Controlled Disorder in Polymusic: The Case of the Seto Wedding Song Genre *Kaasitamine*[1]

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Abstract

The term 'polymusic', which has been in use in ethnomusicology since the 1990s, designates musical practices where two or more autonomous musical entities are deliberately performed in the same space and time in a largely uncoordinated manner. The musical texts – which may be the same or different – that are juxtaposed in a polymusical performance may also be performed separately; when performed together, however, they constitute a new complex hypertext which has new meanings and functions and may to some extent be musically coordinated. Nevertheless, polymusical performance always engenders some kind of *musical disorder* which, being deliberately produced, can be characterized as a *controlled disorder*. Such disorder is a means to accomplish the ritual functions to which the polymusical genres are usually related and to induce some specific psychological effects, which are often connected with the manipulation of time and space. In this study the theoretical, ethnographic and cognitive questions of polymusic are discussed with reference to the case of the *kaasitamine*, the Seto wedding song genre from South-East Estonia. This research reveals the different traditional forms of *kaasitamine* performance characterised by the different balance between coordinated and uncoordinated components, analyses the more subtle mechanisms for the creation of controlled disorder, and considers the possible psychological effects of polymusic in relation to an altered perception of time.

1. Definitions and classifications of polymusic

Performance practices in which autonomous musical entities simultaneously co-exist in the same space and time are widely known in many musical traditions throughout the world. In recent decades these practices have often been referred to as *polymusic*. According to Dana Rappoport,

> "Polymusic" is a neologism coined in 1991 at a seminar of the French Ethnomusicology Laboratory of the French National Scientific Research Center (CNRS). It was then defined by the acoustician Gilles Léothaud (n.d.) as being "the total result of the simultaneous, deliberate presence of several autonomous musical entities, without any coordination in time" (Rappoport 2013: 10).

Actually, however, the phenomenon of polymusic was observed by ethnomusicologists long ago. Rappoport refers in this context to such authors as Elkin (1967 [1938]), Schaeffner (1968 [1936]), Lomax (1968), Basset (1995) and George (1996), all of whom mention cases of polymusic around the world (Rappoport 2013: 9). The manifold polymusical practices of the East Slavs are well described in Russian-language ethnomusicological literature by Rudneva (1975), Hippius and Kabanov (1977), Efimenkova (1980), Tavlay (1986), Engovatova (1997, 2008), Dorokhova and Pashina (2005), Berkovich (2012) and others; among these authors, the most influential theoretical ideas were proposed by Margarita Engovatova. Although the various aspects of polymusic have repeatedly been the subject of description, analysis and theoretical discussion, the phenomenon still offers considerable scope for ethnomusicological research. The great diversity of particular forms of polymusic makes generalizations on this topic quite tricky, and introducing new examples of polymusic may raise new questions and offer new points of view with regard to the topic. In this paper, I shall discuss the phenomenon of polymusic using the case of the *kaasitamine*, the Seto wedding songs from South-East Estonia.

With regard to the definition of polymusic it is interesting to compare Léothaud's definition, cited above, with that of Engovatova. In Russian-language ethnomusicology polymusical practices are usually referred to as *specific forms of collective*

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singing (*особые формы совместного пения*). This four-word expression was introduced by Engovatova as a preliminary term (Engovatova 1997, 2008: 63), but was then taken into general use (it is often used as an abbreviation *ОСФП*). Although the term itself does not seem to be the ideal solution – it is too long and limits polymusic to its vocal forms only – the theoretical discussion and particular observations concerning these musical practices are of a great interest. According to the definition proposed by Engovatova, the term 'specific forms of collective singing' means

> a simultaneous performance of two or more musical texts (in the semiotic sense) resulting in the emergence of a new structurally more complex text which carries specific functions and semantics. Each of the subtexts of which such a text is comprised can exist in the [respective] tradition also as an independent entity. Their juxtaposition is created by the performers deliberately… (Engovatova 2008: 63).[2]

From the two definitions cited above we can conclude that the main feature of the performance practices in question is the *simultaneous performance of two or more autonomous musical entities*. One of the keywords of both definitions is *deliberate*, which points to the fact that in both polymusic and the 'specific forms of collective singing' the juxtaposition of different musical units is not accidental, unintended, but is consciously planned by the performers in accordance with some traditional context. Rappoport emphasises that in polymusic it is only the sound outcome that is accidental, not the whole situation: "Musicians and singers are grouped together, simultaneously participating in the same event (such as a rite). It is in the sounds they produce that they are not together" (Rappoport 2013: 11). The intentional creation of the compound musical event distinguishes polymusic from *soundscape*, the concept proposed by R. Murray Schafer (1994 [1977]) to designate an acoustic environment in which different sonic components, including music, are brought together without any plan or meaning. The distinction between polymusic and soundscape is not always obvious to an outsider-listener, and to distinguish between the two the researcher must be aware of the local contexts and customs.

A particularly valuable part of Engovatova's definition is the idea that the connection of autonomous musical entities (texts) may create a new meaningful entity (hypertext) in relation to which these autonomous texts function as subtexts. As the musical examples from Engovatova's publication (2008) show – and as we shall see in this study – the formation of a new, higher level entity can manifest itself not only in the attribution of new meanings to the whole musical event (such meanings are often related to the goal of the ritual in which polymusic is used) and in the specific qualities of the perception of polymusic by performers and listeners, but also *in the existence of certain elements of musical coordination between the subtexts*. This is the point where the definitions of Engovatova and Léothaud diverge: whereas Léothaud states that polymusic does not have "any coordination in time", Engovatova does not even mention the question of coordination in her definition, though the vast majority of the musical practices she includes under 'specific forms of collective singing' are characterized by complete or partial musical incoordination. It seems, nevertheless, that it would be reasonable to merge these two concepts designating largely the same musical practices. To do this we have on one hand to allow the possibility of some elements of coordination in polymusic, and on the other to acknowledge the importance of the principle of incoordination in 'specific forms of collective singing'.[3] In other respects there are in principal no contradictions between these two definitions which are, in fact, mutually complementary. It should be recognized

[2] In the Russian original: "[Сущность подобных многоголосных форм –] в одновременном исполнении двух или более музыкальных текстов (в семиотическом смысле), образующих в результате новый текст более сложной структуры, который приобретает особую функциональную и семантическую нагрузку. Каждый из субтекстов, входящих в подобный текст, в традиции может существовать и как самостоятельное явление. Их совмещение осуществляется исполнителями сознательно..." (Engovatova 2008: 63).

[3] According to Engovatova, 'specific forms of collective singing' also include some specific genres where different verbal texts are performed simultaneously, while the musical component is organised in the usual manner (Engovatova 2009). In this case the use of the term 'polytextual' rather than 'polymusical' would seem to be preferable.

that the existence of partly coordinated polymusic creates ambivalent cases where the border between polymusic and polyphony may be somewhat blurred, but the presence of the intermediate forms is an inherent feature of every musical culture.

In their structural classifications of polymusic both Engovatova and Rappoport proceed from the relationship between the musical repertoires involved. Rappoport suggests distinguishing between two types: "polymusic resulting from the superaddition of the same repertoire [...], in which case a certain homogeneity between textures, pitches and musical time emerges; and polymusic resulting from the overlapping of different repertoires" (Rappoport 2013: 33). Engovatova classifies the 'specific forms of collective singing' according to three types: (1) the forms based on the simultaneous performance of the same tune with a shift in time (the "imitational" forms uniting principles of antiphony and canon); (2) the forms where different versions of the same tune sound together;[4] and (3) the forms based on different tunes (the principle of "contrast polyphony") (Engovatova 2008: 68). As can be seen, the first and third types in Engovatova's classification coincide with the types proposed by Rappoport. Engovatova's second type, on the other hand, refers to very specific – and rather rare – song genres which are found only in certain regions of Russia. Engovatova also differentiates between cases when the polymusic's components are contradistinguished in time (*гетерохронность*) and in pitch (*гетеровысотность*) (Engovatova 2008: 70). These contradistinctions may occur separately or together.

From the above considerations it is clear that the concepts of polymusic and 'specific forms of collective singing' overlap to a very great extent, both designating specific musical practices characterized by the simultaneous performance of two or more autonomous musical entities. The latter term has a wider reach since it does not rule out the possibility of partial or even total musical coordination. In this study I extend the concept of polymusic to include cases of partial coordination (which, though sometimes obvious, may often require careful analysis if it is to be detected) and limit the concept of 'specific forms of collective singing' to cases where there is at least some degree of incoordination (i.e. excluding those where the musical coordination is total).[5] The comparison and merging of the related theoretical concepts seems to be a fruitful and mutually enriching way to develop ethnomusicological theory.

2. The functions and meanings of polymusic

2.1. The ritual functions of polymusic

The classifications mentioned above consider the musical structure of the polymusical performances. Polymusic, however, can also be classified according to its *uses and functions* (in the sense defined by Alan P. Merriam). The great majority of the cases described by ethnomusicologists in different parts of the world are connected with *ritual contexts*. Rappoport, who investigated polymusical practices in traditional Indonesian culture, emphasises that "such music is never simply a form of entertainment"; these are ritual practices, which "may convey various meanings, according to the ritual" (Rappoport 2013: 41). The same statement can be applied to the folklore traditions of the East Slavs as well (Engovatova 2008: 64). Let us now outline some of the characteristic uses and ritual functions of polymusic.

Among the typical occasions in which polymusical performance occurs we may mention the agrarian *rites of fertility*, e.g. several calendric songs in Northwest Russia and Belorussia (Tavlay 1986); in these cases the same song is often performed by two groups of singers some distance apart (e.g. in different parts of the field). The doubling of the sound source is presumably considered as a factor that amplifies the power of the prayer. According to Rappoport, in the Indonesian rituals the typical function of

4 The phrase "different versions of the same tune" means here versions of a tune belonging to the same genre and having the same musical origin, but where the differences are significant, recognized by the bearers of tradition, and often reflected in the local folk terminology (Engovatova 2008: 68).

5 Needless to say, though the particular case that I analyse here is a song, I do not limit the practices under investigation to vocal genres only.

polymusic is that of *sound offerings* to divinities or ancestral spirits, which can be accompanied with other kinds of offerings (e.g. meal offerings) (Rappoport 2013: 33, 41). In this context the quantity of sound is also important – "the success of a ritual can […] be measured by its degree of 'loudness', an indication of the quantity of sound, of guests and of offerings" (Rappoport 2013: 37).

Several authors also observe that the groups of singers or instrumentalists can represent social units between which there may be some kind of rivalry, and that polymusical performance may have an *agonistic* character. The Indonesian cases of such ritual musical rivalry, with groups from different villages participating in the same event, can be seen "as the expression of local identities" (Rappoport 2013: 38). In the Russian wedding ritual, the polymusical performance of the same song by two competing groups representing the relatives of the groom and the bride is often observed (Kolpakova 1963: 436; Kruglov 1978: 114–115). According to Engovatova, the antiphonic and canonic performance of the wedding 'teasing songs' (*дразнилки*) is widespread among all East Slavs (Engovatova 2008: 68).

Polymusical competition can also be connected with *game* situations and with the traditional *laughter culture* (the term coined by Mikhail Bakhtin). This is the case with the rain-calling ritual named 'harrow' (*Борона*), which is characteristic of the borderlands of Belorussia and the Smolensk region of Russia (Berkovich 2012). The participants in this ritual sing simultaneously all kinds of calendric songs known in the local tradition, including winter, spring, summer and autumn songs. The performers perceive this situation as very humorous (since the songs are performed at the wrong time of the year), and the aim of such a musical game is to manage to sing their own song to the end against the background of the other songs and not to start laughing (Berkovich 2012: 42). Another game-like situation is the simultaneous singing of different round songs during youth gatherings (Engovatova 2008: 65).

2.2. The manipulation of time and space

With respect to the meanings of polymusic, many researchers agree that it often deals with the *manipulation of time and space*,[6] which usually has a ritual function. Yekaterina Dorokhova and Olga Pashina, in the chapter dedicated to 'specific forms of collective singing' in their textbook on Russian folk music, assume that the ritual meaning of such practices may often be the "modelling of a sacral *chronotope*" (Dorokhova & Pashina 2005: 89).[7] Thus the participants in the ritual are able, through the musical performance, perceptually to change the qualities of time and space, shortening, lengthening, compressing or stopping time, and reshaping space to mark symbolic borders or connect different points of space (Dorokhova and Pashina 2005: 89–91).

It seems that in discussions of this topic two different aspects of apprehending time and space should be clearly differentiated: *symbolic time and space*, i.e. conceptions of time and space which reflect the traditional mythological world-picture (see e.g. Rappoport 2016), and *psychological time and space*, i.e. the specific perceptions of these dimensions which may be experienced by performers of polymusic and their listeners. These two aspects may also be interconnected.

One example concerning *symbolic space* is the custom of performing the bridal lament simultaneously with the wedding song or ritual instrumental music, which is very characteristic of the traditional Russian wedding ritual (e.g. see Efimenkova 1980; Razumovskaya 1998: 85, 99–107). Dorokhova and Pashina interpret such performances as symbolising the opposition between *this world* and the *other world* – the world of the living and the world of the dead – which conveys the idea of the bride's symbolic death during the *rite of passage* (Dorokhova and Pashina 2005: 88).

The rain-calling ritual called 'harrow' mentioned above can serve as an example of the manipulation of *symbolic time*. Dorokhova

6 I use the term 'manipulation' to denote the conscious or unconscious shaping or re-shaping of time and space.

7 'Chronotope' (in Russian *хронотоп*) is the term adopted by Mikhail Bakhtin to designate the configurations of time and space as they are represented in language and discourse.

and Pashina characterize the effect of such polymusical performance as a *compression of time*. The juxtaposition of calendric songs belonging to different seasons of the year at the same moment in time may be understood as creating disorder in nature and inducing the collapse of time (Dorokhova & Pashina 2005: 90). It is very likely that the *sonic chaos* which emerges in such performances also influences the time perception of the singers; however, to characterize the changes of psychological time more precisely cognitive research is required.

In the case of the antiphonic, *stretto*-like performance of the wedding and calendric songs often to be found among the East Slavs, on the other hand, it is *psychological time* that is being re-shaped. In these practices both groups usually sing at the same pitch level, but with a random shift in time. As a result, the participants in the event hear a continuous sound flow, where all formal and rhythmic caesuras and melodic contours are smoothed out by the shifted repetitions. According to Dorokhova and Pashina, this type of performance creates the *stopped-time* illusion (i.e. the flow of time is apparently suspended), which may also be experienced as an illusion of eternity (Dorokhova and Pashina 2005: 89). Obviously, such an effect is more characteristic of those occasions when the singing groups are located close to each other.

When the groups of singers are placed at a larger distance from one another, as is usual in the antiphonic and canonic performance of several calendric songs (the singers may be located on different hills or at different ends of a field), the probable result is a re-shaping of *psychological space*. Dorokhova and Pashina suggest two purposes for such a manner of song performance: the first is the filling of the possibly large space with a humanly produced sound (that is to say, the 'cultivation' or 'acquisition' of space); the second purpose is the *creation of connections* between different parts of the space (Dorokhova and Pashina 2005: 90). In both cases the real space (not the symbolic space) becomes psychologically smaller, and the impression emerges that it is the people's own space.

3. Polymusical phenomena in the Seto song tradition. The wedding song genre *kaasitamine*

The Seto song tradition seems to be of very ancient origin, and the ritual songs, including wedding songs, constitute its oldest layer.[8] The phenomenon of polymusic may be found in several Seto vocal genres, but the most impressive and best documented case of polymusic is the specific genre of the wedding songs known as *kaasitamine*.

In addition to this genre, in the Seto tradition the following practices related to polymusic are to be found: the manuring and harvesting songs – types of agrarian labour songs that were performed by two (or even three) singing groups in the field (Väisänen 1990 [1947]: 68);[9] the lamentations, which were sung simultaneously in the graveyard on the traditional commemoration days; and the concurrent singing of different songs during the village festivities, when two circles of singers (for instance, the women and the men) would stay in close proximity to each other. The case of the manuring and harvesting songs is very similar to the polymusical performance of the calendric songs by the East Slavs described above: they are agrarian rites of fertility, in which the reshaping of space may be one of the goals and psychological effects. As representatives of different families participated in these agrarian tasks the element of competition might also have

8 The Seto people are a small ethnic group of Estonians living in South-East Estonia and within the adjoining border territories of Russia. The Seto name their region *Setomaa* (in Estonian – *Setu* and *Setumaa*). The Seto tongue – a Võru-Seto dialect of Estonian is spoken by about 12,500 people (according to the 2011 Census), and belongs to the Finnic subgroup of the Finno-Ugric languages. The traditional culture of the Seto differs notably from the culture of other Estonians. Unlike most other Estonians, who are Lutherans, the Seto people are Orthodox. With regard to music, the greatest peculiarity of the Seto culture is the ancient tradition of multipart singing – the so-called Seto *leelo,* which in 2009 was included in the UNESCO List of Intangible Cultural Heritage. The musical tradition of the Seto is one of the very few in Estonia that has been preserved in active use until today.

9 To be precise, Väisänen does not directly mention the overlapping or juxtaposition of the performances; however, this is clearly audible in his sound recording of the manuring song made in 1921 (Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, Kalevalaseura, fonokop. 71 2, 165a).

been involved. With respect to the collective lamentations and village festivities, the borderline between the polymusical event and the (ritual) soundscape is not so clear. However, I am inclined to interpret these practices as polymusic in view of the fact that the co-sounding of the lamentations and that of the festive songs were frequent situations, connected with specific events, and at least partly deliberate. Furthermore, some special meanings can be observed in the overall results of such simultaneous performances: the multiple lamentations marked the graveyard as a territory of the dead and reciprocally amplified each other; the multiple singing during village festivities could have had a competitive character and created an enjoyable festive "noise", which also marked the territory of the celebration.

The main subject of analysis in this study is the wedding songs known as *kaasitamine* (other traditional terms for them are *kaaśkõlõmine* and *kaaśkutmine*) – two-part songs[10] with a certain tune type and the characteristic refrain *kaśke, kańke* which were performed by the female relatives of the groom, the *kaasikud*.[11] The *kaasikud* sang these songs on several occasions during the wedding; however, from the point of view of polymusic we are interested in that part of the wedding ritual when the groom was ceremonially escorted to the table at the bride's home, and bride and groom sat together for the first time before going to church. At this moment the *kaasitamine* was performed in a special way – by two (or even more) groups of singers. The second group entered before the first one ended the strophe, after which they sang in a kind of free "canon", either partly or completely uncoordinated.[12] The *kaasitamine* songs are fast and joyful in character, and their verbal content generally involves an invitation to the table and praise of the groom.

The ritual context of the *kaasitamine* songs is known largely from a few descriptions originating from the first decades of the 20th century (this information can be found in Hurt 1905/2002; Väisänen 1990 [1947]; Tampere 1960; Kõiva 1987). All the sources point to the fact that the *kaasikud*, who performed the *kaasitamine*, had a very high status in the Seto wedding ritual and obviously performed important magical functions. They represented the family of the groom, accompanied him during the ceremony, conducted several ritual actions and had to be not only good singers, but also respectable and beautifully dressed women.[13] Unlike the bridesmaids (*podruskid*), the *kaasikud* had to be married (which also points to their higher social status). It was even believed that the physical qualities of the *kaasikud* might carry over to the bride (Kõiva 1987: 131).

There is however no clarity with regard to the number of *kaasikud* and the size of the singing groups. In Seto folk terminology these groups are described by both the words *kuur* ('choir') and *paar* ('pair') – the *kaasitamine* 'by two choirs' and 'by two pairs'. In Setomaa the *kuur* is a common word for a rather small group of singers (about 5–7 people), and in all (except one) of the sound recordings of the *kaasitamine* we have at our disposal the singing groups number more than a pair of women.[14] However, there is evidence from the beginning of the 20th century that the total number of *kaasikud* was an even number – four, six or eight (Hurt 1905/2002), and that they

[10] The traditional Seto choir is divided into two functionally different parts – the lower main part called *torrõ* is sung heterophonically by a group of singers, whereas the upper subsidiary part *killõ* is sung by a solo voice. The very specific feature of the older Seto tunes (including the wedding songs) is a rare scale structure – the so-called 'one-three-semitone mode', which consists of the one- and three-semitone intervals – 1-3-1-3-1 (see the notation of the *kaasitamine* in Figure 1) (Pärtlas 1997, 2010, 2014). Besides the one-three-semitone mode, the characteristic sound of Seto singing is conditioned by a noticeable instability in such musical parameters as pitch intonation and rhythmic pulse as well as by the specific vocal timbre – an intense, slightly nasal chest voice. The formal structure of the *kaasitamine* songs will be described in section 4.1.

[11] All these terms are derived from the Estonian word *kaasa* – 'together'.

[12] As the analytical part of this study will demonstrate (4.1), the interrelations between the singing groups – and thus the extent of the polymusical elements in the performance – might vary considerably according to the different local traditions.

[13] Among other things, the *kaasikud* had to wear the complete set of silver embellishments characteristic of the Seto women's costume (Tampere 1960: 193).

[14] The only recording of *kaasitamine* performed by only two pairs of singers was of Seto women living in a Siberian village in 1987, and it is very likely that there were no other singers available at that time.

sang *kaasitamine* in pairs so that there could be up to four singing groups (Väisänen 1990 [1947]: 66).[15] Furthermore, it has been suggested that the most usual number of *kaasikud* was only two (Väisänen 1990 [1947]: 66; Kõiva 1987: 130–131); in this case polymusical performance was obviously impossible. We can assume that the number of *kaasikud* could be a matter of the wedding's status, and that the more *kaasikud* participated in the ritual the more festive and richer it was. If this assumption is true, the performance of the *kaasitamine* by two choirs (or pairs) was presumably considered to be more prestigious and magically more powerful than an ordinary performance by only one group (or pair) of singers.

Unfortunately, we do not have any direct statements concerning the aims of the polymusical performance of the *kaasitamine* from bearers of tradition who remember the Seto wedding ritual when it was in active use. Nevertheless, it would be logical to exclude here the case of rivalry between two families (since all the singers belonged to the family of the groom); neither was the *kaasitamine* a sound offering or a humorous game. The moment of the wedding ritual when the *kaasitamine* was sung is considered to be very important – it could even be called the climax of the wedding[16] – and the most probable explanation is that this song had the general function, characteristic of the whole wedding ritual, of ensuring the happiness and prosperity of the new family, in which case it may be interpreted as a prayer. It is very likely that the prayer, when doubled (or even quadrupled) by means of the participation of two (or more) groups of singers, could be considered a stronger one, for the words would then be repeated up to eight times (every group sings each verse twice). The *kaasitamine* may also be interpreted as a declaration of the victory of the groom's clan. In this respect Herbert Tampere notices that the *kaasikud* sang about "joyful topics of the victorious groom's clan" (Tampere 1960: 199), unlike the topics of the bride's clan, whose main vocal genre was a lamentation. It is also worth mentioning that the *kaasitamine* was performed in a very intensive, loud manner in a rather small room with a low ceiling, so in a performance by two or more groups it would have sounded very powerful.

Nowadays, in Setomaa – as everywhere in Europe – the ritual songs are mostly performed outside their ritual context at concerts or on festival stages. This is also the case with the *kaasitamine*. With one exception the existing sound recordings all date from the second half of the 20th century and the 21st century, and none of them was recorded at a wedding. However, the choirs recorded in the 20th century were without doubt traditional, i.e. they obtained their knowledge and skills in the traditional way, through oral transmission. Most of the Seto choirs of the 21st century may be considered as 'semi-traditional' – they still practise oral transmission as far as practicable, but also make use of written sources and archive recordings. At the present moment numerous *leelo* choirs exist in Setomaa, bringing together singers of different generations and different social and educational backgrounds. The contemporary picture of Seto traditional culture is many-sided and complex; however, the description of current cultural processes lies beyond the scope of this study. The contemporary *emic* point of view with regard to Seto singing, and particularly to the *kaasitamine* songs, is gleaned from interviews with the singers of two *leelo* choirs, which are analysed in detail in section 4.2. Here I mention only that the typical motivations of today's Seto singers include the wish to express their ethnic identity, to preserve and promote the old tradition, and – probably most important of all – to realise their creativity and to experience the joy of music making.

With respect to the *kaasitamine* songs the interviews have revealed that this genre is very attractive for present-day Seto singers owing to its quaint beauty and challenging complexity. All the singers whom I interviewed characterize the performance of the *kaasitamine* by two choirs as a very powerful, festive and even solemn experience (one interviewee said that such a form of performance makes the *kaasitamine* something "more than song") and agree that this mode of performance is particularly suited to the most important moment of the wedding.

[15] There are no sound recordings of the *kaasitamine* performed by more than two groups.

[16] This is the general opinion among the contemporary bearers of tradition.

4. Controlled disorder in the *kaasitamine* songs

The *kaasitamine* songs offer several interesting themes for investigation: this study focuses on a question which seems to be very basic to the phenomenon of polymusic but which has been relatively little researched – the question of *musical coordination* in polymusical performance. This topic will be discussed here from the point of view of three aspects – musical text, musical thinking, and musical perception.

Dana Rappoport, in the article cited above, characterizes the sound result of polymusical performance as one of *controlled disorder* (Rappoport 2013: 40). It seems that this expression describes very well not only the aural impression which may be created by polymusic (it actually depends on the attitude of the particular listener), but also the specific way in which the musicians construct the polymusical events. Although in some types of (ritual) contexts polymusical performances occur in many traditional cultures around the world, the most common type of musical practice (certainly in the case of the Seto) generally implies the performance of one musical piece at a time in a rhythmically and pitch coordinated way. If such 'monomusical' practice clearly prevails in a culture, it can be considered as a cultural norm, and deviations from this norm create special effects and may be used for achieving specific (ritual) goals. From what was said above it can be concluded that from the *emic* viewpoint polymusical performance is a special device the immanent goal of which is the *creation of some kind of musical disorder*. By 'musical disorder' I mean here both *structural and sonic disorder* and *deviation from the norms of performance practice* prevailing in the particular culture. There is no doubt that such norms, as well as certain rules of pitch and rhythmic organisation, exist in every musical culture, but in the case of polymusic these are intentionally rejected.

In polymusic the musical norms may be broken in two ways: if the different repertoires sound together, this goes against the rule of the successive performance of different musical pieces; if the same piece of music sounds simultaneously with a random shift in time, the rule of the synchrony of a musical performance is broken. These two situations differ from the musical psychological viewpoint since the strategies for achieving the sonic disorder are not the same in the two cases. In the former case the uncoordinated sound outcome is guaranteed by the very fact of the simultaneous performance of the different repertoire, so that all the musicians have to do is not to get disoriented by the concurrent performance of the other musical piece (the 'harrow' ritual described above is a good example of this). In the latter case (e.g. the *kaasitamine* songs) the polymusical disorder must be consciously maintained, as there is otherwise a danger of slipping into synchronicity.[17] It is also worth mentioning that when performing different pieces the musicians tend to use different tonalities (pitch levels), while in the case of the canon-like performance of the same piece the pitch level is generally the same (the unity of pitch level in such performances is also mentioned in Dorokhova and Pashina 2005: 89). This means that in the latter case the creation of temporal disorder is of special importance, for it is this that causes the disorder in terms of pitch.

It would be logical to assume that a *deliberate* disorder is always in some way a *controlled* disorder; however, the degree and forms of control may vary considerably.[18] In some cases the control means that the musicians consciously or unconsciously try to achieve some special quality in the overall sonic result (e.g. they make efforts to avoid a formal, rhythmic or pitch coordination), whereas in other cases they may consciously "dose the disorder", mixing the polymusical and normally coordinated segments. These and some other aspects of controlled disorder in polymusic will be investigated in the next three sections using the example of the Seto *kaasitamine* songs. Section 4.1 demonstrates how the different traditional forms of *kaasitamine* performance characterized by the different balance between coordinated and uncoordinated components lead to the emergence of intermediate forms

[17] In the case of the *kaasitamine* such a risk is quite big, since the tune is short and consists of very short, similar sections (see the description of the tune in 4.1).

[18] We should also take into account the fact that a controlled disorder is always only partly controlled (to be precise, even in "normal" musical practices the aural control is rarely complete, though its level is usually much higher than in polymusical performance).

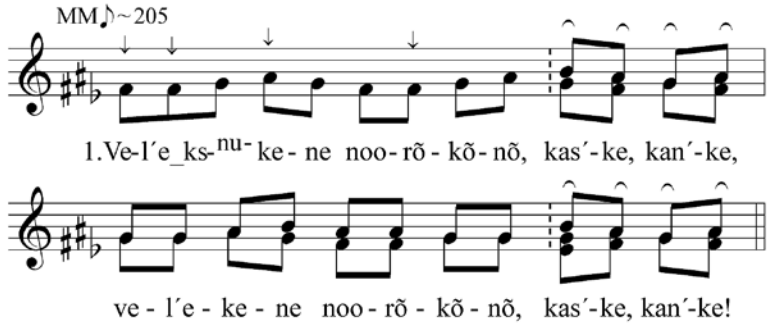
between "normal" and polymusical performance. Section 4.2 reveals the more subtle mechanisms for the creation of controlled disorder with the example of a modern performance; the results of the computer analysis of the multichannel recording are compared with the *emic* viewpoint obtained from interviews with the singers. Finally, section 4.3 considers the possible psychological effects of polymusical disorder related to the altered perception of time.

4.1. The traditional forms of *kaasitamine* performance: between polymusic and coordinated performance

While there are plenty of sound recordings of *kaasitamine* performed by a single choir, the number of recorded performances by two choirs is rather small: I have managed to find only 12 such recordings,[19] which were made between 1921 and 2019 and are mostly preserved in the Estonian Folklore Archives.[20] The recordings are not spread evenly over this time span, and their technical quality varies considerably (a fact which sometimes limits the possible accuracy of analysis): there is one phonograph recording dating from 1921, six recordings made between 1972 and 1990 using a tape recorder, and five recordings from the two first decades of the 21st century, most of which are digital, including three multitrack recordings. These recordings constitute the musical material of the analysis in this research.

First of all I shall introduce the tune type under consideration, using as an example an ordinary performance by a single choir. The music transcription provided in Figure 1 is based on the performance by the famous Seto singer Anne Vabarna and her choir, which was recorded in 1936. The strophe consists of two sections – the lead singer's section and a chorus section. The two-part chorus repeats the words and the tune sung by the lead singer. The tune form may be described in letters as ARA_1R_1, where $A_{(1)}$ is the main line of the tune which corresponds to the single verse of runic metre[21] and $R_{(1)}$ is the refrain *kaśke, kańke*. The main line normally consists of eight short syllable-notes (the eighth notes in the notations), but if there are more syllables in the verse it can be longer. The refrain consists of four syllable-notes, the duration of which varies in the different performances. They may be quarter notes or eighth notes, but the most typical case is the in-between duration, when the notes in the refrain are slightly longer than the notes in

Figure 1. The *kaasitamine* performed by Anne Vabarna (b. 1877) and her choir in 1936.[22]



19 In two of them the song is performed twice.

20 The list of the sound recordings may be found at the end of this article.

21 The runic metre (also Kalevala metre) of the older Estonian songs (*regilaul*) can be generally described as *trochaic tetrametre*, in which every line consists of eight syllables divided into four metric feet and governed by specific 'quantity rules' (see e.g. Ross, Lehiste 2001: 57). In the Seto songs the runic verse has a fairly free form. From the viewpoint of the present analysis, owing to the syllabic principle of the verse and tune relationship, it is important that the melodic lines are mostly comprised of eight syllable-notes.

22 Anthology ... 2003. *Peigmees tuuakse laua taha*, No 50 (the music transcription and sound recording). In this transcription the syllable-notes in the refrain are designated as prolonged eighth notes; however, the notation with the shortened quarter notes is more usual, since the refrains create the effect of an accelerated tempo.

the main line, creating a specific, flexible rhythm. This feature of the *kaasitamine* has an impact on performance by two choirs, since the temporal change in the refrains creates the specific rhythmic disorder in addition to the general shift in time.[23]

The analysis and comparison of the two-choir performances reveals that among the Seto singers there were and still are different ideas about how the *kaasitamine* should be performed. We can assume that the manner of performance of the *kaasitamine* varied locally in the past. It is also possible that the old traditions were modified or forgotten in recent times. From the viewpoint of this research it is interesting to note that several recordings demonstrate the *transitional forms between pure polymusic and a coordinated performance*, and the proportions between the coordinated and uncoordinated components can differ. In the 12 sound recordings analysed I have found six forms of *kaasitamine* performance, which I shall describe and illustrate diagrammatically in the following pages.

The strongest polymusical effect, which involves a minimum degree of coordination between the singing groups, is to be found in the performance recorded in Suure-Rõsna village in 1972. Since in the 1970s the Seto song tradition was still well preserved and the first lead singer, Ollõ Laanetu (b. 1909), was one of the best Seto singers of her time, this recording can be considered as a reliable source of information with regard to the tradition.[24] The relationship between the two singing groups in this performance may be described graphically as shown in Figure 2.[25] The groups sing without any coordination; neither the boundaries of the formal units nor the rhythmic pulse coincide. As far as can be heard from the monophonic recording, the lead singers make small pauses between the strophes, and the length of these pauses varies. Due to these irregular pauses the interrelation of the co-sounding formal sections changes constantly.

This sound recording actually served as an example for some present-day Seto choirs such as Väike Hellero and Verska Naase'. In this research I use two recordings of *kaasitamine* performed by Verska Naase' in 2011 and 2019.[26] This choir sings the *kaasitamine* in the same totally polymusical way as the choir of Suure-Rõsna village, but with one small exception – they do not make any pauses between the strophes. Therefore, if they sing in exactly the same tempo, singing without pauses results in a constant formal correlation between the choirs throughout the whole performance. The result of such a performance is depicted diagrammatically in Figure 3.

The sound recording made in Kosselka village in 1979 reveals one further way to perform the *kaasitamine*. Here we are dealing with another very experienced lead singer, Maria Pähnapuu (b. 1914). Unlike the two previous cases, the song is performed by two groups *in a partly coordinated way*. The second group enters at a random moment (which is different in each strophe) and sings without any coordination with the first group. However, the lead singer of the first choir waits to begin the next strophe until the second choir has finished the previous one. Figure 4 depicts the relationship between the two choirs; the vertical lines show the points of coordination.

There are also recordings of three choirs – one from Mikitamäe village and two from Värska – that sing in two groups with *only one lead singer*. In these performances the extent of the coordination between the two choirs is greater than in the previous case, because the second choir joins the first one at a coordinated moment – when the first choir sings the second refrain (thus they sing the refrain together). The subsequent progress of the performances, however, differ. In the performance recorded in Mikitamäe in 1972, the lead singer Olga Ohtla (b. 1904) starts the

[23] As we will see, some contemporary choirs have lost the old manner of *kaasitamine* singing and use ordinary quarter notes in the refrain, thus decreasing the polymusical effect.

[24] It should also be noted that during this recording session the choir performed the *kaasitamine* twice in the same manner.

[25] Since the technical quality of the monophonic recordings does not enable us to estimate precisely the length of the pauses between the strophes and other details, Figures 2–7 illustrate the general principle of the performances but do not reflect the exact proportions.

[26] The performance from 2019 is recorded using the multichannel technique; it will be analysed in more detail in the section 4.2.

Figure 2. The interrelation between the two choirs in the *kaasitamine* recorded in 1972 in Suure-Rõsna village. The first lead singer is Ollõ Laanetu (b. 1909).

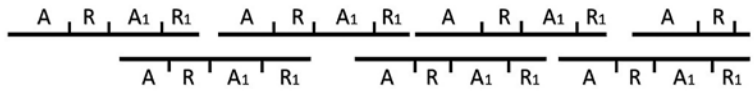


Figure 3. The interrelation between the two choirs in the *kaasitamine* performed by the choir Verska Naase' (2011 and 2019, Värska).

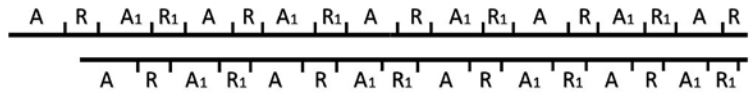


Figure 4. The interrelation between the two choirs in the *kaasitamine* recorded in 1979 in Kosselka village. The first lead singer is Maria Pähnapuu (b. 1914).

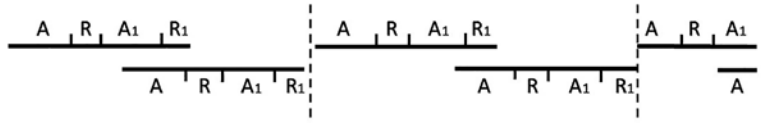


Figure 5. The interrelation between the two choirs in the *kaasitamine* recorded in 1972 in Mikitamäe village. The lead singer is Olga Ohtla (b. 1904).

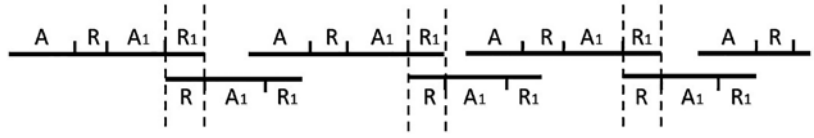


Figure 6. The interrelation between the two choirs in the *kaasitamine* recorded in 2006 in Värska. The Leiko choir; the lead singer is Maria Rõžikova (b. 1935).

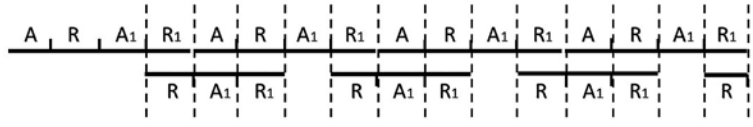
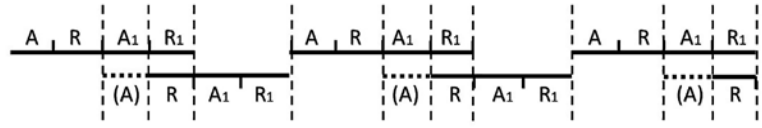


Figure 7. The interrelation between the two choirs in the *kaasitamine* recorded in 1987 in Hait village (Krasnoyarsk Krai, Partisansky district, Russia). The first lead singer is Natalja Bogdanova (b. 1906).



next strophe before the second group finishes the previous one – she waits a little and then enters after a shorter or longer pause. The earlier she enters, the longer are the uncoordinated (polymusical) segments. Such a performance is even more coordinated than the previous one, as can be observed in Figure 5 (see the vertical lines for the points of coordination).

The Leiko choir from Värska, in their performance recorded in 1990, uses largely the same method as the Mikitamäe choir (however, this was no longer the case in 2006). It also seems very likely that the same manner of performance was documented by Armas Otto Väisänen in 1921. This is the earliest sound recording of the *kaasitamine* sung by two groups, and therefore it is of special interest. The lead singer of the first choir was the famous Seto singer Hilana Taarka (b. 1856); the second lead singer was not mentioned in Väisänen's comments, and we actually cannot hear her (if there was a second lead singer at all) because of the poor technical quality of the phonograph recording. All we can clearly hear is that Hilana Taarka pauses and then enters with the next strophe slightly before the second group ends their strophe.

The *completely coordinated performances* of the *kaasitamine* were recorded by the Leiko and Kuldatsäuk choirs in Värska in 2006.[27] These performances are coordinated with respect to both form and rhythm. As in the case illustrated above in Figure 5, these choirs sing without a second lead singer, and the second group joins the first one at the last refrain of the strophe. However, the difference lies in the fact that the first lead singer does not pause at all before she starts the next strophe, and thus she sings the sections AR synchronically with the second choir's sections A_1R_1. This leads to a situation where the groups simultaneously perform different verbal texts, but the musical aspect is completely coordinated (see Figure 6). It seems that such coordinated performance can no longer be named 'polymusic', though it could still be considered a 'specific form of collective singing', first because this form is indeed 'specific' (at least in the context of the Seto song tradition), and secondly because Engovatova's definition does not explicitly exclude any possibility of coordination.

One more notable change found in the recordings of 2006 is the performance of the refrains in a way that is rhythmically proportional to the main lines – the refrains use 4 quarter notes which exactly correspond to the 8 eighth notes of the main lines. The equality in the length of the refrains and main lines (as depicted in Figure 6) eliminates the characteristic rhythmical flexibility from the very tune of the *kaasitamine* itself. This kind of complete rhythmic and formal coordination between the singing groups would seem to be a recent feature of *kaasitamine* performance.

Another completely coordinated performance of the *kaasitamine* was recorded in 1987 in Siberia (Krasnoyarsk Krai, Hait village), where at the end of 19th century Seto villages emerged as a result of migration processes. This performance is valuable for the purposes of this study in as much as that it may be evidence of the older Seto customs; however, it is not clear whether in a situation of geographical isolation the conservation of tradition or its disappearance is more likely. In this Siberian case the *kaasitamine* was performed by two pairs of singers (it is very possible, in fact, that there were no other singers able to sing the song), but listening to the sound recording it is not possible to detect whether the second pair had its own lead singer. The second group certainly sings the last refrain with the first group, after which the lead singer of the first group waits until the second group ends the strophe. This is shown graphically in Figure 7.

A comparison of Figures 2 to 7 provides an overview of the different ways of performing *kaasitamine* to be found in the available sound recordings.[28] The principles of interrelation between the pairs of choirs are generalised in

[27] The Leiko choir consists mainly of women of the older generation; the singers of the Kuldatsäuk choir are mostly middle-aged. These two choirs are closely connected to each other. The recordings of 2006 were made using a multichannel recorder.

[28] It may seem surprising that such a great degree of variation is to be found in a very specific song genre belonging to such a small-scale musical tradition. Nevertheless, taking into account the significant variability of other Seto traditional customs and the local variations of the language this may even appear to be a logical outcome.

Figure 8. The types of interrelation between the pairs of choirs in the *kaasitamine*.

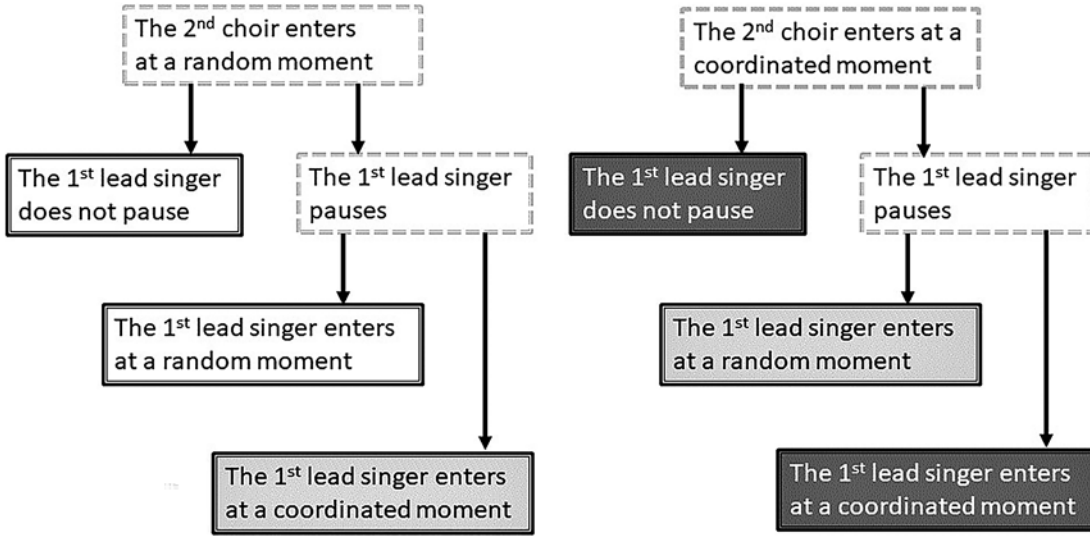


Figure 8. The type of performance depends on three factors: (1) whether the second choir enters at a random or coordinated moment; (2) whether the first lead singer pauses before the next strophe or not; and, if the first lead singer does pause, (3) whether she enters at a random or coordinated moment. Different combinations of these three factors result in six models of performance (these are shown in the text boxes with a black outline); these lead in turn to *three levels of formal coordination*, each involving different degrees of polymusical content:

1. If the second choir enters at a random moment and the first lead singer sings without pauses or she pauses and then re-enters at a random moment, *the whole performance is completely uncoordinated*, i.e. it is *the most polymusical* (see the two boxes with a white background).
2. If the second choir enters at a coordinated moment and the first lead singer sings without pauses or she pauses and then re-enters at a coordinated moment, *the performance is completely coordinated* and evidently *should not be considered as polymusical* (see the two boxes with a dark grey background).
3. The remaining two types of performance (see the two boxes with a light grey background) are *partly coordinated* and *include some polymusical sections*. The uncoordinated elements emerge when the first or the second lead singer enters at a random moment.

The above analysis reveals that between the completely coordinated and completely uncoordinated performances there are some transitional forms with a different balance between the coordinated and uncoordinated elements. Studies relating to this question reveal that such transitional forms may be found in different musical cultures and that the methods of partial coordination may be manifold (e.g. see some descriptions in Engovatova 2008). One further significant consideration is that *the principle of controlled disorder may also manifest itself in performances without any obvious coordination points*. In this section of my paper I have characterized such performances as being 'completely uncoordinated'; in the next section, however, I will analyse what happens when more subtle mechanisms are used to deliberately create sonic disorder and special sound effects.

4.2. Controlled disorder in a contemporary performance practice: *emic* and *etic* views

With regard to such a specific kind of music-making many questions arise which can be answered only if a researcher has not only the opportunity to talk to the musicians themselves (in order to

obtain the *emic* view) but also access to sound recordings of a very good technical quality for detailed analysis (the *etic* view). Clearly we cannot interview the singers of the past, and the quality of the sound recordings made in the last century is not good enough for the purposes of analysis. However, we were fortunately able to fulfil both the above-mentioned conditions with the choir Verska Naase' from Värska. In 2019 the recording session was carried out using multichannel digital techniques, with each performer singing into her own separate microphone, so that afterwards it was possible to listen to every voice separately (Figure 9).[29] This recording has allowed a very detailed computer analysis of the resulting polymusical multipart performance. I also had the opportunity to interview twelve Seto singers who have experience of performing *kaasitamine* – five from the Verska Naase' choir and seven from the Väike Hellero choir.

The singers of the Verska Naase' choir – like those of the Väike Hellero – belong to the younger and middle-aged generations, and it is obvious that their lifestyle, cultural experiences, educational background (some of them have even received a musical education) and motivations for singing differ greatly from those of their grandmothers. However, in the case of the Seto song tradition we are dealing with a living cultural phenomenon which, despite some periods of decline and inevitable changes, has never been interrupted, and the participants of the Verska Naase' choir, being mostly of Seto origin and living in Setomaa, may be considered as contemporary bearers of this tradition.[30] I greatly appreciate both the opportunity to conduct a field work experiment with them and their capacity for self-reflection, which makes the interviews very valuable. It seems very likely that the Verska Naase' singers have preserved some features of traditional musical thinking and their experience may also shed light on the musical practices of the past.

In the following two subsections the *emic* view obtained from the interviews (4.2.1) will be compared with the results of the analysis of the sound recording (4.2.2).

4.2.1. The performance of *kaasitamine* from the perspective of today's singers

As mentioned in section 4.1 above, both the Verska Naase' and Väike Hellero choirs used as an example for their performance the recording of Ollõ Laanetu's choir (Suure-Rõsna, 1972), which sang the *kaasitamine* in a completely uncoordinated, polymusical way. This has influenced their conception about how the *kaasitamine* should be performed. The analysis of the interviews revealed the following "rules" and attitudes:

- the choir is divided into two groups of about 5–6 singers each (i.e. not into pairs);
- the groups must sing the same text (i.e. the second lead singer cannot vary the text);
- the groups must sing in the same tempo, so that both groups sing the same strophe simultaneously (with a shift in time);
- neither lead singer should pause between the strophes;
- the polymusical performance is understood as one complex musical entity, and there are certain aesthetic requirements relating to the overall sound outcome.

The most intriguing point here is the singers' attitude towards the overall sound of the polymusical performance. Most of the singers mention in their interviews that the sound of the whole is very important, and that to some extent they listen to it and enjoy it while singing. The participants of the choirs confess that they cannot achieve the ideal sound outcome every time. Describing this ideal sound outcome the singers often speak about the *rhythmic relation between the groups*: "The most difficult thing is to coordinate your singing with another choir, it means that the rhythms should be more or less interlocked, but not too regular" (Maarja Oras, Väike Hellero); "I like it more if the singing is not exactly synchronic, but a bit fluctuating [*loksuv*],

[29] The recording was made on March 24 2019 in Värska using the multichannel recorders ZOOM F8 and ZOOM H6. The choir Verska Naase' consisted of 11 singers divided in two groups of 5 and 6 people respectively. The lead singer of the first group was Meelike Kruusamäe (b. 1984), and the second lead singer Merike Tein (b. 1971). The singers stood in two circles situated close to each other. The length of the performance was 15 strophes.

[30] I discussed today's semi-traditional forms of transmission of the old knowledge and skills and, particularly, the contemporary performance of the *kaasitamine* at the end of the section 3.

Figure 9. The choir Verska Naase' performs the *kaasitamine*. The multichannel recording session in Värska, March 24 2019.

though not quite chaotic" (Meel Valk, Väike Hellero). Having listened on many occasions to polymusical performances of the *kaasitamine* I have also experienced the sensation of the 'fluctuating rhythm' (*loksuv rütm*), and it seems to me that this is the result of both the discrepancy between the metrical pulsation and the changeability of the rhythmic interactions. The singers' opinion that the performance should be generally irregular but not completely chaotic fits very well with the notion of 'controlled disorder'.

According to the interviews, the rhythmic interrelations between the choirs are the responsibility of the lead singers. The second lead singer should enter the performance "at the right moment" – neither too early nor too late; she chooses this moment intuitively, a task that is both challenging and enjoyable at the same time (Leanne Barbo, Väike Hellero). It was also said that the lead singers have to listen more carefully to the other choir than do the remaining singers in order to keep the singing uncoordinated (Meel Valk, Väike Hellero). Thus we can conclude that an apparent absence of coordination in the *kaasitamine* requires a conscious effort on the part of the lead singers. One further important condition that is necessary in order to achieve the desired sound outcome is the balance between the choirs' volumes: "You should not remain in the shadow of the other choir, otherwise the true feeling of the *kaasitamine* cannot emerge" (Marika Keerpalu, Verska Naase'). Many of the interviewees agreed with my assumption that such a manner of performance consciously or unconsciously impels the singers to sing more loudly than in ordinary cases (although some interviewees emphasised that it is important to avoid shouting), and therefore the whole sound result may be very intense.

If the choirs manage to achieve the "ideal sound" "the result is powerful and it induces various sound effects and connections in the perception of the listeners" (Jane Vabarna, Verska Naase'). The adjectives 'powerful', 'beautiful' and 'enjoyable' were those most frequently used by the singers in describing the sound outcome of the *kaasitamine* sung by two choirs. Among the enjoyable phenomena the qualities mentioned included: a big powerful sound that "gives the effect of a culmination and awakes the energies", "an enjoyable chaos and, at the same time, a harmony" (Meel Valk, Väike Hellero); "the fluctuating rhythm and the co-sounding of the different words" (Kadi Sarv, Väike Hellero); "the

exciting harmonic sonorities" (Leanne Barbo, Väike Hellero), etc. Some singers mentioned that this kind of *kaasitamine* performance imparts an enjoyable effect of the "festive noise" similar to the soundscape of the traditional Seto village feasts.

Several interviewees pointed to one particular association connected with this song: "If both choirs hold the same tempo, the result is as beautiful *as the tolling of church bells*" (Meelike Kruusamäe, Verska Naase'). This specific association obviously emerges owing to the refrain *kaśke, kańke*, where the scale notes G and A# alternate rhythmically in the main voice part (see Figure 1). If the *kaasitamine* is performed by two choirs so that the refrain overlaps with the main melodic line, the refrain can be heard all the time, recalling the rhythmic tolling of church bells on Christian holy days. For the Seto people, who are Orthodox Christians, this is a meaningful and beautiful association which amplifies the festive atmosphere and fits well with the ritual context in which the *kaasitamine* used to be performed in the past.[31]

4.2.2. The *kaasitamine* performance from an analytical perspective

If we now approach the polymusical performance of the *kaasitamine* from an analytical (*etic*) perspective, it is interesting to compare the results of the analysis of the multichannel recording with the ideas and attitudes expressed by the singers in the interviews. When transcribing the digital multichannel recording it was possible not only to notate separately and in great detail the performance of every singer, but also to detect precisely the rhythmical relations between the individual voice parts. The score notation reveals the variability of many aspects of the performance – the melodic variants, the details of the multipart texture, the variable intonation of the musical scale, etc. As a result of these considerable variables the performance of Verska Naase' sounds very alive and authentic. In this research, however, it is *the temporal side of the polymusical performance* in which we are primarily interested.

Many of the rhythmic aspects of this performance exhibit phenomena of variability and changeability. Firstly, we are dealing here with a *recitative-style melodic rhythm* where the syllable-notes belonging to the same rhythmic category (e.g. eighth notes) have slightly different durations.[32] The recitative-like melodic rhythm has a variable nature and thus causes some small rhythmic divergences even in an ordinary single-choir performance. The second aspect of the rhythmic variability is the *difference in tempo between the main melodic line and the refrain*, where the durations of the syllable-notes are shorter than quarter notes and longer than eighth notes, a phenomenon perceived by most people as a quicker tempo in the refrain. The singers of Verska Naase' use this specific change of tempo very skilfully, thus creating a flexible rhythm and helping to avoid rhythmic synchrony in the performance by the two groups.

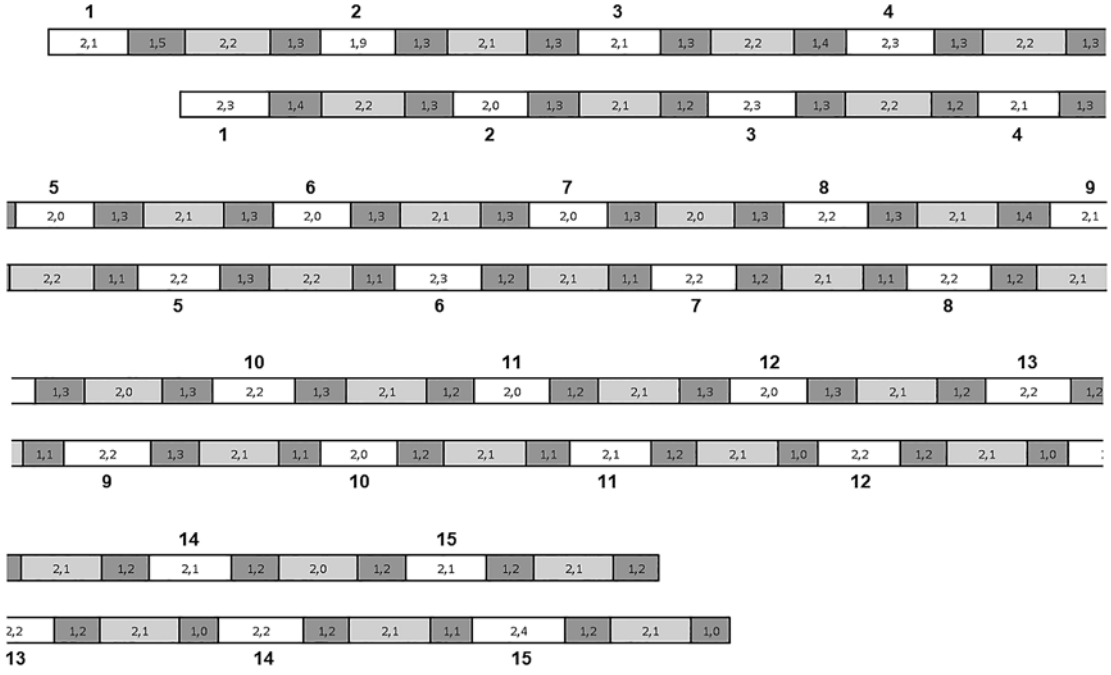
It is clear that the greatest rhythmical disorder will emerge if the refrain in a faster tempo overlaps with the slower main line. In this case (1) two different musical phrases sound together; (2) the musical durations – the eighth notes of the main line and the quarter notes of the refrain – are not in a proportional relationship; and (3) the difference in length between the main line and the refrain ensures that the formal divisions do not coincide. Therefore we may assume that such relationships between the formal structures might be preferred if the goal is one of controlled disorder. To see if this is the case, let us analyse the rhythmic and formal relations of the two groups' performances in the recording under consideration.

Using the advantages of the digital recording technique I have measured the length of the main lines and refrains throughout the performance and made a diagram where the relations of the formal structures may easily be observed (Figure 10). In this diagram we can see that the refrains

[31] In addition to the specific refrain, the effect of the church bells may be caused by the considerable number of dissonances (especially the seconds) in the sound of the polymusical *kaasitamine*. The dissonances are characterized by a large amount of beating between the partials, which may be perceived as something similar to the sound of the bells, which produce non-harmonic overtone series; in both cases we hear a kind of vibration.

[32] This is generally characteristic of the Seto songs and connected with the specificity of the Estonian language, in which the length of the syllables is differentiated. In singing these differences are levelled out to some extent, but are still present (Ross, Lehiste 2001).

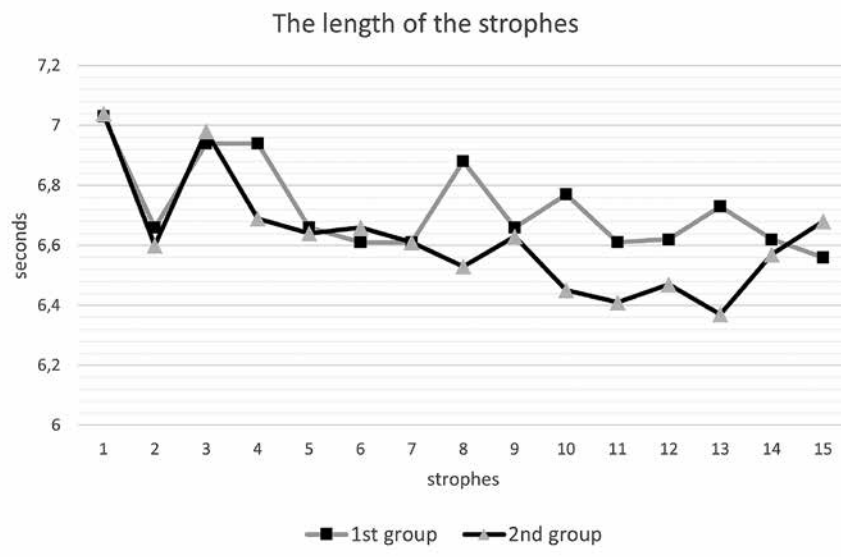
Figure 10. The interrelation between the two choirs in the *kaasitamine* recorded in 2019 in Värska. The Verska Naase' choir. The first lead singer is Meelike Kruusamäe (b. 1984), the second lead singer is Merike Tein (b. 1971). The main lines sung by the lead singers are shown as white rectangles; the main lines sung by the chorus are shown in light grey; the dark grey rectangles designate the refrains. The numbers inside the rectangles are the durations of the segments in seconds; the numbers outside the rectangles are the numbers of the strophes.



(the dark grey rectangles) are significantly shorter than the main lines (the white and light grey rectangles), but not exactly two times (i.e. proportionally) shorter; this confirms that the rhythmic units in the main lines and refrains are also not proportional. The most interesting circumstance that the diagram reveals, however, is *the change in the temporal and formal relations between the two choirs during the performance*. We can see that during the first seven strophes the situation develops in which the main lines of one group's soloist and the other group's chorus coincide, as do the refrains – one group's first refrain sounds together with the other group's second refrain. Although the overlapping formal segments do not start and end precisely at the same time, the performance is close to formal synchrony (despite the fact that different words sound together in the main lines). Taking into account what was said in the interviews, I am inclined to believe that such synchrony was accidental rather than deliberate. However, from the eighth strophe onwards the formal relations begin to change, so that gradually it becomes the case that the refrains are sung together with the main lines (especially in the last three strophes). As mentioned above, such a formal relationship should be ideal for the achievement of both the 'fluctuating rhythm' and the church bells effect.

The diagram also reveals how this change takes place. Comparing the beginning and the end of the performance we notice that the shift in time between the two choirs at the end is smaller than at the beginning. This means that the performance of the second choir is shorter, i.e. this choir sings faster. In fact, according to my calculation, the difference between the duration of two groups' performances is nearly 2 seconds. However, the diagram shows that until the eighth strophe the groups sang in the same tempo, meaning that the tempo was accelerated only after that point. In Figure 11 we can see that the length of the second choir's strophes shortened significantly in the second half of the

Figure 11. The length of the strophes in the performance of the *kaasitamine* by Verska Naase'.



performance.[33] In addition, this diagram shows that the tempo of the first choir also increased slightly towards the end.

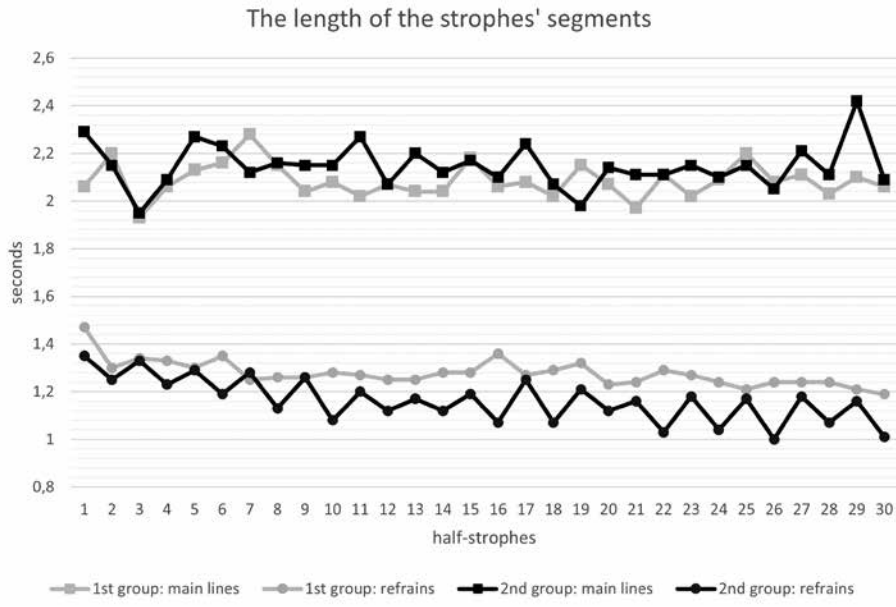
Figure 12, which depicts the length of the strophes' segments (main lines and refrains), demonstrates these processes in more detail. With respect to the main lines this diagram shows, not surprisingly, that their length varies depending on the length of the verses. We can also see that the first choir sang the main lines a bit faster than the second choir and that the tempo of the main lines generally remained constant in both choirs. How then it is possible that the performance of the second choir was shorter? The reason for this is to be found in the refrains. The diagram reveals that the refrains of the second choir are noticeably shorter than those of the first choir and that their length shortens as the performance progresses. One more interesting finding concerning the refrains of the second group is a repetitive pattern – the zigzag line – which detects that this group regularly sang the second refrain of the strophe much faster than the first one (in the performance of the first choir there is no such pattern). Thus we can conclude that the *shortening of the second refrains was the specific method which the second choir (obviously its lead singer) used for the acceleration of the tempo*.

As we have been able to see, the detailed analysis of the temporal structure of this polymusical performance allows us to trace the various processes taking place at the micro level of rhythmic organisation and reveals the *mechanisms of the interaction between the choirs*. Analysis also shows how during the performance the singers intuitively or intentionally sought – and finally found – the optimal rhythmic and formal relation between the two choirs to create an impression of uncoordinated performance.[34] Such processes can be considered as a case of controlled disorder.

[33] It should be explained that the irregular changes in the length of the strophes reflected in this diagram are caused by the different number of syllables in the verses.

[34] Unfortunately, I did not have the opportunity to interview the lead singer of the second choir, who was the person most responsible for the temporal interaction between the choirs and who could probably have answered some questions with respect to the performance under analysis. Therefore, I can only suppose what her intentions were and how she achieved her goals. On the other hand, it is quite possible that the processes of interaction proceeded partly (or even mostly) at an intuitive level and that the singers themselves could discover something new about their singing from the results of the ethnomusicological analysis.

Figure 12. The length of the strophes' segments in the performance of the *kaasitamine* by Verska Naase'.



4.3. Some cognitive aspects of polymusical performance

Polymusic is really a 'specific form of collective music-making', as it is characterized by Engovatova, and it has specific psychological effects on musicians and listeners. Therefore the last section of this study is dedicated to questions of music cognition. As mentioned above, ethnomusicologists assert that *polymusic is able to change the perception of time and space*, which may be connected with its ritual and magical goals. My analysis focuses on the musical phenomena and psychological effects *related to time*.[35] In view of the extremely complex nature of time perception and the manifold forms of polymusic I shall here limit myself primarily to the analysis of a particular case of polymusic – the Seto *kaasitamine* in its most polymusical form of performance. According to Dorokhova and Pashina, the type of polymusic in which the same song is simultaneously performed with a shift in time creates the illusion of *stopped time* (Dorokhova and Pashina 2005: 89). In the following paragraphs I shall endeavour to find whether this assumption is true with respect to the *kaasitamine* and, if so, which musical and psychological factors bring about such a phenomenon.

Before considering the specific psychological effects of polymusic, it should be emphasised that both *performing and listening to music always influence the perception of time*. Such modified 'musical time' is often contradistinguished by musicologists to 'ordinary lived time' (Kramer 1988) (also called 'ordinary time', 'subjective time'), both of which are no more than subjective representations of 'physical time' ('absolute time', 'clock time'). As Kramer remarks, "Psychologists have shown that subjective time does not generally equal clock time" (Kramer 1988: 327). Minkoff observes, however, that "[o]ur own existence in ordinary time, the temporal nature of our being-in-the-world, can appear to be altered by listening to a piece of music" (Minkoff 2009: 85). Thus 'musical time' is an altered form of 'ordinary lived time', which, in turn, is a subjective representation of 'physical time'. The aim of the

[35] Researchers have found that playing and listening to music influences the representation of time much more than that of space (Schäfer, Fachner, Smukalla 2013: 11) since time, unlike space, "does not have a comparable physical basis; we are not able to perceive time through our senses" (Schäfer, Fachner, Smukalla 2013: 10).

analysis that follows is therefore to investigate *whether 'polymusical time' constitutes a special form of 'ordinary musical time'*.

Subjective time, whether connected or not connected with music, depends on many factors such as the kind of activity we are involved with, our attitude towards this activity, memory, our emotional and physical condition, etc. Cognitivists research these different factors, but two of them – *attention* and *information* – are generally considered to be the most important. Schäfer, Fachner and Smukalla, in their overview of the literature on time perception under the influence of music, have found that the most common approaches to this topic are "attention-based models and memory-based models of human time processing" (Schäfer, Fachner, Smukalla 2013: 3) (the latter being related to the factor of information, for it deals with the amount of information processed in a period of time). With respect to polymusic we may state first of all that in polymusical forms where musicians are situated close to each other and can hear each other very well they must obviously pay more attention to their performance than when performing in an ordinary way (at the very least so as not to make mistakes). In addition, the amount of aural information that the musicians and listeners receive during a polymusical performance significantly exceeds that of ordinary musical practices. Thus we can assume that *the changes in time perception under the influence of polymusic must be more extensive than usual*.

The next question concerns how the amount of attention and information related to music-making and listening correlates with the subjective perception of time. To answer this question two kinds of time representation should be differentiated. Kramer points to the need to distinguish between two cognitive processes: "(1) the experience of duration in passing, which is concerned with the apparent length of time from a past timepoint to a present one; and (2) the experience of duration in retrospect (memory, in other words), which refers to the remembered interval between two past timepoints" (Kramer 1988: 325).[36] Therefore, speaking about the time experiences of the *kaasitamine* performers and listeners, I shall try to address two issues: *how they perceive the flow of time during the performance*, and *how they estimate the duration of the performance in retrospect*. Schäfer, Fachner and Smukalla mention that "[t]ypically, music has been thought to *shorten the estimation of interval length*" (Schäfer, Fachner, Smukalla 2013: 2). Obviously this correlation is related to the perception of time during the musical activity, since, according to the same authors, "memory-based models can account for the observation that people overestimate temporal durations in retrospect under the influence of music" (Schäfer, Fachner, Smukalla 2013: 4).[37] However, the study cited above concludes that "when taking additional variables into account – such as arousal, emotional expression, familiarity, and likability – the results become inconsistent and are no longer satisfactorily explained by the existing approaches" (Schäfer, Fachner, Smukalla 2013: 7). This evidently means that every case should be considered individually.

Speaking individually about the *factor of attention* in the case of the *kaasitamine* performance, it could be said that there are several reasons why the demands on the singers' attention are especially high. The first reason is not connected with the music but with the verbal text. In the Seto songs the chorus repeats the words sung by the lead singer. Traditionally the texts of the songs can vary, so the singers must listen attentively to the leader, which is not easy during a polymusical performance. Furthermore, the lead singer of the second choir has to listen to the lead singer of the first choir, because both choirs must sing the same text. The last task is especially difficult, since the second lead singer has to do it while simultaneously singing her own part. When I asked the singers about the main difficulty of singing in two choirs, the majority of the answers concerned problems relating to the verbal text.

[36] Schäfer, Fachner and Smukalla write in this connection about 'prospective and retrospective time estimation', but these notions deal primarily with experimental situations (Schäfer, Fachner, Smukalla 2013: 7).

[37] These findings are in accordance with the general observation that time filled by a captivating and intensive activity which requires much attention flows more quickly, but that afterwards it is estimated as a longer period since the amount of information remembered is large.

The second factor that may be quite challenging is the issue of correct musical performance. Although only one of the interviewees mentioned the danger of failing to sing the tune, it is obvious that if some singers are not very confident in the musical side of performance – this may be connected with the polyphonic texture, melodic variation or something else[38] – their problems would increase in a polymusical situation.

Thirdly, there is a more sophisticated musical goal, the achievement of which requires much concentration, namely the *creation and maintenance of musical disorder*. The avoidance of coordination is actually a specific form of coordination. Paradoxically, the *maintenance of disorder may be a more difficult task than the maintenance of order*. As was shown in the analysis of the *kaasitamine* performed by Verska Naase', the small "mistake" on the part of the second lead singer resulted in quite a coordinated performance, which lasted until she had managed to alter the shift in time and thus achieve the optimal relation between the choirs.

Fourthly and finally, during a polymusical performance the attention of the performers is challenged by the different possible directions to which it may be turned. The different possibilities include whether to concentrate on your own choir, or to listen to the other choir, or to try to embrace the whole sound picture. The directions to which the singers' attention may be turned can alternate or they may exist simultaneously. One of the singers describes her experience as follows: "A big sound block, where many things are taking place; however, if you turn your attention to one or other [component], its outlines can be seen clearly and meaningfully, and together this is all a powerful buzz or forest of sound" (Kati Soon, Väike Hellero).

On the basis of the findings of musical psychologists mentioned above, we may suppose that during polymusical activity the passing of time should appear subjectively to flow faster than 'ordinary lived time', as well as faster than 'ordinary musical time', but that it is retrospectively estimated to be longer. However, the interviews with the singers and my own experience as a listener do not give such an impression. It seems that in the case of the polymusical performance of the *kaasitamine* the amount of attention and concentration required reaches the point where the singers (and maybe the most involved listeners) actually *lose the ability to trace time*, which may be experienced as the *stopped-time* effect. This, together with the fact that the singers unanimously characterize the process of performance as very enjoyable and report the emergence of some particular psychological phenomena (see below), leads to the conclusion that we are dealing here with a clear example of the so-called *state of flow* which is always connected with an altered perception of time (Csikszentmihalyi 1990).

Before moving on to consider the second factor influencing the perception of time – the *factor of information* – we should first distinguish between *bigger and smaller units of musical information* – let us name them the musical *macro and micro events*. The musical 'macro events' manifest themselves among other things in the division of musical form into clearly observable segments. In folk songs these are usually strophes, melodic phrases and refrains. Such 'macro events' divide not only the musical form but also the musical time, helping us to orient in both. As Minkoff emphasises, "[m]usical time is understood to be mobile; it is organised successively by our sensations" (Minkoff 2009: 84). As in ordinary life the succession of discrete events gives us an idea of the passing of time and influences the perception of time's speed, in music the units of form and the caesuras between them structure the musical time. The large amount of information at the level of the musical macro events probably stretches subjective time in the process of performance or listening and, especially, in that of retrospective estimation, since it creates more memories.[39] The musical 'micro events', such as dense rhythmic patterns,

[38] Actually, the Seto multipart songs of the older style are a very demanding repertoire for contemporary singers who have not grown up with this repertoire.

[39] Furthermore, we may assume that contrasting formal segments give more information than repetitive ones. In fact, the Romantic symphony with its complex formal structure and musical and emotional contrasts would probably be perceived as a longer piece than a piece of homogeneous music for meditation of the same duration.

complex texture and harmony, etc., load the perception of both listeners and performers with their abundant information even more than the 'macro events', but do not by themselves create the markers for the estimation of time. Thus the musical micro events do not help to observe the passing of time and therefore do not stretch time, though they demand much attention.

Polymusical performance, as in the case of the *kaasitamine* performance by Verska Naase', leads to a great density of musical micro events. If the singing groups achieve the 'fluctuating rhythm', which means that their rhythmic pulsations do not coincide, the rhythmic beats become doubled. As the song itself is in quite a fast tempo, such a complementary rhythm results in a considerable amount of aural information. The pitch information is also very dense due to the unexpected dissonant sonorities and the intertwined textures. On the other hand, the musical macro events (the division into strophes, melodic lines and refrains) are hardly noticeable, since the *stretto* performance smooths the caesuras between the formal sections so that the *kaasitamine* performance, in fact, sounds like an uninterrupted flow without any landmarks for orientation in time. Thus we reach the conclusion that the factor of information – *the absence of musical macro events and the great density of micro events* – also contributes to the creation of the stopped-time effect and the 'flow state', because while there is no macro-level information to help us perceive the passing of time, there is an abundance of a micro-level information which strongly holds our attention. The issue of the perception of time was also raised in the interviews with the singers. It is interesting that only two of them directly confirmed that they had any such kind of experience. Nevertheless, in the interviews there were many references to special psychological states during the performance of the *kaasitamine*. The expressions the singers used to describe their experience include 'bliss', 'ecstasy', 'enthralling feeling', 'trance', 'meditation', 'magic', 'solemnity' (one singer even recalled that once she had an 'out-of-body experience' which was a bit scary). Several interviewees mentioned that such specific feelings appear when the singing lasts longer. All these descriptions clearly refer to so-called *altered states of consciousness* (ASCs), which are frequently reported in connection with music listening and music-making. Psychologists generally agree that "an altered representation of time is one of the predominant characteristics of ASCs" (Schäfer, Fachner, Smukalla 2013: 2). It is also observed that "[t]he most widely reported experiences with regard to music listening are the feelings of *timelessness* and *time dilation*" (Schäfer, Fachner, Smukalla 2013: 3). This all leads to the assumption that the specific psychological states described by the singers of Verska Naase' and Väike Hellero might be actually connected with the altered representation of time; while answering my questions, however, the singers were not thinking in terms of time.[40]

As for the feeling of *timelessness* mentioned by Schäfer, Fachner and Smukalla, this corresponds well with the illusion of *stopped time* described by Dorokhova and Pashina and the *state of flow*. It is obvious that feelings of this kind may be experienced during every act of music making and listening (it strongly depends on the attitude of the particular person); however, the analysis in this study allows us to conclude that in the case of polymusic there are more objective factors present which may lead to emergence of such psychological effects.

5. Conclusions

In this study *polymusic* is interpreted as a concept which embraces the musical practices where *two or more autonomous musical entities are deliberately performed in the same space and time in a completely or partly uncoordinated way*. One of the main attributes and goals of polymusic is the *creation of controlled disorder*. From the *emic* viewpoint musical disorder means deviations from the norms of ordinary musical practice, which imply the performance of one piece

[40] It is also noteworthy that the singers from these two choirs reported similar experiences when they were asked about singing in the specific Seto mode characteristic of the older song genres (the above-mentioned 'one-three-semitone mode') (Oras 2016). The tune of the *kaasitamine* is also based on this mode, which may be an additional factor behind the emergence of the specific psychological states. Comparing the interviews carried out by Oras with my own I have noticed that in the latter the topic of the 'altered states of consciousness' is presented more strongly.

of music at a time in a rhythmically and pitch coordinated way. Musical disorder is also a means to accomplish several, mainly ritual, functions, to which the polymusical genres are usually related.

As polymusic is a-priori a *deliberate* form of musical performance, polymusical disorder is always, to some extent, under the control of the musicians. This research reveals that such control may manifest itself in many different forms ranging from complete temporal incoordination (which may be maintained consciously) right up to compositions where the elements of uncoordinated performance are minimal; fully organised compositions which come into existence during the simultaneous performance of the same piece, however, are not defined as polymusic. The path from incoordination to coordination is a continuum along which there are many intermediate possibilities which can be characterized by the number and frequency of corresponding points and also by the method of association. The Seto example of the *kaasitamine* sung by two choirs is attractive for analysis of such transitional phenomena because in this case the different modes of performance co-exist in the tradition, including examples of practices that are clearly polymusical as well as performances that are evidently coordinated, and several intermediate forms.

Furthermore, it is very important to understand that in polymusic the *avoidance of coordination is actually a specific kind of coordination*, which may require considerable effort and great attention on the part of the performers. The avoidance of coordination may be interpreted as a 'minus-device' (the term coined by Yuri Lotman), when the listeners' expectations of the ordinarily coordinated piece of music are not fulfilled, and the performers, knowing which situation must be avoided, cannot predict what exactly is going to take place since there are many "right" solutions (many possible variants of disorder) but only one (or few) that are "wrong" (the coordinated relationship). It should also be emphasised that musical disorder has meaning and works as a semantic device only against the background of the musical coordination inherent to the vast majority of other music-making practices.

Polymusic is always connected with specific psychological effects and can lead to *altered states of consciousness* – for instance, to the *state of flow*. Obviously, these effects are, at least partly, the reason why polymusical forms of performance are used. Interestingly, this may happen both when polymusic is performed in its traditional ritual context and in contemporary performances motivated by other considerations. It is very likely that the altered states of consciousness are (were) considered to amplify the power of a prayer or ritual. In the case of the *kaasitamine*, the symbolically important moment of the wedding ritual was emphasised by the use of a special form of song performance which induced a particular kind of emotional impact. Singers today, on the other hand, choose to perform the *kaasitamine* in a polymusical way since this is both challenging and captivating, and creates special musical and psychological experiences.

The strength of the psychological effect of the polymusic obviously depends on the spatial position of the groups of musicians in relation to each other and on the difference or homogeneity of the sound sources. It seems that *maximal psychological impact* may be achieved if the *groups of musicians are situated close to one another* and there is a *timbral homogeneity*, since this helps to merge the resulting sound into a complex whole. This is the case with the Seto *kaasitamine*.

Among the specific psychological effects of polymusic there may be an *altered perception of time*. In the case analysed the musical reasons for this are the considerable demands on the *attention and concentration* of the performers and the *very high density of micro-level information* (the musical 'micro events') in the context of a *deficiency of macro-level information* (the 'macro events'). In such a situation the high concentration on the activity itself and the lack of time landmarks do not allow the performers or listeners to notice the passing of time or to orient themselves in time. This creates the feeling of *stopped time* or *timelessness*, which is quite similar to religious experience.

The analysis also reveals that in the Seto song culture the attitude towards the desirable degree of disorder in the *kaasitamine* performance was not originally the same in different local traditions, and that it has changed over time. The process of change has not been unidirectional. On the one hand, we have found that some of the present-day Seto singers (mostly of the older and middle-aged generations) tend to sing the *kaasitamine*

in a more coordinated way than can be heard in the earlier recordings; sometimes the only uncoordinated aspect that remains, in fact, is the simultaneous performance of the different verbal texts. On the other hand, the younger generation has chosen to continue the tradition of the most uncoordinated (i.e. the most polymusical) form of performance. They cultivate polymusical disorder intentionally and sometimes in a very detailed way, and the special musical and psychological effects of polymusic have for them great aesthetic and human value. This would appear to be in accordance with the general tendency characteristic of many people today to value traditional music for its uniqueness, originality and exoticism, and to consider it as a source of the ancient mystical power and sacred knowledge of their ancestors.

Sound recordings of the *kaasitamine* performed by two choirs

1921 The Finnish Literature Society / Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura (SKS; Helsinki, Finland), Kalevalaseura, Fonokop 69 3, 160a, b (2 recordings). The lead singer is Hilana Taarka. Recorded by Armas Otto Väisänen.

1972 Estonian Literary Museum, Estonian Folklore Archives / Eesti Kirjandusmuuseum, Eesti Rahvaluule Arhiiv (KM ERA; Tartu, Estonia), Mgn. II, 2239 b (2 recordings). The lead singer is Ollõ Laanetu (b. 1909), Suure-Rõsna village, 5.08.1972. Recorded by Herbert Tampere.

1972 KM ERA, RKM, Mgn. II, 2242 d. The lead singer is Olga Ohtla (b. 1904), Mikitamäe village, 5.08.1972. Recorded by Herbert Tampere.

1976 KM ERA, RKM, Mgn. II 2861 (10). The lead singers are Akulina Pihla (b. 1908) and Ollõ Laanetu (b. 1909), Värska. Recorded by Ingrid Rüütel and Lauri Sikka.

1979 KM ERA, RKM, Mgn. I 23 (1) [Mgn. II 3180 (10)]. The lead singers are Maria Pähnapuu (b. 1914) and Matrjona Ojaperv (b. 1908), Kosselka village. Recorded by Vaike Sarv and Õie Sarv.

1987 KM ERA, FAM 631 B (2). The lead singers are Natalja Bogdanova (b. 1906) and Darja Markova, Hait village (Krasnoyarsk Krai, Partisansky district, Russia). Recorded by Igor Tõnurist. [*Siberi setode laulud*. CD, Tartu: Eesti Kirjandusmuuseum, 2012, http://www.folklore.ee/pubte/eraamat/siberilaulud/setu/ee/01_10_laul.php (last view 15.10.2020).]

1990 KM ERA, RKM, Mgn. I 59 (10). The lead singer is Jekaterina Lummo (b. 1915), Värska. Recorded by Vaike Sarv and Kari Hakala. [*Leiko Lauluq. Helisalvestusi Eesti Rahvaluule Arhiivist*. CD, ed. Andreas Kalkun, Värska, Tartu: Seto Talomuuseum, Eesti Kirjandusmuuseum, 2004, No 10.]

2001 The choir Kuldatsäuk, Värska. *Kuule, kulla külänoorik*. CD, Värska, Tartu: Seto Talumuuseum, Eesti Kirjandusmuuseum, 2001, No 9.

2006 The choir Leiko, Värska. The lead singer is Maria Rõžikova (b. 1935). The multitrack recording session, No 5. Recorded by Andreas Kalkun, Janika Oras, Žanna Pärtlas, Jaan Tamm.

2006 The choir Kuldatsäuk, Värska. The lead singer is Maria Rõžikova (b. 1935). The multitrack recording session, No 12. Recorded by Andreas Kalkun, Janika Oras, Žanna Pärtlas, Jaan Tamm.

2011 Choir Verska Naase', Värska. Recorded by Janika Oras.

2019 Choir Verska Naase', Värska. The lead singers are Meelike Kruusamäe (b. 1984) and Merike Tein (b. 1971). The multitrack recording session, No 6. Recorded by Janika Oras, Žanna Pärtlas.

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Kontrollitud korrapäratus polümuusikas seto pulmalaulu *kaasitamine* näitel

Žanna Pärtlas

Muusikalised esituspraktikad, kus autonoomsed muusikalised objektid („muusikad") kõlavad koos samas ajas ja ruumis, on laialt levinud paljudes traditsioonilistes kultuurides üle maailma. Viimastel aastakümnetel on neid tihti tähistatud ingliskeelse terminiga *polymusic* – „polümuusika". Selle termini võtsid 1991. aastal kasutusele prantsuse etnomusikoloogid ja see oli algselt defineeritud kui „mitme autonoomse muusikalise objekti ettekavatsetud üheaegse kohaloleku üldtulemus", mille puhul puudub komponentide koordinatsioon ajas (Rappoport 2013: 10).

Kirjeldatud muusikalist nähtust ennast märgati aga eri rahvaste traditsioonilises muusikas palju varem. Rappoporti järgi on sellist esituspraktikat mainitud järgmistes publikatsioonides: Elkin 1967 [1938], Schaeffner 1968 [1936], Lomax 1968, Basset 1995 ja George 1996. Tundub, et veelgi rohkem on see nähtus käsitlemist leidnud venekeelses kirjanduses idaslaavlaste rahvamuusika kohta (Rudneva 1975; Efimenkova 1980; Tavlay 1986; Engovatova 1997, 2008; Dorokhova ja Pashina 2005; Berkovich 2012), kusjuures mõjukamaid teoreetilisi ideid sel teemal on pakkunud Margarita Jengovatova (Engovatova), kes hakkas kasutama terminit „kooslaulmise erilised vormid" (*особые формы совместного пения*). Nende vormide olemus on Jengovatova järgi „kahe või enama muusikateksti (semiootilises mõttes) üheaegses esitamises, mille tulemusena tekib uus keerulisema struktuuriga tekst, mis on laetud eriliste funktsioonide ja semantikaga. Sellise teksti iga alatekst võib eksisteerida traditsioonis ka iseseisvalt. Esitajad ühendavad tekste teadlikult" (Engovatova 2008: 63).

Peale mitme iseseisva muusikapala koosesitamise (palad võivad olla erinevad või samasugused) osutavad mõlemad definitsioonid selle situatsiooni *ettekavatsetusele*, mis eristab polümuusikat helimaastikust (*soundscape*, vt. Schafer 1994 [1977]). Jengovatova määratluse puhul on eriti väärtuslik *hüperteksti* idee, samas ei maini ta olulise tunnusena muusikalise koordinatsiooni puudumist. Prantsuse definitsioon piiritleb aga polümuusikat liigagi kitsalt, rõhutades muusikalise (ajalise) koordinatsiooni täielikku puudumist. Kuigi mõisted „polümuusika" ja „kooslaulmise erilised vormid" pole päris kokkulangevad, tähistavad nad enamasti siiski sarnaseid esituspraktikaid. Seetõttu lähtun selles töös mõlema termini määratlustest, mis suuresti kattuvad ja täiendavad teineteist. Ühise terminina kasutan mõistet „polümuusika".

Kõik uurijad pööravad tähelepanu asjaolule, et polümuusikalised esituspraktikad on peaaegu alati seotud *rituaalse kontekstiga* ja täidavad erilisi rituaal-maagilisi funktsioone. Nende hulgas on tüüpilised muusikalised ohverdused jumalatele, agraarsed viljakusrituaalid, sotsiaalne rivaalitsemine, mängulised ja traditsioonilise „naerukultuuriga" (Mihhail Bahtini termin) seotud situatsioonid. On samuti märgatud, et polümuusikalised praktikad on sageli suunatud erilise *psühholoogilise ja/või sümboolse aja ja ruumi kujundamisele* – „sakraalse kronotoobi loomisele" (Dorokhova, Pashina 2005: 89). Polümuusika abil võib lühendada, pikendada, kokku suruda või peatada sümboolset ja/või psühholoogilist aega, luua ühendused ruumi eri osade vahel või markeerida sümboolse ruumi piire.

Käesolevas artiklis uurin polümuusika teoreetilist problemaatikat seto pulmalaulu *kaasitamise* (*kaaśkõlõmine*, *kaaśkutmine*) näitel, mida traditsioonilise pulma teatud osas esitatakse kahe kooriga (või kahe lauljatepaariga) ajalises nihkes. Ka sel juhul esineb polümuusikaline esitus rituaali kontekstis ja täidab rituaalset funktsiooni. *Kaasitamise* puhul võib see olla pulma eriti tähtsa hetke esiletoomine, peigmehe hõimu võidu ja hõimude ühinemise pühitsemine ning noorpaari õnne ja heaolu tagamine tugevatoimelise „topeltpalvega".

Analüüsides polümuusikat seto *kaasitamise* näitel, pean oluliseks mitut teoreetilist aspekti. Põhiliseks uurimisküsimuseks on *muusikalise koordineerituse olemasolu või puudumine polümuusikas*. Polümuusikaliste muusikasündmuste põhimõtteline ettekavatsetus ja hüperteksti staatus teeb üsna tõenäoliseks osalise koordineerituse võimaluse, kuigi (kasvõi osaline) muusikaline koordineerimatus kuulub minu arvates polümuusika kohustuslike tunnuste hulka. Samas võib ka koordineerituse teadlikku vältimist pidada omamoodi koordinatsiooni liigiks. *Kaasitamise* viisitüübi struktuurseid omadusi silmas pidades (viis on väga lühike ja koosneb korduvatest osadest) nõuab koordinatsiooni vältimine lauljatelt

teatud pingutust ja tähelepanu. Ettekavatsetud koordineerimatuse osalist koordineerimist nimetan siin *kontrollitud korrapäratuseks* (kasutades Rappoporti väljendit *controlled disorder*).

Kaasitamise juhtumi analüüs ja selle tulemuste interpretatsioon koosneb kolmest osast. Esimeses osas (4.1) uurin aastatest 1921–2019 pärinevate helisalvestiste alusel *kaasitamise* kahe kooriga esitamise erinevaid traditsioonilisi vorme, mida on üllatavalt palju. Neid esitusvorme iseloomustab muusikalise koordineerituse/koordineerimatuse erinev määr – täielikust koordineerimatusest täieliku koordineerituseni (kahe koori ajaliste suhete skeemid on toodud näidetes 2–7). Rohkem või vähem polümuusikaline tulemus sõltub kolmest asjaolust: (1) kas teise koori eeslaulja astub sisse suvalisel või koordineeritud hetkel, (2) kas esimese koori eeslaulja teeb pausi melostroofide vahel ja (3) kas esimese koori eeslaulja astub järgmise melostroofiga sisse suvalisel või koordineeritud hetkel. Huvitavaks leiuks on see, et kahe kooriga *kaasitamise* esitustes ilmnevad *polüfoonia ja polümuusika vahepealsed esitusviisid*.

Teises analüütilises osas (4.2) on tähelepanu all 2019. aasta mitmekanaliline helisalvestus, kus kahe kooriga *kaasitamist* esitab leelokoor Verska Naase', kes valis traditsiooniliste esitusvormide hulgast jäljendamiseks täiesti koordineerimatu mudeli. 11-kanaliline digitaalne helisalvestis oli tehtud spetsiaalselt selle uurimuse jaoks, ning see võimaldab mõõta ja jälgida kahe koori ajalisi suhteid väga detailselt. Analüüsi andmeid võrreldakse intervjuudega, mille andsid kahe leelokoori, Verska Naase' ja Väikese Hellero lauljad. Seega uuritakse küsimust nii traditsiooni seesmisest (*emic*) kui ka välisest (*etic*) vaatepunktist. Mitmekanalilise salvestuse analüüs näitas muutusi, mis toimusid *kaasitamise* esituse jooksul, kusjuures tähelepanuväärne on see, et muutuste tulemusena saavutati laulu lõpupoole kahe koori *maksimaalselt koordineerimatu vahekord*, mille puhul ei langenud kokku ei viisivormi tsesuurid ega rütmiline pulsatsioon. Seejuures tekkisid erilised efektid, mida võib seostada ühe lauliku tabava väljendiga „loksuv rütm" ja mitme lauliku mainitud pidulike kirikukellade assotsiatsiooniga.

Mõlemas analüütilises osas on tuvastatud põhimõte, mida võib nimetada *kontrollitud korrapäratuseks*. Esimesel juhul n.-ö. doseerivad lauljad kahe koori kooslaulmise korrapäratust, järgides teatud esituse reegleid, mis tagavad nii (osalise) koordineerimatuse kui ka (osalise) koordineerituse. Teisel juhul üritavad lauljad (kas teadlikult või mitte) saavutada esituse suurimat võimalikku koordineerimatust ja erilisi efekte, mis pakuvad neile esteetilist naudingut.

Kolmandas osas (4.3) uurin polümuusika võimalikke psühholoogilisi efekte, mis on seotud eespool mainitud rituaalse aja kujundamise ja ajataju muutmisega. Lähtun sellest, et igasugune musitseerimine viib n.-ö. tavalise ajataju muutmiseni, kuid polümuusika puhul on veelgi rohkem tegureid, mis võivad mõjutada ajataju. Schäferi, Fachneri ja Smukalla järgi võib ajataju uuringutes märgata kaht põhilist lähenemist – *tähelepanul* ja *mälul* põhinevad ajatöötluse mudelid (Schäfer, Fachner, Smukalla 2013: 3). Tähelepanu keskendumine lühendab enamasti subjektiivset aega, samal ajal kui informatsiooni (sündmuste) rohkus (mälu tegur) kipub aega pikendama. Polümuusikaline esitus (näiteks kahe kooriga *kaasitamine*) nõuab mitmel põhjusel rohkem tähelepanu kui tavaline esitus. Mis puudutab aga muusikalisi sündmusi, siis mikrotasandil on neid vähemalt topeltkogus, mis jällegi koormab tähelepanu, kuid makrotasandil on neid tavalisest vähem, sest kõik vormitsesuurid, rütmi- ja viisimuutused sulavad ühtlaseks vooluks. Võttes arvesse kõiki asjaolusid ning ka lauljate ütlusi, tundub, et kõige paremini kirjeldavad polümuusikalise *kaasitamise* psühholoogilist efekti väljendid *aja peatumine* või *ajatus*. See haakub tuntud mõistega „vookogemus" (*flow state*; Csikszentmihalyi 1990) ning idaslaavlaste sarnaste esituspraktikate tõlgendustega Dorohhova ja Pašina poolt (Dorokhova, Pashina 2005: 89).

Polümuusikaga seotud „muudetud teadvusseisundid" (*altered states of consciousness*) sobivad hästi nii traditsioonilisse rituaalsesse konteksti kui ka rahvalaulu kaasaegsesse esituspraktikasse, kus vanast pärimusest otsitakse tihti erilisi kogemusi, mis oleksid seotud muistse aja sakraalse teadmise ja maagilise väega. Samas on tänapäeval rahvalaulu polümuusikalise esituse taga võib-olla kultuuritraditsiooni jätkamise soov või ka lihtsalt põnev loominguline väljakutse.