDo
 la fragansya De una rosa me a trastornaDo el sentiDo
 no myentas tu xirineldo kon la prinsesa (a)s dormiDo

si anotSe fwistes amiGo mañana esposo keriDo
 (perDon perDon señor rey)
 xuramento tengo etSo en la virxen de mi estreya
 mosa ke sea mi Dama De no kasarme kon eya

La Boda Estorbada/ Conde Flores

se proklaman unas gerras entre fransya i portugal
 i nombran a xirineldo por kapitan xeneral
 la prinsesa lo a sentiDo i se puso a yorar
 para kwantos años konde para kwantos años vas
 para syete años prinsesa para syete años na mas
 si a los syete año no bwelvo prinsesa te kasaras
 lo(s) syetaños ya an pasaDo xirineldo sin yegar
 ya te pweDes kasar ixa la desiya su papa
 xirineldo no se a mwerto yo me ire en su buskeDa
 etSame tu Bendisyon bay ma fortuna buskar
 mi Bendisyon ya la tyenes la De Dyos te a De faltar
 vistyose De peregrina i se fwe en su buskeDa
 en el meDyo Del kamino se enkontro kon un bakal
 vakerito vakerito por la santa eterniDa(D)
 de kyen son estas vakitas ke las yevas a ensiyar
 de xirineldo señora mañana se va kasar
 darte yo un doBlon de oro si me yevas donde esta
 la a koxiDo de la mano la yevo asta su portal
 deisme una limosna konde ke muy byen me la poDeys dar
 ke vengo De las italyas parte fransya i portugal
 si vyenes de las italyas parte fransya i portugal
 ke tal esta la prinsesa kon su rostro i su lunar
 el rostro ya se la iDo pero el lunar aki esta
 maldita la peregrina ke vyene en mi buskeDa(D)
 ke los amores ke tengo no me los dexo gosar
 a pokito a poko konde a pokito a poko avlar
 ke si los tuyos son noBle(s) los miyos son mutSo i ma(s)
 el niño ke me Dexaste no kaya De yamar papa

AB2 (Y 3996/7)

kyen tuvyera tal fortuna para ganar lo perdiDo
 komo tuvo xirineldo nañanita De Domingo
 vyendole staBa la reyna dezde su alto kastiyo

xirineldo xirineldo paxe del rey mas kerido
 kyen te me Dyera esta notSe tres oras a mi servisyo
 komo soy vwestro kriyaDo señora Burlays konmigo
 yo no Burlo xirinildo ke De veras te lo Digo
 ya ke oras vendre señora ya ke oras dare al kastiyo
 ya eso De la meDyanotSe kwando el rey esta Dormido
 ya esas oras son las dose kwando kanta el gayo primo
 a eso De las onse i meDya xirineldo sta vestiDo
 a eso De las dose i meDya xirineldo dyo al kastiyo
 golpesitos dyo a la pwerta la prinsesa a konsentiDo
 kyen es ese o kwal es ese ke a mi pwerta (a) kombatiDo
 xirineldo soy señora ke vengo a lo prometiDo
 malaya tu xirineldo i kyen amor puso kontiGo
 meDyanotSe ya es pasada i tu no aviyas veniDo
 entre Besos... tirole eskalera di oro por eya suvyo al kastiyo
 i entre Besos i aBrasos los dos keDaron dormiDo
 ya eso De las dos i meDya el bwen rey a konsentiDo
 piDyera vestiDo di oro naDye ke le a respondiDo
 byera la eskalera pwesta por eya suvyo al kastiyo
 ayara a los doD etSados komo muxer i mariDo
 ke are De mi paysano ke are De mi, meskino
 si matare a la prinsesa vivire kon su suspiro
 si matare a xirineldo mi reyno estara perdiDo
 mas vale ke yo me kaye i no lo Diga a ninguno
 komo la ke sufre i kaya las falta(s) de su mariDo
 kito espaDa de su sinto se la puso por testiGo
 kon el friyo del asero la prinsesa (a) konsentiDo
 levantate xirineldo ke los do(s) vamos perdiDos
 ke la espaDa De mi paDre no la puso de testigo
 ya BaxaBa xirineldo muy triste i amariyo
 ke tyenes tu xirineldo ke estas triste i amariyo
 e Dormido en el xardin ke esta notSe a floresiDo
 la fragansya De una rosa me a trastornaDo el sentiDo
 no myentas tu xirineldo kon la prinsesas dormiDo
 si anotSe fwistes amigo mañana esposo kerido
 (perdon perdon mi señor...)
 xuramento tengo etSo en la virxen de mi estreya
 mosa ke sea mi Dama De no kasarme kon eya

La Boda Estorbada/ Conde Flores

se proklaman unas gerras entre fransya i portugal
 i nombran a xirineldo por kapitan xeneral
 la prinsesa lo a sentiDo i se puso a yorar
 para kwantos años konde para kwantos año(z) vas
 para syete año(s) señora para syete año na mas
 si a los syete año no Bwelvo prinsesa te kasaras
 los syete años ya (a)n pasaDo xirineldo sin yegar
 ya te pweDes kasar ixa la desiya su papa
 xirineldo no se a mwerto yo ire en su buskeDa
 etSa me tu Bendisyon i me ire en su buskeDa
 mi Bendisyon ya la tyenes la De Dyos te a de faltar
 vistyose De peregrina vay me fortuna (a) buskar
 el meDyo del kamino se enkontro kon un bakal
 bakerito, vakerito por la santa triniDa
 de kyen son esas vakitas ke las yevas a ensiyar
 de xirineldo señora mañana se va kasar
 darte yo un doBlon de oro si me yevas donde esta
 la a koxiDo De la mano la yevo asta su portal
 deyme una limosna konde ke Byen me la poDeys dar
 ke vengo De las italyas parte fransya i portugal
 si vyenes de las italyas parte fransya i portugal
 ke tal esta la prinsesa kon su rostro i su lunar
 el rostro ya se la iDo pero el lunar aki esta
 maldita la peregrina ke vyenen mi BuskeDa
 ke los amores ke tengo no me los dexo gosar
 a pokito a poko konde a pokito a poko avlar
 ke si los tuyo(s) son noBles los miyos son mutSo i mas
 i el ixo ke me dexaste no kaya de yamar papa

AB3 (Yc 2430/6)

kyen tuyvera tal fortuna para ganar lo perDiDo
 komo tuvo xirineldo nañanita De Domingo
 vyendole staBa la re(y)na dezde su alto kastiyo
 xirineldo xirineldo mi kavayero poliDo
 kyen te me Dyera esta notSe tres oras a mi servisyo
 komo soy vwestro kriyaDo señora Burlays konmigo
 yo no Burlo xirineldo ke De veras te lo Digo
 ya ke oras a vendre señora a ke oras dare al kastiyo
 a eso De las onse i meDya kwando el rey esta DormiDo

ya esas oras son la(z) dose	kwando kanta el gayo primo
a eso De las onse i meDya	xirineldo esta vestiDo
a eso De las dose i meDya	xirineldo Dyo al kastiyo
golpesitos dyo a la pwerta	kon sapatito de lan... de seDa para no
ser konsentiDo	
golpesitos dyo a la pwerta	la prinsesa lo a sentiDo
kyen es ese o kwal es ese	ke a mi pwerta (a) kombatiDo
xirineldo soy señora	ke vengo a lo prometiDo
malaya tu xirineldo	kyen amor puso kontigo
meDyanotSe ya es pasaDa	i tu no aviyas veniDo
entre vesos y avrasos	el sweño les a veniDo
a eso De la(s) dos i meDya	el bwen rey a konsentiDo
piDyera vestiDo di oro	naDye ke le a konsentiDo
vyera la eskalera pwesta	por eya suvyo al kastiyo
enkontro a lo(s) do(s) durmyendo	komo muxer i mariDo
k(w)e are De mi paysano	ke are De mi meskino
si matare a xirineldo	mi reyno estara perDiDo
si matare a la prinsesa	bivire kon su suspiro
sako espaDa de su sinto	se la puso De testigo
kon el friyo Del asero	la prinsesa a konsentiDo
levantate xirineldo	ke los dos vamos perDiDo
ke la espaDa De mi paDre	no la puso por testigo
se levanto xirineldo	muy triste i aBatiDo
al baxar las eskaleras	kon el rey se a konsentiDo
ke tyenes tu, xirineldo	ke stas triste i amariyo
e DormiDo en el xardin	ke esta notSe a floresiDo
la fragansya de una rosa	me a trastornaDo el sentiDo
no myentas tu xirineldo	kon la prinsesa a(s) dormiDo
si anotSe fwistes amigo	mañana esposo keriDo
(perdon perdon mi señor rey)	
xuramento tengo etSo	i en la virxen de mi estreya
mosa ke sea mi dama	de no kasarme kon eya

La Boda Estorbada/ Conde Flores

se proklaman unas geras	entre fransya e portugal
i yaman a xirineldo	por kapitan xeneral
la prinsesa lo a sentiDo	i se puso a yorar
para kwantos años konde	para kwantos años va(s)
para syete años prinsesa	para syete años na ma(s)

si a los syete año no vwelvo prinsesa te kasaras
 los syete años yan pasaDo xirineldo sin yegar
 ya te pweDes kasar ixa la Desiya su papa
 xirineldo no se a mwerto yo ire en su buskeDaD
 etSame tu bendisyon bay ma fortuna a buskar
 mi bendisyon ya la tyenes la De Dyos te a De faltar
 Bistyose De peregrina vay ma fortuna a buskar
 en el meDyo del kamino se enkontro kon un bakal
 vakerito vakerito por la santa eterniDa(D)
 de kyen son esas vakitas ke las yevas a ensiyar
 de xirineldo señora mañana se va (a) kasar
 darte yo un doBlon de oro si me yevas d(e)onde esta
 la koxiDo De la mano la yevo asta su portal
 deme una limo(s)na konde ke byen me la poDeys dar
 ke vengo De las italyas parte fransya e portugal
 si vyenes de las italyas parte fransya i portugal
 ke tal esta la prinsesa kon su rostro i su lunar
 el rostro ya se le a iDo pero el lunar aki esta
 maldita la peregrina ke vyene en mi buskeDaD
 ke los amores ke tengo no me lo Dexo gosar
 a pokito a poko konde a pokito a poko aBlar
 ke si los tuyos son noBles lo(z) miyos son mutSo i mas
 i el ixo ke me dexaste no kaya De yamar papa

EA (Y 2855/1)

Zirineldo Zirineldo mi kavayero poliDo
 kyen te me Dyera esta notSe trez oras a mi servisyo
 komo soy westro kriyaDo señora burlays konmigo
 yo no Burlo xirineldo ke De veras vo lo digo
 a ke oras dare señora ya kora dare al kastiyo
 a eso De la meDya notSe ke mi paDre esta vensiDo
 a eso De la meDyanotSe dZirineldo no a veniDo
 malaya tu xirineldo kyen amor puso kontigo
 eya en estas palavras Zirineldo dyo un suspiro
 kyen es ese i kwal es ese ka mi pwerta Dyo un suspiro
 Zirineldo soy señora veni a lo prometiDo(?)
 ayo la eskalera pwesta deretSo suvyo al kastiyo
 entre palavra i palaBra i el sweño los a vensiDo
 a eso De la meDya notSe ke su paDre a konsintiDo
 matare yo a xirineldo vivire kon su suspiro... perdere yo mi...

si matara xerineldo ke lo kriye Desde tSiko
 si matare yo a mi ixa... matare yo a la reyna tengo mi plito perdiDo
 puso la spaDa entre meDyo ke la sirva de testigo
 kon el friyo de la espaDa la prinsesa a konsentiDo
 levantate xirineldo ke ya stamos konosiDos... perdiDos
 ke la spaDa de mi paDre la tenemos por testigo(?)...
 ya esta pwesta por testigo
 por donde Dare señora por Donde Dare al kastiyo
 vete por akel xardin a kortar florez i liryos
 bwenos diyas Zirineldo bwenos diyas... el paDre le enkontro
 ke tyenes tu xirineldo ke te veo yamariyo
 de kortar flores i liryos el kolor yo le perdiDo.
 myentes myentes xirineldo kon la donseyas dormiDo
 antes kapuntaral sol la sirveras de mariDo
 koxe tu kavayo blanko i vete De akel kastiyo

EC1 (Y 2906/16)

xirineldo kirineldo mi kaBayero puliDo
 kyen te me Dyera esta notSe tres oras a mi servisyo
 komo soy Bwestro kriyaDo señora burlays konmigo
 yo no Burlo xirinildo ke de veras te lo Digo
 ya ke oras vendre señora ya ke oras dare al kastiyo
 eso De la meDya notSe kwando el rey esta dormiDo (m)
 meDyanotSe ya es pasaDa i xirineldo noa veniDo
 malaya tu Xirineldo kyen amor puso kontigo
 meDyanotSe ya es pasaDa i tu toDaviya no as veniDo
 eya en estas palavra ya su pwerta an kombatiDo
 kyen es ese kwal es ese ke a mi pwerta Dyo un suspiro
 xirineldo soy señora ke vengo a lo prometiDo
 tirole eskalera De oro por eya suvyo al kastiyo
 ke De vesos i aBrasos el sweño los a vensiDo
 ellos en el dulce sweño el bwen rey a konsentiDo
 vyo la eskalera pwesta y por eya suvyo al kastiyo
 enkentro a los dos durmyendo komo muxer y mariDo
 ke are De mi paysano ke are De mi meskino
 si matare yo a la reyna bivire kon su suspiro
 si matare a xirineldo mi reyno stara perdiDo
 ma(s) vale ke mire i kaye no Diga naDa a ninguno
 komo la muXer ke tapa las faltas de su mariDo
 sako espaDa De su sinto i entre lo(s) do la (a) metiDo

kon el friyo De la espaDa la infanta a konsentiDo
 levantate xirineldo ke lo(s) dos estamos perdiDo
 ke la espaDa De mi paDre ne la... no la puso por testigo
 se levanta xirineldo muy triste i deskoloriDo
 kaDa eskalon ke vaxa kaDa suspiro ke Dava
 i en el ultimo eskaro eskalon kon el bwen rey se enkontrara
 donde estaBas xirineldo donde estavas esta nañana

EC2 (Yc 1494/13)

kyen tuveyra tan fortuna para ganar lo perdiDo
 komo tuvo xirineldo mañanita De Domingo
 kyen te me Dira esta notSe tres oras a mi servisyo
 komo soy vwestro kriyado señora burlays konmigo
 yo no Burlo xirineldo ke de veras te lo Digo
 ya ke oras vendre señora ye ke oras dare al kastiyo
 ya la ora De meDya notSe kwando kanta el gayo primo
 meDyanotSe ya es pasaDa i Zirineldo no a veniDo
 eya en estas palavras a su pwerta Dyo suspiro
 kyen es ese kwal es ese ka mi pwerta Dyo un suspiro
 Xirineldo soy señora ke vengo a lo prometiDo
 ayo la eskalera pwesta deretSo suByo al kastiyo
 kon sapatitos de lona para no aser ruiDo
 ayo la kama etSa almoaDa i kwatro i sinko
 ke De vesos i aBraso el sweño los a vensido
 i eso De la meDyanotSe el bwen rey a konsentiDo
 matare yo a la reyna vivire kon su suspiro
 matare yo a xirineldo mi reyno sera perdiDo
 mas vale ke yo me kaye i no se lo Diga a ninguno
 komo la muxer ke tapa las faltas de su mariDo

GB1 + SS (Y 2989/3)

xerineldo xerineldo mi kaBayero puliDo
 kyen te me Dyera esta notSe dos oras a mi servisyo
 komo soy vwestro kriyaDo señora Burlays konmigo
 yo no burlo xerineldo ke de verdas te lo Digo
 a ke ora(s) vendre señora a ke oras vendre al kastiyo
 a eso De la meDya notSe kwando el rey esta DormiDo
 kon sapatitos de lona para no ser konsentiDo
 tirole eskalera de oro i por eya suvyo al kastiyo...
 entre Besos i aBrasos los dos keDaron dormiDo(s)

ya es(t)o de la meDya notSe el bwen rey ke a konsentiDo
 y miro a los dos durmyendo komo muxer i mariDo
 ke are yo De mi paysano ke are yo De mi meskino
 si matara yo a la ifanta Bivire kon su suspiro
 si mato yo a xerineldo mi reyno estara perdiDo
 mas vale ke mire i kaye i no Diga naDa a ninguno
 komo la muxer ke tapa las faltas de su mariDo
 sako espaDa De su sinto i entre los dos la pusyera
 kon el friyo De la espaDa la i(n)fanta ke a konsentiDo
 levantate xerineldo los dos estamos perdiDo(s)
 ke la espaDa De mi paDre nos va (a) servir De testigo
 i al diya por la mañana kon el rey se enkontrariya
 donde vyenes xerineldo tan triste i tan aBatiDo
 vengo del xardin señor de kortar rosas i liryos
 myentes myentes xerineldo tu kon la infanta as dormiDo
 mañana por la mañana la sirveras de mariDo
 yo tengo etSo (un) xuramento en el sol i en las estrejas
 ke muxer ke kon eya estare de no kasarme kon eya

La Boda Estorbada/Conde Flores

GB1's aunt (FB)

kwando komenso las gerras de fransya i de portugal
 mandaron al konde flores de(l) kapitan xeneral
 para kwantos años konde para kwantos años va
 para syete voy printsesa para syete naDa ma(s)
 i si a los syete no vyene prinsesa te kasara(s)
 pasan syete i pasan otSo serka De los nweve va(n)
 un diya estando en la mesa kon su paDre vino avlar
 ya te pweDes kasar ixa ke el konde ya no vendra
 no me pweDo(y) kasar paDre ke el konde Bivyendo esta
 etSe me la Bendisyon ke al konde me ire a buskar
 mi Bendisyon ya la tyene(s) la De Dyos te vale ma(s)
 se visto De peregrina y al konde se fwe a buskar
 y a la entraDa De granaDa kon el me Bine a nkontrar
 kon kwatro kaBayos blanko(s) ke lo yeva a ensiyar
 de kyen son estos kaBayos ke los yevan a ensiyar
 señora Del konde flores ke pronto se va kasar
 deme una limosna konde ke muy Byen me la pweDes dar
 ke vengo De las italya i no traygo ke gastar

tu ke vyenes de las italya komo van de por aya
 la ixa de la printsesa se lo pasa en yorar
 i kyen la puDyese oir i kyen la puDyese avlar
 i en ke la konoseriya i en ke la konosera(s)
 i en su puro rostro i veyo i su elegante lunar
 el rostro ya se mia iDo pero (l) lunar aki esta
 maldita la peregrina ke la traxo paraka
 ke los amores ke tengo no me los dexas gosar
 a pokito a poko konde a poko poko en avlar
 ke si tu paDres son noBle los miyos son mutSo mas
 i el la koxyo De la mano i al kaBayo la suvyo
 i ela koxyo De la mano i a eskurita se kaso

GB2 (Yc 2261/2)

xerineldo xerineldo mi kaBayero puliDo
 kyen te me Dyera esta notSe tres oras a mi servisyo
 komo soy vwestro kriyaDo señora burlays konmigo
 ay yo no Burlo xerineldo ke De verdas te lo Digo
 a ke oras vendre señora a ke oras vendre al kastiyo
 a eso De la meDya notSe kwando el rey esta DormiDo
 medyanotSe ya es pasaDa kwando kanta el gayo primo
 meDyanotSe ya es pasaDa i xerineldo no a veniDo
 malaya tu xerineldo kyen amor puso kontigo
 i eya en estas palaBras a la pwerta (a) kombatiDo
 kyen es ese i kwal es ese ke a mi pwerta se (a) atreviDo
 xerineldo soy señora ke vengo a lo prometiDo
 baxo la Dama las nagwas i aBrole pwerta y postigo
 se enkontro la kama etSa i en eya estan d(a)os metiDos
 entre Besos i aBrasos los dos keDaron dormiDos
 ya eso De la meDya notSe i el bwen rey a konsentiDo
 piDyera vestiDo De oro naDye ke le a respondiDo
 vyera eskalerita pwesta i poar eya suByo al kastiyo
 i enkontro a los dos durmyendo komo muxer i mariDo
 ke are yo De mi meskino ke are yo De mi paysano
 si matare y a prinsesa Bivire kon su suspiro
 si matare a xerineldo mi reyno estara perdiDo
 mas vale ke mire i kaye i no Diga naDa a ninguno
 komo la muxer ke tapa las faltas de su mariDo
 puso espaDa De su sinto i entre los dos la pusyera
 kon el friyo De la espaDa la ifanta ke a konsentiDo

levantate xerineldo los dos estamos perDido(s)
 ke la espaDa De mi paDre nos va (a) servir de testigo
 ya se levanta xerineldo muy triste i muy aBatiDo
 i al baxar las eskaleras kon el rey ke a konsentiDo
 ke tyenes tu xerineldo ke tyenes ke stas amariyo
 dormi en un xardin de flores ke sta tarde a floresiDo
 la fragansya De una rosa me a trastornaDo el sentiDo
 no myentas tu xerineldo ke kon la enfanta as dormiDo
 i antes ke amaneska el diya tu as de ser el su mariDo
 xuramento tengo etSo ya mis paDres los antigwos
 mosa ke a siDo mi ama no e de kasarme kon eya

La Boda Estorbada/Conde Flores

se armaran a unas gerras de fransya pa portugal
 ya se yevan a xerineldo de kapitan xeneral
 komo eso oyo la prinsesa se sentara a yorar
 no yores i tu prinsesa ni te kyeras aser mal
 si a los syete años vengo sere tu esposo leal
 si a los katorse no vengo niña te pweDes kasar
 los sus años an pasaDo i no uvo noveDa
 piDyo lisyensya (a) su paDre para poDer le a buskar
 etSe me la Bendisyon i sali yo al su buskeDa
 mi Bendisyon ya la tyenes la De Dyos te vale mas
 se vistyo De peregrina i al konde se fwe a buskar
 ya la entraDa De granaDa kon el me Bine nkontrar
 kon kwatro kaBayos blankos ke la yevan a ensiyar
 de kyen son esos kabayos ke los yegan a ensiyar
 señora Del konde flores ke pronto se va kasar
 deme una limosna konde ke muy byen la pweDes dar
 ke vengo De las italyas i no traygo ke gastar
 tu ke vyenes de las italyas komo van de por aya
 la ixa De la prinsesa se la va en yorar
 a kyen le a puDyera vir a kyen le a puDyera aBlar
 i en ke la konosyera i en ke la konoseras
 en su puro rostro i veyo i el su elegante lunar
 el rostro ya se mea iDo para lunar aki esta
 maldita la peregrina ke la trayga por aka
 ke los amores ke tengo no me los dexo a gosar
 a pokito a poko el konde ya pokito poko en ablar

ke si tus paDres son noBles lo miyos son mutSo mas
 el la koxyo De la mano i al kaBayo la suvyo
 el la yevo a su kwarto ya eskuruta se kaso

GB3 (Yc 2429)

xerineldo xerineldo mi kaBayero puliDo
 kyen te me Dyera esta notSe Dos oras a mi servisyo
 komo soy vwestro kriyaDo señora burlays konmigo
 yo no Burlo xerineldo ke de verdas te lo digo
 a ke oras vendre señora a ke oras vendre al kastiyo
 a eso De la meDya notSe kwando kantal gayo primo
 meDyanotSe ya es pasaDa i tu no aviyas veniDo
 malaya tu xerineldo kyen amor puso kontigo
 a eso De la meDyanaotSe a su pwerta oyo un suspiro
 kyen es ese i kwal es ese ke (a) mi pwerta se a atreviDo
 xerineldo soy señora ke vengo a lo prometiDo
 tirole eskalera De oro i por eya suvyo al kastiyo
 kon sapatitos de lona para no ser konsentiDo
 i entre vesos i abrasos los dos keDaron dormiDos
 ya eso De la maDrugaDa el bwen rey ke a konsentiDo
 miro eskalerita pwesta i por eya suvyo al kastiyo
 i miro a los dos durmyendo komo muxer i mariDo
 ke are yo De mi meskino ke are yo De mi paysano
 si matara yo a la ifanta bivire kon su suspiro
 si matara xerineldo mi reyno estara perdiDo
 mas vale ke mire i kaye i no Diga naDa a ninguno
 komo la muxer ke tapa las faltas de su mariDo
 sako espaDa De su sinto i entres los dos la pusyera
 kon el friyo De la espaDa la ifanta ke a konsentiDo
 levantate xerineldo los dos estamos perDiDos
 ke la espaDa De mi paDre nos va (a) servir de testigo
 ya se levanta xerineldo muy triste i muy aBatiDo
 i al baxar las eskaleras kon el bwen rey se enkontrara
 ke tyenes tu xerineldo ke te veo yo aBatiDo
 dormi en un xardin de flores ke esta notSe a floresiDo
 ya lo se yo xerineldo ke kon la infantas dormiDo
 si kon la infantas dormiDo tu as de ser el su mariDo
 promesa yo aBiya etSo a mis paDres los antigwos
 dama ke fwera mi dama no a De ser yo su mariDo

La Boda Estorbada/ Conde Flores

ya se lavantan unas gerras de fransya pa portugal
se yevan a xerineldo De kapitan xeneral

MA (Y 3997/7)

kyen tuyvera tal fortuna para Ganar lo perDido
komo tuvo Zirineldo mañanita De Dormingo
limpyando paño(s) de seDa para Darle al rey vestiDo
mirandole (e)sta la reyna Desde su alto kastiyo
Zirineldo zirineldo mi kavayero floriDo
kyen te me Dyera esta notSe tres oras a mi servisyo
komo soy westro kriyaDo señora burlays konmigo
no me Burlo zirineldo ke De veras te lo Digo
a kora vendre señora a kora dare al kastiyo
a eso De la meDya notSe kwando kanta el gayo primo
i a esas ?oras son la(s) dose kwando el rey esta DormiDo
dyeran la(s) dose i la una i Zirineldo no a veniDo
malayas tu zirineldo ke amor puso kontiGo
meDyanotSe yas pasaDa i tu no aBiyas veniyo
eya en estas palavra Zirineldyo dyo al kastiyo
Zirineldo Zirineldo kyen era ese atreviDo
ka Dos oras de la notSe byene a bati(r) al kastiyo
Zirineldo soy señora ke vengo a lo prometiDo
pusole skalera De oro por eya suvyo al kastiyo
entre Besos i aBraso lo dos keDaron dormiDo
ellos en el sulde dulce sweño el bwen rey ke a konsentiDo
enkontro a lo dos durmyendo komo muxer i mariDo
ke are De mi meskino ke are De mi paysano
si matare yo a la reyna BiBire kon su suspiro
si matara Zirineldo mi reyno stara perdiDo
mas vale ke yo me kaye i no le Diga naDa a ninguno
komo la muxer ke tapa la(s) falta θ De su mariDo
komo la muxer ke tapa las faltas de su mariDo

RG1 (Y 2121/1)

xirineldo xirineldo mi kaBayero poliDo
kyen te me Dyera sta notSe tres oras a mi servisyo
komo soy westro kriyaDo señora burlay konmigo
yo no Burlo xirineldo ke De veras te lo Digo
ya ke ora poDra señora ya ke ora lo prometiDo

a eso De le meDya notSe kwando el rey ya sta DormiDo
 ya es(t)aD ora son las dose kwando kanta el gayo primo
 meDyanotSe ya pasaDa xirineldo no a veniDo
 malaya tu xirineldo kyen amor puso kontigo
 meDyanotSe yas pasaDa i tu no a veniDo
 ellos en estas palaBra ya la pwerta Dyo un suspiro
 kyen eD ese o kwal eD ese ke a mi pwerta fwatreviDo
 xirineldo soy señora ke vengo a lo prometiDo
 pusole (e) skalera De oro por eya saviya suviDo
 se agarraron de la mano i asiya la alkova san iDo
 se pusieron a xugar komo esposa ko mariDo
 a eso De la meDya notSe el rey piDyo su vestiDo
 ke lo trayga xirineldo komo moso mas antiGwo
 uno Disen no sta ki otro Disen ya sa iDo
 i el rey ke estava en eskutSa ya su enkwentro la saliDo
 i enkontro a lo(s) do(s) durmyendo komo esposa ko(n) mariDo
 o si mato a la printsesa tengo mi reyno perDido
 o si mato a xirineldo lo e kriyaDo entre tSiko
 ma vale ke mire (i) kaye i no Diga naDa (a) ninguno
 sako alfaxe De su sinto i entremeDya lo a poniDo
 kon el friyo Del alfaxe la reyna sa komoviDo
 xirineldo xirineldo ya stamo lo(s) dos perdiDo
 ke el alfaxe De mi paDre no lo an pwesto por testigo
 por Donde me ire yo aora para no ser konsentiDo
 vete por esos xardine kortando floras rosas i liryo
 i el(e) rey ke staBa (un) (e)skutSa a su enkwentro la saliDo
 donde va tu xirineldo tan triste i tan amariyo
 e veniDo De un xardi de kortar rosas i liryo
 no lo nyeges xirineldo ke kon ni ixa a(s) dormiDo
 no lo nyego yo bwen rey ke yo la kulpa e teniDo
 na(s) teniDo tu la kulpa ke mi ixa la teniDo
 i el saBaDo por la notSe serey esposa i mariDo
 xuramento tengo (i)etSo i en mi liBrito lisar
 muxer ka siDo mi Dama de no kasarme kon eya

La Boda Estorbada/Conde Flores

se an formaDo unas gerra de(s)de fransya a portugal
 ya xirineldo lo yevan de kapitan xeneral
 si a los otSo año no vengo niña te pweDes kasar

kon el ke te De la gana i tu tenga volunta
 pasaron los otSo año i para lo nweve va
 piDyo lisensya a su paDre para salir a buskar
 i en mitaD akel kamino se enkontro kon un Bakal
 baka(e)rito vakerito por la santa triniDa
 de kyen (i) eD esa vakita ke tan numerosa va
 son del moso xirineldo ke para kasarse sta
 te Dare un doblon a otSo komo me yeves aya
 lagarrara De la mano i la puso en el porta
 le piDyera una limona xirineldo se la Da
 o ke kara tan bonita i ay ke kara en salaa
 si tu pasaras por fransya i ayi enkontrara otra igwal
 no menester ir a fransya kaki presente esta ya
 soD el diyablo romano ke vyenes a tentar
 no soy DiyaBlo romano ke soy tu esposa karna
 ke el niño ke me Dexaste toDo el diya sta papa
 las fyestas i lo torneo para la prinsesa so(n)
 i la otra DegrasyaDa en un konvento sta ya

RG2 (Yc 2404/1)

xirineldo xirineldo mi kaBayero puliDo
 kyen te me Dyera esta notSe tres oras a mi servisyo
 komo soy westro kriyaDo señora Burlay konmigo
 yo no Burlo xirineldo ke De veras te lo Di(G)o
 ya ke ora vendre señora ya ke ora Dare al kastiyo
 eso De la meDya notSe kwando kante el gayo primo
 meDyanotSe ya es pasaDa xirineldo no a veniDo
 malaya tu xirineldo k(y)en amor puso kontiGo
 eya en esas palavra ya la pwerta Dyo un suspiro
 kyen eD ese o kwal eD ese ka mi pwerta fwatreviDo
 xirineldo soy señora ke vengo a lo prometiDo
 kon sapatito de seDa para no ser konsentiDo
 tirole skalera De oro por eya se aBiya suviDo
 se agarraron de la mano i asya la alkoBa san iDo
 se pusyeron a xugar komo esposa kon mariDo
 i eso De la meDyanotSe el rey piDyo su vestiDo
 ke lo trayga xirineldo komo moso maD antiguo
 uno disen no staki otro disen ya sa iDo
 el rey ke staBa en eskutSa ya su enkwentro la saliDo
 i enkontro a lo(s) do durmyendo komo esposa kon mariDo

o si mato a xirineldo lo e kriyaDo entre tSiko
 o si mato a la prinsesa tengo mi reyno perdiDo
 ma vale ke mire i kaye no Diga naDa (a) ninguno
 komo la muxer katapa la falsa de su mariDo
 kito alfaxe De su sinto por en meDyo lo a poniDo
 kon el friyo Del alfaxe la reyna sa komoviDo
 xirineldo xirineldo ya stamo lo do(s) perdiDo
 ke el alfaxe De mi paDre me le an pwesto por testigo
 por Donde me ire yo aora para no ser konsentiDo
 vete por eso xardine kortando rosas i liryo
 la fragansya De una rosa le a trastornaDo el sentiDo
 eyos en esta palabra el rey salyo a su enkwentro
 Donde vas tu xirineldo tan triste i tan amariyo
 e veniDo De un xardi(n) de kortar rosas i liryo
 la fragansya De una rosa ma trastornaDol sentiDo
 no lo nyege xirineldo ke kon mi ixa a dormiDo
 no se lo nyego bwen rey ke yo la kulpa e teniDo
 no as teniDo tu la kulpa ke mi ixa la (a) teniDo
 el saBado or la notSe serey esposa i mariDo
 xuramento tengo etSo i en mi liBrito lisar
 muxer ka siDo mi Dama De no kasarme kon eya

La Boda Estorbada/Conde Flores

san formaDo unas gerra dede fransya a portugal
 ya xirineldo lo yeva de kapitan xeneral
 si a los otSo año no vengo niña te pweDes kasar
 kon el ke te De la gana i tu tenga volunta
 pasaron lo(s) syete año i para los otSos va
 piDyo lisensya (a) su paDre para salir a buskar
 i en mitaDakel kamino se enkontro kon un bakar
 bakerito vakerito por la santa triniDa
 de kyen son esa vakita ke ta(n) rumborosa va
 son del moso xirineldo ke para kasarse sta
 te Dare un doBlon a otSo komo me yeves aya
 lagarrara De la mano i la puso en el porta
 le piDyera una limosna xirineldo se la Da
 o ke kara tam bonita o ke kara tan salaa
 si tu pasaras por fransya ayi enkontrara otra iGwal
 non menester ir a fransya kaki presente esta ya

ereD el diyablo romano ke me vyeneD a tentar
no soy Diyablo romano ke soy tu esposa karna
kel niño ke me dexaste toDol diya sta papa
la fyestas i los torneo para la prinsesa son
i la otra DegrasyaDa i en un konvento sta ya

SB (Yc 2287/42)

Zirineldo Zirineldo mi kavayero polido
kyen te me Dyera esta notSe esta notSe a mi servisyo
komo soy nwe... vwestro kriyaDo señora burlays konmigo
yo no burlo Zirineldo ke v... de veras te lo Digo
a ke oras vendre señora a ke oras vendre al kastiyo
a eso de la meDya notSe kwando el rey ya ste DormiDo
meDyanotSe ya es pasaDo Zirineldo no a veniDo
malaya tu xirineldo ken amor... ke mis amore(s)...

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(“Mazal Tov's Repertory of Songs — Genres in the Judeo-Spanish Songs”)

A HASSIDIC RITUAL DANCE: THE *MITSVÉ TANTS* IN JERUSALEMITE WEDDINGS

Yaakov Mazor and Moshe Taube

INTRODUCTION

The aim of the present paper is to describe the ritual dance ("*mitsve tants*" or "*kosher tants*" in Yiddish) performed, as a norm, by several male guests (mostly relatives) and the bridegroom with the bride, as the final public event of the wedding in most Hassidic communities.¹ In our description we present

- 1 Both terms are used indiscriminately by Hassidim nowadays. There is a disagreement among scholars as to the history and significance of these terms. Some scholars do not distinguish between them (Rivkind 1962:29; Geshuri 1955: Introduction p.89), while others think they refer to two different dances. Thus, Rekhtman (1962:251) distinguishes between *mitsve tants* (literally "dance of the religious command"), i.e. the dance of relatives and parents with the bride, and *kosher tants*, which is limited to the dance of the young couple. This second term implies, according to Rekhtman, that the bride is kosher (i.e. "pure", not in her menstrual period). Rivkind (1962:46) too, quotes female informants corroborating such interpretation. Recently (1985), two female Hassidic informants used the term *treyfene khasene* ("impure" wedding) for cases in which the bride was "impure" and the *mitsve tants* was not performed. Harkavy (1928:266,312) defines *mitsve tants* as "dance with the bride and the bridegroom" and *kosher tants* as "bride's dance". Stutschewsky (1959:164, 167, 176, 215) even distinguishes between three different terms. There is, however, general agreement that *mitsve tants* is the primary term, dating (in its Hebrew form "*mehôl mizwah*" at least from the fourteenth century (Rivkind 1955:29). The first occurrence of the Yiddish equivalent that we have been able to trace is from 1504 (GB, Cambridge University, Ms.Or. Add. 547 fol. 80b, quoted in Weinreich 1928:147). The term *kosher tants* is not attested before the middle of the nineteenth century (Rivkind 1960:28-30, esp. note 35, and 1962:46, 48). However, Friedhaber (1982:41) suggests, on the basis of the same sources, that the term *kosher tants* goes back to the eighteenth century.

In weddings of members of the Rebbe's family in some communities, e.g. Vizhnits, Tchernobyl and others related to Tchernobyl, there is another *mitsve tants* at the *khosn mol* ("bridegroom's meal"), which takes place the night before the wedding ceremony (see also note 14). This dance is limited to the young couple (interview with a Vizhnits Hassid, April 1984. NSA Yc 2406; see also Roth 1967:203). Even (1922:208) mentions the same custom in the dynasty of Sadgora (a branch of the Rizhin dynasty). Seid (1975:13-15) claims that the *mitsve tants* takes place also before the canopy but brings no evidence.

some of the different forms of this ceremony in various Hassidic communities in Jerusalem. We also try to shed some light on the significance and function of the *mitsve tants* according to Hassidic thought. To this end we present a description of the ceremony in its totality, and focus in particular on the structural analysis of its musical and textual aspects.²

Our data come from fifty six Hassidic weddings recorded in Israel between 1966 and 1986 in twenty two communities, as well as from many interviews, some of which are recorded.³ After an initial examination of the recorded material, a twofold division appeared: weddings with *klezmerim* (instrumental band), as opposed to weddings without instrumental music. The latter are characteristic of Jerusalem, where, toward the turn of the century, the spiritual authorities of the Ashkenazi communities banned musicians from playing at local weddings.⁴ We also distinguished between weddings comprising a professional or semi-professional jester (*badkhn*)⁵ reciting or rather singing rhymed verses (*gramen*), as opposed

2 So far there has been no comprehensive description, let alone analysis, of the *mitsve tants* in Hassidic weddings from a musicological, ethnological, linguistic or literary point of view. References to studies containing partial descriptions, historical remarks, and certain problems of terminology may be found in some of Friedhaber's studies (1966, 1968, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1982 and especially 1984: 28-29, 61-2, 65, 68-70, 146). For the *mitsve tants* in general (also outside Hassidic communities) see the bibliography in Friedhaber 1984:174-183.

3 The recordings are kept at the National Sound Archives at the Jewish National University Library in Jerusalem (hereafter NSA). In 1983, when the present study was undertaken, about two thirds of the final corpus were at the NSA. These had been recorded by Andre Hajdu and Yaakov Mazor in the framework of their research project on Hassidic dance tunes. The rest of the recordings were made specifically for the present study.

4 On the *klezmerim* see Stutschewsky 1959, Rivkind 1960, Mazor and Seroussi 1990. Cohen-Reiss (1967:39) relates how in the 1860's Rabbi Meir Auerbach and his tribunal banned instrumental music at weddings in Jerusalem. Rabbi M.J.L. Diskin, who succeeded Rabbi Auerbach, zealously adhered to his predecessor's instructions (cf. Yadler 1967:348). Recently, however, a sort of substitute for the *klezmer* band has developed, in the form of a single musician singing and accompanying himself on percussion instruments (snare drum, bass drum and a single cymbal) which were not affected by the ban (see Mazor 1978:72; NSA Yc 167 and 168). Another recent tendency aiming at circumventing the ban consists of celebrating the wedding outside Jerusalem, sometimes barely off the outskirts of the city. These means of overcoming the ban are mentioned already in the fifteenth century by the Maharil (see Sperling 1961: 407, # 960, note).

5 See Zizmor 1922, Lahad 1980, Mazor and Seroussi 1990.

to weddings without a *badkhn*. Here again, the latter type is typical of the Jerusalemite weddings, which we have chosen as the subject of our study.⁶ As we shall see, the absence of *klezmerim* and a *badkhn* is not the only feature distinguishing the Jerusalemite wedding type from other Hassidic weddings in Jerusalem or elsewhere.

The Jerusalem wedding is characteristic of the common folk in certain Hassidic communities in Jerusalem, so far found in communities of Biala, Boyan, Karlin, Lelov, Rakhmestrivke, Toldot Aharon, Zanz and Zvil. The Hassidim of Lubavitch and Bratslav, though following the general pattern of the Jerusalemite wedding, do not practice the *mitsve tants*. Within the general pattern common to all Jerusalemite weddings, one may observe two main variants concerning the *mitsve tants*, one characteristic of the Toldot Aharon community (hereafter TA) and the second of all other communities. Since most recordings of this second variant in our corpus come from the Zanz and Karlin communities, they are referred to as the Zanz-Karlin variant (hereafter ZK).

Our corpus of Jerusalemite weddings includes twenty one recordings from different communities, with supplementary information from additional eleven weddings of a mixed type which, strictly speaking, do not belong to the Jerusalemite type. In all, we have recorded fifteen informants who conduct the *mitsve tants*, out of whom four may be regarded as regulars, while the rest perform it only occasionally within their families. Most of our informants, including the four regulars, belong to three Hassidic communities: Karlin, Zanz, and Toldot Aharon (on the history of these communities see Rabinowicz 1982:112 ff., 205 ff. and Steinberger 1948:37-38). Even though the global amount of data is not as large as desired we esteem that the extant evidence is reliable, given the relative constancy manifest throughout several performances by the same informant over an important period of time, and the comparison of several performers belonging to the same community.

6 This type of wedding, without *badkhn* and *klezmerim*, is usually called "wedding according to the usage of Jerusalem", while the other type is normally referred to as "wedding according to the usage of the Diaspora". Besides these basic types, we also have evidence of weddings in which elements of both types coexist. These may appear in weddings of families of Rebbes (Hassidic leaders) who live in Jerusalem, e.g. Boyan, Lelov and Spinke. Another instance of a mixed type wedding is the usage of Tiberias which contains *klezmerim*, but not a *badkhn*. Replacing the *badkhn* in the Tiberias weddings there is, as in Jerusalem, a person who invites the dancers with a fixed formula. However, the Tiberian formula differs from the Jerusalemite (see NSA Yc 2254). The origins and diffusion of the Tiberian type require a separate study. The reasons for the absence of a *badkhn* from the Jerusalemite wedding are not clear. Hassidim usually explain this fact saying that "there is no one left who is capable of doing it". Still, there is evidence of several *badkhonim* active in Jerusalem in the past (Cohen-Reiss 1967:39).

ETHNOLOGICAL CONTEXT

The Hassidic society consists of a large number of communities. The leadership in each community is exercised by a Rebbe (called also Tsadik i.e., "righteous", or Admor, abbreviation for "Our Master, Teacher and Rebbe"), a function which is normally passed on hereditarily. Apart from their historical affiliation to different dynasties, the communities also differ in several aspects of their spiritual and social life (see Rubinstein 1972:1391-1440). They all share, however, certain common features, one of which is especially relevant to our study: the strict observance of Jewish traditional law, particularly in the domains of chastity and family life. The cardinal importance given to purity in sexual behaviour reveals itself in the educational system, and in the practical separation of the sexes starting from a very young age. At thirteen, the age of religious maturity, this segregation is complete (at times even among family members).⁷

Sexual education in the Hassidic context emphasizes the sacrality of marriage as directed chiefly at abiding by the holy command of procreation. Thus, a young couple about to be married are introduced to each other by a matchmaker, and have but one opportunity (two or three in "liberal" families) to speak with each other before the engagement contract is signed. In some cases they are not allowed to see one another at all during the period between the engagement and the wedding (not even in the presence of the families). In other cases they may meet a few times when the families get together. Given this background, is it at all imaginable for a female (the bride) to dance in public with several males, some of them strangers?

Indeed, in order to understand the significance of the *mitsve tants*, one has to examine the place of dance in Hassidic life and thought. Dance, as other modes of musical expression, has always been considered by Hassidim as an essential factor in the worship of God (Tishbi and Dan *EH*, 17, 810; Rubinstein 1972:1402). Beyond its power to evoke the rejoicing and enthusiasm necessary for the service of God, it has also been ascribed some mystic functions, like the power to bring about processes in the divine spheres, the *sefirôt*. The first Hassidic writer, Jacob Joseph of Polonnoye already expressed this idea in his interpretation of the Mishnaic saying on "how does one dance in front of the bride" (fol. 35b); the word "bride" in his commentary is understood as a symbol of the *šekînah*: "ובזה יובן 'כיצד מרקדין לפני הכלה', ר"ל שמתמיה כיצד מרקדין בזמן הזה בגלות השכינה..." ("and there by you'll understand [the Mishnaic phrase] 'how does one dance in front of

7 See Levi 1989, ch. 7, particularly pp. 80-82; 104, 114-115, 121-122. Some informants denote the kindergarten age as the beginning of sexual education.

the bride', namely it is odd how [it is possible] to dance in this time while the *šekînah* is in exile...because the dance [serves] to elevate the sparks and the lower degree in order to elevate it [i.e. the lower degree] to the supernal one like a holy dance').⁸

These two aspects of dance, i.e. rejoicing and mystic functions, are of particular importance in the Hassidic concept of the *mitsve tants*. First, it is an explicit religious duty to make the young couple joyful (a generally recognized Jewish principle attested as early as the fourteenth century, see Ben Asher, # 65, probably based on the custom described in the Talmud, *Beraḳôt* 6b and *Ketubbôt* 16b). Second, the marriage ceremony, and moreover the consummation of the marriage thereafter, are considered, in the framework of the Kabbalah, as highly propitious occasions for influencing processes in the divine world.⁹ Although only few explicit statements on this matter are found in Hassidic writings (Sperling 1961:419, # 995; Frish 1973, ch.1 # 23, ch.4 # 40, 42, 43), oral statements and hints made by several Hassidic informants from different communities refer to the sacrality ascribed to the consummation of marriage. Finally, Hassidic written sources and oral remarks make it clear that the *mitsve tants* is considered to carry a certain mystical significance.¹⁰ In any case, it is a unique occasion for attaining

8 Later Hassidic sources relate to this idea, e.g. Nahman of Bratslav, fol. 16b, 62a; Nathan of Nemirov (1956), fol. 69b, 91a-b; 1957, part 1, fol. 16b, part 2, fol. 13a-b). The view that man's deeds reflect and influence the "upper world" was taken over by Hassidism, along with many other ideas, from the mystic thinkers of the Kabbalah (see Scholem 1961:325-344; see also Tishby 1961:346-7).

9 Marriage is considered in the Kabbalah as one of man's central duties. The union of man and woman in this sacred bond symbolizes the sacred union of the celestial bride and celestial bridegroom (Scholem 1961:227, 235 and 1980:134). The bridegroom represents the divine male element (*yesôd* or *tif'eret*) in the divine system of the *sefirôt*, while the bride represents the divine female element (*šekînah*). Moreover, marriage and the human sexual union, considered as theurgical acts, have an enormous impact on both the divine cosmos and the inferior world (Tishbi 1961, vol. 2: 587-588, 609 ff., 613, 618-619; see also: Idel 1989:346-347).

10 Actually many Hassidim refuse to comment on this matter at all. Others agree that the *mitsve tants* symbolizes "high and secret matters" or "sacred worship" but claim that they do not know the precise details of this symbolism which is revealed only to few righteous men (*zaddîqîm*). As one of our informants wisely phrased it: "Those who know will not tell, and those who tell do not know" (NSA Yc 2286). Two *zaddîqîm* who had the reputation of knowing the secret of the *mitsve tants* were R. Motele of Tchernobyl (1770-1837) and R. Isroel of Rizhin (1796-1850) (see Horodetsky 1944, vol. 4: 192; Landoy 1960:60; Levinsky 1960:68). Explicit reference to the mystic function of the *mitsve tants* is found only in one source (Meir 1823:287-288, a Lubavitch

spiritual exaltation during which the Tsadik can perform mystical deeds, and in the eyes of the common folk, an act of preparation for the consummation of the marriage.¹¹

Nevertheless, given the problematics of the particular situation of a female dancing in public with males, the *mitsve tants* is not fully accepted by all Hassidic communities. At least two of them (Lubavitch and Bratslav) do not practice it at all, while other communities restrict the *mitsve tants* ceremony in matters concerning the audience and the dancers.¹² When the families of the young couple

source) which describes it as a theurgical act which brings about the unification of the Celestial Bride and Groom and, as a result, that of the earthly couple. Other sources provide only hints concerning the meaning of this secret. Landoy (1960:60) quotes a *Zaddiq* saying, before the *mitsve tants*: “bride, that is *šekinah*” (cf. Midner 1966 # 660). Horodetsky (ibid.) quotes a Hassidic saying: “the dance of the *zaddiq* in front of the bride is like dancing in front of the *šekinah*”. Even (1922:207) reveals that: “the *mitsve tants* is a symbol of the unification of the Holy One, blessed be He, and His Divine Shekinah”.

It is quite puzzling that three other written references which relate to the mystical significance of dances at weddings and to the “dance of the *zaddiq* with the bride” belong to the communities of Bratslav and Lubavitch which do not practice the *mitsve tants* nowadays (see Nahman of Bratslav, 1808: fol. 53b, and Nathan of Nemirov 1956, fol. 41b, 91a-b; for Lubavitch, see JNUL Ms. 8° 3444, (dated 1828-29) p.65, # 14).

- 11 This statement is found in the rhymes of a *badkhn* (NSA Yc 2509) and in the interview mentioned above (NSA Yc 2286, see note 10). Two testimonies show the dedication of *zaddiqim* to this ritual: a) The wedding ceremony of the granddaughter of R. Moshe Leib of Sasov (1745-1807) unexpectedly took place during her menstruation period. Thus, after her purification two ceremonies were reperformed in the presence of the closest relatives: the *qiddûšin* and the *mitsve tants* (Gelb 1928:12b); b) R. Menahem Mendl of Kosov (1768-1825), disciple of R. Moshe Leib of Sasov, fearing that his old age and poor health will not allow him to attend the wedding of a relative of his with R. Dovidl of Tolna (1808-1882), danced with the bride at his home many hours before the *huppah* (see Tversky 1938: 132-133, and also Lebovitch 1929, vol. 2, ch. 8, # 5 fol. 80a); Steinman 1969, vol. 3: 104). Friedhaber (1982:39) mistakenly attributes this story to Moshe Leib of Sasov.
- 12 One informant distinguished between four categories of Hassidim with regard to the *mitsve tants*: a) those who practise it because they know its symbolic significance; b) those who practise it because they acknowledge some symbolic significance, which they themselves do not know; c) those who practise it as a simple matter of tradition, without assigning any special significance to it, and d) those who know its significance but are nevertheless opposed to it. In non-Hassidic orthodox circles there has always been strong opposition to this practise. See Spitzer 1913: fol.13a-13b; Rivkind 1962:45, 47. A well-known opponent was R. Akiba Joseph Schlesinger (d. 1921), whose last will to his children was to forbid the *mitsve tants*.

do not see the matter eye to eye, there are strong feelings involved and scandals may occur.¹³

THE JERUSALEMITE WEDDING

The common Jerusalemite wedding (except those involving the Rebbe's family which present features of the Diaspora-type: a reception, a *badkhn* and sometimes even a choir) begins with the signing of the marriage contract (*ketubah*) in the presence of representatives from the two families.¹⁴ Thereupon the bride and bridegroom are prepared for the marriage ceremony. The preparation consists of the removal of any object, like a watch, jewels, money, and the untying of the bridegroom's laces. The bridegroom's forehead is smeared with ash, and he is dressed in a *kittl*, a white linen robe worn on the High Holidays.¹⁵ He is then

- 13 See also Hazan 1972:33, no.44. A Jerusalemite Hassid described a 1945 dispute between two families concerning the *mitsve tants*. The father of the bride, of the Schlesinger family (which traditionally opposed this custom, see note 12), stealthily left with his daughter just before the dance was to begin, and locked himself up at home together with the bride. Finally, after long negotiations between the families, he consented that the *mitsve tants* take place, on condition that it be held at his home in the presence of the parents only and that it consist solely of the bridegroom dancing with his bride. The same informant proudly related how many years later he himself prevented the *mitsve tants* at the wedding of his daughter, by snatching away the bride and the groom just before the dancing was to begin. In one recorded wedding (NSA Yc 1120) the grandfather of the bride compelled the family of the groom to practise the dance, though as non-Hassidim they were quite opposed to it. However, in two more recent weddings in the same family, the *mitsve tants* was not practised, because of opposition from the other family (NSA Yc 2689 and Y 5503).
- 14 The Diaspora type which is characteristic of weddings in the families of Rebbes is preceded by the following events: *forshpiel* on the Sabbath eve immediately before the wedding, *khosn mol* (groom's meal) for the members of the family, and a special meal for the poor, both taking place a day or two before the wedding; a farewell party given by the groom for his fellow-students on the wedding day (only in few communities, e.g. Gur); a reception (*kabolasponim*) for the guests and relatives just before the wedding ceremony (see Gutwirth 1970:344-5). During the reception the marriage contract is signed, special tunes are played and sung (see Mazor 1978:68-69, 74-77), and the *badkhn* recites moralizing verses.
- 15 These preparations fit well into the general idea that the wedding day is for the bride and groom as the Day of Atonement. Thus, they both fast on this day and in the afternoon service (*minhah*) they say the *widdûy* (confession). See Ganzfried 1942, ch. 146a,d, 147d; Sperling 1961:402(941), 406(951), 407(957).

led by his father and the bride's father to the *badekns* (the veiling of the bride's face), in a procession during which special *niggûnîm* are sung.¹⁶ After the bride's veiling the procession moves on to the *huppah* (canopy). The bride is brought by the two mothers while the men wait under the canopy, singing.¹⁷

Following the marriage ceremony (*qiddûšîn*) under the canopy, the bride and groom are secluded in a separate room (*yihûd*) to break their fast which has lasted for the whole day, while the audience sits down for the nuptial meal in two separate halls, men and women apart. During the meal, while the bride and groom rejoin the audience in the respective halls, singing and dancing by the public erupts, accompanied, and sometimes conducted by a single singer-drummer (see note 4). After the blessings which follow the meal (*birkat ham-mazôn* and *ševa' berakôt*), public singing and dancing ends, most of the guests leave, and the *mitsve tants* starts in presence of the families, relatives and some close friends.¹⁸

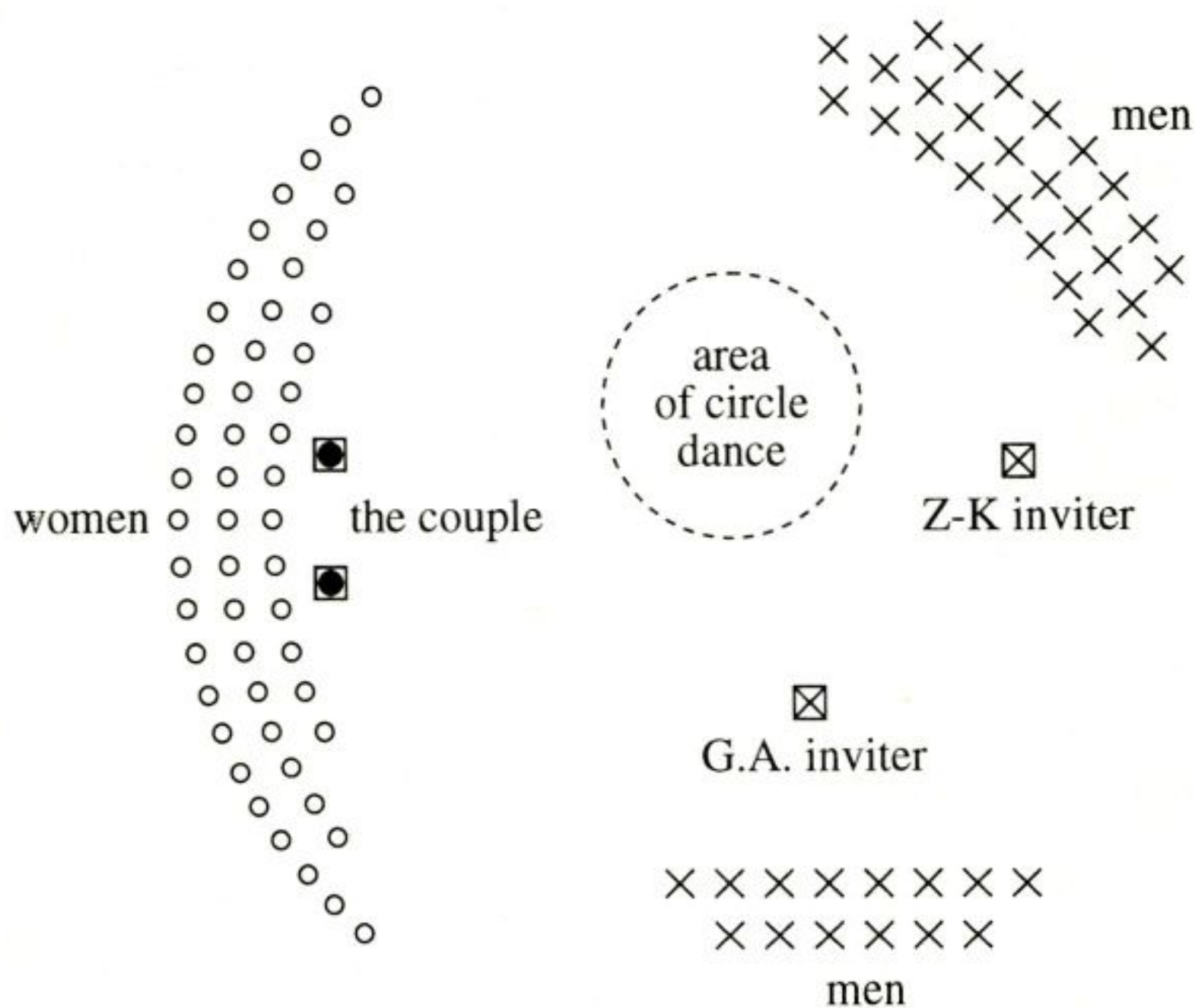
In some cases, the unmarried young men (the groom's colleagues) are explicitly invited to leave before the *mitsve tants* begins.¹⁹ The bride and the women enter the men's hall and take places on one side of it. The bride and groom are seated on two adjoining chairs in the center. The women, seated or standing, gather behind the couple, while the men, trying to avoid facing the women, are seated in a semicircle in front of the couple or elsewhere in the hall. At some weddings of the Toldot Aharon community, women are allowed to enter the men's hall only after a partition (*mekhitze*) has been erected to separate between the two sexes.

16 The term *niggûn* (pl. *niggûnîm*) is used by the Hassidim to denote tunes, even of different nature, sung or played with or without text (see Mazor and Seroussi 1991).

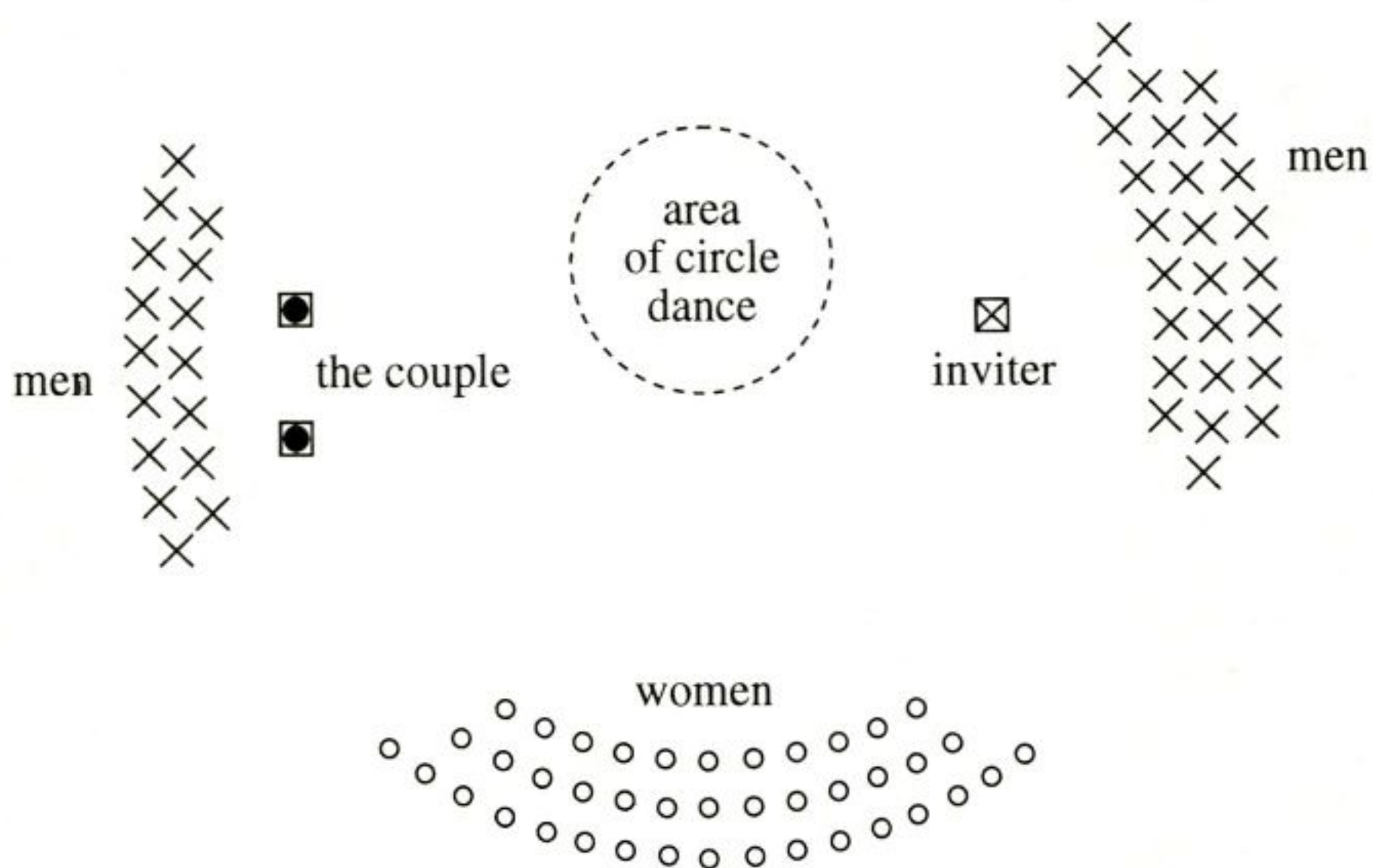
17 In the Jerusalemite communities a special tune served in the past for the *badekns*, the procession towards the canopy and the ceremony under the canopy (see Mazor 1978:85 and Hajdu-Mazor 1988:100, no. 4). In recent years, however, some new tunes have been introduced (see for example: Mazor 1978:78 and Hajdu and Mazor 1988:99, no. 3).

18 In the diaspora type, at the court of some dynasties, such as Vizhnits in Beney Berak and Kretchnif in Rehovot, performances of choirs may occur during the meal, while the *mitsve tants* takes place in a different building, where only a selected group of guests are allowed access.

19 See NSA, Yc 951. This seems to be a long standing tradition. Linetski's (1898:47) hero plaintively relates how, as a bachelor, he was deprived of the privilege to attend the dance ceremony.

A. A typical arrangement of the audience in a Jerusalemite *Mitsve*-dance

B. A Z-K variant arrangement in 1984



The dancing ceremony is directed by a person (hereafter "the inviter") whose function is to invite some of the guests to dance with the bride. He does not bear the title "*badkhn*" nor does he consider himself as such because he does not recite rhymed verses, which are the trade mark of the professional jester. Besides, unlike the *badkhn*, he usually receives no remuneration for his task, and quite frequently he is simply a member of the family. Though there seems to be no specific term to designate him, his function is usually called *oysrufn*, "proclaim", *oyfrufn*, "invite", or simply *zogn*, "say".²⁰ He invites each guest in his turn to dance with the bride, using a fixed formula of text and tune. The first guests to be invited are normally the grandfathers, then the fathers and finally the bridegroom. When the Rebbe is present, he is of course invited to dance first. In rare cases grand-uncles and uncles are invited too, but only if they have a high status in the community (NSA Y 3675).

Each guest invited to dance stands up in his turn and walks toward the bride, who rises to her feet. The guest takes hold of one end of a kerchief or a *gartl* ("girdle") while the bride holds the other end, and they dance to a tune sung by the public.²¹ Actually only the guest dances, without facing the bride, sometimes with his eyes closed, using the step pattern of the common circle dance, while she—her face covered with a non-transparent veil—hardly moves at all. The bride may allow herself at times a few movements which resemble dancing, and this only with her father and bridegroom. Otherwise she might risk frowning looks and critical whispers from the audience (NSA Yc 391). In some Jerusalemite weddings, however, the bride did dance (or rather walk)

20 The three terms are not sharply defined and are used indiscriminately. "*Oyfrufn*", literally "call up" normally signifies "to summon someone to the Torah in the synagogue". On the Sabbath preceeding the wedding, the groom is summoned to the Torah, and this occasion, connected with an extensive celebration, is called *oyfrufns*. The term may have been introduced here because of its similarity to *oysrufn*, "proclaim", which stands for proclaiming the name of the person invited to dance with the bride.

21 The kerchief and *gartl* are, of course, means for preventing physical contact between the dancers of two sexes. For the daily use of the *gartl* and its function in the preparation for the service see: Wertheim (1960:73 and note 65). Some Rebbes are not content with these precautions and insist on dancing in front of the bride without any contact at all, thus clinging literally to the mishnaic saying (*Ketubbôt* 16b) "*kêzad meraqqedîn lifnê hak-kallah*" ("how does one dance in front of the bride") and not "with" the bride. See also Stern 1975:191-192, # 131; Landoy 1960:60; Lebovitch 1929:80a; Shapiro 1922:5b, # 6. This custom is frequently discussed by pre-Hassidic authorities. See the Bet Shemuel commentary in Jacob ben Asher (late 17th century), fol. 56b.

in the following manner: she and the guest stand shoulder facing shoulder, and move forward in a path making a circle.

After a few steps, the guest drops the girdle or kerchief and is joined by the other men in the common circle dance, while the bride returns to her chair beside the groom. If the guest prolongs his dancing with the bride beyond the norm, he is drawn away by the men into their circle.²² The last in turn to dance with the bride is the groom. They hold hands and make a round or two, and then the groom is drawn back into the men's circle. The Rebbe does not dance the *mitsve tants* in this regular fashion. He stands in front of the bride with his right side turned to her and moves forward and backward in quick short steps. This type of dancing is called in Hassidic sources (Shapiro 1922:5b, # 6; Lebovitch 1929:80a) "running back and fro" רצוא ושוב. This term is loaded with mystical connotations referring to the processes in the divine *sefirôt* and to the ups and downs in man's attempt to come closer to God (Piekarz 1985:95).

After the dance, the guests wish good luck and bid "good night" to one another, and the wedding is over.

Beside these constitutive elements of the *mitsve tants*, there are also optional ones or fixed only in one tradition, some of which are reminiscent of the Diaspora-type wedding. For example, the *mitsve tants* ceremony starts, at times, with the singing of special tunes, either by the inviter or by the audience (see below). The dancing is sometimes preceded by consultations between representatives of the families and the inviter concerning the order of the invited dancers. Between the invitation and the dance, additional events may occur. The inviter and/or the audience sing a short musical fragment on the word *shabes* (Sabbath; see Ex. 1), a reminiscence of the Diaspora-type custom to collect a payment (*shabes*



Example 1: "Shabes" (Yc 2220/23)

22 The famous *badkhn* J. Zizmor (1923, col. 875) relates how after a round or two the *badkhn* used to proclaim: "shoyn getantst", "you have already danced [enough]". See also Rivkind 1960:30 note 35 and Gotlober 1976:106. On the other hand, there is no limitation to the Rebbe's dance, and there are several stories about a Rebbe dancing for hours in ecstasy (Horodetsky 1944, vol.4:192; Levinski 1960:98; Landoy 1960:60, see Midner 1966, # 660).

gelt) for the *badkhn* and *klezmerim* from each guest invited to dance (Lieberman 1984: 426ff). The inviter and/or the audience proclaim “*er geyt, er geyt*” (“here he comes”), a reminiscence of a typical final verse used by the *badkhn* in the Diaspora-type. The guest invited to dance is offered a glass of brandy, and the toast is accompanied by humoristic remarks and congratulations from the audience. The preparation for the dance may also include changing the hat of the guest dancer and even combing his beard. The inviter and/or audience sometimes sing an introductory verse before the invitation, or before the guest begins his dance, which begins with the words “*leykakh, bronfn, ayngemakhts*” (“cake, liquor, confiture”; see Ex. 2) to a tune which is a reduced variant of the “*Misoyd khakhumim*” *niggun* (see Ex. 22a below). At some weddings, mostly of the Karlin community, a farewell song, “*Hots mir a gute nakht* (literally “have me a good night”; see Ex. 3) is sung after the *mitsve tants*. This song is not deprived of some subtle connotations. This seems to be a vestige of a repertoire of “goodnight” songs sung at the end of Jewish weddings in Eastern Europe (see Stutschewsky 1959: 176).



Example 2: *Leykakh, bronfn* (Y 4557/3 and 8)



Example 3: *Hots mir a gite nakht* (Y 4561/16)

THE INVITATION TO THE MITSVE TANTS

The inviter who directs the *mitsve tants* invites the guests and relatives to dance with the bride according to an established pattern of text and music (see below). In both the TA and ZK variants, the text sung by the inviter for each dancer

consists of two main parts. The first is the proclamation “*yamoyd*” (Hebrew *ya’amod* “let him stand up”) repeated several times (see Ex. 4, col. A). The second is a performative sentence, summoning the dancer (mentioned by his affinity to the bride and sometimes also by his name and title) to dance with the bride (see Ex. 4, cols. C, E, F, G).

In the ZK variant there are two additional elements, which do not, however, alter the overall structure of the invitation. First, between the proclamation “*yamoyd*” and the invitation proper (see Ex. 4, col. B) there is a series of praising utterances in honour of the guest (at times, though, with a trace of mockery) consisting of indirect attributes to which the guest is compared. For example, “in the place of pious Jews thou shalt stand up” or “in the place of venerable Jews thou shalt stand up” may be substituted by “in the place of Lithuanian [non or anti-Hassidic] Jews thou shalt *not* stand up” or “in the place of American Jews thou shalt *not* stand up”. Second, a series of praising adjectives, e.g. “a fine Jew”, “a nice Jew”, “a pious Jew”, are added before the title and the name of the invited (see Ex. 4, col. D and Ex. 6 for some examples of praisings).

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
TA	<i>yamoyd</i>	<i>yamoyd</i>	Now we shall call...		(Name) (title) (affinity)	to dance with the bride	the ritual dance
ZK	<i>yamoyd</i>	In the place of pious venerable Jew, etc... <i>yamoyd</i>	Now we shall call...	a nice Jew, etc.	(Name) (title) (affinity)	to dance with the bride	the ritual dance

Example 4: Schematic pattern of the invitation in the TA and ZK variants

Notes to example 4: *Yamoyd* (column A) is repeated in both variants, usually seven times. This form coincides with the formula for summoning a person to the Torah reading on a special occasion in the synagogue.²³ While the ZK

23 The formula for summoning a person to the Torah reading on weekdays and Sabbaths starts with the word *ya’amod*. On *Simḥat tôrah*, when the *ḥatan tôrah* (“bridegroom of the Torah”) is called up to the reading of the final verses of the Torah, the word *yamoyd* is repeated three times (see Yaari 1964:140).

variant has a repertoire of praises, such as “pious Jews”, “Hassidic Jew”, or the ironical or humorous attributes, such as “Lithuanian Jews” and “accountants” (column B), the TA variant repeats the word *yamoyd* another nine times while developing the musical theme of column A (see Ex. 7, phrases β , and β_1). The wording in column C may slightly differ from one performer to another, and sometimes in the performances by the same inviter (e.g. “First will be called”, “Now will be called”, “We shall call”, “We shall honour”). Unlike column B, column D does not include ironical praises in the ZK variant, and it totally lacks in the TA variant. In column E, the constant element is the affinity of the dancer to the bride, e.g. “the father of the bride”, while his name and title are optional, except for the Rebbe who is invited only by his title and never by his name. In exceptional cases greetings, blessings, or humorous remarks may appear in column E. Such remarks appear in the S/K versions, reflecting the attitude of the inviter towards the invited dancer. In TA only the Rebbe is blessed by the inviter, thus stressing his central status in the community. Finally, in column F, we only find slight variations, e.g. “to dance with the bride” or “to dance with his daughter the bride”. The groom is invited, of course, “to dance with his own bride” (see Ex. 10, line 6 for some of these phrases).

The language of the invitation is a mixture of *Loshn koydesh* (“sacred language”, i.e. Hebrew-Aramaic of the sacred scriptures in the Ashkenazi pronunciation) and Yiddish, which, in its turn, also contains a merged *Loshn koydesh* component.²⁴ In the ZK variant, elements from modern Hebrew (*Ivris*) in the Ashkenazi pronunciation may also appear in a humoristic context.²⁵

The opening and the final part of the invitation (columns A and G) are ‘pure’ *Loshn koydesh*: “*yamoyd*”, “*mitsvas rekide*”. The “functional” parts (columns C, E, F) are in “pure” Yiddish (with the normal merged Hebrew component), e.g. “*yetst geyt men oyfrufn*”, “*tsum ersht wet men oyfrufn*” (C), “*dem feter fun di kale*”, “*dem Rebn Shlite*” (E), “*er zol geyn tantsn mit di kale...*” (F). Only the “expressive” parts containing praises (columns B and D in the ZK variant) mix Yiddish and *Loshn koydesh*, and sometimes Ivris, e.g. “*bimkoym Hassidim yamoyd*” (*Loshn Koydesh*); “*bimkoym fayne yidn yamoyd*” (*Loshn koydesh*, Yiddish, *Loshn koydesh*); “*bimkoym menahaley heshboynes yamoyd*” (*Loshn koydesh*, Ivris, *Loshn koydesh*).

24 On “whole Hebrew” (*Loshn koydesh*) as determinant of Yiddish versus “merged” Hebrew as component of Yiddish, see Weinreich 1980, especially chapters 4 and 7.

25 On the attitude towards modern Hebrew in Jerusalemite ultra-orthodox population, see Poll 1980.

THE MUSIC OF THE INVITATION TO THE *MITSVE TANTS*

The parameters used in the musical analysis belong to three domains: time, pitch and performance. From the first domain we analysed the following variables: beat, rest, length of tone and the compound variables derived from them: meter, tempo and rhythmic type. From the second domain we analysed one basic variable: absolute pitch, as well as three compound variables concerning relative pitch: intervals, scale and range. In the third domain we distinguished between solo and responsorial singing. Besides these variables, we also used super-compound units belonging to more than one domain: melodic patterns based on rhythmic and melodic elements, and phrases consisting of sequences of motifs which are realizations of these patterns.

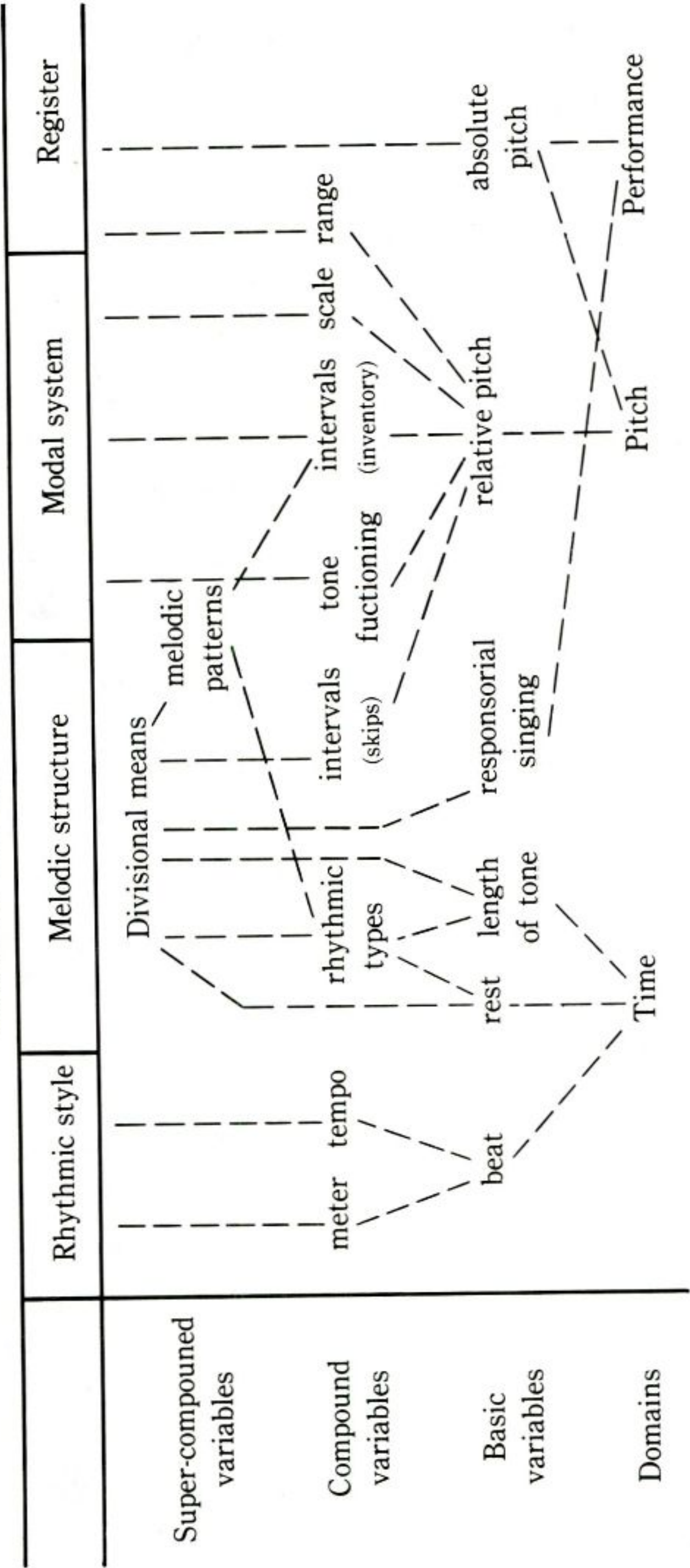
From a functional point of view, the parameters may be grouped as follows:

- a. Determination of the rhythmic nature of the music, namely beat, meter (or their absence) and tempo;
- b. Determination of divisional means, such as rest and relative duration of tone for primary division and sub-division;²⁶
- c. Determination of the modal system, such as scale, range, intervals, melodic patterns and function of tones (see Ex. 5).

The invitation tune in both communal variants shows three features which are typical of various liturgical and paraliturgical tunes (see Ex. 6). These features correspond very closely to one of the definitions of cantillation (see Bayer 1971:128 #1). The tune is mostly sung to an unmeasured rhythm, i.e. without determined beat and meter. From this feature follows also the undetermined nature of the tempo, in which accelerations and ritardandi are detectable, but hardly measurable.

26 In an unmeasured tune such as "*Yamoyd*", it is not possible to express exactly the proportion between the length of tones by conventional notation. However, relatively long tones are easily distinguished when appearing after shorter ones. We have thus contained ourselves with a gross distinction between long tones (●) and short (•) since various lengths of the long tones do not seem to have any significance, functional or other. Nevertheless in some places, mainly at the end of the tune, measured rhythm can be observed, and in these places we have used the conventional notation. Following the same principles, we marked the pauses with commas above the pentagram because we did not find any significance in the relative length of the pauses.

Example 5: The musical parameters

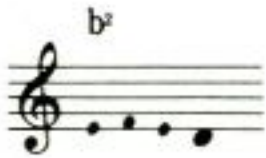

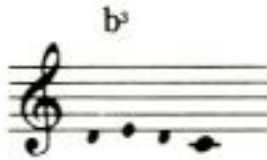



While the tune itself consists of several melodic patterns and rhythmic types, each of which may have several realizations (i.e. motifs), the opening and closing sections of the tune form, in both variants, a typical psalmodic structure (see Ex. 7).

The motives, determined by means of pauses and long tones, belong to five melodic patterns as follows: A (Initium and recitation tone), B (neumatic or melismatic ornament consisting of seconds and thirds), C (two tones, either identical or creating a descending second or third; conjunct combinations of two motives of this pattern into one motif was marked by C₆ and C₇ to denote a special motif with a specific function), D (ascending fourth), E (ascending-descending sequence consisting of a succession of two thirds in the ascending part, and of a second followed by a third in the descending part, see Ex. 7 and 8).

The rhythm consists of three rhythmic types which are organized according to different principles: (a) unmeasured short tone (or tones), preceded or followed by a long tone or a short tone plus a pause; (b) short measured rhythmic motives; (c) various unmeasured lengths arranged in the sequence long-short-long. All realizations of the melodic patterns A, B, D as well as many realizations of pattern C show the first type. Few realizations of patterns A and C show the second type, and some of pattern E show the third type.

At first glance, some of the realizations of B seem to be variants of certain realizations of C. E.g.:

pattern B		pattern C
	variant of	
	variant of	

The reason for grouping motives of different pitch (e.g. b₂ + b₃) while separating them from seemingly similar motives of the same pitch, differing only by ornament, lies in the attitude of the Hassidim to both neumatic and melismatic ornamentation, which they label *kneytsh* (literally “crease”, “fold”; see Mazor-Seroussi 1990-1). The *kneytsh* is considered the essence of the Hassidic *niggûn*, embodying the spirit and message of the music. Musical styles are characterized by Hassidim in terms of differences in *kneytsh*. Evaluation of musical performance

Example 6: Invitation tune

T.A.

This musical score is written for a Tenor Alto (T.A.) voice. It consists of nine staves of music. The first staff contains a complex melodic line with various ornaments, including a triplet of eighth notes, a grace note, and a series of sixteenth notes. The subsequent staves show a more simplified version of the melody, with some staves featuring a single note or a short phrase. The notation includes various musical symbols such as treble clefs, notes, rests, and ornaments. The overall style is that of a traditional folk or church tune.

Example 6 (cont.)

Handwritten musical score for 'Z. K.' on ten staves. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The score is written in a cursive, handwritten style. The first staff contains a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a series of notes and rests. The second staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The third staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The fourth staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The fifth staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The sixth staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The seventh staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The eighth staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The ninth staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The tenth staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The score is written in a cursive, handwritten style.

pattern A



pattern B



pattern C



pattern D



pattern E



*special or exceptional variants

Example 8: Melodic patterns and their realizations

is frequently determined by the performer's capability to retain in his singing all the traditional details of *kneytsh*.²⁷

The occurrence of *kneytsh* in the realizations of pattern B of the invitation tune is one of the main differences between TA and ZK variants. The *kneytsh* is much more frequent in TA than in ZK. It predominates in phrases α , β , β_1 of TA and, in certain performances, appears also in phrase α_1 , whereas in ZK it appears almost only in α (see Ex. 9).

Another salient difference between the two variants concerns the text/music relation in the middle section of the invitation tune (phrases β , β_1 in TA and γ in ZK). In the TA variant, though using mainly a series of *kneytshn*, i.e. realizations of pattern B for the repetition on the word *yamoyd* (as in α), a new musical phrase is constructed which differs from that of the first phrase (α) and is

27 See Mazor and Seroussi 1990-91. Hassidic opposition to the notation of Hassidic music stems from their scepticism about the possibility to render with fidelity all details of the *kneytsh*, without which the *niggûn* would be like a dead body without a soul.

Example 9: Invitation tune — use of realizations

phrases		α	β	β_1	α_1	
patterns		A B	D B	D B	A	C
motives		$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} a \ b \ b_1 \ (b_2) \ b_3 \ b_4 \\ a_1 \ (c_2) \ c \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} d \ b_5 \ b_6 \ b_2 \\ d_1 \ b_6 \ b_7 \ b_3 \ b_8 \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} d_1 \ b_6 \ b_7 \ b_3 \ b_8 \\ c \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} a_1 \ a_1 \\ a_4 \ (a_1) \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} (b) \ c_6 \end{array} \right.$
						main version
						secondary version
phrases		α	γ	γ	γ	α_1
patterns		A B C/B C B/C	E C	E C	E C	C
motives		$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} a \ b \ c \ c \ b_4 \\ a_1 \ (c_3) \ b_1 \ (b_3) \ c_2 \\ (a_3) \ (c_3) \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} e \ c_2 \\ e_1 \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} e \ c_2 \\ e_1 \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} a_3 \ a_2 \ a_2 \text{ ossia } a_2 \\ (a_1) \ (a_1) \ (a_1) \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} c_6 \\ (a_1) \end{array} \right.$
						main version
						secondary versions

note: motives in brackets are used only by few informants

repeated in a melodic sequence (phrases β , β_1). In the ZK variant, the middle section is based on the combination of patterns E and C, forming a totally different phrase (γ), which is repeated as many times as needed according to the number of praises dedicated to the invited. In other words, in the TA variant the expansion of the new musical phrase is caused by a melodic development (a "melocratic phrase", see Herzog 1968:28-9), as opposed to the ZK variant where the expansion of the phrase is the result of the addition of text.

The structural analysis of the invitation tune regarding segmentation points, modification within the pattern, and music-text relations reveals still more differences between the two communal variants:

1) In the TA variant, the majority of the constant segmentation points (i.e. those occurring in all invitations of a given performer) are marked by a long tone, while only few are marked also by pauses.²⁸ When both a long tone and a pause appear at segmentation points in all performances, they are used to confine the major units (i.e. phrases α , β , β_1 see Ex. 7) of the tune and are common to all informants.²⁹ The former confine all the unmeasured sub-units (i.e. almost all the realizations of patterns A-E).³⁰ In ZK the most constant segmentation points are marked by pauses sometimes preceded by a long tone, but only few are marked exclusively by a long tone.³¹ The two ways of marking segmentation are

- 28 The constant pauses vary, according to performer, from three to five. Three performers (example 6, lines 1-2, 3, 4) have three pauses. One has four (ibid, line 10). Another one (ibid, lines 5-9) has five pauses. The number of long tones is 12, 14 or 17. Exceptions will be treated below.
- 29 When serving to mark major units, the pauses appear, of course, combined with long tones. With one performer (example 6, lines 5-9) the pauses serve in phrases α and β_1 , also to separate the half clause motif (b_4 or b_8) from the preceding contour. Besides, motif a_4 , characterized by a long high tone (G) serves with 3 out of 5 TA performers as an opening motif for phrase α_1 , and thus announces the beginning of the invitation proper (example 6, lines 1-4). Two TA performers use motif a_1 (which is one of the regular opening motives of phrase α) also as an opening motif for phrase. The absence of a distinctive opening motif is, however, compensated by the use of a different closing motif (b_8) for phrase β_1 . This motif replaces motif b_4 , from which it differs by a long elaborate melisma.
- 30 However, two realizations of pattern C in phrases α , α_1 are marked by a measured rhythm, while others of pattern A, unmeasured, are marked only by the repetition of the motif.
- 31 In several cases the segmentation points of the solo singing are obscured in the recording by the tutti response.

Example 10: Stresses and microtonic raises

- | | | | | | | | |
|--------|-------------------------------|------|--------|-------------|---------------------|--------|---------------------|
| ↑
> | Mirn mekhabed zayn, dem | rebn | shlite | ↑
> | r'zol tantsn mit di | ↑
> | kale mitsvas rekide |
| > | Mirn mekhabed zayn, dem elter | > | > | Mendl | > | > | kale mitsvas rekide |
| ↑
> | Mirn mekhabed zayn, dem | > | > | Shloyme | ↑
> | > | kale mitsvas rekide |
| > | Mirn mekhabed zayn, dem | > | > | Yankev | ↑
> | > | kale mitsvas rekide |
| ↑ | Mirn mekhabed zayn, dem | > | > | Sender | > | > | kale mitsvas rekide |
| > | Mirn mekhabed zayn, dem | > | > | Moyshe-Leyb | > | > | kale mitsvas rekide |

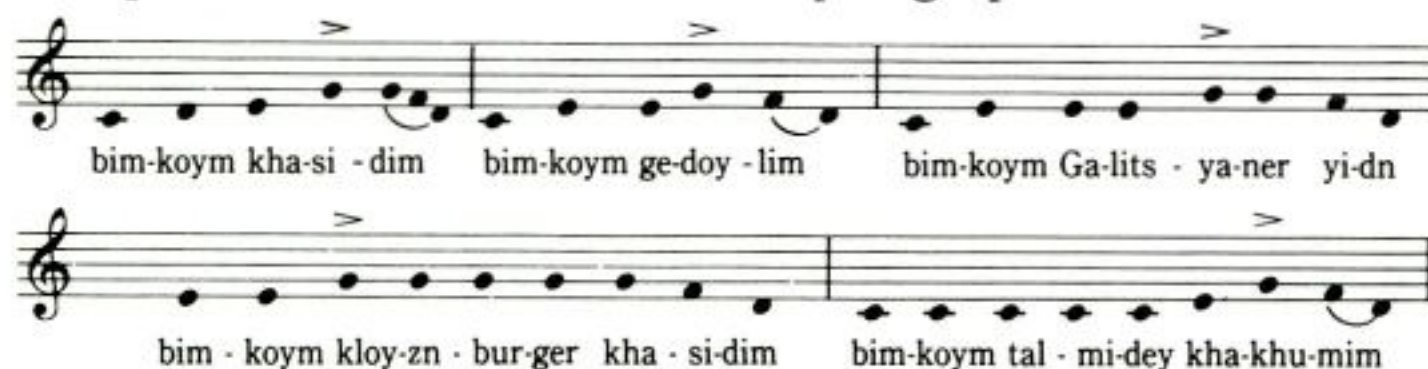
not distinguished functionally, since both (either separately or combined) serve to confine motives. On the other hand, major units are marked by the tutti response. The number of constant segmentation points is fixed in TA, but not in ZK, where it is linked to the number of praises.

2) In TA there is very little change in the number of motives used by each performer (20 motives used by 3 performers, 17 by two others). These changes are not linked to any textual differences, which in TA are very limited. In ZK the number of motives varies much more, since it depends mostly on the number of praises sung for each invited dancer.

3) The accentuation points in the invitation tune reflect in both communities the accentuation of the text (i.e. as it occurs in natural speech). Thus, construct-state compounds are accentuated on the penultimate syllable of the second element (e.g., *yirey shumáyim*, *magidey shiyírim*, *talmidey khakhúnim*, etc.), while nominal syntagms containing adjective + noun are accentuated on the first syllable of the adjective. (e.g. *voyle yidn*, *bóbover khsidim*, *klóyznburger khsidim*, etc.). Compounds of the Germanic type, in which the first noun determines the second (thus resembling adjective + noun syntagms) have their accent on the penultimate syllable of the first noun (e.g., *yeshíve tayt*). In prepositional syntagms only the noun governed by the preposition is accentuated, (e.g., *bimkoym khasáanim*, *mit di káale*, *dem zeydn fun di káale*). In verbal phrases only the main verb is accentuated, (e.g. *mir'n óyfrifn*, *mir'n mekhábéd zayn*, *er zol geyn tántsn*). However, in TA there is a stability in the number of accentuation points (5-7). The accentuation is dynamic, accompanied sometimes by a microtonic raise. (see Ex. 10)

In ZK, the number of accentuation points varies with the number of praises in the text. Here accentuation is expressed differently in the melodic parts (phrase γ) and the recitative parts (phrase α_1). In the melodic parts accentuation is expressed by the simultaneous occurrence of the first highest tone of the pattern (E) with the 'naturally' accentuated syllable (see Ex. 11).

This tone may also be marked by a dynamic increase which, however, is not always detectable, due to audience interference and to recording quality. In the recitative parts, accentuation is mostly dynamic, without change of pitch. Exceptions are treated in the next paragraph.



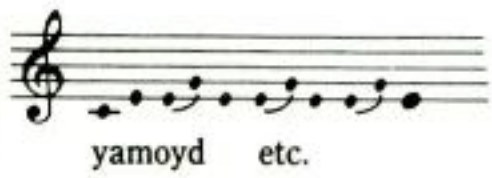
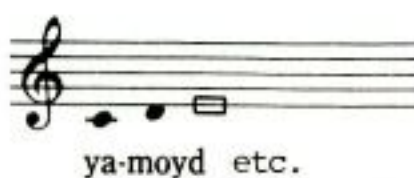




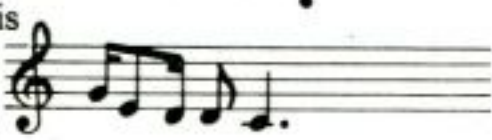

Example 11: Accentuation in melodic parts

4) There is also a difference between TA and ZK in the use of deviations from the regular structure for a specific purpose. In the TA variant exceptions consist of: (a) a change in the number of pauses and long tones resulting sometimes in a change in the number of motives (Ex. 6, line 6 vs. lines 5, 7-9); (b) a change from unmeasured to a measured rhythm appearing towards a segmentation point (see Ex. 6, line 1) (c) pitch modification within the pattern, but still remaining within the bounds of the musical mode (see Ex. 12); (d) a change in the number of accents (see Ex. 10, line 1 vs. the rest); (e) an ornamented motif (*kneytsh*) is preceded by a dynamically accentuated high-pitch, with a clear emotive function, and thus *yamoyd* becomes *i-ya-moyd* (Ex. 6, lines 7, 9). These exceptions are limited to the invitation of the Rebbe (Ex. 6, lines 1, 5, 8), and even more to that of the bridegroom (Ex. 6, lines 7, 9, 10), thus reflecting their exceptional status in the *mitsve tants*.

In ZK, we find: a) a change in the number of motives; b) pitch modification which includes also deviations from the mode, by glissandi and sounds of undeterminate pitch; c) a change in the number of accents (Ex. 6, lines 11-13). Here the exceptions are not limited to one given person. They appear in accordance to the number and nature of the titles and praises, which reflect the attitude of the performer towards the guests.

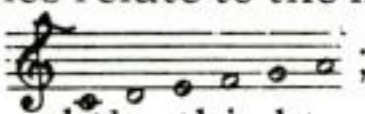
The "pitch range" of the invitation tune was measured in reference to the absolute pitch of the finalis in each single invitation. Each performer, regardless of community, seems to use a very narrow pitch range, with very little variation from one invitation to another, not only within a wedding, but also from one wedding to another. The performer's range varies from a minor second to a major third. The communal range (i.e. the combination of the ranges of all performers of a given community) also shows no significant difference between TA and ZK (perfect fourth against major third). However, there is difference in register: the TA performers prefer the middle register (e-a), while ZK use a somewhat higher register (a flat-c¹).

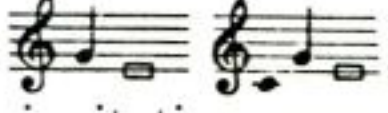
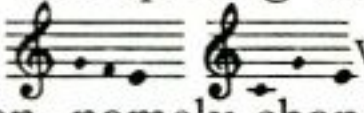
The question about the sources of the invitation tune now arises. The detailed examination of its modal system (i.e., the components scale, range, intervals, rhythmic and melodic patterns and tone-functioning) reveals similarities to tunes used in various liturgical functions. Among these functions three have been found to have the same modal system: (1) the marriage service tune which is sung under the canopy to the betrothal benediction (*birkôt erûsîn*) and the seven benedictions of marriage (*birkôt nissû'in*) which are also sung after the nuptial meal grace by Hassidim and Lithuanian Jews (see Ex. 13); (2) the Eastern Ashkenazi tune of the *widdûy* ("Confession") from the Yom Kippur liturgy (Ex. 14); (3) the tune of

in the opening phrase		replaces the ordinary	
in phrase β		replaces the ordinary	
in phrase α ,		replaces the ordinary	
the Finalis motif in phrase α ,		replaces the ordinary	

Example 12: Pitch modification

širat hay-yam ("Song of the Sea", Exodus, ch. 15) as chanted on *šaharîr* of the Sabbath and Holidays by western Ashkenazi Jews (see Ex. 15).³²

These three tunes relate to the invitation tune as follows: a) they are built on the major hexachord ; b) the opening tone, as a rule, is identical with the final tone (C) and the third tone (E) is the recitation tone, usually serving also for the half-clause demarcation; c) all these tunes (see Ex. 16) contain realizations of patterns A and B. The invitation, the benedictions, and the confession tunes contain also realizations of pattern C. Phrase γ and a reduced variant of phrase β appear in the invitation, as well as in the benedictions and in *širat hay-yam* tunes. Phrase α appears only in the invitation and the confession tunes; d) some of the common patterns and motives of these tunes have identical functions: pattern A serves as opening pattern in the invitation, benediction and confession tunes; motif C₆ (or its variant C₇), with a syncopic or quasi-syncopic rhythm, serves as finalis in those tunes; the combination of pattern E and motif C₂ (i.e. phrase γ) serves in the tune of the wedding benedictions, as well as in our tune, for enumerating members of a series, e.g., in the last benediction: *koyl susoyn vekoyl simho, koyl huson vekoyl kalo*; in the invitation (ZK variant only): *bimkoym hasidim yamoyd, bimkoym gedoylim yamoyd*.

Furthermore, initium II with its two variants , which in the TA variant serves as the opening motif of the invitation proper (phrase α_1), resembles the motives  which in the Yom Kippur confession tune fulfill a similar function, namely change of turn. In the Yom Kippur tune these motives occur on the opening syllable of the text, following a tune without text.

³² We are indebted for this information concerning the *širat hay-yam* tune, as well as for other helpful remarks, to Mr. Avigdor Herzog.

Example 13: The Seven Benedictions of Wedlock

The musical score is written on ten staves. The first staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The melody is written in a simple, folk-like style. The lyrics are in a mix of English and a non-English language, possibly a dialect or a constructed language. The lyrics are:

 bu-rikh atu adoynoy elohayni melekhuoy - lom

 bu-rikh a - tu adoynoy elohayni melekhuoy - lom

 bu-rikh atu adoynoy elohayni melekhuoy - lom

 soys to-sis ve-so-geyl a-ko-ro oy be-ki-butso-ne- yo le-soy-kho be-sim-kho

 soys to - sis vesogel a-ko-ro be-ki-butso-ne- ho le-soy-kho be-sim-kho

 bu-rikh a-tu adoynoy e-lo-heyne melekhuoylom a-shebu-ro su-soyn ve-sim-kho

 khu-son ve-ka-lu

 gi-lu ri-nu di-tsu ve-khed-vu

 a - vu - ve - akh - vu ve - shu-loym ve - re - yis

 mey-ro adoynoy elohayni ishuma burey ye-hi-du be-khu-tsoys yerisholoyim

 koyl su-soyn ve-koyl sim-khu

 koyl khu-soyn ve-kol ka-lu

 koyl mitaloys hasu-nim me-khi-pu-som in-u-rim negi-nu-som bu-rikh atu adoynoy me-sa-me-yakh khu-son im ha-ka-lu

(a)

α_1 $c_3 + c$
 e-lo key-ni ve-lo-key a-voy-sey-ni u-nu tu-voy le-fu-ne-khu te-fi-lu-sey-ni

a a_1 b_1
 ve-yal tis-a-ley-mi-tkhi-nu-sey-ni sheyn u-ni a-zey fu-nim ik-shey oy-ref

c c c
 loy-mar le-fu-ne-khu a-doy-shem e-loy-key-ni ve-loy key a-voy-sey-ni

c b c
 tsa-di-kim a-nakh-ni ve-loy kho-to-nu a-vol a-nakh-ni

b_3 α
 va-voy-sey-ni khu-tu-ni ay ay ay ay ay a-y ay a-y ay ay

c_6 α
 u-sham-ni bu-gad-ni gu-zal-ni di-bar-nu doy-fi ay ay ay ay ay ay ay ay

c_3 c_3 c_6
 a-yay ay ay ay e-vi-ni ve-hir-sho-ni zad-ni khu-mas-ni tu-fal-ni

α b_1
 she-ker ay ay ay ay ay y ay aya-y ay a yu-ats-ni ru ki-zav-ni

c_3 c_3 c α
 lats-nu mo-rad-nu ni-ats-nu so-rar-nu o-vi-ni ay ay ay ay ay y ay ay ay ay ay

c_3 c_3 c_6
 pu-sha-ni tsu-rar-ni ki-shi-ni oy-ref ru-sha-ni shi-khas-ni ti-av-ni to-i-ni ti-tu-ni

Example 14: Two versions of *Widdûy* of Yom Kippur (Yc 2755/7-8); (a) *Hassidic* (Yc 2755/7-8); (b) *Lithuanian* (Yc 2754).

(b)

oy oy oy oy oy oy oy oy oy oy oy o-sham-nu bo-god-nu go-zal-nu
di-bar-nu doy-fi oy oy oy oy oy oy oy oy oy oy oy he-vi-nu ve-hir-sha-nu
zad-nu kho-mas-nu to-fal-nu she-ker oy oy oy oy oy oy oy oy oy oy oy oy oy oy oy
oy oy oy yo-ats-nu ru ki-zav-nu lats-nu mo-rad-nu
ni-ats-nu so-rar-nu o-vi-nu po-sha-nu tso-rar-nu ki-shi-nu oy-ref
oy oy oy oy oy oy oy oy oy oy oy oy oy oy oy ro-sha-nu shi-khat-nu
ti-av-nu to-i-nu ti-to-nu o-nu a-zay pu-nim ve-a-to
ra-khum ve-ha-nun o-nu ke-shey oy-ref ve-a-to e-rekh a-pa-yim
o-nu me-le-e u-voin ve-ya-tu mu-le-ra-ha-min o-nu yo-mei-nu ke
tseyl oy-ver ve-a-tu hu ush-noy-se-khu loy yi-to-mu

Example 14 (cont.)

Example 15: *Širat hay-yam* (Yc 2416/8)

Az yashir... va-yom-ru... ley-mor... a-shi-ra la-shem... ki ga-o ga-a sus ve-rokh-vo ra-ma va-yam

Ozi vezimrat yah... e-lo-key a-vi va-a-ro-me-men-hu a-doy-shem... ish mil-kha-ma-a-do-shem... she-mo

Markevot... yar-du vim-zo-lot ke-mo-a-ven ye-min-kha ha-shem... ne-da-ri ba-ko-akh ye-min-kha ha-shem... tir-ats o-yev

Uverov... be-ma-yim a-di-rim mi-kha-mo-kha ba-ey-lim ha-shem mi-kha-mo-kha ne-dar ba-ko-desh

Nora tehilot... kol yo-she-vey khe-na-an ti-pol a-ley-hem... ey-ma-ta va-fa-khad big-dol ze-ro-a-kha yid-mu ka-a-ven

Teviemo... a-do-nay ko-ne-nu ya-de-kha... a-me-kha ha-shem ad ya-a-vor am zu ka-ni-ta

Yim-lokh le-o-lam va-ed

Ki va sus... va-ta-an la-hem mir-yam shi-ru la-shem... ki ga-o ga-a sus ve-ro-khe-vo ra-ma va-yam

Example 16: Different schemes of patterns, sections and motives in the tunes

Confession tune	$d_1 + x / a + a_1 + b + x + c + x + c + x / x + c + x, b + c + x,$ $b + x + b_3 + c + x / b + x + b_3 + c + x / b + x + b_3 + x + c + x, b + x + b_3 + x$				
Short blessings	α	x $(c + c_3)$			c_6
	A (E)				c_7
Long blessings	—	γ (a_4)	β	x	c_7
Very long blessings	α_1	$\gamma\gamma\gamma$	a_4	$\gamma\gamma$	c_7 (x)
	$A + c_2/c_3$	γ	β	γx	c_1
	A (x)	$\gamma\gamma$	β (x)	x	c_7
Shirah tune	$x \alpha$	γ	$x \beta$		x

In the invitation, this pattern occurs on the first syllable of the invitation proper (in Yiddish), following the melody sung repeatedly on the Hebrew word “*yamoyd*”.

The comparative analysis of the invitation tune in both variants reveals musical and textual elements stemming from liturgical and para-liturgical repertoires (Torah reading on *Simḥat tôrah*, prayers from the Sabbath and High Holidays services, and the benediction of betrothal and marriage). The music is closely related to the textual structure and content of the invitation, and contains elements of psalmody and cantillation.

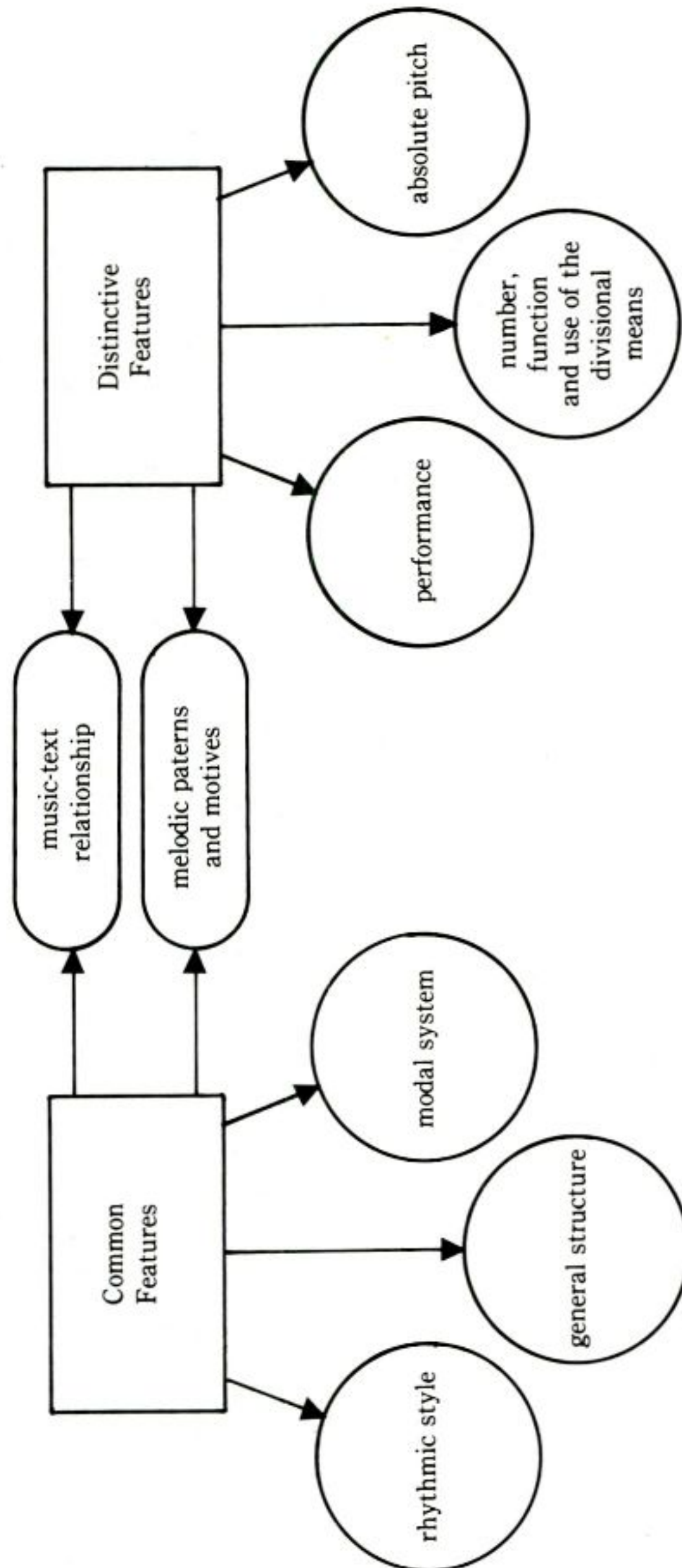
Beside these common features, we noticed a number of differences between the TA and the ZK variants of the tune: rigidity of text as opposed to text improvisation; seriousness as opposed to ironical and humoristic elements; underlining hierarchy among the invited as opposed to lack of hierarchy; melodic development independent from the text (“melocratic phrases”) as opposed to simple melodic repetition dominated by the text; solo performance as opposed to the participation of the audience (including women). Example 17 reflects, in a synthetic way, the differences and similarities between TA and ZK concerning the musical parameters mentioned above and the music-text relation.

THE DANCE *NIGGÛNÎM*: REPERTORY AND FUNCTIONS

Our examination of the dance *niggûnîm* used for the *mitsve tants* focuses on the following questions: a) whether the *mitsve tants* has a regular repertoire of dance *niggûnîm*; b) whether this repertoire or part of it is functionally linked with specific dancers; c) whether the functional link of certain dance *niggûnîm* is expressed also on the musical level; d) whether the different communities have different repertoires; e) are there stylistic differences between the tunes used in various communities; f) do differences in repertoire and style correlate with the differences between the communities already observed in the study of the invitation tune.

The inventory of dance *niggûnîm* used in the *mitsve tants* of the ZK community shows no specificity; these *niggûnîm* are sung elsewhere throughout the wedding and on other occasions too. There are, however, two exceptions. One is the *niggun* “*Boyre oylom*” (Mazor and Hajdu 1974, no. 191; Hajdu and Mazor 1988, no. 17), which is regularly sung at the *mitsve tants* and is linked to the dance of the bridegroom with the bride. This *niggun* does not appear on other occasions. The second is “*Sameyakh tesamakh*”, a “semi-regular” dance *niggun* which appears in eight out of the fifteen ZK weddings studied here as the final *niggun* of the dance of the bridegroom (Mazor and Hajdu 1974, no. 186; Hajdu and Mazor 1988, no. 15). This *niggun* is frequently used as the final *niggun* of the wedding meal because its text derives from the Seven Benedictions.

Example 17



Eighteen dance *nigunnim* were found in the TA community. Six appear regularly in all the weddings recorded by us. The rest appear occasionally. Three belong to the TA repertory (see Mazor and Hajdu 1974, nos. 102 and 140 and Ex. 18, no.1) while the rest are pan-Hassidic.³³

From the six regular *niggûnîm*, one is the same "*Boyre oylom*" (as in ZK), which in this case has no specific function and may be sung — always without words — for any guest invited to the dance. The other five (Mazor and Hajdu 1974, nos. 101, 110, 111, 112, 124) have a specific function: no. 101 serves for the Rebbe's dance, and the rest, always sung together in a fixed order (124, 110, 111, 112), serve for the dance of the bridegroom with the bride. No. 124 is so popular that it may sporadically serve for the dance of other guests. This chain of dance *niggûnîm* is regularly preceded in TA by an introductory non-dancing *niggûn*, sung to the word "*shabes*" (see Ex. 1 above). However, in the ZK community, this introductory *niggûn* appears only occasionally, and is not linked to any specific dance *niggûn* or dancer.

It is highly significant that these five *niggûnîm* belong to the TA regular communal repertoire of *niggûnîm* sung during the celebration of *Simḥat tôrah*. Four of them (Mazor and Hajdu 1974, nos. 101, 110, 111, 112) are sung during the dancing of *haqqafôt*. No. 124 is sung to the words "*sîsû we-simḥû be-simḥat tôrah*" during the invitation of the Bridegroom of the Torah (*ḥatan tôrah*).

Another difference between TA and ZK lies in the approach to the texts of dance *niggûnîm*. In ZK *niggûnîm* which in other contexts are generally sung with text keep the text also in the *mitsve tants*. On the other hand, in TA we found that most of their *niggûnîm* are textless. An outstanding phenomenon in TA is that even those *niggûnîm* which are sung with text in all the Hassidic communities in Jerusalem ("*Boyre oylom*", "*Ur'e bunim le-vunekho*", "*Tsavey yeshyos yaakoyv*") are performed without text in the *mitsve tants*.

It seems then, that from the point of view of the repertory and the function of the dance *niggûnîm* in the *mitsve tants* the only feature common to both communities is the importance attributed to the dance of the bridegroom which is stressed by assigning to it a special tune or tunes. The differences found between the ZK and TA communities are the presence of a fixed repertoire of *niggûnîm* in TA as opposed to a non-fixed repertoire in ZK, and the use of tunes taken from the *Simḥat tôrah* festival for the bridegroom's dance in TA.

33 See Hajdu and Mazor 1972, col. 1421-1422. Some of these pan-Hassidic tunes appear in Mazor and Hajdu 1974 (nos. 62, 104, 183, 186, 190, 215). For the rest, see example 18, nos. 2, 3, 4.

no.1 (Yc 2166/18)

no.1 (Yc 2166/18) is a five-staff musical piece in C major and 2/4 time. The first staff begins with a bass clef and a common time signature 'C'. The melody is written in treble clef. The piece features a repeat sign with a double bar line and a 'Fine' marking. A section marked 'dal % al Fine' indicates a repeat from a specific measure to the end.

no.2 (Yc 2166/12)

no.2 (Yc 2166/12) is a two-staff musical piece in C major and 2/4 time. The first staff begins with a bass clef and a common time signature 'C'. The melody is written in treble clef. The piece features a repeat sign at the end.

no.3 (Yc 2220/19)

no.3 (Yc 2220/19) is a three-staff musical piece in C major and 2/4 time. The first staff begins with a bass clef and a common time signature 'C'. The melody is written in treble clef. The piece features a repeat sign at the end.

no.4 (Yc 3691/34)

no.4 (Yc 3691/34) is a two-staff musical piece in C major and 2/4 time. The first staff begins with a bass clef and a common time signature 'C'. The melody is written in treble clef. The piece features a repeat sign with first and second endings marked '1' and '2'. The second ending is marked 'a' and 'b'.

Variants in Yc 2509/22

Variants in Yc 2509/22 shows two musical variants, 'a' and 'b', in C major and 2/4 time. Variant 'a' is a single staff in treble clef. Variant 'b' is a single staff in treble clef.

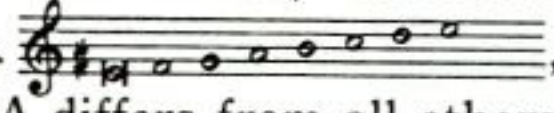
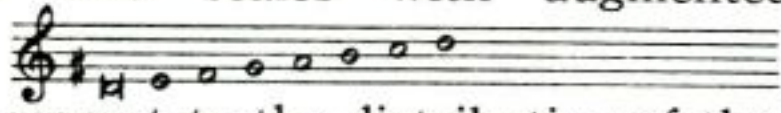
Example 18: Dance *Niggûnîm*

MUSICAL ANALYSIS OF THE DANCE *NIGGŪNĪM*

The examination of the melodic and scalar structure of the dance *niggūnīm* reveals stylistic features shared by all the communities and certain differences between TA with respect to all the others.³⁴

The common forms are mono-sectional, bi-sectional (AB) and tri-sectional with repetition (ABCB).³⁵ The difference between the communities lies in the proportion in which the various forms appear in the repertory. In TA there is uniform representation of the three forms while in ZK the bi-sectional *niggūnīm* predominate (21 out of 35). The difference is accentuated if one examines the regular dance *niggūnīm* of TA. In fact four out of the six regular *niggūnīm* have a form-structure which is almost unknown in ZK. Of these one is a mono-sectional complex tune (Mazor and Hajdu 1974, no. 141), in two others the first section has a mono-sectional complex structure and the fourth tune has a tetra-sectional structure ABCD. In ZK, *niggūnīm* with exceptional forms rarely appear in the *mitsve tant*s.

The examination of the micro-structure of the sections within the tunes reveals a common feature, namely, symmetry. The overwhelming majority of the sections consist of four or eight motives. Symmetry is attained because all the motives within a *niggūn* are either one or two bars long. Another common factor is the existence of clausal structures (e.g. ab, abcd) in addition to periodic structure (abac). There is, however, a difference between TA and the other communities regarding the distribution of clausal and periodic structures. In TA clausal structures constitute 60% of the sections as opposed to 40% of periodic sections, while, in the other communities we find the opposite, 40% clausal against 60% periodic sections.

The examination of the scalar structure of the dance *niggūnīm* reveals a common repertory of scales: major, natural minor, harmonic minor and scales with augmented seconds (e.g. , and ). Here again TA differs from all others with respect to the distribution of the various scales. In TA there is an equal distribution of three of these scales (major, minor, harmonic minor) with some 27% each, while the scales with an augmented second occur in about 19% of the

34 On the significance of these as parameters for defining Hassidic style, and distinguishing between various communal styles, see Mazor and Hajdu 1974: 140-143.

35 Besides these there are few exceptional forms among the forty four *niggūnīm* recorded in this project: two are trisectional (ABC), one is tetrasectional (ABCD), one is in the ABA form, one is in the rondo form, and one has a mono-sectional complex structure. For the classification of Hassidic *niggūnīm*, see Mazor and Hajdu 1974:139-140, 142.

tunes. In all the other communities the natural minor scale clearly predominates (40%), followed by augmented second scales (28.5%), harmonic minor (21%) and major (10.5%).

Three other variables concerning the performance of the dance *niggûnîm* were examined: the range of absolute pitch, the length of the *niggûn*, and tempo. These three variables reveal further similarities and differences between the communities.

The range of absolute pitch was examined, following the same measuring system as the invitation tune, by comparing the finalis of all the *niggûnîm* in each community. This examination is based on the fact that the regular range of the dance *niggûnîm* in all hassidic communities is within a sixth and tenth and can not be considered as a criterion for the characterization of the particular style of each community. By collecting the absolute pitches of all the finalis in the repertory, we arrived to the characteristic range of each community which we label "total range".

The total range of all the communities is *B-c1#*.³⁶ Differences between TA and the others have been found both in the extension of the range and in its absolute position. Thus, the TA tunes occupy a relatively narrow range, a perfect fifth (*d flat-a flat*), with 78% of the range concentrated in the minor third (*e flat-g flat*). In the other communities the extension of the range is larger, and occupies the whole scale; a major seventh in Zanz (*D flat-c1*) and a major ninth in Karlin (*B-c1#*). The major part of the range, both in Zanz and Karlin spreads over a tritone, i.e. twice the range in TA: in Karlin 74% over *c# -g*, in Zanz 70% over *e flat-a*. These differences are maintained also with each wedding examined separately (see Ex. 19).

T.A.	Z.K.		
f—g ^b	d—f	f [#] —c ₁	d [#] —b
e ^b —f	e—a	f [#] —c ₁ [#]	c [#] —a
e ^b —g ^b	d—g	d—a	B—g
d—f [#]	d—b	e—c ₁	F [#] —a [#]
d ^b —g			

Example 19: Range according to each wedding

36 An exceptional case is a F[#] finalis, reached only once by a Karlin performer, which was not taken into consideration.

The consistency, rigidness and concentration characteristic of the TA repertory against the flexibility and diffusion in ZK is further corroborated by the examination of the relation between the absolute pitch of the invitation tune and that of the following dance tune. In TA there is a clear tendency to open the dance tune on the finalis of the invitation, while in the other communities this happens only sporadically. A special relation prevails between the invitation tune and the dance *niggûn* “*Boyre oylom*”. This *niggûn*, which is in the minor scale, frequently begins on the major third above the finalis of the *yamoyd* tune and ends on the minor third below it, thus creating a “quasi-classical” parallel major/minor relation between the “*Yamoyd*” and the dance *niggûn*. This relation is found in 90% of the TA performances while only in 40% of the ZK.

As a measuring unit for the length of the dances we have chosen the 4/4 bar which always corresponds to a double step unit of the group dances. The step pattern consists of a double step unit, i.e. two steps — one forwards and one backwards — which fall on the first and third beats, stressing the feeling of “*alla breve*” (Ex. 20), while on the second and fourth beats the dancers use other parts of their body (knees, head etc.). In other words, one bar of music in our transcription corresponds to a four-pulse unit of the dance *niggûn* and each pulse is expressed by one beat. By using the step pattern as measuring unit we have avoided the misleading criterion of measuring the real time of the dance, since time depends on the tempo of the tunes which may vary according to different circumstances.

dance tune

pulses

dance steps and body movements

st. mov. st. mov. etc.

Example 20: The dancing step pattern

The length of the dance, in all communities, has a functional importance. Thus, the dance of the bridegroom is significantly longer than the dance of any other invited guest in the same wedding, by proportions which vary from approximately 140% to 350% compared with that of the longest dance amongst all the guests. When the Rebbe is present, he dances much longer than the other guests, though less than the bridegroom. It varies from 130% to 250% more if compared with that of the longest dance amongst the guests.

Differences between the communities appear also here. In general, the TA dances are longer than those of other communities (see Ex. 21).

	ZK			TA		
	min.	max.	average	min.	max.	average
regular guest	10 bars	64 bars	25 bars	24 bars	60 bars	38 bars
bridegroom	24 bars	112 bars	58 bars	90 bars	146 bars	111 bars
Rebbe				72 bars	100 bars	85 bars

Example 21: Length

The variability of tempo is a salient feature of the *mitsve tants*. In all the Hassidic communities, the dance *niggûnîm* start in a slow tempo, then accelerate, and slow down again towards the end. In most performances, the ritardando occurs in the last two bars, sometimes with a fermata on the last note. To compare between both the tempi and the accelerandi of the different dances, our main criterion was the “tempo range”, which consists of the difference between the slowest and the fastest tempo within a dance. In addition we checked the tempo range of each wedding. We measure this variability of tempo and accelerandi in terms of metronome grades. One grade being the equivalent of the distance between two marks in a mechanical metronome (e.g., MM 58-60, 69-72, 120-126 or 160-168).

There seems to be no significant difference between the communities if one considers the communal tempo range, i.e, that of the entire dances. In both TA and ZK the range globally consists of 20 grades, although within the ZK communities one finds differences (Zanz 14 grades; Karlin 20 grades). The TA range varies between MM ♩ = 96 and MM ♩ = 224 (sic!) while that of ZK MM ♩ = 72-176. However, if one examines each wedding separately, a difference between TA and ZK emerges. The tempo range of a single wedding in TA varies between 13 (MM ♩ = 104-184) and 16 (MM ♩ = 112-224) grades, while in ZK the typical tempo range (in 8 out of 13 weddings) is of 9-10 grades (such as MM ♩ = 104-152, MM ♩ = 116-176, MM ♩ = 66-144).

Considering the accelerando range of the guests, there seems to be no difference between ZK and TA. However, differences in accelerandi are noticed if one considers the dance of the bridegroom. In TA the tempo range of the bridegroom’s dance (12 to 15 grades) is always wider than in any other dance of the wedding including the Rebbe’s (2 to 10 grades).³⁷ In ZK, the tempo range of the bridegroom’s dance is wider than in the other dances only in 5 out of 13 weddings.

37 In two weddings only the tempo range of the Rebbe’s dance significantly differs from the other guests: it is of 9 and 10 grades, while with the others it is from 3 to 5 grades in the first wedding and 4 to 6 in the second.

INTRODUCTORY *NIGGÛNÎM*

Besides the invitation tune and the dance *niggûnîm*, we find at the *mitsve tants* ceremony introductory *niggûnîm* of various origins, structures and functions. These *niggûnîm* are sung at the opening of the ceremony and as preparation for the dance of the bridegroom and the bride.

In the TA community the dancing ceremony always opens with a textless *niggûn* sung by the audience. This tune belongs to the ecstatic cleaving to God *niggûnîm* (*dveykes*) which serve as a means for one of the most important functions in Hassidism — achievement of communion with God (see Schleifer 1985:220-224; Mazor and Seroussi 1990-91). This *niggûn* is used by this community during the services of the High Holidays, and also serves as the opening tune for the *haqqafôt* on *Simhat tôrah*.

The most popular inviter in the Karlin community opens alone the ceremony with the *niggûn* “*Keitsad merakdin lifney hakalo*” (“how does one dance in front of the bride”) whose melody is borrowed from the *Simhat tôrah* dance *niggûn* “*Haaderes vехаemuno lekhey oylumim*”. According to the opinion of this Karlin inviter, in the context of the wedding, this *niggûn* serves to introduce the audience to the proper atmosphere for the ceremony and thus to awake it to an active participation in the singing of the invitation.

Just before the invitation of the bridegroom to the *mitsve tants* two texts are sung. One is “*Misoyd khakhumim*” of the *mûsaf* and *ne'ilah* of Yom Kippur according to the eastern Ashkenazi rite, adapted for the event (see Ex. 22 and Neeman 1973:222, 258-261).

The modified parts, as the original text, are in *Loshn koydesh*. Moreover, while the TA variant conserves the structure and length of the original text, the ZK variant lack its last section (see Ex. 23, section 5). In this detail, we can furthermore observe the different approach of the communities to the significance of the *mitsve tants* ceremony. The TA community stresses symbolic meaning, while ZK inviters emphasize earthly joy, or at most, the need to praise the Lord on this happy occasion.

There are no observable communal differences in the tune of this prayer. Differences between performers are minor and seem to be of a personal nature.

The second preparatory, “*Akavyo ben Mahalalel oymor*” (Mishnah, Avot 3:1), is performed in a typical Eastern European cantorial (*hazzanût*) style. Its text is usually recited during funerals. The story about the origin of the tune of this prayer combines factual and legendary motives. In a certain *shtetl*, a well-know *hazzan* was afflicted by a fatal contagious disease which caused his isolation from the community. Feeling his death was near, he demanded that a grave be prepared for him, and when it was ready, he went out alone on his last

a. The T.A. version (Yc 2220/20)

Grave sempre rubato

Solo + tutti

mi-soyd kha-khu-mim i-ne-vo[ho]ly - nim i-mi - le-med da-as me-vi-nim [textless]

ef - te-khu

pi [yi] be-shir ir-nu - nim [textless] le-khu-ved

khu-sn vey-ka - lu ve-lish-ney ha-me-khi - tu-nim hu-el - yoy-nim

ve-takh - toy - nim

b. The Z.K. version (Y 1120/21)

Grave, in tempo

Solo + tutti

[textless]

Solo, sempre rubato tutti

mi-soyd kha-kho - mim i-ne-voy- nim [textless]

u - mi - le-med da-as me-vi-nim da-as me-vi - nim ef-tekhu pi be-shir

tutti Solo

ur - no - nim [textless] lesameyakh khusn

ka - le i-ma-khi-tu nim

Example 22: Misoyd Khakhumim

Original liturgical text	TA Variant	ZK Variant	
		Performer A.B.	Performer A.H.**
1. Invoking the doctrines	=	=	=
2. taught by erudite sages	=	=	=
3. I open my lips in prayer and supplication	I open my lips in song and chanting	= =*	= =
4. to plead fervently before the supreme King of Kings	in honour of groom and bride and both fathers in law	to rejoice =** = =	to praise and glorify him who dwells in his grooms (!)
5. and Lord of Lords	the upper and the lower		

* A third inviter used once the words “joy and gladness” instead of “song and chanting” (NSA Y 4559). The same informant ended once this piece with the words “groom and bride” (NSA Y 3676)

** Another informant of ZK preferred to use the TA version (NSA Y4561 and Y5415).

Example 23: “*Misoyd khakhumim*” — Origin and variants

journey. Approaching the grave (or, in other versions, standing near his grave, or even when lying in it) he sang this *niggûn* which was heard from afar by the *shtetl* inhabitants. It was brought to the Holy Land by someone who witnessed this event and it was attached, probably by the grandfather of one of our main informants, to the invitation of the groom to dance with the bride, because of its moralizing nature.

The *Loshn koydesh* text is carefully articulated, as all liturgical texts, and includes repetitions of words and phrases, as in the *hazzanût* style. The text is supplemented by commentaries in Yiddish, which serve to explicate or interpret the logical relations between its parts. The function and nature of these additions are similar to the Eastern European manner of study of the Talmud with exegetical interpolation in Yiddish. Thus, the original verses IV, V:

IV: And whither thou art going? To the place of dust, worm and maggot.

V: And before whom thou art about to give account and reckoning?

Before the King of Kings of Kings, the Holy One, blessed is He.

become in the TA variant (the Yiddish supplements are in italics and the *Loshn koydesh* ones are in small letters):

- IV: 1. And whither *and whither, and whither, and whither* thou art going?
 2. To the place of dust **alone, it would not have been too bad.**
 3. Worm, **it would still not have been too bad either.**
 4. **But it is** *to the place of dust, worm, worm, worm*
 5. **and on top of it** and maggot.
- V: 1. And before whom art thou about to give account and reckoning?
 2. Before the King **alone, it would not have been too bad.**
 3. of Kings, **it would still not have been too bad either.**
 4. **But he is** *King, King, King, King of Kings* of Kings.
 5. **and on top of it** the Holy One, blessed is He.

The variations in the exact wording of these supplements and in the repetition of words and phrases do not affect the structure or the meaning of the text, but reveal some differences between both communities: a) the word “alone” in line 2 of verses IV and V is added in the TA version, but not in ZK; b) the word “still” which appears in line 3 of verses IV and V renders “*noch*” in the TA version, but “*shoyen*” in the ZK version; c) in line 4 of verse IV the word “worm” is repeated four times in TA, whereas in ZK we find different treatments repeating both “dust” and “worm” in different combinations; d) in line 4 of verse V, we have “but it is” in ZK instead of “but He is” in TA; e) in line 4 of verse V we have, in the TA versions, a repetition of “king” (three to five times), whereas in ZK there is a repetition either of “King of Kings” or the whole combination “King of Kings of Kings”; f) in line 5 of verse V the words “and on top of it” (*undertsit*) are added before “the Holy One” only in ZK versions.

The tune of “*Akavyo*” (Ex. 24) is of unknown origin. However its general mode and some of its motives, are reminiscent of various prayers from the Yom Kippur.³⁸ The overall structure of this tune is similar in both TA and ZK.

The tune consists of four units, $\alpha \alpha_1 \beta \beta_1$ (see Ex. 25), and is made up of six patterns — A,B,C,D,E,F — with their realizations, plus three more motives, g, h and i (see Ex. 26).

38 The closest resemblance is to be found in Weisser’s tune to *Misoyd khakhumim*. See Weisser 1940:64, no.49, and also nos. 50, 58. However, motives from the *Akavyo* tune can be found in the Rosh Hashana services (see Neeman 1973, beginning of nos. 89 and 200) and motives from both *Akavyo* and *Misoyd khakhumim* are found in a recording of *selihôt* by the Rabbi of Zvil (NSA Yc 2777). This interesting relation needs further research.

Example 24: *Akavyo ben Mahalel oymer*

a. The T.A. version (Yc 2220/21)

textless

a-kav - yu oy ben ma-ha - la - lel

tutti

o - y[o - ho - oy] - meyr his-ta-kel bish-loy-shu de-vu[hu] - rim [m]

+tutti

ve - eyn a - tu bu li - dey a - ve[ey] - ru oy da me - a - yin

+tutti

bu - su i - le - on i - le - on i - le - on i - le - on a - tu [o-ho-o-ho] hoy-

tutti

[ho] - lekh [m] hoy ve - lif - ney mi a - tu u - sid

rit. - - - - tutti

[e] ri mu in nokh der-tsi [e]ve - soy-le- yu ve - lif - ney mi

a - tu u - sid li - te - yn din vey-khesh boyn lif - ney mey-lekh a-leyn

vol tokh nokh nish-ku-she ge - veyn mal-khey volt oykh nokh nish-ku-she gi-veyn

er is dokh o-ber der mey-lekh mey-lekh mey-lekh mey-lekh mal-khey ha-me-

rit.

lu - khim [a - ha-ha-ha - ha-ha a - ha-ha-ha - ha-ha] a-ku-doysh bu-rikh hi

li - te - [e] - yn din ve-khesh-boyn oy da me-ya - yin bu - su

p mi - ti-pu se - ri khu i-le [h]on i-le[y]on i - le[y]on i-le[y]on

a-tu [o ho-ho-ho o - ho - u] - oy - lekh bim-koym u-for a-leyn vol tokh nokh nish-

- ku - she gi-veyn ri - mu volt okh nokh nish- ku-she gi-veyn si dokh o - ber
lim-koym u - for ri - mu [e]ri - mu [e]ri - mu

b. The Z.K. version (Y 1120/20)

a-kav-yo ben ma-ha-la-lal oy - meyr is-ta- ke[we we wey] bish - loy-sho
dey-vu - rim veyn a-tu bu li-dey a-vey- ru [mer zu dir] da[ha]
me-ya - yin bo - so i - le-yon a-tu oy - lekh ve-lif- ney mi [i]
a - to [h]o- sid li - teyn din ve-khesh- boyn da[ha] me-ya-yin bo - so
mi-ti - po se-ru-kho i - le[h]an i - le[h]an i-le[h]an a-to hoy-lekh lim-koym
u-for vol-tokh shoy nish-ku-she ge-veyn ri-mo vol-tokh shoy nish-ku-she ge-
veyn si-dokh o-ber o-for ri-mo o-for ri-mo o- for ri-mo in tsi der tsi
ve-soy - le - [y]o ve - lif-ney mi[hi] a-tu [h]o-sid li-teyn din vey-khesh-
boyn lif-ney me-lekh vol-tokh shoy nish-ku-she ge-veyn mal-khey vol-tokh-shoy
nish - ku-she ge-veyn si-dokh o-ber me-lekh mal-khey me - lekh mal-khey ha-me-lo
khim ha-ku-doysh bu-rikh hi[yi]

pattern A



pattern B



pattern C



pattern D



pattern E



pattern F



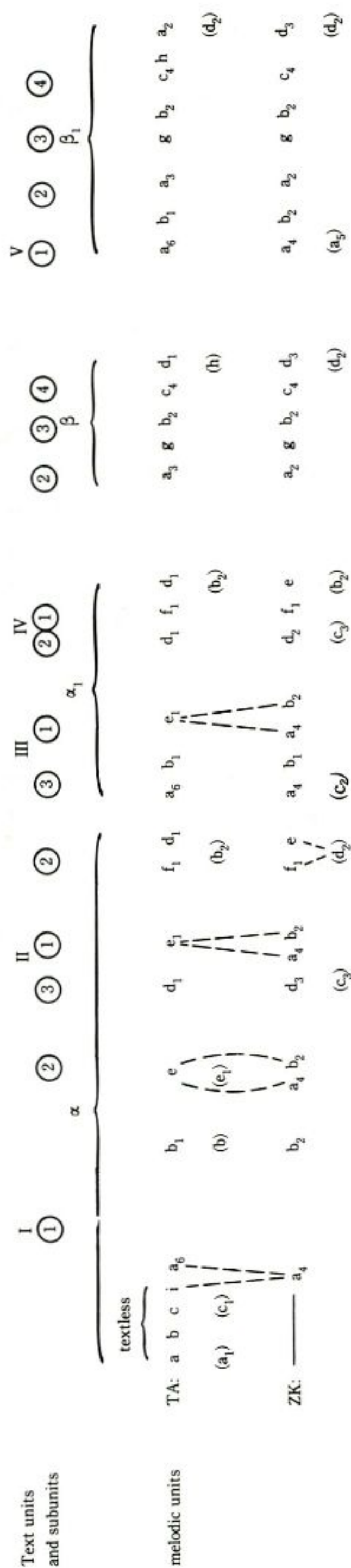
motifs

Example 25: *Akavyo* — Patterns and motives

The six patterns and motif g are common to all performers regardless of their communal affinity. Yet the frequency and function of patterns and motives differ in TA and ZK:

- 1) In the first part of the tune (mus. units α and α_1) the overall sequence of patterns is different in the two communities. The most notable difference is that in the TA version there is an additional sequence of four patterns (a, b, c, d), sung without words before the beginning of the text thus creating a unique musical phrase. However, the first word "*Akavyo*" is interpolated in the middle of the last motif, d.
- 2) Motives h and i appear only in TA.
- 3) Patterns B and C are significantly more frequent in ZK, while D and E are more common in TA.
- 4) Among the various sequences of patterns, the sequences EFD, ABCD, ABED, and EDFD are found in TA, while FB, FE, ABC, ABD, ABFE and ABFB are found in ZK. Only two sequences, AB and CD appear in both.

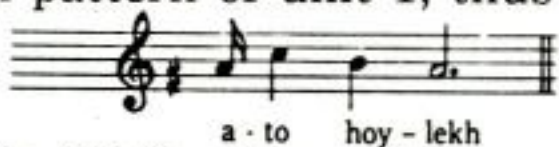
Example 26: *Akavio* — structure



5) Out of the twenty five realizations, six (a_2 , b_2 , c_4 , d_2 , f_1 , g) are common to both communities, eleven (a , a_1 , a_3 , a_6 , b , b_1 , c , d , d_1 , e_1 , f) are found only in TA, while two others (a_4 , e) are found in ZK only. The rest (a_5 , b_3 , c_1 , c_2 , c_3 , d_3) are personal variants.

6) In TA we find much more homogeneity within the various performances with regard both to sequences and to the realizations of the various patterns. Thus, only one out of the four performers has some combinations unknown to the others (EB, GA, and AED) and lacks one of the realizations (a_3) which others use. On the other hand, each of the three ZK performers has his own combinations and realizations.

7) There is also a difference between TA and ZK regarding the functionality of the different patterns. Thus, the opening pattern A, serves also as a final pattern in TA, but not in ZK. Pattern E which appears in the middle of units α and α_1 serves in ZK as the final pattern of unit 1, thus forming a pseudo-finalis on the fourth tone of the scale.



8) Pattern C, which serves in TA (and in a single version in ZK) to “announce” the approaching finalis in units β and β_1 , serves in ZK also in other functions in units a and d (see Ex. 26).

9) The final motif of the “*Akavyo*” tune in TA reveals an upward shifting of a fourth, sixth or seventh (perhaps a failed attempt to reach a higher octave (see example 27).³⁹ No such shifting occurs in ZK, which ends on the expected tone of the tune:

Z.K.



T.A.



Example 27: *Akavyo* — the Finalis

39 A similar phenomenon of upward shifting for purposes of dramatization, is found in final sections of prayers among various Hassidic *hazzanîm*.

"*Akavyo*", as many pieces of *hazzanût*, is sung in an unmeasured rhythm. Therefore, its tempo can be analyzed only indirectly by measuring the total length of the *niggûn* in its different performances. The total duration of the tune in TA is almost twice as long as in ZK (5'10"-5'25" versus 2'35"-3'). This difference can be only partly attributed to the additional sections of the TA version. However, the main factor seems to be the length of final tones in both major and minor units and the occurrence of pauses between the units, features which are typical of the TA version.

The order of performance of these *niggûnîm* differs between TA and ZK. In the TA variant "*Misoyd*" comes first and then "*Akavyo*", while in ZK it is the opposite. In our opinion, this difference is related to the different content and function of the "*Misoyd*" text in both communities (see Ex. 23). In TA "*Misoyd*" ends by mentioning the "upper" and "lower", which may symbolize either the celestial bride and groom as opposed to the terrestrial couple or the departed ancestors of the young couple as opposed to those alive.⁴⁰ This final phrase serves then as an introduction to the moralizing text of "*Akavyo*", which reminds the bride and groom of their mortal nature as humans. In the ZK version the "*Misoyd*" ends on a happy note "to rejoice groom, bride and relatives" — and thus it is an appropriate introduction to the joyful invitation of the groom to dance with his bride, after the "sad" part — "*Akavyo*" — has been got over with first.

These introductory pieces have a common function, namely to prepare in one way or another the upcoming event. Thus, the opening *niggûn* in TA (originally an opening tune to the *haqqafôt*) prepares the atmosphere of solemnity which dominates the *mitsve tants* ceremony in this community. In Karlin, the opening *niggûn* "*Keytsad merakdin*" introduces the audience to a merry mood and readiness to active participation in the ceremony. "*Misoyd*" and "*Akavyo*" serve, in both communities, to "awaken the soul" of the bride and groom before their dance. Both the text and music of these pieces recall Yom Kippur, and serve as a kind of substitute for the moralizing verses of the *badkhn* in the Diaspora wedding type.

DIFFERENCES OF PERFORMANCE

One of the most salient differences between the TA and ZK variants concerns the role of the audience in the *mitsve tants* ceremony. In TA, the audience participates

40 For the possible interpolation of the words "upper" and "lower" based on the belief that the ancestors are coming to celebrate the wedding see Sperling 1961: 419, # 995, note.

only in the singing of the dance *niggûnîm* and joins the inviter in singing the textless sections of the "Misoyd" *niggûn* and in humming the reponse parts of "Akavyo" (i.e. the final tones of units and sub-units). The rest is performed by the inviter alone, while the audience remains respectfully silent. Consultations of the inviter with the young couple's families concerning the order of invitations are conducted in discrete whispers.

In the ZK wedding, the audience is very active in the *mitsve tants*. A great part of the audience sings the word *yamoyd* at the end of phrase α and β , in a regular responsorial manner. At times the audience joins the inviter also in other parts of the invitation and during the singing of the introductory *niggûnîm*. The audience intervenes in the invitation, corrects the inviter when necessary, and advises him on suitable praises (sometimes ironical) for the invited dancer. The audience reacts loudly to certain phrases by coughing, laughing and ululating. Furthermore, the inviter exchanges witty remarks with the audience, including women(!) and children, about the praises, the invited guests, the dance *niggûnîm*, etc. Some of the men from the audience may talk with the invited dancer, exchange with him remarks and greetings, offer him a drink to cheer him up before he goes on to perform his holy duty or call "er geit, er geit!" ("here he comes!") when he approaches the bride. After the dance they may congratulate the dancer and wish him to dance at the wedding of his own children. The rest of the audience, when not involved in the ceremony, is engaged in loud chattering, without paying particular attention to the events.

CONCLUSION

The *mitsve tants* ceremony may be characterized as a sequence of acts, each one preparing or leading to the next one, eventually leading to an event which is to take place elsewhere after the ceremony, i.e. the consummation of the marriage. The structure of the ceremony as a sequence of preparatory acts seems to be an outcome of the importance attached by the Hassidim to the preparation to the performance of a religious deed (*mitsve*).⁴¹ This attitude stems from the view that every deed, albeit daily and mundane, may become an act of worship

41 A typical Hassidic saying is: the preparation for the [performing of the] *mitsve* ("commandment") is more important than the [performing of the] *mitsve* in itself. (see Israeli 1982:160). The Hassidic custom to linger for hours before prayer, well known and sometimes ironically described in anti-Hassidic literature, is assigned to a Mishnaic saying (*Berakôt* 5:1) about the pious who lingered an hour before prayer. See Wertheim 1960:88-93; Schatz 1968:133-4, 143-4, 150 and 1976:73. The preparations for prayer included also physical acts, such as purification of the body (ritual bath,

if the participants properly concentrate their thoughts and intentions on the spiritual and sacred significance of the act (see *zawa'at Ha-Ribash*, #3, #90, #93-95; Schatz-Uffenheimer 1968:16-17, 72; Tishby and Dan 1969:801, 808-809; Scholem 1975:328-329, 338-339).

Within the ceremony, the central act is the dance of the bride and groom, a direct preliminary towards their union, which reflects the union of the celestial couple. According to Hassidic thought, the dance of the Rebbe with the bride is then aimed at creating favorable conditions for the celestial Union. The special function of the Rebbe's and of the groom's dance find their expression in various aspects of the invitation as well as of the dance itself, i.e., the special repertory of *niggûnîm*, their length, and the range of tempo. The dance of the other relatives with the bride is thus limited to the more earthly function of preparing the terrestrial union or at least the dance of the young couple.⁴²

The *mitsve tants* is an event which stands at the crossroads of various conflicting conceptions. First, it poses the problem of reconciling the strict rules of chastity in the domain of the relations between the sexes with the need and will to abide by a well established custom impregnated with symbolism. This may explain why both Hassidim who favour this practice and those who are opposed to it are very determined in their attitude. Second, various and indeed contradictory emotions are expressed in the event and indeed conduct it. Merriment and exultation, linked with the religious duty "to make joyful the groom and the bride", contrast with fear of the Almighty. One has to remember that this special day is considered, for both the groom and the bride, as a day of reckoning, a fact they are constantly reminded of by the entourage and which is reflected also in the preparations for the wedding, the fasting, the saying of *widdûy* ("confession"), the wearing of the *kittl*, and other customs.

excretion) and even smoking of the pipe (perhaps linked to the latter, see Piekartz 1978:345-6 and note 137; Wilensky 1970:39, note 20, and p. 54). Another custom to be mentioned in this context is the use, prior to the performing of a religious command, of the formula: "I am ready and prepared to perform the command of..., הנני מוכן ומזומן לקיים מצוות לשם ייחוד קודשא בריך הוא ושכינתיה His *Šekînah*".

42 A frequent reason given for the dancing in weddings in front of the bride or with her in the Hassidic and non-Hassidic literature alike, is that it is done so as to "endear her to her husband" (כדי לחבבה על בעלה). See the Bet Shemuel commentary in Jacob ben Asher (late 17th century), fol. 56b. See also Ms. 8° 3444 (dated 1828-29) at the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem, p.65, # 14. At least one informant used this Hebrew expression to justify the dancing of relatives with the bride.

The cohabitation of these emotions is reflected in the thematic and associative links between the *mitsve tants* and the liturgy and music of two holy days of very different nature: *Simḥat tôrah*, which expresses the spiritual joy connected with the renewal of the covenant between God and his people, and Yom Kippur, which is the universal Day of Atonement. The mystic symbolism assigned to both holy days, the Union of God and the *Šekînah* (Yom Kippur) and the Union of God, the *Šekînah* and his People (*Simḥat tôrah*) (see Tishbi 1961, II:511-13, 525-6), is a crucial factor in determining the contents of the *mitsve tants*. Elements referring to these holy days are present in both versions of the *mitsve tants*, but the proportions and the emphasis of these elements greatly differ between them. In the TA version there is great emphasis on elements related to the atmosphere of Yom Kippur, while in the ZK version these elements are attenuated by a pronounced atmosphere of earthly merriment. The difference in atmosphere is reflected in the text, the music, and the behaviour and participation of the audience. The total sum of these differences adds up to a joyful social event in ZK, as opposed to a solemn, austere ceremony in TA.

The solemn atmosphere of the TA *mitsve tants* is in full concordance with other peculiarities of their social and religious life which point to the uniqueness of this community within the Hassidic world. TA is in fact the only community in Jerusalem which does not bear a geographical name referring to the place of the dynasty's founding. Toldot Aharon is actually the name of their yeshiva and synagogue, which were named after Aharon Roth (Reb Arale, 1894-1947). He founded in the late 1920's a new congregation in Jerusalem, called "*Hevrat Šômerê emûnîm*", aiming at a revival of the early ideals of Hassidism, and specifically the worship of God in the manner of the R. Israel Baal Shem Tov (the Besht), the founder of the Hassidic movement (see Steinberger 1948: title-page, 37-39). This community is characterized by its tight social organization: its individuals are members of an "order" (*khevre*), with a very elaborate written book of rules which settles all matters of daily conduct down to details of dressing.⁴³ Their extremely puritan approach to all aspects of life, and particularly to the worship of God (including the traditional concept of dance as a theurgical act, Roth 1949:27a) explains the uniqueness of the *mitsve tants* in the TA version.

43 See Roth 1949, esp. fols. 9b, 13b, 14b, 18a, 38b-45a, 76b-77a. This book of rules was written for *Hevrat Šômerê emûnîm* founded by A. Roth and lead today by his son, Abraham Hayim Roth in Beney Berak. However, most of Aharon Roth's Hassidim remained in Jerusalem, under the leadership of his son-in-law, the present Rebbe of Toldot Aharon, Abraham Isaac Kahn. The book of rules serves both communities. Nevertheless, the Beney Berak community, which bears the name of *Hevrat Šômerê emûnîm* practises the *mitsve tants* in its Diaspora version.

The ZK version is closer “in spirit” to the Diaspora tradition of the *mitsve tants*, in which merriment and soberness were mingled by the *badkhn*. In our opinion, the ZK approach to the *mitsve tants* can be related to a certain “detachment” or “evasion” from the mystic and theurgical basis attributed to this act in early Hassidism. This detachment is justified by the Hassidim themselves with two arguments: first, “*yerîdat had-dôrôt*” (“fall of the generations”), i.e., Hassidim nowadays are less able to fully grasp the hidden mystical deeds of the previous generations and are even reluctant to talk freely about this subject, and secondly, if there is anybody today who may have the knowlegde to understand the inner meaning of the *mitsve tants*, these are the few contemporary *rebbe*s who have exceptional spiritual stature.

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THE RULES OF THE ORAL TRANSMISSION OF THE MISHNAH ACCORDING TO THE ALEPPO TRADITION

Frank Alvarez-Pereyre

This study presents in outline the results of research designed to understand the laws governing the oral transmission of the Mishnah, the Jewish Oral Law.¹ This compilation was originally orally transmitted and remained so until the end of the second century C.E., when it was committed to writing. Even after being fixed in writing, it was read and studied in Jewish communities without the aid of graphic signs such as the accents system used for reading the biblical texts.² The vital importance of the Mishnah in the preservation of Jewish cultural identity and the public character of its study, lead to the question whether the oral transmission obeys certain rules intended to ensure continuity and stability.

Various studies have shown that the reading of biblical and mishnaic texts in several Jewish communities follows phonological and morphological laws that can be examined by studying the oral material.³ Could one investigate syntax, semantics and discourse along the same lines?

For the present study we examined recordings of identical Mishnah passages performed by several representatives of the Aleppo tradition.⁴ On the basis of this corpus the following questions were asked: what oral means do different members of the same community employ; is there a definite number of such means; what is their nature; what functions do the different oral means fulfill; what kinds of relationships link the oral means and the various functions; what

1 See F. Alvarez-Pereyre, *La transmission orale de la Mišnah; Une méthode d'analyse appliquée à la tradition d'Alep*. Jerusalem-Paris, 1990.

2 On the systems of vocalization and accentuation in general, and on the rare traces of such systems in the text of the Talmud, see A. Herzog, Masoretic Accents — musical rendition, *EJ*² XI:1098-1111, and B. Bayer, Talmud — musical rendition, *EJ*² XV:753-755.

3 See S. Morag, "Oral Tradition as a Source of Linguistic Information" in J. Puhvel, ed., *Substance and Structure of Language* (Berkeley, 1969), pp. 127-146; and the work carried out at the Language Traditions Project directed by S. Morag.

4 The recordings used in this study are located in the archives established at the Language Traditions Project at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. These recordings include readings of the first two chapters of *Berakhôt* and the first chapter of *Shabbat* by five informants from Aleppo.

hierarchies can be distinguished between the different means, and between the different functions; can one observe variations affecting the nature of the means or the way of using them in successive chapters of one tractate, or in texts taken from different tractates?

If, finally, there are strict laws governing the number, nature, and functioning of the oral means, and if the relations between means, functions and texts follow recurrent rules, do nuances exist in the behavior of each representative of the tradition? If so, what aspects of the whole do these nuances affect?

FROM ORAL PARAMETERS TO FUNCTIONS

In listening to five informants from the Aleppo tradition reading the Mishnah, we noted that they seemed to have recourse to a stable and shared number of oral means. We refer to these means as oral parameters. A study of the detailed transcriptions of these performances showed that there are six parameters, used by all the informants: pause, syllabic prolongation, textual accentuation, cadenced rhythm or reading, intonation and melody. Another parameter—contrast in speed of delivery—was used by only one informant intensively and by a second informant marginally.

An analysis of each oral parameter allowed us to define its exact nature. Syllabic prolongation and textual accentuation are uniform in kind. Other parameters are more complex. For example, there are two degrees of pause. In the cadenced reading, some informants create a contrast between successive parts of the text by using different rhythmic patterns, in addition to the contrast created by sections read rhythmically and sections read without rhythm.

Intonation and melody constitute the most complex parameters, for they simultaneously bring into play several distinct functional components. In the melodic line one has to distinguish between ornaments, sound durations, contrasts of register, phenomena of local melodic move, and the different uses of curves and melodic contours. In the case of intonation the following elements could be recognized: local intonative move, variations of the intoning range, a phenomenon of syllabation and a contrast between local and general curves of intonation.

Arranged in strict hierarchical relationship on the basis of their variable complexity, the same parameters display other relationships if one considers their statistical weight, as determined on the basis of their use by the five informants. Syllabic prolongation, textual accentuation and melody are the least frequently exploited parameters. Rhythmic reading is statistically more important, while pause and intonation are the most used oral parameters.

Seeing the remarkable agreement between the various informants and the number and nature of the parameters among all the informants, we proceeded

to check to what extent the use of the parameters follows recurrent laws in their relation to the text. It soon became clear that all the informants used the oral parameters in relation to a determined and shared number of functions. At the same time divergences between informants emerged, affecting the more or less exclusive or favoured relations between parameters and functions and the informant's attitude to the text. Further, while each informant used the same parameter in relation to the same function, the application of the parameter in relation to the textual detail was sometimes not strictly identical.

Eight functions emerged from our study. Six are disjunctive functions which can be divided into two groups of three each, one group textual, and the other semantic. The proposition, as a formal syntactic and discursive unit, constitutes the pivot around which the two groups of functions are deployed.

The group of textually disjunctive functions contains functions of discursive and narrative disjunction, and of discursive hierarchization. Narrative disjunction operates on the level of narrative entities, i.e. topics, sentences and points of view, authors, and narrative sections. Discursive hierarchization creates a hierarchy between the successive propositions and phrases of the text.

The semantically disjunctive functions include syntactic-semantic disjunction, topicalization and emphasis. The first corresponds to the division of the syntactic-semantic units that make up each of the propositions. The latter are more hierarchical in intention. Topicalization gives prominence to the part of the text (words, groups of words, propositions) that corresponds to the subject or theme that the text is about to treat. Emphasis, which can affect longer or shorter parts of the text, means in practice that an informant underlines these parts because he considers them important. It is here that each informant's individuality is best manifested. This does not imply that the emphasis applied to a certain word or portion cannot constitute a collective phenomenon, evidencing a particular tradition relating to a certain passage in the text.

As can be seen, the six disjunctive functions reflect and relate to the different and complementary levels constituting the text. Moreover, some of these functions assume a hierarchizing character whose formal limits and justifications do not precisely correspond to each other, thus restoring to the text the richness of its components.

To the six disjunctive functions one must add a conjunctive function and one of a mnemonic character. Up to a point these two functions do not have an independent existence; they can be viewed as complementary aspects of the disjunctive functions, arising from the very nature of some of the parameters. It cannot be denied that rhythmic reading of successive parts of the text helps one to memorize them. The recurrence of certain melodic motifs or the very regular local moves in the intonation can only help in the absorption of the texts concerned.

At the same time, every disjunction of successive phrases has as a corollary the reunion of all the components placed between the bounds of two pauses. The same applies to propositions. It should be added that the parameters of intonation and melody present facts of explicit conjunction, shared however very unequally by the different informants. These phenomena of conjunction have a syntactic and semantic vocation.

SYSTEMATICS AND DYNAMICS OF THE RULES OF TRANSMISSION

The Table allows us to visualize the systematics involved in the application of the parameters.

While in some cases the link between a parameter and a function may be weak, even non-existent, in general several parameters are attached to one function. But the statistical and functional weight of such parameters is not identical for the same function.

Long pauses indicate, above all, narrative and discursive disjunctions. Short pauses are used almost exclusively in relation to topicalization and emphasis. This functional contrast between the two degrees of pause is reinforced by the fact that the consensus among informants regarding the placing of these pauses is greater in the case of long pauses linked to narrative and discursive disjunctions. The use of short pauses is largely individual, and is employed to interrupt the text in order to stress a part of it. Syllabic prolongation is somewhat more effective in relation to topicalization and emphasis. As for the cardinal function of textual disjunction, only the aspect of discursive disjunction is taken into account by this parameter, rather to the benefit of propositions than of phrases. Textual accentuation is clearly linked to topicalization, as is frequently attested to in the different performances. Rhythm seems at first sight to favour textual disjunction by stressing its different components. A careful study of the relations between this parameter and the text, however, shows that rhythm, which also operates in relation to emphasis (textual units separated by narrative disjunction), plays an important role in relation to syntactic and semantic disjunction as well.

Rhythm is thus closely linked to the melodic line and the intonation, whose relations to the syntactic-semantic disjunction are very strong. This does not prevent the melodic parameter from being related to emphasis and, to a lesser extent, to topicalization. Intonation is also closely linked to emphasis. But the uses of intonation are decidedly more collective in regard to textual disjunction.

Does the accumulation of different parameters for the same function correspond to a mere juxtaposition? Not at all. This reinforcing is a practical illustration of an essential principle of oral transmission. The whole panoply of complementary means, taken together, define and hierarchize, reinforce and delicately variegate

	Discursive hierarchi- sation	Narrative disjunc- tion	Discursive disjunction phrases propositions	Syntactico- semantic disjunction	Topicalization	Emphasis
Pauses +++ degree place		V 3/4 (V 1/4) 4/4	V 4/4 V/V 2/4 4/4	---	1/4 V 2/4 (V4/4) 3/4 more collective	1/4 individual
Syllabic prolongation +		---	<u>1/4 2/4 (3/4)</u> <u>1/4 2/4 (3/4)</u>	---	<u>1/4 2/4 (3/4) (4/4)</u>	<u>1/4 2/4 3/4 (4/4)</u>
Textual accentuation +		---	1/4 1/4	---	<u>4/4 3/4</u>	1/4
Rhythm Berakhôt ++ / / Shabbat +++	+++	+++	+++			++ sentence; instance
Music Berakhôt ± Shabbat +						
Curves ++	x	x	x			
Contours ++	x	x	x	x	x	x
Register -	x	x	x	x	x	x
Local contour ++	x	x	x			
Longer notes -		x		x		
Ornaments -			x	x		x
Intonation +++ Global curves ++	x	x	x			
Local curves ++				x	x instance	x
Local into- native move ++	x	x	x		x	adverbial comple- ment; sentence or part of it; means of argumentation; other cases;
Register - Syllabation ++	x	x	(x) (x)	x x	(x)	x
		more collective (2)	more collective (3)	more individual (2)	more collective (4)	more individual (1)

LEGEND

- + / ++ / +++ / - / ± : comparative importance in the usage of the parameters
 x : actual use of one of the components of a given parameter (in the case
 of music and intonation)
 --- : scarce use of parameter for a given function

V / V : longer pauses / shorter pauses

1/4 2/4 3/4 4/4 : type of consensus between the informants (1/4 = one of 4; 2/4 = two
 out of four; and so on)

— : consensus relative to the longer pauses

----- : consensus relative to the shorter pauses

(1) (2) (3) (4) : comparative consensus relative to a given function

the collective and individual aspects of the text's oral transmission. Two examples can be adduced to illustrate this phenomenon.

In their relation to the function of discursive hierarchization, the pauses operate on the level of larger and more neutral discursive units. Rhythm, melodic line and intonation invest the largest of these units according to their syntagmatic status, to their literal semantic content, and to the weight that each informant wants to give to the unit. Intonation and local melodic move, while partly materializing absolute endings (of phrases or *mishnayôt*) and intermediary endings (propositions or groups of propositions), also specify, up to a point, the units contained between two signs of ending. Local intonative move is the most systematic indicator of absolute and intermediary endings. Local melodic move is less concerned with large discursive units within their objective limits. It is more systematically used in the syntagmatic or semantic specification of these units. This particularity of the local melodic move enriches the reading of the text, while other melodic parameters (curves and pitches) confirm or establish the largest discursive units. In this context the rhythm, marking the largest discursive frontiers, also has the function of marking the syntagmatic status of the different discursive units as well as of revealing the differential relationships of the informants with different parts of the text.

Second, one finds a wide range of parameters connected with topicalization and emphasis. Up to a certain point their comparatively common function (to isolate an element of the text in order to give it more prominence) is represented by an almost perfect parallelism of the parameters that concretize these functions. However, some differences distinguish them. The local intonative move functions with two of its three degrees in relation to the topicalization, while for the function of emphasis it operates only very marginally. Syllabation, on the other hand, operates more closely in relation to emphasis.

For topicalization and emphasis, each of the parameters partly fulfils a role shared by the others; but it also has a specific behaviour. Thus a pause marks a suspension of the reading, and in general it is the brief pauses that characterize the relation to topicalization and emphasis. Nevertheless, the full sense of the pause is given by the local intonative move. Brief pauses, local contours and curves in their turn isolate an element of the text whose real status (topicalization or emphasis) emerges only in the light of the types of consensus existing among the upholders of the tradition. The consensus regarding the topicalized units is decidedly more collective than for the textual elements involved in emphasis. The individual character of the latter does not depend on the type of unit underlined (linguistic units used to indicate spatial or temporal conditions, for example) but on the precise terms of the text that the informants choose to stress.

The information arising from the preceding data reflects the structural complementarity of the parameters in relation to functions, and the complementarity of functions in relation to the different levels in which the text exists and is perpetuated. This double complementarity is seen again while examining a final element of the system: the possible interrelation of different parameters used at the same place in the text for the purpose of converging purposes.

In the various texts studied here, strong links were found between pauses, local intonative move, syllabic prolongation and textual accentuation. These links are particularly expressed in the endings of specific *mishnayôt* and, in a fair proportion of instances, the function of topicalization. The proportional relation of these same parameters to the function of emphasis is much lower altogether. These four parameters or constituents are united to materialize the most objective and unavoidable elements of the text.

The simultaneous presence of rhythm and intonation or melody follows another tendency. These parallelisms are much more closely linked to emphasis, which appears to be more subjectively applied. In addition, these parameters are often linked to the syntactic-semantic, discursive and narrative divisions. While, in principle, these three parameters are very generally used in relation to these divisions, they are not redundantly used when they appear in the same part of the text. In fact, one can speak here of a complementarity of parameters in two directions. An informant may combine at the same time a different type of reading for each of these parameters: for instance, a semantic reading by rhythm and a discursive one by intonation or melody; or a semantic and discursive reading by rhythm and a very syllabic type of intonation, which may disjoint certain morphological elements and bring the words together. Or, alternatively, following the second tendency, the informant may use the same type of reading for two different parameters, and in practice the units delimited by each are not the same.

COLLECTIVE MODELS AND INDIVIDUAL BEHAVIOUR

The data that we have summarized here are based on performances by five different informants who read the same successive sections of the Mishnah. These performances show collectively shared laws, a striking testimony to the perennality of the text and the means of preserving it. Similar research in the traditional reading of the Mishnah in other communities will allow us to verify the extent to which different communities have used similar oral means of transmission. Another point to be investigated in parallel studies, is the quantitative and qualitative relation between collective models and individual

variations or variants within one community. It cannot be denied that the five Aleppo informants do not behave identically. Their variants primarily reveal different personalities. Theoretically speaking, these individual variations may involve the number and nature of oral parameters, the list of functions attached to the use of the parameters and the systematics and dynamics of the parameters and functions. In fact, in the case of the Aleppo informants, we observed an impressive consensus on all these points. The structural basis and the refinements constituting the laws of the oral transmission of the Mishnah seem to underlie such consensus.

The informant who adds a parameter—contrast in speed of delivery—to the six unanimously shared ones, uses it in conformity with the rules of the system. He also uses this parameter to affirm his personal approach to the text, a comparatively dramatized expressiveness apt to attract the attention of someone listening or studying beside him.

If one of the informants uses contrasting rhythmic cadences for successive parts of the text, while others use an unchanging rhythm for the same parts, he is not deviating from the rules of the system of oral parameters. He is rather exploiting the very nature of the parameters to express with greater subtlety his personal approach to certain parts of the text.

The personal behaviour of each informant seemed, at first sight, totally disordered. But this is not the case. Comparing the data relating to each informant, we saw that the scattered facts contributed to define a coherent and well-established image of each informant. One informant may favour a very explicit manifestation of the different points of view expressed in the text, as well as the divisions of the discursive units. Another may be very sparing in his use of the oral parameters, clearly preferring some to others. His choice is determined by his desire to transmit the text on the basis of particular attention to the successive elements of each phrase, to the detriment of a more cogent vision of the larger discursive and narrative divisions.

Such individual behaviors—very perceptible, and fully explicable in analysis—do not shatter the structural basis of the system, the nature and number of oral parameters, the rules that define each of the functions and their collective dynamics. A striking proof of this double reality is the fact that apart from the often individual ways of manifesting it, all the informants establish a distinction between the different chapters of a tractate, and especially between tractates.

Chapter I of the *Shabbat* tractate was considered much more as an entity. The informants used the same parameters more recurrently for all the *mishnayôt* in this chapter. The consensus regarding the parameters was more variable in the first two chapters of the *Berakhôt* tractate. Here the manifestation of the

functions did not follow the same tendencies in each of these two chapters. Thus, topicalization is favoured in the second chapter, while emphasis is clearly more apparent in the first one.

One thus sees that these parameters ensure the necessary perennality of the text contents on whatever level, and at the same time allow for individual manifestations whose objective presence is inevitable and whose submission to collective models is patent.

PERSPECTIVES

What particular perspectives can be envisaged once one confirms that the Oral Law has been transmitted for two thousand years on the basis of oral means and extremely codified rules, without the aid of any written system of signs to guide the oral transmission of the text?

First, let us suggest two undertakings that might follow our study of the Aleppo tradition. One concerns the explicit modalities of the pedagogical method applied to the oral transmission of the Mishnah and the Talmud. This research should extend to the oral transmission of other tractates, always considering the different social contexts (teaching, study, reading in the synagogue service), in which these texts and tractates are read. The second undertaking is an extension of the first: different traditions should be studied in order to determine the agreements and divergences which may exist when the same texts are or were transmitted and studied in such remotely separated places such as Baghdad, Djerba, Hungary, Yemen or Lithuania.

Second, it seems that the methodological assumptions that allowed us to carry out this research on the Mishnah tradition of Aleppo may also be useful in the study of other liturgical or paraliturgical texts (i.e., the reading of the Zohar and the cantillation of daily prayers) which do not contain graphic signs connected with their vocalization and accentuation. In the case of biblical texts, where vocalization and accentuation signs exist, the systematic study for its own sake of the oral aspect of the cantillation would allow for a study of the system of the *ṭeqamîm* in its origins, applications and performance practice, as well as a more complete understanding of the mechanisms underlying the relations, so essential to Judaism, between the Oral and the Written Law.

פרסום זה נמנה עם המפעלים של המרכז שבוצעו בסיוע
קרן לזכרו של א"צ אידלסון, הוקמה ע"י בנותיו;
קרן לזכר אסתר גרונולד;
קרן לזכרו של נח גרינברג, הוקמה מעזבון יעקב פרלוב;
קרן לזכרו של נחמיה וינבר, הוקמה בסיועם של נ' גולדמן, י' גרוס ואחרים;
קרן פאול זאכר, בזל;
קרן פאני ומקס טארג ז"ל למחקרים ופרסומים;
קבוצת שוחרי האוניברסיטה העברית באיטליה
שהוקמה ע"י ד"ר אסטורה מאיר ז"ל, מילאנו;
קרן יהודי מנוחין, הוקמה ע"י שוחרי האוניברסיטה העברית בבלגיה;
קרן לזכרו של הרב מילטון פייסט;
קרן משפחת פינטו למוסיקה ליטורגית יהודית לזכר אברהם משה פינטו;
קרן ע"ש אליקום צונזער;
קרן לזכר שלמה צ'יזבסקי למוסיקה ליטורגית יהודית;
קרן ה־Cantors Assembly למחקרים ופרסומים;
קרן לזכרם של אלן ולסלי רוז; מר מוריס ריימס, פריס.

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