

Nana Mzhavanadze

Ilia State University

Madona Chamgeliani¹

Tbilisi State University

Regarding the Problem of Asemantic Texts in Svan Songs

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“Our language lies beyond the understanding of many. Even we Svans fail to grasp the inner language, words, and meaning of many of our songs. For apart from a good ear, the words lost in the living sound can be uncovered only by the subtle attention of the heart.” [Gelovani 1952:78-80]

1. A general overview of research tasks. Svaneti, a remote region in the north west of Caucasus Georgia, is home to a form of traditional polyphonic music, believed to be one of the most ancient and well-preserved bodies of music in the whole of Georgia. A characteristic of Svan music is its prevalent use of asemantic texts within songs. This research seeks to demonstrate that a musicological study of the music, together with an observant scrutiny of two linguistic peculiarities, cosmogony and the ethnological context, can alter our understanding of what are currently termed “nonsense” verbal units within songs. We demonstrate how verbal texts (including those supposedly consisting of vocables more usually dismissed as “nonsense” texts) are, in fact, richly meaningful in context, carrying vital ritual significance. We further illustrate how linguistic features, coupled with the Svans’ world-view (cosmogony) can determine both the form and the musical fabric of the songs.

In order to show the correlation between the performance context and function of each song within a given context, we provide both a classification of genre, together with a song list within the introductory part of the article. This can serve to provide the reader with a means of understanding the links between the types of musical forms and verbal content in relation to their performance context within a uniquely Svan cultural perspective.

¹ Madona Chamgeliani is a Svan-speaking ethnologist from the village of Lakhushdi, Latali community in Upper Svaneti.

There is a large component of asemantic verbal language in the repertoire of Georgian traditional singing. Although scholars of Georgian traditional music acknowledge the role of asemantic texts in Georgian folk music, their presence in the Svan repertoire has never been subjected to scrutiny, and no monographic study has ever been attempted. Svan is an unwritten language which exists only in verbal form. The study of Svan song texts (written in the Georgian alphabet), with particular reference to the context of the songs, is of significant importance for capturing both the essence of Svan music in general and the spirit of the songs. A cursory glance reveals the large prevalence of asemantic texts within the Svan song repertoire. A deeper observation shows the pairing of asemantic texts alongside their musical match. This comprises one of the most stable and sustainable elements in Svan songs. Texts may vary in meaning, but the asemantic text remains the same.

The variety of forms inherent in Svan asemantic texts proves the existence of a solid “peripheral” domain [Tuite 2007:2] outside the conventional Svan language. Although in the conventional language – due to the lack of direct semantic meaning – such peripheral elements are not ascribed a communicative function, in the Svan singing tradition, these peripheral asemantic lexical units become a means of communication. Such a phenomenon is present in many cultures.²

Our detailed analysis suggests that often one-syllable asemantic units or “fillers” are so interwoven into the meaning of a given word that only someone with an extensive knowledge of the language itself can make the connection and ascribe meaning to a word apparently lost in meaningless syllables. Sometimes songs constructed with such words are therefore believed to be “wordless”.

The assignment of a genre and a musical definition typically occurs through both the context of the repertoire’s performance and its musical characteristics, but the study of each word and its meaning can provide a key to capturing the essence of a song. It is also crucial to observe the context and to examine the placement of an asemantic word - in other words, where it sits in the lexical sequence – in relation to both the preceding and following verbal units. Our studies have revealed that some interjections are polysemic, depending on their place in the verbal musical passage. We further realized that the examination of texts within their own context, taking into account

2 Tuite notes that “In the musical traditions of numerous cultures, song texts can include phonological material which is conventional (i.e. it is shared by a speech community, rather than being purely idiosyncratic) but not semantically interpretable in the ordinary sense” [Tuite 2007:2].

both cultural peculiarities and ethnographical records, helps interpret some “non-words” differently.

What then is the role of the asemantic language units in Svan songs? Can the texts of so-called “wordless” songs indeed contain semantic meaning? What distinguishes Svan asemantic vocabulary, and is it used systematically? Is it possible to classify asemantic texts? Are there any stable asemantic formula-units? If so, is there a further correlation between rhythmic-melodic and asemantic language?

Apart from these questions of high academic importance, this study will try to uncover as many asemantic units as possible in order to determine the texts of the songs, many of which are in the repertoire of authentic performers and other folk ensembles throughout Georgia. The issue of Svan song texts is one of current relevance. The language of the Svan people is intricate, and foreign to those without a grasp of its complexities, which leads to a misinterpretation of the music. In addition to this, most scholars who have recorded these repertoires could not converse in the language and could not understand what they were recording, which meant they sometimes did not record accurately. These songs have an ancient provenance and texts have faded from living memory over the passage of time. Thus since verbal and musical passages change form over time, the meaning can be lost even for the Svans themselves.

In addition to an academic interest in this subject, this study is of practical significance for Svan music. We resolved to conduct both a textual and a musical analysis of Svan songs in their existing form in order to:

1. Shed greater light on the asemantic Svan musical repository;
2. Reveal specific types of asemantic texts;
3. Identify both the place and role of asemantic texts in the Svan repertoire with specific reference to ethnographical context; and
4. Investigate the existence of any verbal, rhythmic, and melodic formulae.

Staiger noted that it is often impossible to make a reliable comprehensive analysis of events, and often only certain aspects of the whole picture attract us, the linguistic or compositional elements for example [Staiger 1990:420]. However, he concludes, an isolated discourse leads to “empty and misleading abstraction” [Staiger 1990:415]. We will be unable to provide an exhaustive exploration of this issue within the scope of one article. The more deeply we explore the subject, the more complex and sophisticated its nature becomes. Further, we believe that a multidisciplinary approach is necessary to fully reveal it, with careful scrutiny of the multi-ethnic nature of the song language context, particularly in the North Caucasus.

Since an informed examination and academic exchange require the selection of suitable terminology, we propose to discuss these issues here.

2. Terminology. There are no clear-cut definitions and a reconciled terminology regarding asemantic texts in Georgian musicological literature. In discussing asemantic texts, some scholars focus on the meaning of the passages and therefore identify them as “wordless”, “non-translatable”, “exclamatory”, “archaic” [Arakishvili 1950:24; Paliashvili 1910:9; Chijavadze 1991:18]; others divide them into “glossolalias” and “interjections” [Garakanidze 1997:18-19; Kalandadze-Makharadze 1992:29; Shilakadze 1999:202-205; Shughliashvili 2010:222]. The lack of clarity resulting from such varied and ambivalent definitions resulted in the introduction of a new concept, “Samgherisi”, which found its way into academic circulation in recent years [Erkomaishvili 2005:12; Ninoshvili 2010:16-17]. This term has been used to denote all asemantic verbal units that undergo vocalization during the process of singing. However this term has not been maintained in the academic literature and scholars have continued to exercise freedom of choice in ascribing a definition.

The most common term for asemantic texts in western musicology and linguistics is “vocal” [Ninoshvili 2010:18; Frisbie 1980:347; Kuiper 2011; A Glossary 972:133]. Sometimes they are called “meaningless vocalizations”, “nonsense syllables”, “non-words” [Tuite 2007:2; Nettl 1953:161]. The term “glossolalia” has a religious connotation, and is phonetically based on vowels and consonants borrowed from either the mother tongue or a familiar foreign language. Therefore, Samarin calls it the “façade of the language” [Samarin 1972:128]. Ninoshvili observes it to be connected more with the spoken word than with its vocalisation [Ninoshvili 2010:16].

Due to the complexity of the problem, and to make it simpler, we have decided to put the “meaningless” texts under an umbrella concept of vocal and to select specific terms for its sub-types.

In this paper the term “vocal”³ covers all the verbal units that undergo vocalisation, including meaningful texts/words or those appearing independently during the performance process. Song performance itself is an integral part of Svan culture and appears in various contexts, predominantly in ritual practice - a significant and complex, syncretic phenomenon.

In the ritual music of the North American Indians, various forms of vocables exist. Among them are onomatopoeic refrains, together with meaningful words, etc. [Levin].⁴ There are also vocables in varied forms, such as ar-

3 Loren Ninoshvili uses the term “vocal” with the same purpose in her dissertation thesis [Ninoshvili 2006:18].

4 Many Navajo Indians can identify which deity is being invoked in the ritual through vo-

chaic words, rudimentary units, or foreign words, and also meaningless words which are structurally short. These are present in (CV, VCV, CVCV) combinations and aim at merging the text with melody and rhythm [Frisbie 1980:355].

A model described later helped us to classify categories and sub-categories of Svan vocables.⁵ We selected the following terms as subcategories for the vocables: **archaic** vocables – words for which the etymology is unknown but for which there remains a traditional understanding (mostly associative) of their meaning as well as scientific interpretations (examples include those typically contained in songs such as *Kviria*, *Lile*, *Nanila*, etc.); **rudimental** vocables – the etymology of which are also unknown and for which no information has been preserved through historical memory. We also included in this group interjections, which have psycho-emotional connotations via their perceived sensation. Additionally, we identified structural vocables as verbal units or complexes that are also untranslatable (so-called “fillers” of form, rhythmic-melodic constructions and complexes that fill out the structure or its sections). Finally we have separately categorized **refrain** vocables which, apart from having rhythmic-melodic constructions (forms) performing a given function, also represent a subject for etymological research and scientific analysis.

On the basis of the observation of audio and notated recordings, we have picked out a couple of additional asemantic units in addition to these groups, which Tuite calls “lexoids” [Tuite 2007:32-38].⁶

3. Scientific literature on Svan vocables. One of the main characteristics that most researchers note when studying Svan music is the abundance of asemantic texts within the repertoire. This is often explained by the geographical remoteness of the region. In this respect, Dimitri Arakishvili,⁷ who was the first

cables [Frisbie 1980:259].

- 5 Note that such classifications are somewhat formal, because on the one hand the etymology is still unknown and modeling occurs on the basis of a complex range of factors including ethnological data, scientific interpretations, emic perception, and linguistic peculiarities in part. Neither is the terminology of classes clear in scientific literature.
- 6 Among so-called “nonwords” Tuite separately denotes “lexoids” which are used predominantly in charms and spells. He notes that the Svan song repertoire is rich in lexoids based on his observations on texts of Svan poetry [Shanidze... 1939]. He refers to case examples more in the form of spells [Tuite 2007:31-32]. It is extremely regrettable that their musical versions appear to have been lost. Due to the peculiarity of the genre, we can only assume that the musical language accompanying these lexoids also carried a special form. Unfortunately, the absence of audio and notated materials of the songs provides us with no opportunity to discuss their musical language. We have uncovered only one or two such songs and were forced to limit ourselves to providing only a short description and inclusion in the database.
- 7 Here we mean that Arakishvili was the first to provide an academic study of Svan folk music although there is evidence that other contemporary scholars and musicians such as V. Teptsov, M. Balanchivadze, Z. Paliashvili, etc. were also interested in Svan music.

to academically study the repertoire, termed the asemantic texts “pre-Christian remnants” [Arakishvili 1950:25]. This view was shared by subsequent generations of scholars who related glossolalia to the names of archaic deities or magical beings [Bardavelidze 1940:541; Aslanishvili 1954:87; Garakanidze 1997:19; Khardziani 2009:51]. In her research on Georgian song vocables, M. Shilakadze introduced a list of vocables from different parts of Georgia, including Svaneti [Shilakadze 1999:203-204]. D. Shughliashvili classified meaningless words according to dialects, and Svan is among them [Shughliashvili 2010:223]. When discussing the reservoir of material of Georgian vocables, Lauren Ninoshvili notes that “in contrast with other regions, Svan music is rich in vocables, interspersed between conventional lexical items” [Ninoshvili 2007:13]. Svaneti is also distinguished by the vocalization of consonants, a so-called “syllabic resonance” [Ninoshvili 2007:13; Shilakadze 1949:28]. Based on his observation of Georgian singing texts, Tuite singled out four principal “vocal areas”, among which Svan stands as a separate branch. From a linguistic perspective, the author offers interesting observations [Tuite 2013:13].

Vocables are often classified through different filters such as dialect, genre, and morphological principles, and also by the extraction of groups of vocables according to their use and form.

4. Methodology and genre classification. Being centered around a painstaking, ordered and in-depth investigation, we decided to create a database of vocables based on existing source material due to the complexity of our study. This material came in varied forms: audio and notated recordings, material obtained from field work, and Svan poetry.⁸ We thus attempted to discern a general spatial picture.

We were able to: 1) collect up to 200 Svan songs and variants,⁹ 2) transcribe their verbal texts, 3) extract each asemantic unit and complex, 4) transcribe their musical (rhythmic, melodic) matches, and 5) classify the given information according to similar common characteristics.¹⁰

We entered the songs into a database according to genre, singling out:

1) The titles of songs and their variants; 2) the date and place of recording; 3) the name of performer; 4) asemantic units and complexes arranged accord-

8 The selected material covers only original sources and not the repertoire of various non-Svan folk ensembles.

9 We selected notated music containing verbal texts only, or those which have been recorded without texts but are extant audio versions having the relevant texts.

10 We are indebted to D. Gabelaia, M. Jibladze and D. Paatashvili of the Institute of Mathematics of Georgia who offered their interest and enthusiasm in helping with the database and improving the statistical methodology.

ing to their place in a song construction; 5) the specified ethnological context of the song according to information gathered from local respondents.

Through a subsequent transcription of the music, we have been able to detect the homogenous rhythmic and melodic formulae of vocables. We also explored the correlation between asemantic texts and their forms of performance in order to identify the sociological meaning contained within the asemantic texts.

The genre classification of Svan songs is a subject up for debate, as folk song is a living heritage that changes over time. Genre transformation can therefore also take place over time. However, to understand the essence of Svan vocables we considered it necessary to explore the context of the repertoire's performance and its verbal musical language, relying on currently existing sources. Based on our observations, the vast majority of Svan songs are an indivisible part of syncretic ritual performance. This covers sub-categories according to ethnographical context, as well as verbal, musical, and kinesic language. We mainly drew on musical characteristics as criteria for classification: 1) melody, harmony, rhythm; 2) language; 3) the actual form of performance, i.e. whether or not it contained a circle dance, or indeed other form of dance, and 4) the context of the performance i.e. Where? When? And Why?¹¹ Such an approach is informed by Zemtovski's formula (melody – text – function) and by sociological factors (performer, performance, performed) [Zemtovski 1983:61-65] because the sources we discuss are often different variants of an individual song.

We placed round-dance ritual songs in the first category according to the place they occupy in the ritual life of the Svans and their inherent meaning. This can then be divided into two sub-categories. The first category includes the so-called hymns, which musicologists tend to term “cult songs”, based on the manner in which the chant is conducted with a common rhythmic, melodic, and compositional structure, verbal texts, and performance context [Arakishvili 1950:21; Paliashvili 1910:7; Aslanishvili 1954:87; Akhobadze 1957:14; Gabisonia 2012]. The second group includes songs which also assume the character of a hymn, and comprise a circle dance, with or without other dances. We have divided hymns into two sub-groups:

- 1) Homogenic (monothetic) – hymn-songs of ritual function, either a hymn or a song of worship with a circle dance;
- 2) Heterogenic (complex, polythetic) – hymn-songs with a ritual

11 The problem of genre in Svan music deserves special study, and we plan to work in this direction in the near future. This project has been inspired by the results obtained within the current research.

function followed by a circle dance and other dances.

The songs of:

- a) The homogenic (monothetic) group are united by certain features, such as:
 - they are part of cult , or round-ritual (funeral, wedding) ceremonies;
 - they are one-part musical compositions featured by a homogeneous metric, rhythmic, and melodic frame, often constructed completely on asemantic texts or, alternatively, with most of the text representing asemantic units and complexes;

Common characteristics of the songs belonging to the heterogenic (polythetic) group are:

- a) Complex, mainly three-part compositions with the first part comprising a hymn-song from the monothetic group and the second part typically being sung with a circle dance followed by a dance;
- b) Most commonly performed at ritual cult and round-ritual ceremonies, or varied community assemblies (for example: before going to war, or after returning from war), and other celebrations, such as a wedding ritual;
- c) The first early phrases of the songs mostly serving the purpose of prayer, thanksgiving, supplication, or veneration (for example: *Didebata*) or they can be of a ballad type: e.g. *Murzai Beqzil*, *Shekhe Abram*).
- d) An isorhythmic composition of the second part, with motoric meter and distinct rhythmic and melodic formula. Sometimes this part is comprised of two, three, or (rarely) four segments, each segment with a different rhythmic and melodic formula:
- e) The verbal text of the first part of the song predominantly characterized by a prayer (thanksgiving, supplication, or glorification.) The proportional balance of asemantic texts is also typically high, and if connected with, for example, a concrete mythologized hero, can assume the form of a ballad. The second section of the song usually represents a stanza-refrain form, where meaningful words are housed in refrains that are full of asemantic texts.

Hymn type songs belonging to the homogenic or monotheic group are as follows (Please note that the number of sources for each song are provided alongside the song titles):

1. *Jragish* (12) – St. George's hymn
2. *K"viria* (9) – sung at calendar festivals and also as accompaniment to a funeral ritual

3. *Sadam* (4) – wedding ritual song
4. *Zari* (12) – funeral ritual song
5. *Ga* (4)¹²
6. *Tskhau Krisdeesh* (6) – Hymn to Christ the Saviour
7. *Diadeb* (2) – sung at round rituals
8. *O krisdeesh* (3) – Christian hymn to life, prosperity, and family happiness
9. *Kaltid* (1)
10. *Saio desh* (1)
11. *Raliveihe* (1)
12. *Krasia* (1)
13. *Barbal Dolash* (6)
14. *Elia Lrde* (3)
15. *Lile* (5)
16. *Riho* (10) – Sung at the Lamaria festival in Ushguli.

Songs with circle dance:

1. *Lazhghvash* (12) – sung at calendar festivals
2. *Bail Betkil*- sung at calendar festivals
3. *Shaida Lile* (3) – Sung at calendar festivals
4. *Lagusheda* (3) – Sung at calendar festivals
5. *Iav Kalti*¹³

The following ritual songs belong to the heterogenic (polithetic) group:

1. *Didebata* (5)
2. *Mirmikela*
3. *Murza Bekzil* (1)
4. *Shgarida Lashgari* (9)
5. *Shishada Gergil* (5)
6. *Shekhe Abram* (1)

An observation of the compositional structure and of the musical and verbal texts of the songs belonging to the heterogenic or polythetic group pointed to the conclusion that songs of such construction are a fundamental part of rituals and festivals and are sung together.

Certain significant peculiarities have also emerged, however. For example, two different songs sometimes have a similar or slightly modified title, for ex-

12 Very little is known about this hymn. Gurgen Gurchiani believes it to be a hymn glorifying fertility and life. He reports that it supposedly was sung at the Murqvamoba Feast ritual much in the same way as the song *Kaltid* with which it shares a lot in common both musically and ethnologically. *Kaltid* is also related to the cult of fertility.

13 No reference was made to them because the performance context of some of these songs remains unclear.

ample: *Lile* and *Shaida Lile*, *Kaltid* and *Iav Kalti*. *Lile* and *Kaltid* belong to the monothetic group of hymn-songs, whereas *Shaida Lile* and *Iav Kalti* are part of the group of songs that are sung with an accompanying circle dance. Apart from the title, these songs have a ritual function, and ethnographical data as well as the verbal texts prove their ritual-religious origins.¹⁴

5. Types of Svan Vocables. In a Svan song we encounter semantic texts in almost all categories although this is not covered by all the substrates (for example there are no onomatopoeic or mnemonic rhythmic vocables). We observed a number of asemantic units and complexes and some regularities of their use.

As we have noted above, **archaic**, **rudimental**, and **structural** vocables have been singled out. Archaic group vocables include the following words:

- *Kviria*, *Kuria*, *Kieialese*, *Kiriauolesia* (*Kviria*, *Sadam*, *Ga*, *Elia Lrde*)
- *Elia* (*Elia Lrde*)
- *Jgrag* (*Jgragish*, *Kviria*)
- *Lamaria*
- *Barbal* (*Barbal Dolash*)
- *Lile* (*Lile*, *Shaida Lile*)
- *Nanil* (cradle songs)

The reason for the inclusion of these words in our list of vocables first of all, is that they are associated with a ritual and religious function, and second of all, they do not exist as part of the conventional language. There is also an etymological ambiguity or obscurity which makes the issue of ascribing meaning a continuing problem. Interestingly, however, scientific interpretations of some of these words (e.g. "Jgrag" *St George*, or "Lamaria" *Mother of God*) do coincide. The subject requires more research and a musicological contribution to the study is required in addition to other academic contributions from related disciplines.¹⁵

Thus the scope of rudimentary vocables is structurally broader and covers a variety of vocable units and complexes for which there is an absence of traditional definitions. To add to the problem, no scientific research has yet been

14 When working on genre classification, our song observations showed us the actual process through which the genre forms had been modified and transformed, using the ethnographical context as a backdrop. It seems that the mainly complex heterogenic songs have been split into separate forms. We are working on this finding and are preparing an article for subsequent publication.

15 The varied and complex nature of this research subject has motivated us to continue further research. We are working on several articles regarding hymn songs that contain vocables from the archaic and rudimentary groups (*Jgraagish*, *Sadam*, *Elia Lrde*). The format of the current article precludes discussion at this stage, however.

carried out in this area. The vocable group in question comprises such lexical units and complexes as “*sadam*” (*Sadam*), “*ga*” (*Ga*), “*shaioda*” (*Jragish*), “*lrde*” (*Elia Lrde*), “*raidili*” (*Lazhghvash, Didebata*), “*raili*” (*Didebata*), “*iawo*”, “*iawodi*” (*Diadeb, Ga, Kaltid*), “*shai wodi riro rasha*”, “*saiwodi*” (*Dala Kojas Khelghvazhale*), “*woida*” (*Sadam, Cheqasio Ramsas*), “*woisa rera ramainda*”, “*shaiama shamarera*”, “*hori, horira*”, “*shina wogil wogil wasa*”, “*wo shina wogile*” (mostly in songs with circle dances and in dance songs that are more than ten); interjections: “*woi*” (*Mirangula, Sozar Tsiog, Irinola*), “*wai*” (*Zari*), “*shishada*” (*Shishada Gergil*), “*ieha*” (mostly in hymn songs); and lexoids: “*bail ilba*” (*Bail Betkil*), “*bileba*” (*Biba*), “*aul-gaul*”, “*alilo-talilo*” (*Alilo*), “*ali ghali*” (*Kviria*).

The asemantic (constructional) vocable group covers verbal elements that contain form (musical composition). These ascribe function and are also so-called “filler” vocables such as syllables, vowels, and complexes: *I, iho, io, iwo, wa, iua, wo, da, ia* (in all the hymn songs), *taia* (*Didebata*), *aia, I, ga woi, iwa diwai wodiwa wa, hodiwo, o, ha woi, u* (*Riho*), *aiwoho, woi* (*O Krisdeesh*), *iwoda* (*Lemchil*); “bridges” connecting phrases, or smaller structural units (“*mukhlebi*”) thus ensuring unity and a continuous development of the entire structure: *oio, i, iho, iwo, wo, uo, uu, oo, wodiawo, hoida, oda* (in hymn songs), *oo, wosaw-rira, o rera, o rira, iwo, hoi, oia, odio, diewo ha, hiri, hori, I, a, diwa, wodiwo, woida* (in hymn songs, songs sung with circle dances, and to dances).

Vocables have some peculiarities worth noting. Some peculiar features were found during the classification process, pertaining to certain vocables:

5.1. Polysemic vocables. The interjection “*wo*.” The significance of this syllable changes according to where it sits in a song construction and according to the contextual frame of the text and music in which it occurs (*Wo!*). In addition to this, some of its forms can be heard within various contexts and therefore for those who do not speak Svan, its emphasis might not be discernable, mistakenly being assigned the same meaning. “*W*” in the Svan language has several connotations: it can denote a vocative case and serve the function of a “call” or interjection. For example: “*wo Gigo!*” (Hey Gigo!); or it can express approval: “*wo!*” (Yes). Besides, the interjection “*wo*” in combination with the vowel “*i*” acquires the meaning of the call being repeated. Thus, the word appears in different places in the construction of Svan songs according to the content and purpose of the song. Most hymns start with the interjection “*wo*” followed by some archaic or rudimentary vocables, likely to be a word or words conveying a prayer. For example: “*wo Jrag*”, “*wo Ga*”, “*wo Krisdeesh*”, “*wo rihoi*”, “*wo raili*”, “*wo shekhe Abram*”, or “*wo dideba*”. It also occurs in its pure form such as “*woo*” (*Zari*). This phenomenon applies only to hymns, which causes us to believe it has the function of a call, petition,

or glorification (invocation, supplication, and veneration). The form of “*woi*” with its repetitive meaning appears between the repetition of phrases in order to turn the phrase unit over again (for example: *Ga, Tskhav Krisdeesh, O Krisdeesh, Zari*). Indeed, indirect evidence of the significance of “*woi*” lies within the variants of *Jgraagish* and *kviria*, where, in order to turn the phrase around, the interjection “*woi*” is replaced by a word signifying that the call be repeated for a second or third time.

<i>Voi ieha</i>	<i>Voi mermamdivo, mesmamdivo (respectively: for the second time, for the third time)</i>
<i>Voi ieha laigvivo ... (Jgragish)</i>	<i>Mermamdivo jgraag (Adishi Jgraagish)</i>
<i>Voi ieha lalmaiha ... (Paliani's Kviria)</i>	<i>Mesmamdivo matskhvars (Paliani's Kviria)</i>

The phonologically and morphologically similar interjection “*uoi*” as opposed to “*woi*” is an indivisible part of songs of lament, accompanied by the *chuniri* (a bow instrument) and denotes grief. For example: *uoi dedesh (Mirangula, Sozar Tsiog)*.

5.2. Vocables of genre assignment. As noted above, some vocables manifest a genre assignment. In this respect the vocable unit “*ieha*” is especially noteworthy as it is characteristic only of the songs classified as hymns. In spoken Svan dialogue, the following formula is typical:

Question: *Hey Gigo!*

Answer: *Ieha!* (Response equivalent to “*batono*” in Georgian).

Such forms that mimic dialogue are seen in many songs within the hymn classification. For example: “*wooi ieha shkvaruchia*” (*Kaltid*), “*wo iehaa tskhav krisdeesh*” (*Tskhav Krisdeesh*), “*wo jgraagi ieha*” (*Jgraagish*), “*wo krisdeeshi lmazire voi ieha*” (*O Krisdeeh*), “*wo ieha dihoo kvirihoo sadamsu wo*” (*Sadam*), “*wo ieha*” (*Zari*); The vocable’s verbal and rhythmic-melodic frame, coupled with the fact it is only found in hymns and indeed is in a position showing a certain semantic meaning of the vocable “*ieha*”, indicates its relevance as a response to the object of this form of supplication dialogue (in this case the object of the appeal is a deity or sometimes a saint.) According to the Svan regulation of dialogue, where “*ieha*” contains the function of being a response to an appeal in two-way (mutual) communication, it is suggested that the given vocable in a repetitive round-ritual hymn of petition or glorification bears the

same function¹⁶. A religious act serves to establish contact between this world and unseen realms. Thus the response of a supreme power to the appeal of a caller creates a form of dialogue seeking to confirm that contact between earth and heaven has been established. This is exactly what a religious Svan strives for. We argue that this form of a prayer indicates the archaic genesis (ontology) of pagan or cult forms of worship. One of the arguments supporting this hypothesis is a phonetic peculiarity preserved in Svaneti related to the intense use of the phoneme “h” in Svan so-called “wordless” singing texts. In this respect, Givi Akhvlediani, a famous linguist quoted by S. Zhghenti in his study of Svan phonetics, in conclusion states: “It seems that in the past, it was more common to articulate through aspirated vowels in the Georgian language than it is today: an evidence of this is the gradual removal of “h” before a vowel” [Zhghenti 1949:121-122].

A genre assignment is manifested by the interjection “wai” too, which is characteristic only of a funeral chant or *Zari*. Phonologically close, “wui” is more common in hymn songs such as: *Jgraagish*, *Kviria*, *Krasia*, indicating that this vocable “wui”¹⁷ may convey the meaning of a polysemic interjection in Svan songs and could perhaps reflect admiration (*Jgraagish*) or an expression of grief (*Kviria*).¹⁸

The vocable complex “wosau rera” is characteristic of songs sung with circle dances and of the “shairi” song-type. A song is considered to be a “shairi” when we hear the words “shaida”, “saivoda”, or “shaivodi”.

Vocables typical of cradle songs are represented by the forms “nana”, “nani”, and “nanila”.

Some vocables are heard in songs of different forms and compositions, such as: wodi, woda, wode. These include songs accompanying circle dances: *Lazghvash*, *Direbata*, *Shishada Gergil*, *Murza i beqzil*, *Shekhe Abram*; and hymns: *Kaltid*, *Lile*, *Riho*, *Tskhav Krisdeesh*, *O Krisdeesh*, *Ga*, etc.

5.3. Coded phonemes and syllables.¹⁹ As noted above, some consonant phonemes can represent the key to a word. This especially refers to verbal language characteristic of hymn songs. These are often the most obscure and ambiguous because they feature either an extremely limited use of semanti-

16 In Svan Poetry there is a poem (included in the “domestic genre group”) “*Nezvi, Nezvi*”, which contains a similar dialogue form: “*wor, Givi! ---- wo-ha!*” [Shanidze... 1939:258].

17 In contrast to the Svan, “wui” is also characteristic of the Gurian *Zari* where it has funeral connotations associated with an outpouring of grief.

18 N. Kalandadze-Makharadze has noted the existence of polysemic vocables in the Georgian singing repertoire [1993:10].

19 For linguistic reasons, the spelling of vocables within this paper can only be approximative in the English language.

cally meaningful units or no use of them at all. This deficit gets filled in with vocables, with an excess of vocables sometimes giving the impression that the text is entirely asemantic. The reason for this is not only a lack of knowledge of the language – even local performers often cannot interpret the meaning of the lyrics. However, it is interesting that while intoning (singing), Svan performers try to keep the “purity” of the content and state firmly that “they have no right to change the sounds” (Gurgen Gurchiani, Vaso Parjiani, May 26, 2015. Dmanisi). In the beginning we had assumed that by “sounds” they meant musical sounds, and asked why. For example the hymn song *Wo Krisdeesh* recorded by Gurgen with local singers in the village of Lakhushdi, Latali, sounds different from the same song that we had recorded with the same singers. “The music, the melody can be slightly changed, but if you check the words, you will see that they are exactly the same,” Gurgen said. These rules and obligations apply especially to songs of the hymn type, most of which are linguistically constructed either on meaningless words or non-lexical syllables. Reflecting on the subject, Gurgen also remembered a case when he was recording a song from an old Svan, and the latter told him: “Sometimes as they are singing *Lile*, they say “lile dai” which is not correct. It should be sung as “lile hoi”.²⁰ An observation of the teaching process of Svan songs by a local master in Lakhushdi also showed this: teachers pay much attention to the accurate pronunciation (articulation) of verbal texts (especially the vocable syllables, vowels, and complexes) yet to the contrary, they welcome intonational experimentation and improvisation with the melodic texture within the boundaries of the stylistic framework of Svan singing. This indicates that meaning and purpose in Svan song language is sacrosanct.

In transcribing the lyrics we see that some phonemes belong to a hymn song or, through the phoneme it becomes possible to transcribe a text. In this respect an especially important role is played by some sonant²¹ and consonant phonemes such as: l, gv, z, sh, d, s and j. In fact they usually appear together. Also, syllabic pairs and/or syllabised consonants: *gu*, *gv*, *zu*, and *ghv* appear in a similar way. The given verbal units often comprise the entire song. For example: “lalma²² (iva)(diva)(ivodi)(va)(va)(hodivo)z(oi)(ha)(voi)di(vo)(ieha)

20 It is important to note that such a strict observation of these rules has been detected in our field work in other eco-migrant Svan villages where they have been living outside of geographical Svaneti for more than 25 years. These migrant groups still adhere strictly to unwritten laws and do not make arbitrary changes to the words of the songs inherited from their ancestors. We see this as further strengthening the view that the vocabulary of vocables is relatively consistent over time in comparison to words with everyday meaning.

21 For the term, cf.: “It is recognized that the Georgian phonemic structure consists of three classes: consonants (... sonorants), sonants, and vowels...” [Putkaradze 2006].

22 The underlined segments form parts of a meaningful word.

(ho)” (*Tskhav Krisdeesh*), “la(i)gv(ivo)she(ivo)da” (*Jgraagish*), “lailaima(ivo)zuredi(voi)riho” (*O Krisdeesh*), “(voiha)adi(ho)omsi(ie)(haa)(haa)(vo)” (*Sadam*). As we see, through linking the phonemes and syllables interspersed throughout the vocables in a given order, it is possible to transcribe the words. Thus, for example, the word “*lalmazdi*” means “let us pray”; *lagv(u)sheda* means “help!”; “*lalmazured riho*” means “Let us pray at dawn”; and “*adioms*” is “to Adam”.²³

We believe that in order to transcribe Svan songs it is necessary to consider verbal codes, i.e. phoneme-keys. Despite these assumptions, it is difficult to pinpoint exactly what specific role these phonemes play in unlocking the door to an accurate interpretation. It is difficult to argue with conviction exactly to what these phonemes are actually referring and their exact function remains obscure. Their existence in lyrics may indeed be conditioned by several factors which we will highlight here, in order to contribute to academic debate.

- Musical factors possibly having a significant influence are pertinent, for example: only some segments of the word “*lagusheda*” can be sung in a song, being constrained by rhythmic-melodic and compositional demands (For example: “*wo-da*”).²⁴
- The issue of taboo²⁵ – it is possible that these phonemes are incomplete because they contain hints and nuances only known to servants of the ritual. These allusions could have a specific ascribed role within the ceremony as a whole and must remain only partial, a hint only for the chosen ones (chosen by God to reveal the secret). A maintenance of constancy within associations – when the meaning of a word is completely lost but the association remains as a stable, sustainable component and a mnemonic device. We assume that evidence for this could lie in the strict current-day emphasis of Svans towards ensuring the purity of the song texts.

Finally there is a linguistic factor – the role of sonants and their value in a Svan song. We believe this is why an integrated multidisciplinary approach is vital, as it considers both the application of linguistic forms and musicological and ethnological data.²⁶ It is critical that linguistic phenomena be considered

23 An observation of these vocables and ethnographical data has yielded some very interesting results and we are preparing a separate study on the hymn *Sadam*.

24 Based on his study of Russian “*protiyazhnaya pesnya*”, Izali Zemtsovski calls such word fragments “*slovoobrivs*” (cuts of a word) [Zemtsovski 1967:65].

25 The phenomenon of taboo is widely covered by Frazer in his multi-volume work [Frazer 1911].

26 We are grateful to the philologist Nikoloz Saneblidze, for his consultations in linguistics.

as well as paralinguistic phenomena, for example, kinesic actions such as gesture and mimicry in their actual context.

5.4. Unique vocables. As we have noted above, some vocables stand on their own and are not genre, or composition-specific. They can be heard in songs of different genres and forms. Among such songs are: *Bail Betkil*, *Biba*, *Aul Gaul*, *Zashinava*. Some of these word complexes belong to the group of lexoids: “bileba” (*Biba*), “aul gaul”, “alilo talilo” (*Alilo*). Unfortunately, very few songs with **lexoids** have been preserved. The reason for this could be that lexoids are predominantly characteristic of charms and spells and are found more in spoken or recitative forms than in musical forms. We state this notwithstanding the fact that recitative forms sometimes do appear in musical expression.

Thus we propose that these unique vocables should not be construed merely as meaningless words, but rather understood as instrumental to the task of conveying the story delivered in a ballad or song. We wish to share here one preliminary observation in relation to the epic song *Bail Betkil*. This song belongs to the group of round-ritual songs. Its theme features the mystery of the interaction between Betkil the hunter and Dali the Goddess of Hunting.²⁷ In the song, the vocable “bail ilba” repeats at the end of every phrase as a refrain and represents the cadential formula of both the entire song and each of its sections. In describing Betkil, Akhobadze refers to the narrative in which Betkil is believed to be a wealthy, resourceful, and skillful young man: “That is why they add “bail” when they sing, which means “wealthy” [Akhobadze 1957:13]. According to M. Khardziani, the villagers of “Mulakhi, who are thought to be creators of this song...believe “bail” to be an untranslatable word, which in general, is used to offer prayer.” Joni Shervashidze, a man from Mulakhi believes the word “bail” is an epithet for “beloved, brave, and noble”. As for the word “ilba”, he believes that it is a meaningless word which in the past had replaced the word “jirda”, meaning “we had”. This turned into a glossolalia as a result of assimilation” [Khardziani 2009:137-138]. This interpretation suggests that “bail” is a word having a positive connotation, although the exact etymology is unknown, acquiring epithetical significance in relation to Betkil. Linguistically, we are unable to say how phonemes like “j”, “r” and “d” can undergo total assimilation in the two-syllable word, especially if the etymology of the given word is clear, has common usage in conventional language, and is relevant to the portrait of the hero. Thus, it is less likely that its meaning has been eroded or forgotten over the passage of time. The unfortunate hero Betkil

27 V. Akhobadze tells the story in detail and explains the context in his book on Svan folk songs [Akhobadze 1957:13-14].

is one of the most distinguished figures in Svan mythology and the moral of the legend touches on one of the most sacred – and thus forbidden motifs – the human act of betraying a goddess or deity, which brings misfortune upon the entire community.

One interesting tradition is observed in Svan ethnography - i.e. that of verbal cursing, which is always done by beginning the expletive at the end of a sentence and destroy the normal meaning by working backwards, like the act of painting an icon upside down²⁸ [Silogava 1988:15]. To make Dali angry might be tantamount to bringing misfortune and/or death to the community.²⁹ An enraged Dali shows no mercy to a hunter, and offending her brings bad luck to a community that is largely dependent on the success of the accomplished hunter. Betkil, having broken the unwritten law of Dali, is accused of treason against the deity and is thus, cursed and defeated. Maybe this is reflected in the song refrain in which “bail” - an epithet having a positive connotation - undergoes metathesis. Therefore, the original cause of the metathesis might not simply be because of some musical-compositional demands but may instead reflect the fortune of Betkil, having been cursed by Dali. On the other hand, whatever the origin of this vocable may be, “bail ilba” is a beautiful example of the melodic thinking of the Svans, as it highlights the iconic image of the tragic Betkil as he faces his inevitable fate, an experience enhanced by an actual performance with other forms of musical artistry.

5.5. Bridge vocables and “fillers”. As we have noted above, some vocables exist in order to serve a structural purpose. Certain vowels, syllables, and words such as: i, o, u, odi, dai, wodiwawo are among this group. The syllable “da” is a frequently used vocable in the vocabulary of Georgian vocables. It is sometimes used as the conjunction “and”, a lexical semantic unit. It is also used as a constructing particle fully stipulated by the demands of shaping a form and the rules of composition.

As our observations show, the Georgian “da” (“and”) is sometimes used as a conjunction in the titles of some Svan songs, although the text is entirely in Svan, for example, *Shisha da Gergil*. The song title takes this form in almost all the original sources. However, in the collection “Svan Poetry” [Shanidze... 1939] we encounter a song titled *Geregila Laghlar*, which starts with the words

28 It is interesting that some hitherto incomprehensible words believed to be lexoids for a type of spell or charm are frequently encountered in Svan epigraphic writings and handwritten postscripts in the Gospels, which require further research. The Kurashi Gospel is one such source rich in such texts. This has been described by Gippert [Gippert 126:100].

29 According to Svan rules governing the activity of hunting, hunters were obliged to distribute the fruits of the hunt throughout the entire community. A skillful hunter’s misfortune automatically implied misfortune for the whole community.

“*shileshada gergil*” [Shanidze... 1939:186]. Although M. Khardziani explains the word *shileshada* in a very interesting and albeit spontaneous manner, she still separates the syllable “da” as a conjunction between the words “*shilesha da gergil*” [Khardziani 2009:116-117]. In Svan language, the conjunction “da” pronounced “di” carries the meaning “and”. Thus, in the case of *Shisha(da) Gergil* the particle “da” should not be read in its Georgian translation. Instead it can be related to reduced forms of the word “*lagusheda*” where the *sheda* component conveys a request for assistance from a higher power. Examples of this are “*shaidi*”, “*shaida*” (*Lile, Shaida Lile*). Such reductions must surely be caused by the peculiarities and demands of musical language and are not in themselves linguistic phenomena.

Similar to Georgian, “i” is used in the Svan language as a conjunction on one hand, and as a structural tool on the other, with the function of bridging between small segmented phrases of the songs. This group of vocable conjunctions includes: *wodiwo, u, uo, dai, odi, a*.

Among the filler vocables are: *iua, uoi, iuo, iavoda*,³⁰ etc.:

<i>Barbal Dolash</i>	<i>Shgarida Lashgari</i>	<i>Lemchil</i>
<i>Sue(iua)ji(uoi)</i> (to sit)	<i>Inzo(iuo)ralekha</i> (they gathered)	<i>Lemchil(iawoda)</i> <i>iakash</i> (well done)

5.6. Dialectic and interdialectic vocables. There are words and word complexes in the Svan vocable language such as:

Shaiwodi (saiwodi) shamarera

Wosaw riro (rera) ramaida

Wosaw worudilo ramaida

We made an interesting observation related to this in the village of Lakhushdi, where a group of Svans had been sated with food and drink after a feast. “*Waraida kh'ar!*”, was the expletive used (Murad Pirtskhelani, 76 years-old, from Lakhushdi, Latali). When asked what the term “*Waraida*”³¹ meant,

30 We assume that the use of “*iawoda*” as well as the refrain vocables sung to circle dances and dances may have two roles: while these words and complexes can be rudimentary, they can also be given a structural function in the composition. Thus, over the passage of time, words and/or phrases that once contained possible semantic meaning are transformed into semantic form-creating elements.

31 In his study of Abkhaz borrowings in the Mingrelian language, V. Chirikba notes that the “*Vara(y)da*” refrain is prevalent in all the West Caucasian languages: “... Abx wara(y)da, sæwvarayda “refrain ... is known in Circassian, Ubykh, and Abaza, and from Kabardian it went to Ossetian ... The part sæ- in sæwvarayda means “my” in all West Caucasian languages, though the form sæ-y- (with the marker y- of the alienable possession) is purely Adyghe, which gives reason to regard the Abkhaz word as being borrowed from Adyghe ... Apart from Mingrelian, the refrain is also known in West Georgian dialects, and even

he was unable to explain, because the etymology as well as the direct meaning is unknown. However the word in context carried significance in terms of its emotional value.

For example, this phenomenon can be compared to the play on words inherent in early childhood interactions, which the scholar Malinowski explains as “the manifestation of a word that...reveals the active nature of early linguistic use. And it would be incorrect to say that such a playful use of words is “meaningless”. It is certainly deprived of any intellectual purpose, but possesses always an emotional value...” [Malinowski 1948:257]. “*Waraida*” may well be an example of such a phenomenon or linguistic “mode of action” which Malinowski distinguishes from a “means of thinking” [Malinowski 1948:251].

It is noteworthy that phonetically similar verbal units and complexes are characteristic to the singing repertoire of the neighboring Abkhazia region: *rerasha, rasha, woraida, siwaraida, ha haidara, wori dada, wo worirawo, warirada, waradara, worad siwarada, worad wosarada* are examples of this. It is difficult to determine whether Abkhazia or Svaneti was the original source of the given vocables but the fact is that their interdialectic nature is indicated by their extensive use in the singing repertoire of both regions. However, we assume that using the word “*waraida*” in a frivolous, entertaining manner with an absence of religious content, points towards a possible Abkhazian origin of the word. Some scholars maintain that the given Abkhazian vocables belong in the list of the words which have lost their meaning over time [Kovach 1929:39, Akhobadze 1957:6]. The famous Abkhazian ethnologist Sh. Inal-Ipa has connected the given words to heroes of the Abkhazian Nart Sagas [Inal-Ipa 1977:65-66].³² The author relates one of the versions from the Nart Sagas about Ketuan, the shepherd of a herd of animals belonging to Azhveipsha, the patron deity of beasts or domestic animals. According to this legend the mother of Azhveipsha was called Rarira. Reirama was Rarira’s daughter and Reirasha was her son. On one occasion Ketuan was bitten by a snake. The shepherd swam a long distance down river and called out as he swam: “*ua Rarira, Rahaira, Reirama, Reirasha!*” Since then these words have become an integrated part of Abkhazian songs, the writer concludes [Inal-Ipa 1977:32].³³

in some eastern Georgian dialects as well, cf. Mox *varada-varada* ...” [Chirikba 2006:63].

32 The scholar provides a list of heroes of the Abkhazian Nart Sagas; prominent ones include: the Goddess Rarira, Mother of Deities who ruled over the domain of hunting; Rihaira, her mother; Reirama and Reirasha, her elder and younger sons; Rada (Raida) and Rasha, respectively the first and second sons of the deity Rintz, who fought the clouds in the heavens.

33 N. Ch’anba also shares some similar reflections when discussing refrain vocables in Abkhazian music: “It is known that Abkhazians have a song about Rada and Rasha. The original variant of it was dedicated to the brothers who had brought freedom to their

The more complicated it is to determine the etymology and ethnological purpose of the given refrain vocables by considering their place and role in the composition, the more it becomes clear that these vocables play a critical role in euphonics and form-creation. This appears to happen regardless of the migration route of these refrain vocables, for as the above Abkhazian example confirms, their interethnic essence is evident.³⁴

In addition to an examination of the mythological context, an observation of linguistic peculiarities is also important. Jakobson correctly notes that if foreign forms (whether grammatical or lexical sounds) have been preserved in the new environment during migration, we should determine specifically which features of the borrowed texts stay relatively stable and which are lost during the process of obtaining a song through a new language collective. The elements of song texts hosting the poetic form often reveal more resistance to change during the process of a “migration of the same song from one region of the country to another” or “the transmission of the same song from generation to generation”, since the poetic meaning is diminished if they are lost. Here the author quotes the linguist F. Korsh [Jakobson 1962:82].

6. The musical language of vocables. Vocale texts are a part of vocal artistry and an equal member of an artistic-expressive alliance i.e. the verbal text and rhythmic-melodic figure. Generally the vocable lexis is nonexistent apart from music. The exceptions to this are spells and charms rich in lexoids and some words and sayings of unknown etymology that have originated from legends and myths. Thus, as Tuite observes in the anthology of Svan poetry, we only encounter singing texts containing vocables from time to time. He stated that both researchers of poetry and philologists were less interested in the vocable part of texts and often missed out on them during the recording process [Tuite 2007:13]. Good practice dictates that musicians should fix all aspects of musical texts – including vocables – but as we have pointed out, a

home village. Rasha was once taken captive when enemies had captured the village. He persuaded the enemies to allow him to sing, and the villagers joined him in song: “Yo Rasha, Rada and Siuarada. If you are alive? Yoh!” (Ch’anba 2014:64-65).

34 The fact that vocables migrate is not in question considering that linguistic influences among neighbouring ethnic groups are universal, and vocables also form part of the language. This phenomenon has been noted in the vocabulary of North American Indians too, where many vocables play a significant communication role, as a “lingua franca” between the indigenous tribes speaking different languages. It is worth noting here that N. Marr studied the influences of the Svan language on the Balkar language, and concluded that the Balkar language is entirely or partially shaped phonetically by the Svan language. ... Balkar language is characterized by affricates inherent in Svan (including q”) [Marr 1929:46].

lack of language skills or other reasons means that most texts probably contain many mistakes.

Our observations show that sustainable musical-verbal formulae are created by verbal-melodic pairs. They represent the basic elements of the repository of Svan music as they are used as “structural material” or the building blocks of songs. Although variations within these formulae are allowed, such vocable (verbal and melodic) formulae are the variables most resistant to change in comparison to words of semantic meaning and their musical matches, and rarely become subject to either total metamorphosis or assimilation.

By carefully inspecting selected original sources, we discovered some peculiarities and regularities of both verbal and musical examples that indicate the systematic character of the musical language of vocables as well. A consideration of the ethnographical context helps us to see that the musical language of ritual songs is exclusive:

1. In the monothetic or hymn song group, the musical fabric of the text is homogeneous, with some common features: an actual preference for vocable text, intensity, frequency of use, and similarities in verbal and musical frame formulae.
2. In the second so-called polythetic group, comprised of a hymn-circle dance followed by a dance, the musical (rhythmic and melodic) formulae are also monothetic, additionally being enriched by other circle dance and dance elements. The verbal and musical language here is unitary, combined with a circle dance and other dances.

6.1. Rhythmic and melodic formulae of the hymns. Several varieties of vocables and their rhythmic and melodic pairs were revealed when inspecting both the notated and the audio recordings of these worship songs. We wish to single out a general group which we have termed **supplication and veneration** vocables. A sub-group of these are “cadence vocables” and sometimes “bridge vocables”; also present is a separate subgrouping of **filler** vocables. Thus there are three separate and distinct subgroups within this sub-category.

6.1.1. Supplication/veneration vocables. Vocables of call and supplication in the given list have distinct hymnic features and are heard in most Svan songs of worship. These verbal and musical pairs are partially variable data allowing for the replacement of one verbal unit by another depending on the context, i.e. in order to address the saint or deity that is the object of veneration.

The rhythmic and melodic formulae of such pairs are typically homogeneous in form. They are syncopated or isorhythmic (sometimes with an additional lower assisting note). They contain a recitative-type melody slow in

tempo, where the fourth or the fourth and fifth are combined vertically, with an emphasis on certain syllables and sounds. They also feature caesuras which give the supplication vocables the added significance of independent micro-musical phrases, creating a form of dialogue. Sometimes the emphasis falls on the same syllable but sometimes only on the same pitch while the syllable itself might change. Such accentuated emphasis is a strong expressive tool and creates an emotional peak in the dramatic nature of the hymn. We call this phenomenon **assonance** as one of the distinct characteristics of Svan hymns. Correspondingly, we have indentified the accentuated repetition of the same pitch and syllable together as **synchronised (verbal and musical) assonance**, and we call an emphasised repetition, falling only on the musical pitch or chord, **musical assonance**. These vocables share a common style of performance. They are characterised by an accentuated repetition of the same pitch and a slow tempo. This mostly takes place in the middle of the musical composition and sometimes before a cadential structure.

The following are a variety of supplication/veneration vocables including: *Kuria! ihoi! Zuhioia! Dihioia! Io, io, io! Ihoi hoi ho! Kwirhoi! Doia doia domsia! Ihoi hioa!* etc. (see notated fragments 1-16).³⁵

<i>Syncopated</i>	<i>Isorythmic</i>	<i>With an assisting note</i>
<i>i-ho-i (Kwiria, O Krisdeesh) №15</i>	<i>io- io-io (Kviria) №1</i>	<i>ha-i-ha (Kviria) №12</i>
<i>Di-ho-i (O Krisdeesh) №13</i>	<i>Ua-ua-ua (Zari) №7</i>	<i>(i)ho-(i)-ho-(i)ho (Ga) №2</i>
<i>i-a-i (Ga) №11</i>	<i>Kra-si-a (Krasia) №8</i>	<i>Kwir-ho-i (Sadam) №4</i>
<i>Zu-ho-i (O Krisdeesh) №5</i>	<i>i-he-i (O Krisdeesh) №6</i>	
<i>Ri-ho-i kvir-ho-i (Ga) №16</i>	<i>Va-i va-i (Zari) №9</i>	
	<i>I-a-i-a (Ga) №10</i>	

Pairs of supplication/veneration vocables containing an appeal or exhortation are characteristic of hymns both in the monothetic-homogenic and the polythetic-heterogenic categories. The typical introductory formula often contains the vocable “wo” discussed above, generally underpinning the verbal appeal. The formulae of “wo”-type vocables begin with a descending recitative-type tune sometimes followed by an ascending movement that includes the interjection “wo”. Typical of these “wo”-type vocable formulae are: “*wo Jgraag!*”, “*wo Ga!*” “*wo Kerisdeesh!*”. “*wo Rihoi!*”, “*wo raili!*”, “*wo shekhe Abram!*”, “*wo dideba!*” “*... wo Kviria!*”, etc. (see notated fragments 17-25).

³⁵ Please note that all the numbers in the tables here as well as in parentheses refer to notated fragments of music in the appendix.

It is important to note separately the formula “ieha” among the supplication/veneration vocables, as this short syllable is a predominant characteristic of all Svan hymns and sometimes comes in combination with “wo”. We observed that a peculiarity in the musical form and musical progression might initiate small changes in the verbal sequence. For example, variants of the “wo ieha” formulae can be: “ha iha”, wo iha(wa)”, “I”ha I”, “ua iha”, “ha iha”, “he iehe”, “wo i vo i ha”, etc. (*Kviria, O Krisdeesh, Zari, Jgragish, Sadam, Saio Desh*) (see notated fragments 26-32).³⁶

The most persistent vocable pairs of this formulae typically appear in the predominant introductory section having the form of a dialogue within a hymn. They also occur before the point when the hymn (or phrase) turns around. They also appear in cadences. We call this the “ieha formula”. We doubt whether verbal texts of the “ieha formula” from notated books are accurate because we have never encountered such variants within our own research and believe that they could be the result of a less-than-rigorous approach or subjective interpretations by those recording the music. In other cases the “ieha” formula can be conditioned by peculiarities of the musical language and aesthetic demands. For example: hoi-daa (*Lile*), au-ha-a (*Ga*) (see notated fragments 33, 35).

The most typical variant of the supplication-type formula of “ieha” comes initially as an opening call from a solo singer which at the same time serves as a connector. It is therefore polyfunctional (binary). It is typically a syllabic-type prosodic construction musically initiating the invocation of a higher force. The first note of the formula is forcefully sung and its duration exceeds the following sequence of descending pitches on the word “ieha”. The melodic pattern of this formula is consistent in all the hymns: (g)-f-g-f-d; and the rhythm of the formula is also maintained in all the hymns.

Examples of this formulae are: “Jgrag I ieha”, “wo Jgrag I ieha”(Jgragish), “ho ieha” (*Sadam*), “Wo ieha” (*Kviria*), “(di) ha i ieha” (*Tskhav Krisdeesh*), “iha ieha” (*Ga*), “di ha ieha” (*Sadam*), “wo I ieha” (*Zari* from lower Svaneti), “Wo i ieha” (*Becho Lashgar*), “woo I iha” (*Zari* from upper Svaneti), “wo a i eha” (*Zari*) “wo I eha” (*Tskhav Krisdeesh*), “iho iehe” (*Ga*), “wo i ieha” (*Ga*), “wo I ieha” (*Kaltid*), etc. (see the notated fragments no. 36-51).

The second variant of the “ieha formula” is part of a cadence and is also often heard in Svan hymns. This form of the formula is sung by the group predominantly in two parts and like its first variant, the melodic and rhythmic

36 It seems that because of problems accessing verbal texts, notated versions of hymns are often not provided with words. We therefore had to rely predominantly on examples of songs that we had transcribed. For this task we used only authentic audio archive recordings and audio materials obtained during our field work.

pattern remains the same in all the hymns: **a-g-a-f-e**. All these “ieha” cadence formulae are two-part sections of three-part songs, which sounds logical to us considering the theory of the stadial development of polyphonic singing. This also can support our argument regarding the ancient origins of the “ieha” formula. For example: “di ha I ieha” (*Tskhau Krisdeesh*), “di ha I ieha” (*Kviria*), “I hai ieha” (*Kviria*), “i hai ieha” (*Ga*), “di ha ieha” (*Sadam*), etc. (see the notated fragments N52, 54-61).

One more variant of the “ieha” formula is found in the cadence section: “wo ha ha”. This form of the “ieha” is sung in unison and it sums up the hymn: **e-c-d** (see examples 62-65).

The existence of these vocable verbal and musical formulae does not exclude the possibility of free singing within the melodic framework of an individual Svan hymn. A beautiful example of such a free dialogue between a human being and a deity carrying the response of “wo ieha” is in the song *O Krisdeesh*. It is a combination of assonance on parallel fourths followed by a parallel fifth resolving on a third (see example no. 66). An exclusively powerful type of assonantal singing of the “ieha” group occurs on the following syllables: “io” (*Kviria*) or “iho” (*Ga*), representing a free elaboration of the “ieha” formula. The first represents a synchronised assonance in unison with a steady rhythm whereas the second one is a unison having a syncopated rhythm (*Ga*) (See notated fragments 67-68)

Two more segments of the group of invocation/supplication/veneration vocables are “didab” and “sheda” with their variations. In prayers and singing texts the appeal or call “didab” is widely used to glorify God and often is accompanied by “sheda” (*Lagusheda*) which means “help us”. Sometimes these words are employed as a title indicating their function as a prayer. For example: *Diadeb*, *Didebata* (*Dideba Taringzelars*), and *Lagusheda*. Besides, the majority of ritual songs include the words: *didab*, *sheda* (*lagusheda*); for example: *Lile* (*dideb*, *shaioda*), *Lazhghvash* (*didab*), *Didebata* (*sheda*, *dideba*), *Riho* (*dideb*), *Jragish* (*sheda*), and *Barbal Dolash* (*dideba*). Some of the hymn texts have no meaningful words and are built only with syllables and interjections. Based on our observations, there is a prevalent use of such syllable complexes in these so-called “wordless” songs, such as: *vodi*, *dai*, *voda*, *hodi*, *ode*, *diha*, *die*, etc. Special attention has been paid to those few meaningful words in hymn songs which are possible to hear and transcribe through the method we have introduced and described above. Thus, most of these meaningful words consists of either “*dideba*” or “*lagusheda*”. This caused us to assume that the rest of the syllables must have been related to these two words and the context of the performance. The syllable complexes listed above confirm our assumptions and com-

plexes containing the phoneme “d” often represent so-called “slovoobrivs”³⁷ of either “sheda” or “dideba”.

Another subject of research concerns the reasons behind the occurrence of word fragments (slovoobrivs) in Svan songs. However, since such reduction and fragmentation is not a poetic or linguistic phenomenon, we assume it must be dictated by the rules of song language. In addition to this, as we mentioned above, the ethnological aspect (context) should also be considered.

It appears that this type of fragmented vocable has been given a form-making function in addition to assuming a sacred purpose of conveying a prayer. The fact that such ‘syllabic” vocables are part of a predominant repertoire of ritualistic prayer songs supports the suggestion that it is systemic in character and subservient not only to aesthetic demands. On the contrary, the euphonic role of these vocables in the process of building a compositional form should be explained by their religious significance, being a fundamental and indivisible element of the entire repertoire of ritual songs. As a result, such vocables are polyfunctional and apart from conveying the content and idea of the song, they combine a euphonic role with the role of form making. Examples of such vocables are heard both within free singing and the formulaic framework of the music.

The formulaic frameworks of “sheda” and “dideba” have a certain place within the musical composition and mainly represent “bridging” segments. They are sung within the solo singing. Such formulae are characteristic of both hymns and songs sung with circle dances (see notated fragments 69-90):

<i>Dideba</i>	<i>Lagusheda</i>
<i>Vo-di (Krasia) №69</i>	<i>wo-da (Jgragish) №81</i>
<i>wo-di (Krasia) №70</i>	<i>Da-i (Ori Alilosa) №82</i>
<i>wo-di-i (Ga) №71</i>	<i>wo-o-da-i (Tsioq Makhvsh) №84</i>
<i>O-di (Shaida Lile) №72</i>	<i>Da-i (Tamar Dedpal) №83</i>
<i>wo-di (Tskhau Krisdeesh) №73</i>	<i>wo-da (Sharida Lashgari) №89</i>

37 In his study of Russian “Protyazhnyi raspev”, Zemtsovski singles out “slovoobrivs” (fragments of words) as a phenomenon conditioned by the peculiarities of so-called “stretched” singing. However, he says that such fragments are characteristic of ritual songs: laments, as well as wedding songs. The author argues that lament type songs or “slovoobrivs” represent an artistic musical imitation of the natural act of lament or weeping. This occurs if the performer appears to swallow ending words and phrases associated with choking back tears. In songs having a comic character, a deformation of a word occurs for the purpose of creating a comic effect and therefore it is highlighted in an unusual way... the “slovoobrivs” are one of the form-shaping elements in “protyazhni raspev” [Zemtsovski 1967:65].

<i>wo-di-awo (Sadam) №74</i>	<i>wo-da (Kaltid) №87</i>
<i>wo-di-wo (Shishada Gergil) №75</i>	<i>wo-da (Shekhe Abram) №88</i>
<i>wo-di-woi (Lile) №76</i>	<i>o-da (Jragish) №90</i>
<i>wo-di-i (Sadam) №77</i>	<i>wo-o-da (Tsioq Makhvshi) №85</i>
<i>wo-di-i (Qansav Qipiane) №78</i>	<i>Shile-da-i (Lile) №86</i>

We therefore assume that the given vocable units have become an indivisible part of Svan song language over the passage of time. Due to the primary meaning of the words having been lost, they have retained only musical, structural, and euphonic elements as lexical units integrated into the singing language. Therefore, in songs of more recent origin, the existence of such units is relevant even if these songs are not necessarily of a religious-ritual purpose.

Apart from these bridge-formula frames, the vocables of the “dideba” and “sheda” group are characterized by relatively free music making (singing). Instances of the free vocalization of such vocables represent an integral part of the songs and are fragmented, scattered throughout the textual and musical fabric of the song. The Svan hymn repertoire – and to a lesser extent, songs with circle dances – are rich in examples of such free singing:

Wo-di-vo-i (Lile), **Wo-i-di-wo**³⁸ (Kaltid), **Gra-si wo-de** (Elia Lrde), **Shai-wo-di** (Dala Kojas), **woi-di o wo-di** (Lazhghvash), **Shile-da** (Lile), **Shei-wo-da** (Jragish), **Wo-i-di-wo-wo** (Zari), **Shai-da lile-wo** (Shaida Lile) (See notated fragments 91-99). The systematic application and nature of the verbal and musical vocabulary making it possible to reveal its variable forms can be seen from this discourse.

6.1.2. Bridge vocables. Vowels such as “i” (pronounced Eee! in English), “u”, “o”, or the vowel combination “oio” (Jragish) are bridge vocables. The vowel “i” is especially used on a frequent basis, and given the function of the Georgian “da” (and), as previously mentioned, it ensures a continued cohesion in the musical development. In the Georgian singing repertoire, the vowel “i” does not have the function of the Svan “i” and therefore does not occur as either a conjunction or a particle. However, the particle “da” is heard in Svan songs and it could possibly carry the function of the rhythmic-melodic accent (emphasis) alluded to by S. Zhghenti in his study [Zhghenti 1963:48].³⁹ The vowel “i” does not have the function of the Svan “i” in the Georgian singing

38 Paliashvili recorded a song which had the title of this vocable. The text of the song is entirely in Georgian and is a love song [Paliashvili 1910:34].

39 To argue this thesis the author quotes phrases from Svan songs *Lile* and *Murzai Beqzil*: “Hoi da Lile da...” and “Sai hodi da... Murzabeksi da khochan da ...”. However he borrowed these texts from existing notated songs and as we have said most of these texts require closer scrutiny for reliability.

repertoire. Therefore, such bridge vocables serve only a consolidating function and contribute to the structural process of the form. However, as we pointed out, sometimes vocables for supplication, invocation, or veneration also serve as bridges, apart from their primary purpose.

6.1.3. Refrain vocables. An observation of the function and role of the Svan “i” was of interest, pointing towards a particular group of refrain vocables which are an indivisible part of the vocabulary of the so-called “shairi” songs (songs with circle dances and other dances) in the Svan song repertoire. In her brief study on asemantic texts within Georgian songs, M. Shilakadze introduces a table of glossolalia classified by the area of their distribution over Georgia. The list includes Svan glossolalias, however the author has limited her field of study to include only certain types of asemantic texts and therefore the list includes only a few Svan vocables, namely texts we call refrain vocables. The table shows that most of the refrain vocables are interdialectic and have been distributed among the song texts of different regions. For example, only two texts seem to be interdialectic among the Svan vocables and they include: *worera/worira* (Svaneti, Samegrelo) and *harira/horera/horira rira* (Kartli, Ach’ara, Samegrelo, Svaneti). As for vocables such as *rasha rasha shamarera*, *woirira rera ramasha*, *shaiashi shamarera*, *hoi da lile*, the author assigns them only to the Svan dialect [Shilakadze 1999:203-204].

We assume that the scholar did not aim at a detailed analysis of such texts and made conclusions based on the comparison of entire complexes extracted from the songs. An observation of such complexes shows that they may undergo variant alterations. For example, the vocables *orera*, *osa orudila*, which Shilakadze [Shilakadze 1999:203] has attributed to Guria, Samegrelo and Ach’ara, are also sung in Svaneti, albeit with slight phonetical differences: *wosa worudila* and *worera*, indicating that these vocables are interdialectic according to the area of their distribution.

This group of vocables together with their distinct lexical forms are special because of their rhythmic-melodic and compositional peculiarities. The concept “refrain vocable” already indicates the place in the musical composition assigned to them, which – being distinct from the group of vocables discussed above – underlines their formative function in the composition. This group of vocables is represented by the distinctively contoured rhythmic-melodic fabric of the vocable complex, thus essentially differing from “filler vocables” and coded phonemic syllables. Tunes containing verbal complexes of refrain vocables are often isorhythmic. It is noteworthy that the verbal complex of one type is matched to a specific rhythmic mode, and a change of the vocable texts

is followed by a change in the rhythmic and melodic mode as well.⁴⁰ The group of such refrain vocables covers the following complexes:

Shaiwodi (saiwodi) Shamarera

Wosaw riro (rera) ramaida

Wosaw worudilo ramaida

Shina worgil worgil wosa, etc.

Most texts of the Georgian singing repertoire are interdialectic and often the verbal text is interdialectic even though the musical language of a region is dialectic. S. Zhghenti provides a statistical account and says that out of the 207 song texts in a collection of songs by Gr. Chkhikvadze (Georgian Folk Songs), only 22 reflect dialectic forms; out of 40 song texts only one is dialectic and the rest are interdialectic [Zhghenti 1963:35-36]. The author does not classify Svan song texts as being dialectic or interdialectic possibly because the Svan language is a Kartvelian language, not a dialect.

The vast majority of Svan songs are in the Svan language. Therefore the vocable vocabulary discussed by us in this article belongs to a peripheral group of this language with the exception of those refrain vocables assigned to the interdialectic (or interethnic) group of vocables. Compared to other regions, the musical and verbal language of Svan songs is predominantly dialectic (especially in Upper Svaneti) with refrain vocables being an exception.

Since refrain vocables are used in songs taking the form of a circle dance followed by another dance and sometimes in songs accompanied by instruments, the aesthetic function of such vocables becomes obvious. The verbal texts of refrain vocables are organically integrated into the rhythmic-melodic structure of a song. They contribute to the creation and development of artistic and emotional expression and combine this role with an additional function as a formative tool (see examples 100-103). A deviation from the dialect of the Svan musical language occurs specifically in songs with interdialectic vocables. For example, in the notated song “*Wosarada Shvarada*” musically linked to the Abkhazian musical language, there is also a song about “Stalin” that bears a resemblance to Mingrelian lyrical songs. It is noteworthy when compared to Balszemo⁴¹ Svaneti. The Balszemo repertoire in Upper Svaneti is more richly adorned with these vocables than the singing repertoire from Balskvemo (also in Upper Svaneti) or Lower Svaneti. This can perhaps be explained by more intense geographical connections with neighbouring regions (Racha, Samegrelo, Abkhazeti).

40 It should be noted that such a correlation is observed in the singing repertoire of North American Indians [Nettl 1953:161].

41 Upper Svaneti is divided into two parts: Balszemo (Upper Bal) and Balskvemo (Lower Bal). Balszemo Svaneti is the upper region historically seen as more geographically remote, isolated, and independent.

7. Conclusion. Our study of the verbal texture of the Svan singing repertoire has revealed different, distinct types and varieties of vocables. We have identified both dialectic and interdialectic groups of vocables and the correlations between the ethnological context and vocable groups. We have further identified the peculiarities of some vocable groups and the nature of the rules, regulations, and systems governing their usage in Svan songs.

We postulate the following tentative conclusions.

1. Through a careful examination of the vocable vocabulary of songs it is possible to identify their genre assignment; some vocable syllables are polysemic. Meaning and value are attributed first of all according to where the vocable is positioned in a song, and secondly, with reference to its ethnological context (for example: wo, vui).
2. There are coded syllables and phonemes in Svan song texts. An inspection of these in relation to their ethnological context allows for the transcription of verbal texts. This in turn leads to a deeper understanding of the song's essence and purpose (for example: z, sh, d, s, j, gv).
3. Unique vocables are firmly linked thematically to the song they accompany and may be instrumental in delivering the content, concept, and essence of the song (for example: "bail ilba"). Vocables have been identified that are both dialectic and of local origin, and interdialectic within the Svan vocable vocabulary, being distributed in other regions such as Abkhazia, for example; Specialized in-depth study is necessary to discuss the origin and route of this kind of migration;
4. It has become clear that vocables of so-called "wordless" songs are most certainly not meaningless and often carry a specific function and are therefore of fundamental significance in a song;
5. By taking into account etymological and contextual ambiguity, several groups of vocables have been classified: archaic, rudimentary, and asemantic (structural or formative);
6. Stable rhythmic-melodic formulae are pertinent in certain groups of vocables providing the essential core of the song language within a specific genre; The archaic nature of some vocables has been discovered- e.g., "wo ieha" - which is an invocation formula. We believe this to be an archaism preserved in Svan hymns. It is of enormous importance for the ritual prayer life of the community and underpins the contact between this world and the world beyond. Through a detailed observation of verbal-musical pairs, it

becomes clear that compositional or rhythmic-melodic peculiarities are often conditioned by the religious, sacred purpose of the ritual. The forms of a dialogue – a labile meter and rhythm, short and delayed phrases, recitative-prosodic intonation – are all central to this process. Assonantic accentuation on a certain pitch is nothing else but a musical calque of invocation, supplication, and veneration (for example: io, io, io or i-ha, i-ha, i-ha). The fragmentation of words (fragmented words, the so-called “slovoobrezis”) may be conditioned by existing aesthetic artistic demands (for example: voda, vodi, dai, etc.).

7. A significant part of the function of vocables for invocation and veneration is to convey a binary function and combine both content-related and formative roles (for example: dai, odi, wo-ieha, etc.).
8. The group of filler vocables (entirely asemantic) is relatively small and includes only vowel phonemes. Their primary role is largely aesthetic and serves to augment the filling-in of rhythmic-melodic horizontal lines. The need for an interdisciplinary approach cannot be underestimated in this work. An ethnological and linguistic understanding is critically important in order to inform musicological research. In our own work, a consideration of the ethnological context allowed us to understand the meanings of some vocables and transcribe others which had hitherto been dismissed as meaningless. An assumption was reached, based on selected sources in dynamics, both from a synchronic and diachronic perspective, that vocable language is much more stable, sustainable, and resistant to change than song language texts as a conveyor of meaning.

Over and above these results, the need for further study of these important issues includes:

1. First and foremost, a comparative study of interdialectic vocables encompassing the texts of the singing repertoire of neighboring regions, with reference both to ethnosis and ethnological content. Apart from providing potentially fruitful new results, such a study might allow the revision of some conclusions offered in this article.
2. A study of the group of vocables classified as archaic: Kviria, Lile, Jgragish, Nanil, Sadam, and Elia Lrde through an interdisciplinary (linguistic, ethnological and ethnomusicological) approach.⁴²

⁴² Articles regarding “Jgragish”, “Sadam” and “Elia Lrde” are almost finished and are intended for publication in the near future.

3. A necessary study of the extent to which Svan vocables are connected/related to the phonetics and morphology of Svan conventional language. An identification of the origins and migration routes of refrain vocables included in the group of interdialectic texts. We believe that comparative linguistic studies could shed some light on this problem.

Although we have noted that a certain correlation exists between interdialectic vocables and musical dialects of the songs to which they are sung, this needs further in-depth research. Indeed the results might facilitate a deeper insight into questions regarding song migration.

In the course of our studies, what began as an attempt to derive meaning from “nonsense” in Svan music has, we believe, revealed a pearl of great value. For could it be that the obscure and overlooked vocable sounds within the repertoire dismissed hitherto as nonsense can provide the key not only to acknowledging their central function in Svan ritual life, but identifying them as principle beneficiaries in the preservation of the genre?

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2. Udabno - 2015
3. Tandzia -2015
4. Tbilisi - 2015
5. Latali (Latali Choir of Elders) – 2015

Video Recording

HUGO ZEMP – ADISHI -1991 (<http://www.kalimats.com/bjH-N-00hfc.html> 15.02.2016)

სანოტო დანართი
სანოტო ნიმუშების სია

- № 1 კვირია (ფოლკლორული ანსამბლი „რიჰო“, 1980)
- №2 გა (გრ. ჩხიკვაძის კოლექცია; 1960)
- №4 სადამ (სოფ. ფარი, შ. ასლანიშვილის ჩანაწერები; 1946)
- №5 ვო ქრისდეემ (ლატალი, ექსპედიცია; 2012)
- №6 ვო ქრისდეემი (ლატალი, ექსპედიცია, 2012)
- № 7 ზარი (ივეტ გრიმოს ექსპედიცია, 1967)
- № 8 ქრასია (შ. ასლანიშვილის ჩანაწერები; 1946)
- №9 ზარი (ვ. ახოზაძის კრებული. 1946)
- №10 გა (შ. ასლანიშვილის ჩანაწერები; 1946)
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- №12 კვირია (ლატალი, ექსპედიცია, 2012)
- №13 ვო ქროსდეემ (ლატალი, ექსპედიცია, 2012)
- №14 ჯგრაგიშ (ივეტ გრიმოს ექსპედიცია, 1967)
- №15 ვო ქრისდეემ (ლატალი, ექსპედიცია, 2012)
- №16 გა (დმანისის ფოლკლორული ანსამბლი „შგარიდა“, ექსპედიცია, 2015)
- №17 შეხე აბრამ (ფოლკლორული ანსამბლი „რიჰო“, ექსპედიცია, 2012)
- №18 ლილე (სოფ. უდაბნო, ექსპედიცია, 2015)
- №19 კვირია (ფოლკლორული ანსამბლი „რიჰო“, ექსპედიცია, 2012)
- №20 დიდებათა (ფოლკლორული ანსამბლი „რიჰო“, 1980)
- №21 ბარბალ დოლაშ (ლატალი; ექსპედიცია, 2012)
- №22 ჯგრაგიშ (ცხუმარი; ფოლკლორის სახელმწიფო ცენტრის ექსპედიცია, 2007)
- №23 გა (გ. ჩხიკვაძის კოლექცია; 1960)
- №24 ვო ქრისდეემ (სოფ. ლატალი; ექსპედიცია, 2012)
- №25 კვირია (დმანისის ფოლკლორული ანსამბლი „შგარიდა“, 2015)
- №26 კვირია (ფოლკლორული ანსამბლი „რიჰო“, 1980)

- №27 ვო ქრისდეემ (სოფ. ლატალი; ექსპედიცია, 2012)
- №28 ზარი (ივეტ გრიმოს კოლექცია, 1967)
- №29 გა (გ. ჩხიკვაძის კოლექცია; 1960)
- №30 ჯგრაგიშ (ლიჩაანიშ; ჰუგო ზემპის ჩანაწერებიდან; 1991)
- №31 სადამ (სოფ. ცხუმარი; ფოლკლორის სახელმწიფო ცენტრის ექსპედიცია, 20017)
- № 32 საიო დემ (დმანისის ფოლკლორული ანსამბლი; 2015)
- №33 ლილე (ვ. ახოზაძის კრებული; 1950)
- №35 გა (ვ. ახოზაძის კრებული; 1950)
- №36 ჯგრაგიშ (ივეტ გრიმოს კოლექცია; 1967)
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- №38 სადამ (შ. ასლანიშვილის კოლექცია, 1946)
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- №40 ცხაუ ქრისდეემ (ლატალი, ექსპედიცია, 2012)
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- №43 ზარი (ფოლკლორული ანსამბლი „რიჰო“ 1980)
- №44 ბერო ლაშგარ (შ. ასლანიშვილის კოლექცია; 1946)
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- №47 ცხაუ ქრისდეემ (დმანისის ფოლკლორული ანსამბლი „შგარიდა“; 2015)
- №48 გა (დმანისის ფოლკლორული ანსამბლი „შგარიდა“; 2015)
- №49 გა (დმანისის ფოლკლორული ანსამბლი „შგარიდა“; 2015)
- №50 ქალთიდ (ფოლკლორული ანსამბლი „რიჰო“; 1980)
- №51 ჯგრაგიშ (სოფ. ლახუშდი; ექსპედიცია, 2012)
- №52 ცხაუ ქრისდეემ (სოფ. ლატალი, ექსპედიცია 2012)

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- №55 კვირია (შ. ასლანიშვილის კოლექცია; 1950)
- №56 გა (გ. ჩხიკვაძის კოლექცია, 1960)
- №57 სადამ (სოფ. ცხუმარი; ფოლკლორის სახელმწიფო ცენტრის ექსპედიცია; 2007)
- № 58 საიო დემ (დმანისის ფოლკლორული ანსამბლი „შგარიდა“; 2015)
- №59 ქალთიდ (ფოლკლორული ანსამბლი „რიჰო“; 1980)
- №60 შგარიდა ლაშგარი (ფოლკლორული ანსამბლი „რიჰო“; 1980)
- №61 შეხე აბრამ (დმანისის ფოლკლორული ანსამბლი „შგარიდა“; 2015)
- №62 შეხე აბრამ (დმანისის ფოლკლორული ანსამბლი „შგარიდა“; 2015)
- №63 გა (დმანისის ფოლკლორული ანსამბლი „შგარიდა“; 2015)
- №64 კვირია (ფოლკლორული ანსამბლი „რიჰო“; 1980)
- №65 ცხაუ ქრისდეემ (სოფ. ლატალის ფოლკლორული ანსამბლი 2012)
- №66 ვო ქრისდეემ (დმანისის ფოლკლორული ანსამბლი „შგარიდა“; 2015)
- №67 კვირია (სოფ. ლახუშდი; ექსპედიცია, 2012)
- №68 გა (გ. ჩხიკვაძის კოლექცია; 1960)
- №69 ქრასია (შ. ასლანიშვილის კოლექცია; 1946)
- №70 ქრასია (შ. ასლანიშვილის კოლექცია; 1946)
- №71 გა (გ. ჩხიკვაძის კოლექცია, 1960)
- №72 შაიდა ლილე (დმანისის ფოლკლორული ანსამბლი „შგარიდა“; 2015)
- №73 ცხაუ ქრისდეემ (სოფ. ლახუშდი, ექსპედიცია, 2012)
- №74 სადამ (სოფ. ცხუმარი; ფოლკლორის სახელმწიფო ცენტრის ექსპედიცია, 2007)
- №75 შიშადა გერგილ (სოფ. ლახუშდი, ექსპედიცია, 2012)
- №76 ლილე (ივეტ გრიმოს კოლექცია, 1967)
- №77 სადამ (შ. ასლანიშვილის კოლექცია, 1946)
- №78 ყანსავ ყიფიანე (დ. არაყიშვილის კოლექცია)

- № 79 დიდებათა (სოფ. ლატალის ფოლკლორული ანსამბლი, ექსპედიცია, 2012)
- № 80 როსტომ ჭაბიკ (დმანისის ფოლკლორული ანსამბლი „შგარიდა“, 2012)
- № 81 ჯგრაგიშ (ივეტ გრიმოს კოლექცია, 1967)
- №82 ორი ალილოსა (ქვემო სვანეთი; ფოლკლორის სახელმწიფო ცენტრის ექსპედიცია, 2010)
- №83 თამარ დედფალ (სოფ. ლახუში; ექსპედიცია, 2013)
- №84 ციოყ მახვში (სოფ. ლატალი, საკუთრი ექსპედიცია, 2012)
- №85 ციოყ მახვში (სოფ. ლატალი, ექსპედიცია, 2012)
- №87 ქალთიდ (ფოლკლორული ანსამბლი „რიჰო“, 1980)
- №88 შეხე აბრამ (დმანისის ფოლკლორული ანსამბლი „შგარიდა“, 2015)
- №89 შგარიდა ლაშგარი (ფოლკლორული ანსამბლი „რიჰო“, 1980)
- №90 ჯგრაგიშ (ივეტ გრიმოს კოლექცია, 1967)
- №91 ლილე (დმანისის ფოლკლორული ანსამბლი „შგარიდა“, 2015)
- №92 ქალთიდ (ფოლკლორული ანსამბლი „რიჰო“, 1980)
- №93 ელია ლრდე (ფოლკლორული ანსამბლი „რიჰო“, 1980)
- №94 დალა კოჯას (ფოლკლორული ანსამბლი „რიჰო“, 1980)
- №95 ლაჟღვაშ (ფოლკლორული ანსამბლი „რიჰო“, 1980)
- №96 ლილე (ფოლკლორული ანსამბლი „რიჰო“, 1980)
- №97 ჯგრაგიშ (ივეტ გრიმოს კოლექცია, 1967)
- №98 ზარი (შ. მშველიძის კოლექცია, 1931)
- №99 შაიდა ლილე (დმანისის ფოლკლორული ანსამბლი „შგარიდა“, 2015)
- №100 შეხე აბრამ (დმანისის ფოლკლორული ანსამბლი „შგარიდა“, 2015)
- №101 მურზა ი ბეჭილ (ფოლკლორული ანსამბლი „რიჰო“, 1980)
- №102 მურზა ი ბეჭილ (ფოლკლორული ანსამბლი „რიჰო“, 1980)
- №103 რაილი (დმანისის ფოლკლორული ანსამბლი „შგარიდა“, 2015)

Notation Annex
List of notated fragments:

- №1 Kviria (Folk ensemble “Riho”, 1980)
- №2 Ga (Gr. Ckhikvadze’s coll. 1960)
- №4 Sadam (Vill. Pari, Sh. Aslanishvili’s coll. 1946)
- №5 Wo Krisdeesh (Vill. Latali, field work, 2012)
- №6 Wo Krisdeesh (Vill. Latali, field work, 2012)
- №7 Zari (Yvette Grimaud’s field recordings, 1967)
- №8 Krasia (Sh. Aslanishvili’s coll. 1956))
- №9 Zari (V. Akhobadze’s coll. 1946)
- №10 Ga (Sh. Aslanishvili’s coll. 1946)
- №11 Ga (Sh. Aslanishvili’s coll. 1946)
- №12 Kviria (Vill. Latali, field work, 2012)
- №13 Wo Krisdeesh (Vill. Latali, field work, 2012)
- №14 Jgragish (Yvette Grimaud’s field recordings, 1967)
- №15 Wo Krisdeesh (Vill. Latali, field work, 2012)
- №16 Ga (Dmanisi folk ensemble “Shgarida”, 2012 & field work, 2015)
- №17 Shekhe Abram (Folk ensemble “Riho”, field work, 2012)
- №18 Lile (Vill. Udabno, field work, 2015)
- №19 Kviria (Folk ensemble “Riho”, field work, 2012)
- №20 Didebata (Glory), (folk ensemble “Riho”, 1980)
- №21 Barbal Dolash (Vill. Latali, field work, 2012)
- №22 Jgragish (Tskhumari; expedition of the Folklore State Centre of Georgia, 2007)
- №23 Ga (G. Chkhikvadze’s coll. 1960)
- №24 Wo Krisdeesh (Vill. Latali, field work, 2012)
- №25 Kviria (Dmanisi folk ensemble “Shgarida”, 2012 & field work 2015)
- №26 Kviria (folk ensemble “Riho”, 1980))
- №27 Wo Krisdeesh (Vill. Latali, field work, 2012)

- №28 Zari (Yvette Grimaud's field recordings, 1967)
- №29 Ga (G. Chkhikvadze's coll. 1960)
- №30 Jgragish (Lichaanish; Hugo Zemp's recording, 1991)
- №31 Sadam (Vill. Tskhumari expedition of the Folklore State Centre of Georgia, 2007)
- № 32 Saio Desh (Dmanisi folk ensemble "Shgarida", 2012 & field work, 2015)
- №33 Lile (V. Akhobadze's coll. 1950)
- №35 Ga (V. Akhobadze's coll. 1950)
- №36 Jgragish (Yvette Grimaud's field recordings, 1967)
- № 37 Jgragish (Vill. Tskhumari expedition of the Folklore State Centre of Georgia, 2007)
- №38 Sadam (Sh. Aslanishvili's coll. 1946)
- №39 Kviria (Dmanisi folk ensemble "Shgarida", 2012 & field work, 2015)
- №40 Tskau Krisdeehs (Vill. Latali, field work, 2012)
- №41 Ga (G. Chkhikvadze's coll. 1960)
- №42 Sadam (Vill. Tskhumari expedition of the Folklore State Centre of Georgia, 2007)
- №43 Zari (Folk ensemble "Riho", 1980)
- №44 Becho Lashgar (Sh. Aslanishvili's coll. 1946)
- № 45 Zari (Lower Svaneti; expedition of the Folklore State Centre of Georgia, 2010)
- №46 Zari (Folk ensemble "Riho", 1980)
- №47 Tskhau Krisdeesh (Dmanisi folk ensemble "Shgarida", 2012 & field work, 2015)
- №48 Ga (Dmanisi folk ensemble "Shgarida", 2012 & field work, 2015)
- №49 Ga (Dmanisi folk ensemble "Shgarida", 2012 & field work, 2015)
- №50 Kaltid (Folk ensemble "Riho", 1980)
- №51 Jgragish (Vill. Lakhushdi, field work; 2012)
- №52 Tskhau Krisdeesh (Vill. Latali, field work, 2012)

- № 54 Kviria (Lower Svaneti; expedition of the Folklore State Centre of Georgia, 2010)
- №55 Kviria (Sh. Aslanishvili's coll. 1950)
- №56 Ga (G. Chkhikvadze's coll. 1960)
- №57 Sadam (Vill. Tskhumari; expedition of the Folklore State Centre of Georgia 2007)
- №58 Saio Desh (Dmanisi folk ensemble "Shgarida", 2012 & field work, 2015)
- №59 Kaltid (Folk ensemble "Riho", 1980)
- №60 Shgarida Lashgar (Folk ensemble "Riho", 1980)
- №61 Shekhe Abram (Dmanisi folk ensemble "Shgarida", 2012 & field work, 2015)
- №62 Shekhe Abram (Dmanisi folk ensemble "Shgarida", 2012 & field work, 2015)
- №63 Ga (Dmanisi folk ensemble "Shgarida", 2012 & field work, 2015)
- №64 Kviria (Folk ensemble "Riho", 1980)
- №65 Tskhau Krisdeesh Vill. Latali, field work, 2012)
- №66 Wo Krisdeesh (Dmanisi folk ensemble "Shgarida", 2012 & field work, 2015)
- №67 Kviria (Vill. Lakhushdi; field work, 2012)
- №68 Ga (G. Chkhikvadze's coll; 1960)
- №69 Krasia (Sh. Aslanishvili's coll. 1946)
- №70 Krasia (Sh. Aslanishvili's coll. 1946)
- №71 Ga (G. Chkhikvadze's coll. 1960)
- №72 Shaida Lile (Dmanisi folk ensemble "Shgarida", 2012 & field work, 2015)
- №73 Tskhau Krisdeesh (Vill. Lakhushdi, field work; 2012)
- №74 Sadam (Vill. Tskhumari; expedition of the Folklore State Centre of Georgia 2007)
- №75 Shishada Gergil (Vill. Lakhushdi, field work, 2012)
- №76 Lile (Yvette Grimaud's field recordings, 1967)

- №77 Sadam (Sh. Aslanishvili's coll. 1946)
- №78 Qansav Qipiane (D' Araqishvili's coll.)
- № 79 Didebata (Vill. Latali folk ensemble; field work, 2012)
- №80 Rostom Chabik (Dmanisi folk ensemble "Shgarida", 2012 & field work, 2015)
- №81 Jragish (Yvette Grimaud's field recordings, 1967)
- №82 Ori Alilosa (Lower Svaneti; expedition of the Folklore State Centre of Georgia 2010)
- №83 Tamar Dedpal (Vill. Lakhushdi, field work, 2013)
- №84 Tsioq Makhvsh (Vill. Latali, field work, 2012)
- №85 Tsioq Makhvsh (Vill. Latali, field work, 2012)
- №87 Kaltid (Folk ensemble "Riho", 1980)
- №88 Shekhe Abram (Dmanisi folk ensemble "Shgarida", 2012 & field work, 2015)
- №89 Shgarida Lashgari (Folk ensemble "Riho", 1980)
- №90 Jragish (Yvette Grimaud's field recordings, 1967)
- №91 Lile (Dmanisi folk ensemble "Shgarida", 2012 & field work, 2015)
- №92 Kaltid (Folk ensemble "Riho", 1980)
- №93 Elia Lrde (Folk ensemble "Riho", 1980)
- №94 Dala Kojas (Folk ensemble "Riho", 1980)
- №95 Lzhghvash (Folk ensemble "Riho", 1980)
- №96 Lile (Folk ensemble "Riho", 1980)
- №97 Jragish (Yvette Grimaud's field recordings, 1967)
- №98 Zari (Sh. Mshvelidze's coll. 1931)
- №99 Shaida Lile (Dmanisi folk ensemble "Shgarida", 2012 & field work, 2015)
- №100 Shekhe Abram (Dmanisi folk ensemble "Shgarida", 2012 & field work, 2015)
- №101 Murza i Bekzil (Folk ensemble "Riho", 1980)
- №102 Murza i Bekzil (Folk ensemble "Riho", 1980)
- №103 Raili (Dmanisi folk ensemble "Shgarida", 2012 & field work, 2015)

სანოტო ნიმუშები Notated Fragments

№1

იო იო იო
io io io

№ 2

(ა) ჰო (ა) ჰო (ა) ჰო
(i) ho (i) ho (i) ho

(ა) ჰო (ა) ჰო (ა) ჰო
(i) ho (i) ho (i) ho

(ა) ჰო (ა) ჰო (ა) ჰო
(i) ho (i) ho (i) ho

№4

კვირ ჰო ი
kvir ho i

კვირ ჰო ი
kvir ho i

კვირ ჰო ი
kvir ho i

№ 5

ზუ ჰო ი
zu ho i

ზუ ჰო ი
zu ho i

ზუ ჰო ი
zu ho i

№ 6

ო ჰე ო
 i he i

№ 7

ა ა ა ა ა ა
 ა ა ა ა ა ა
 ა ა ა ა ა ა

№ 8

კრა (ო) ბო ა
 kra (i) si a

№ 9

ვა ო ვა ო
 va i va i

№ 10

Three staves of music in 8/8 time. The melody is simple, consisting of quarter and eighth notes. The lyrics are: ი ა ი ა, ი ა ი ა, ი ა ი ა.

№ 11

Three staves of music in 8/8 time. The melody is simple, consisting of quarter and eighth notes. The lyrics are: ი ა ი, ი ა ი, ი ა ი.

№ 12

Three staves of music in 8/8 time. The melody is simple, consisting of quarter and eighth notes. The lyrics are: ჰა ი ჰა, ჰა ი ჰა, ჰა ი ჰა.

№ 13

Three staves of music in 8/8 time. The melody is simple, consisting of quarter and eighth notes. The lyrics are: დი ჰო ი, დი ჰო ი, დი ჰო ი.

№ 14

Three staves of music in 8/8 time. The melody is simple, consisting of quarter and eighth notes. The lyrics are: ო ი რი ჰო, ო ი რი ჰო, ო ი რი ჰო.

№ 15

Three staves of music in 8/8 time. The melody is simple, consisting of quarter and eighth notes. The lyrics are: ი ჰო ი, ი ჰო ი, ი ჰო ი.

№ 16

რი ჰო ი კვირ ჰო ი
ri ho i kvir ho i

რი ჰო ი რი ჰო ი
ri ho i ri ho i

რი ჰო ი რი ჰო ი
ri ho i ri ho i

N 17

ვო შე ხე აბ რამ
vo she khe ab ram

N 18

ვო ლი ლე ვო
vo li le vo

N 19

ვო დი დაბ ჯგ რაგ სა
vo di dab jg rag sa

N 20

ვო რაი ლი
vo rai li

N 21

ვო დი დე ბა კვი ვა ი
vo di de ba kvi va i

N 22

ვო ჯ გრ გი იე ჰა
vo j gr gi ie ha

N 23

ვო გა ა
vo ga a

N 24

ვო ქრის დეშ
vo kris desh

N 25

ვო დი დაბ მაც ხვარ კვი რი ა ლე სე და ვო
vo di dab mats khvar kvi ri a le se da vo

№ 26

ჰა ი ჰა
ha i ha

ჰა ი ჰა
ha i ha

ჰა ი ჰა
ha i ha

№ 27

ვო ი ჰა (ვა)
vo i ha (va)

ვო ი ჰა (ვა)
vo i ha (va)

ვო ი ჰა (ვა)
vo i ha (va)

№ 28

ი ჰა ი
i ha i

ი ჰა ი
i ha i

ი ჰა ი
i ha i

№ 29

უა ი ჰა
ua i ha

უა ი ჰა
ua i ha

უა ი ჰა
ua i ha

№ 30

ჰა ha ო i ჰა ha

ჰა ha ო i ჰა ha

ჰა ha ო i ჰა ha

№ 31

ჰა ha ო i ე e ჰა ha

ჰა ha ო i ე e ჰა ha

ჰა ha ო i ე e ჰა ha

№ 32

ვო vo ო i ვო vo ო i ჰა ha

ვო vo ო i ვო vo ო i ჰა ha

ვო vo ო i ვო vo ო i ჰა ha

№ 33

ჰო ho ო i და da

ჰო ho ო i და da

ჰო ho ო i და da

№ 35

ა a - უ u

ა a

ა a

N 36

ჯგ jg რა ra გო go იე ie ჰა ha

N 37



ვო ჯგ რა გი იე ჰა
vo jg ra gi ie ha

N 39



ვო ი იე ჰა
vo i ie ha

№ 38



ჰო ი ე ჰა
ho i e ha

ჰო ი ე ჰა
ho i e ha

ჰო ი ე ჰა
ho i e ha

№ 40



(დი) ჰა ი ე ჰა
(di) ha i e ha

(დი) ჰა ი ე ჰა
(di) ha i e ha

(დი) ჰა ი ე ჰა
(di) ha i e ha

№ 41



ი ჰა ი ე ჰა
i ha i e ha

ი ჰა ი ე ჰა
i ha i e ha

ი ჰა ი ე ჰა
i ha i e ha

№ 42



დი ჰა ი ე ჰა
di ha i e ha

დი ჰა ი ე ჰა
di ha i e ha

დი ჰა ი ე ჰა
di ha i e ha

N 43

ვო ი ე ჰა
vo i e ha

N 44

ვო ი ე ჰა
vo i e ha

N 45

ვო ი ე ჰა
vo i e ha

N 46

ვო ა ი ე ჰა
vo a i e ha

N 47

ვო ი ე ჰა
vo i e ha

№ 48

ი ჰო ი ე ჰე
i ho i e he

N 49

ვო ი ე ჰა
vo i e ha

N 50

ვო ი ე ჰა
vo i e ha

№ 58

გო ო გო ო ჰა
 vo i vo i ha
 გო ო გო ო ჰა
 vo i vo i ha
 გო ო გო ო ჰა
 vo i vo i ha

№ 59

№ 60

ში ჰა ო ე ჰა
 shi ha i e ha
 ში ჰა ო ე ჰა
 shi ha i e ha
 ში ჰა ო ე ჰა
 shi ha i e ha

№ 61

გო ო გო ო ჰა
 vo i vo i ha
 გო ო გო ო ჰა
 vo i vo i ha
 გო ო გო ო ჰა
 vo i vo i ha

№ 62

გო ჰა ჰა
 vo ha ha
 გო ჰა ჰა
 vo ha ha
 გო ჰა ჰა
 vo ha ha

№ 63

გო ჰა ჰა
 vo ha ha
 გო ჰა ჰა
 vo ha ha
 გო ჰა ჰა
 vo ha ha

№ 64

ვო შა შა
vo ha ha

ვო შა შა
vo ha ha

ვო შა შა
vo ha ha

№ 65

ვო შა შა
vo ha ha

ვო შა შა
vo ha ha

ვო შა შა
vo ha ha

№ 66

ი ვო ი ვო ი შა
i vo i vo i ha

ი ვო ი ვო ი შა
i vo i vo i ha

ი ვო ი ვო ი შა
i vo i vo i ha

№ 67

იო იო იო
io io io

იო იო იო
io io io

იო იო იო
io io io

№ 68

i ho i ho i ho
 i ho i ho i ho
 i ho i ho i ho

N 69

vo di

N 71

vo di i

N 70

vo di

N 72

o di

№ 73

voi di
 voi di
 voi di

N 74

vo di a vo

№ 75

vo di vo
 vo di vo
 vo di vo

№ 76

ვო დი ვო ი
vo di vo i

№ 77

(ვო) დი ი
(vo) di i

N 78

ვო დი ი
vo di i

N 79

ვო დი დი ი დე ი
vo di di i de i

N 80

ვო დი ე ი
vo di e i

N 81

ო და
o da

N 82

და ი ი
da i i

N 83

და ი
da i

N 84

ვო ო და ი
vo o da i

N 85

ვო ო და
vo o da

№ 86

(ში ლე) და ი
 (shi le) da i

(ში ლე) და ი
 (shi le) da i

(ში ლე) და ი
 (shi le) da i

N 87

ვო და
 vo da

N 88

ვო და
 vo da

N 89

ვო და
 vo da

№ 90

ო და
 o da

ო და
 o da

ო და
 o da

№ 91

ვო დე ვო ი
 vo de vo i

ვო დე ვო ი
 vo de vo i

ვო დე ვო ი
 vo de vo i

№ 92

ვო ი დი ვო
 vo i di vo

ვო ი ი დი ვო
 vo i i di vo

ვო ი დი ვო
 vo i di vo

№ 93

გრა ბო ვო დე
 gra bo vo de

გრა ბო ვო დე
 gra bo vo de

გრა ბო ვო დე
 gra bo vo de

№ 94

შა ი ვო დი
sha i vo di

შა ი ვო დი
sha i vo di

შა ი ვო დი
sha i vo di

№ 95

ვო ი დი ო ვო დი
vo i di o vo di

ვო ი დი ო ვო დი
vo i di o vo di

ვო ი დი ო ვო დი
vo i di o vo di

№ 96

ში ლე და
shi le da

ში ლე და
shi le da

ში ლე და
shi le da

№ 97

შე ი (ვ)ო და
she i (v)o da

შე ი (ვ)ო და
she i (v)o da

შე ი (ვ)ო და
she i (v)o da

№ 98

ვო ო დი ი ვო ო
vo o di i vo o

ვო ო დი ი ვო
vo o di i vo

ვო ო დი ი ვო
vo o di i vo

N 99

შაი და ლი ლე ვო
shai da li le vo

№ 100

ვო რი რა რა შოვ რე რა ვო რი რა ვო რე რა
vo ri ra ra shov re ra vo ri ra vo re ra

ვო რი რა რა შოვ რე რა ვო რი რა ვო რე რა
vo ri ra ra shov re ra vo ri ra vo re ra

ვო რი რა რა შოვ რე რა ვო რი რა ვო რე რა
vo ri ra ra shov re ra vo ri ra vo re ra

№ 101

ვო რი რა ვე ვო რი რა რა შოვ რე რა
vo ri ra ve vo ri ra ra shov re ra

ვო რი რა ვე ვო რი რა რა შოვ რე რა
vo ri ra ve vo ri ra ra shov re ra

ვო რი რა ვე ვო რი რა რა შოვ რე რა
vo ri ra ve vo ri ra ra shov re ra

№ 102

ვო სა რა შა რა მაი და
vo sa ra sha ra mai da

ვო სა რა შა რა მაი და
vo sa ra sha ra mai da

ვო სა რა შა რა მაი და
vo sa ra sha ra mai da

№ 103

რა შა უ რი რა ო რი რა შა
ra sha u ri ra o ri ra sha

რა შა უ რი რა ო რი რა შა
ra sha u ri ra o ri ra sha

რა შა უ რი რა ო რი რა შა
ra sha u ri ra o ri ra sha