Urban Music in the Balkans:
drop-out ethnic identities or a historical case of tolerance
and global thinking?

"IN HONOREM RAMADAN SOKOLI “

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CODESWITCHING IN BALKAN URBAN MUSIC

A defining feature of the Balkans in the West European scholarly imaginary is linguistic complexity and the hybridization that comes from a history of mutually interpenetrating multilingualism. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, when modern linguistics was in its formative stages, the Balkans were singled out as a region where the languages shared grammatical structures while keeping their core lexicons (Leake 1814:380, Kopitar 1829:86). This was in opposition to the putative orderly differentiation of other, especially West European, languages (cf. Schleicher 1850:143). While we now know that contact induced language change is at base part of the same type of historical processes that produce language change in general, it is nonetheless the case that the so-called Balkan sprachbund ('linguistic league') is the classic example of a language contact zone (Trubetzko 1923, 1928). It is not without a sense of irony that I have observed elsewhere (Friedman 1996) that while journalists and diplomats at the beginning of the twentieth century invented the term ‘Balkanization’ to mean political fragmentation (at the time, the Russian, German, and Austro-Hungarian Empires were resisting the creation of the Baltic republics, Poland, and Czechoslovakia, respectively), for linguists the term ‘Balkanism’ (which apparently dates from Selichchev 1925) denotes just the opposite, i.e. a linguistic feature that is shared among the disparate languages of the Balkans as a result of multilingualism. A phenomenon that goes together with multilingualism has come to be known as codeswitching, namely the shift from one language to another in the course of a single unit of discourse, be it the paragraph (interpersonal) or the sentence (intrapersonal). As in so many other fields, here, too, it was the politics of the West that determined the trajectory of the field. Interest in codeswitching grew significantly in the U.S. after the legislative impetus given by the passage of the Bilingual Education Act in 1968, and the overwhelming majority of studies involve the languages of western Europeans and their (sometimes former) colonies. Balkan language contact has still not received more than passing mention in the codeswitching literature (e.g. Meyers-Scotton 1993:219, cf. Weinreich 1953:74-82), although the situation is beginning to change (Lindsay 2006). In an earlier article (Friedman 1995/2002), I examined the evidence of codeswitching in nineteenth century Macedonian folk anecdotes that were basically the equivalent of today's ethnic jokes (Cepenkov 1972). In this paper, I will look at codeswitching in the context of music, both in terms of song words and song choices. In so doing, I hope to contribute to an understanding of how language interacts with music in the forming of identities. At the same time, I shall attempt to highlight how codeswitching in songs functions sociolinguistically to create solidarities and differences.

Before embarking on a consideration of the data, however, a few words are needed on the concepts of codeswitching, code-mixing, and borrowing. These three are not so much discrete phenomena as loci on a continuum, with codeswitching at the end in which the languages are kept separate and identifiable and borrowing at the end in which an element from one language is completely integrated into another. Heath (1989:1) points out the difficulty in distinguishing codeswitching from bor-rowing: “It turns out that there are instances of mixing which are difficult to cate-gorize in terms of this binary opposition, either because we seem to have partial adaptation or because there are substantial differences between codeswitched and borrowed forms. There are additional problems involving, for example, items which look formally like unadapted codeswitches but which function as borrowings (i.e. are commonly used and have stabilized in form).” Thus, for example, the Turkish element in Macedonian, especially when viewed diachronically over the past century, is in precisely this position. On the one hand, it is undeniable that there are Turkish words functioning as fully naturalized borrowings showing phonological and mor-phological adaptation to Macedonian grammar, e.g. the borrowed adjective kör ‘blind’ (< Trk kor), which inflects fem. körə, neut. körə, etc. On the other hand, uninflected adjectives such as güzel ‘beautiful’ (< Trk güzel), tazə ‘fresh’ (< Trk taze) function on the same level but are not morphologically adapted. Similarly, in Macedonian dialects lacking schwa, such as the Prilep dialect of Cepenkov’s tales, Turkish high back unrounded /ʃ/ will be rendered with schwa in unadapted loans (codeswitches). The point is that, unlike French or Norse borrowings in English, which most native speakers cannot distinguish from native words, much of the Turkish ele-ment in Macedonian is felt as such even by Macedonians who know little or no Turkish. Turkisms can thus func-tion indexically as codeswitching.

Lindsay (2006) distinguishes three types of codeswitching in Bulgarian chalga, a post-1989 urban genre that combines rock with various Balkan and near eastern (especially Turkish) musical elements: “Songs involving two singers, each of whom uses a different language; songs sung by one singer who amply incorporates two or more languages; and songs by one singer, primarily in one
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language, but with token usage of another language.” To this we can immediately add songs sung by two singers in two languages, such as the song Mangata tut ‘I love you’ (Charina, album Jasha be Mango, 2000) in which male and female singers alternate verses, which are all in Bulgarian, while the chorus, in Romani, is sung alternately by the male solo and by the male and female as a duet: Mangata tut, mangata tut, nera de tuke, mangata tut ‘I love you, I love you, I am dying for you, I love you.’ The song deals in stereotypes of Gypsy passion and betrayal of a Carmenesque variety, but with a Ciganin ‘male Gypsy’ as the Gypsy. The song begins with the male declaration of love, followed by the female acquiescence, the man then sings the chorus, the woman then sings another verse about the Gypsy, ending “Shte te tursi, shte te mani, shte te prokvlne, shte te prokvlne.” ‘He will seek you, he will deceive you, he will curse you, he will curse you’ followed by the chorus sung as a duet. The ethnic identity of the woman is never actually specified, which adds to the stereotyping effect. The song appears on a CD in which the overwhelming majority of songs are in Romani (in fact, the subtitle is Ciganin chalsa ‘Gypsy chalsa’—the effect nominal adposition being difficult to translate). There is much that could be said of the use of Romani in the signaling of negative prestige in the creation of alternative identities (cf. Matras 2002, Chapter 10) as well as about Romani self-presentation when dealing in stereotypes (cf. Lemon 2000), but for the moment this example will suffice. We can add here, however, that in Bulgarian chalsa, the other language that occurs in the context of codeswitching is Turkish, which, from a sociolinguistic point of view, was at the opposite end of the sociolinguistic hierarchy at the beginning of the twentieth century. It can be argued, however, that one effect of the creation of Bulgarian nationhood has been the attempt to write Romani and Turkish into the same marginal position, albeit Roms have always been the first targets of such policies (especially Muslim Roms, who constitute the majority of Roms in Bulgaria), followed by Turks. Such was the case, for example, in the policy of forced name changes. (We must leave to one side here the question of Pomak [Bulgarian-speaking Muslim] dialects, which figure quite differently in constructions of Bulgarian autochthonity. We also elide here such groups as the Millet, who speak Turkish as their first language but are identified by others as Gypsies, as well as self-identified Roms with Turkish as their first language.) But it was precisely these policies, it can be argued, that have given the prestige or resistance to Romani and Turkish.

In discussing minority language use in music production, it is interesting to compare Bulgarian with Macedonian practices during the period from the late 1960s into the 1980s. During the earlier part of this period, in both the Republic of Macedonia (which in those days was part of Yugoslavia) and in Bulgaria, it was possible to buy records in Turkish and Romani as well as the respective national language. In Macedonia, there was also significant musical production in [the now former] Serbo-Croatian, especially among Gypsies, as well as Albanian and, albeit extremely rarely, Aromanian. In Bulgaria, however, such production was consistently segregated, i.e. Turkish and Romani records contained songs only in those languages. Moreover, the titles were often only given in Bulgarian or only in Cyrillic orthography. In Macedonia, however, singers such as Muharrem Serbezovski included songs in Romani on albums that were otherwise in Serbo-Croatian, Esma Redzhepova sang in Turkish and Romani as well as Macedonian (and Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian), while the group Biljana, from Ohrid, which specialized in Ohrid urban music from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and which, to the best of my knowledge, was the only group producing commercial records in Macedonia in Aromanian, also included Turkish songs such as Çifte çifte pajo'nari'A pair, a pair of carriages' in their commercial production (Ansanbi Biljana, Jugoton, 1978). During this same period, musical production in Greece was much more monolingual, although the occasional song in Aromanian or Arvanitika might slip by. We can also mention here Turkish productions such as Testament 'Tavern evenings' by Neat Dindash ve Grubu ‘(and his group), a CD with about 25 Turkish tavern songs, with part of 720 being given as Kalinomome, i.e. Bulgarian Kalino nome 'dark-eyed maiden' a slightly risqué folk song sung with suggestive intonation. The presence of the song in such a collection, however, is a clear reference to a Rumelian (i.e. Balkan) rather than an Anatolian orientation.

Returning now to typologies of codeswitching, we can say that from a formal point of view, precisely because songs can have a different narrative structure from spoken discourse, we can distinguish types of codeswitches that are specific to this particular oral genre, although from a strictly functionalist perspective, it can be argued that the same types of functions are being performed as in conversational codeswitching. I would argue that codeswitching in songs can be of three types: plot advancing, translational, and expressive. This is not entirely divorced from Bühler’s (1934) trichotomy of emotive, expressive, and communicative functions of language that in turn correspond to the three persons of the ordinary pronominal system. In other words, expressive or emotive codeswitches, which may in fact contain some lexical content and set tone, do not advance the narrative of the song, but neither do they repeat what has already been sung. Translations have a kind of expressive function in that by repeating the same words in different languages, which may of course have a kind of expressive function, nonetheless has the additional potential of addressing an additional audience, or, perhaps more importantly, indexing the multilingualism of the audience and thus creating a kind of solidarity. Finally, plot advancing codeswitches actually involve words that are crucial to the communicative message of the song, regardless of whether they are intersentential or intrasentential. In this approach, I then find that the amount of codeswitching is not crucial. Thus, for example, in a song cited by Lindsey (2006), Giuců giuců (Anet 2004)—which was also included on the Album Tose, Erdjan, i Ramko vo Zivo ('Tose, Erdjan and Ramko Live, 2005) popular in Shutta, the Romani district of Skopje—the chorus involves a
two-word codeswitch from Bulgarian, which is the matrix language of the song, to Romani, but the words themselves (given in italics) are crucial to the meaning:

  Ako iskash, mila, kompressa
  Az shte ti napravja so mangeza
  'If you want, dear, a compress
  I will do for you what you want.

Thus I would argue that rather than the amount, it is the function of the codeswitch within the discourse of the song that characterizes its significance. This approach can also be compared to Matras' (1999) work on the action-oriented functions of the use of written texts in Romani in political journalism and education: emblematic, (expressive), mobilizing-rallying (addressee), and communicative. From this sort of functional perspective, the Romani chorus mentioned earlier (Mangos tut), likewise is communicative, since it implies a development connected with the verses of the song.

What I would call the expressive or addressee codeswitch would normally always involve a short stretch of text, frequently, but not always, in the chorus. An excellent example of this type actually crosses more than just Balkan boundaries, since it involves not only Turkish, Greek, and Judezmo, but also Armenian and the American Balkan diasporas. To be sure, there has been a significant Armenian presence in the Balkans at least since Byzantine times, and Armenian-speaking enclaves survive to this day, but Armenian does not usually figure in accounts of the Balkans. The song in question was performed by Marko Melkon in 1957 for Decca Records and reproduced on the CD Armenians on 8th Avenue. Marko Melkon was born Melkon Alemserian in Izmir in 1895. He left for Athens to avoid the draft in 1912, emigrated to the U.S., married in Salonika in 1928 and returned to the U.S., where he was an extremely popular singer and oud player in Turkish Greek and Armenian. He passed away in 1964. The compiler of the liner notes knew only Turkish, and was thus unable to make sense of the chorus. We can also note that while the imperative verb form ela by itself is a borrowing in all the Balkan languages, the addition of the Greek deictic adverb ‘do turns the phrase into a codeswitch, since as a borrowing ela is accompanied by an adverb in the matrix language, e.g. Macedonian ela vamu. In the context of the chorus of this song, the same command in Armenian and Judezmo (and not in the matrix language of the song, Turkish) also mark the Greek usage as a codeswitch rather than as a borrowing.

   Galatada Todoraki
   Beyoghluunda var pilaki
   Doldur doldur, ver, Yanaki

Bak benim halime, aman
Al kupayý,
Ela ‘do (hos egoor),
ven akí
iqem boz raki

Galatany yolu yonca
Memeler benzer turunca
Anasý giil kýzyý gonca

Todhoraki in Galata
Bean stew in Beyoghlu
Fill, fill, give, Yanaki

Look at my circumstances.
Take the glass, come here [Greek], come here [Armenian] come here [Judezmo]
Let's drink watered raki.

The road in Galata is clover
Breasts resemble oranges
Her mother a rose, her daughter a rosebud.

It is arguable that in the context of this song, the codeswitched text could in fact be performing any of the three types of function, since it involves an exclamation that is at the same time an imperative and is translated and at the same time could be taken as part of the “story” of the song. In any case the singer is clearly signaling his awareness of Greek, Armenian, and Judezmo in the context of a Turkish tavern song, and thus referencing the cosmopolitan nature of pre-World War One Izmir and Salonika.

Returning to chalga for another translated text, Toshka, by Kitka on Jasha be, Mange (2000), apparently an adaptation of operatic themes. The song has two verses in Romani in which the man addresses a Romani woman in Romani expressing his desire for her and the objections of the men in her life. The chorus is sung the first time only in Romani, the second time in Romani then repeated in Bulgarian and then again in Romani:

Saro me kamav tut me ka lav tut
Te nashit te lav tut, ka mudarav tut [Romani]

Kako te obicham shite te otkradna
Ako ne moga, shite te ubijam [Bulgarian]

‘I love you so much that I will take/stolen you
If I can’t [take you], I will kill you’
In the translation, I have italicized the Romani when it differs from the Bulgarian translation. Similar codeswitches occur with Turkish as well in Bulgarian chalga, e.g.

Ele, ela, imam nuzhda ot teb sega
Gel, gel, gel ithiyorum var sana (imam nuzhda ot teb, Ljusni i Rejhan 2003 cited in Lindsey 2006) ‘Come, come, I need you now’

In this example, ela functions as a colloquial loan rather than a codeswitch. Codeswitching is a phenomenon that purposefully crosses the boundaries between languages—phonological, morphological, syntactic, and lexical—and in so doing creates new units and entities. But codeswitching as a musical phenomenon also can also be said to blur the boundary between rural and urban. Jashar-Nasteva (1987:15-16) gives two songs from the Janovene villages (Janovene, Slimnica, Pilkati, Kalevishta, Omsoko [Greek Giannohori, Troilos, Monopelion, Kalé: Vryselecti, Livanhotopi]), located at the foot of Mounts Alevitsa and Grammos in what is today Greek Macedonia just across the border from Albania. These villages, which were destroyed in the Greek Civil War (for details see Simovski 1998:23-42), were the south-westernmost Macedonian-speaking villages, the neighboring villages to the south and west being Greek and Albanian. In these villages songs could be sung in one language, e.g., Greek, and then immediately repeated in another, e.g., Macedonian or Albanian:

Vasilikos myrizei gia dète poiós diávēni [Greek]
Bosičak mi mirisi, aj vitte koj pominvi [Macedonian]
‘I smell basil, oh look who is passing by’

E: agápē: mou diavainei kai stén ekklésiai peegaí [Greek]
Moja mlja pominvi, ta u carkvata mi odi [Macedonian]
‘My beloved is passing by, and she’s going to church’

Epísa miá pér diká, móz mnán, móz mnán [Greek]
Zura njé faláze, moj njé, moj nane [Albanian]
‘I caught a dove, oh mama, oh mama’

Thá té: válo: stó klouvi, móz mnán, móz mnán [Greek]
Do ta ve de kafas, moj nane, moj nane [Albanian]
‘I will put it in a cage, oh mama, oh mama.’

Similarly, in a song from the village of Tanusha in the Poreche region of what is today the Republic of Macedonia, the song alternates among Macedonian (plain text), Turkish (italics) and Albanian (bold). The Albanian is basically translational, although it makes use of an Albanian style of formula by including

chesh (standard qesh) ‘laugh’. The Turkish veers among the expressive, addressee (both imperative and translational), while the Macedonian constitutes the narrative frame.

Imash ochi/kako fildzhan/jandim aman/jalvaraim/gel januma
Pot baj ridzha, chiko/afe chesh me mu/Sojle benimle of, of/Zbori sos mene. (as cited in Jashar-Nasteva 1967:15)
You have eyes/like little coffee cups/I’ve burned up, alas/I’m begging I you/ come to my side
‘I’m begging you, girl/talk and laugh with me/talk with me even, even/Talk with me’

Similarly, we have examples of codeswitching between Aromanian and Macedonian in ritual songs from Balkan towns such as Prilep and Bitola. The first of the following two examples is a Christmas carol with a Macedonian codeswitch, while the second is a St. John’s Eve song in Macedonian with a codeswitch into Aromanian. In the Aromanian song, the Macedonian is part of the narrative of blessing and adds to the content of the song. In the Macedonian song, which is associated with a custom of gathering medicinal herbs that is ultimately of Greek origin in Macedonia, the codeswitch looks more like a remnant attesting to the origin of the song. Nonetheless, such codeswitches arguably have their origins in a formerly bilingual context.

Kôlindw, mêlindw
tsirea godina
tsints vake,
dw nj babw, nw kulakw
sw bwneadzv vakw
vakw ku yitsé (Monastir, Weigand 1895:132)

Kôlindw, mêlindw
a rogal year! [Macedonian]
five cows
give me, grandma, a cookie
that the cow may live
the cow with the calf

Tajane Bojane, imam brat sveti Jovane
unkešti [iu njuqišiš] unkešti unkešti po maglata
po magla, po magla, po magla, sitna rosa
po rosa, po rosa, po rosa, muma bosa. (Prilep, Koneski 1971:65)

O Tayan [from Greek ta Yannis ‘St. John’], O Boyan, I have a brother, O St. John

O Tayan [from Greek ta Yannis ‘St. John’], O Boyan, I have a brother, O St. John
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where did you go, where did you go, where did you go [Aromanian] in the fog 
in the fog, in the fog, in the fog, fine dew
in the dew, in the dew, in the dew, a barefoot girl

In some cases, perhaps, it could be argued that rural practitioners were
attempting to mimic urban prestige via codeswitching, but in others it is clear
that the practice involved hybrid identities at the rural as well as the urban
level.

The insertion of a single, phonologically unadapted, lexical item from one
language into the discourse of another can, depending on the context, be
considered a codeswitch or what is sometimes called a nonce borrowing. One
can also make a distinction between quotative and non-quotative codeswitching.
Thus, for example, the only rebetika song that I have been able to locate with
more than single lexical borrowings has verses such as the following:

Stà váthe: têsa Anatolèes
stè: maître: ksenitià mou
ôtan akoîto: mpîr aláh
ragizetai e: kardía mou

In the depths of Anatolia
In my black life abroad
when I hear bîr Allah (Turkish: God is one)
my heart trembles (Petropoulos 1968:334)

A nineteenth century Macedonian urban song of a classic type, enumerating
the characteristics of girls from different towns, was collected by Cepenkov but
also kept alive in the twentieth century Macedonian repertoire. The verses are
in Macedonian, whereas the chorus is a Turkish matrix with a codeswitch into
Macedonian for the name of the town that is the focus of the song, namely
Macedonian Bitola, Turkish (and Albanian, and Greek) Manastir/Monastir/
Monastirion, the Macedonian being descended from a translation of the Greek.

Od Bitola pojdo, vo Prilepa dojdo
Prilepskite momi, mori, tîja tutunarki.

Od Prilepa pojdo vo Veles si dojdo
Veleshkite momi, mori, tîja stomarki

Bitola, gene babam, Bitola
Manastir, lele yawrum, Manastir

Judezmo is/was by definition an urban language in former Ottoman lands.
For the most part, Judezmo codeswitches are into Greek and Turkish. The
following example apparently began as a Turkish song in Izmir, which was
translated into Greek and then adapted into Judezmo, but with a communicative
codeswitch into Greek:

Te akodraz Sara...
Do you remember Sara, [Judezmo]
Una noche de Alhad;
One Saturday night (eve of Sunday)
Me tomaba l’amba,
I fell into your arms.
Me kemaz la alma.
You burned my soul.
Lagrimaz de los mis ojos
Tears from my eyes
Kaygan en tu korason.
Fall on your heart.
Ke te kemez i te asez
May you burn
Sin tener la salvacion.
With no salvation.
Te akodraz Sara...
Do you remember...
Mou pes pos m’agapas,
You tell me that you love me, [Greek]
Melón petis yolas,
With others you play and laugh,
le kos orcos seinas,
You forget your promises,
Kat me alis melas.
You talk with others.

(Voice of the Turtle, Balkan Vistas - Spanish Dreams (Paths of Exile
Quincenetary Series III [Izmir])

In the next two examples, the first Judezmo the second Macedonian, the
chorus contains the same codeswitch into Turkish. The Judezmo song is a
children's song in which the codeswitch can be taken as expressive, while in the
Macedonian song, given the thematics, it can be counted as communicative:

Si verish ak gameyo,
asetando en el taviero,
avriendo suz buenaz filaz,
maz delgadaz de suz caveyoz
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Si veriash a la rana
asentada en la ornaya
friendo suz buenaz fratas,
i spartiendo a suz ermanikanaz. [Judezmo]

Chorus: Ben seni severim, chok seni severim (bis) [Turkish]

If you could only see the camel
seated on the dough board
rolling out the filo dough
thinner than his hair!

If you could only see the frog
seated on a green log
from her lovely 'fritas'
and sharing with her little sisters! [Judezmo]

'I love you, I love you very much.' (Turkish)

(Voice of the Turtle, Balkan Vistas - Spanish Dreams (Paths of Exile Quincentenary Series III) [Bulgaria])

Snoshti pominav, zaminav, pokraj prilepski kasarni [chichovite bashchini]
'Last night I went to, I passed along, by the Prilep barracks [uncles’ gardens].'

Shte momchinja tam bea, samo moeto momche ne beshe.
'All the boys were there, only my boyfriend wasn’t.'

Stori me bozhe, prestori, edno sino belo galabche
Make me, O God, turn me into a blue-white dove

Beni seni severim, chok seni severim, pokraj prilepski kasarni( bis)
(Bre Tutunche, Zholto Altanche; KUD Mirche Acev (Tutunski kombinat Prilep) Zagreb: Jugoton)

It is interesting to note that in some versions of the chorus from Macedonia, the codeswitch reflects local, West Rumelian, pronunciation, in which final /i/ is backed to /j/ in closed syllables.

As noted above in the case in Bulgarian chalga, Turkish and Romani were the main languages of codeswitching also in more recent Macedonian production. *Nishka banja 'The Nish baths' (a song made popular in the movie Skuplachi perja, released in English as 'I Even Met Happy Gypsies') in the 1960’s contains verses in Serbian and Romani with a chorus in Romani

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Nishka banja, topla voda
za Nishilje/mangupe, zhiva zgoda

Jehk duj, duj, duj, duj
Deshuduj, chmuidav te ando muj

Chorus:
Em kamav la, em ka[m] lav la
Ando Nishi, na mukav la

The baths at Nish, warm water
For Nishians/rascals, a lively experience

One two, two, two
Twelve I kiss on the mouth

And I love her and I will take her
In Nish I will not leave her. (Romani)

A phenomenon of the post-1989/1991 period in Macedonia was the rise not only of private multilingual radio station, but the rise in codeswitched songs played on Macedonian-language radio. In general, however, the switches were not into Turkish, characteristic of older urban genres, but into Romani. In 1994, one of the most frequently played songs on Macedonian radio contained a single, final, communicative codeswitched verse from Serbian into Romani (recorded from Radio Buba Mara, Skopje, summer 1994):

Tebe trazhe ochi moje mira nemaju
Pozhelele ochi moje da te gledaju

Chorus: A tebe nema, A tebe nema, A tebe nema,
Ljubav da ti dam

Tebe trazhe ruke moje chezhnjom gorile
Pozhelele ruke moje da te zagrije

Tebe trazhe usne moje nada ne gube
Pozhelele usne moje da te poljube

Tebe trazhe telo moje bash ne miruje
Pozhelele telo moje da te miluje (Serbian)

E Romanen, eh chhvalen aven te dikhen
Me mangav le, me ka lav le, me kamlo ka ovel (Romani)
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forms completely lost their identity, their national symbolism thus forming, perhaps, the ideal model of multiculturalism. Music that employs multilingualism in order to emphasize its own interethic function.'

In a manner not unlike codeswitching in ethnic jokes, codeswitching in songs indexes sociolinguistic relationships. At the same time, however, the very fact of these relationships constitutes a part of identity formation. As pointed out, e.g., Bauman and Briggs (2003:1-18, 97-225), hybridity is antithetical to the "purity" that was instrumental in the nation-building project that grew out of the Enlightenment. And yet, Bauman and Briggs themselves, in their focus on the Brothers Grimm, and, in passing such allies and analogues as Vuk Karadžić, themselves reproduce the erasure identified by Gal and Irvine (1995) as one of the semiotic processes in the establishment of national, among other boundaries. Marko Cepenkov recorded Aromanian songs as well as Macedonian, and Kuzman Shapkarev collected Aromanian, Albanian, and Turkish folktales as well as Balkan Slavic.

In this paper I have only been able to hint at the rich themes inherent in the study of codeswitching in Balkan music—urban and rural, from Ottoman past to post-communist present. There is much more to be done. Codeswitching in songs is used to index and create shifting solidarities and differences in the Balkans, signaling a fund of intersecting identities among which participants in Balkan cultures have moved and to some extent can still move to this day.

References


*) An orthographic note: Owing to the fact that this paper was written on a Macintosh and thus subject to font limitations, I have used a modified English-based orthography for all the examples. I have used a colon to indicate Greek eta, omega. The letter Ϝ stands for schwa in Bulgarian and Aromanian (also for Turkish dotless i if that cannot be accommodated).
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Skopje: Zdruzhenje na deca bezgaci od egejskot del na Makedonijia.


GLOBALIZATION vs. TRADITION: COMMERCIAL MUSIC IN EARLY 20TH CENTURY ISTANBUL

Introduction

Istanbul’s commercial music worlds at the turn of the 20th century may be considered as early examples of musical globalization; hence we may seek answers regarding several related issues by examining the commercial music making market with a particular emphasis on nightclubs and the recording industry. The impact of rapid technological advancements and socio-historical changes resulted in a new set of traditions and changes in taste and aesthetics. During the first decades of the 20th century, with the consent of the state government, products of the global market, especially European and American commodities, were increasingly available. Despite this, there was a preference in the local market for traditional musical products, whether in the form of live musical performances or commercial recordings. The commercial music industry valued predictability in securing steady revenues; hence they promoted a consumerist culture with artists functioning in a variety of domains to ensure sales (singer Münir Nurettin Selçuk, e.g.).

There is little material on the history of the Turkish recording industry. One of the few helpful sources is Cemal Ünlü’s recent book on the 78-rpm era (Ünlü 2004). This very informative 560-page volume includes many facts about the history of recording, technical information, and interviews with record

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