

Zurnaci music comes to being in an act of collective musical activity. During its performance there is interaction between the musician's body and the instrument, as well as between the musicians in the band. The presentation of *zurnaci* music adds to the specific forms of musical communication the interaction between musicians and audience.

The Player

The performers say the *zurna govori* (speaks). Before becoming comprehensible to the others, the music "speaks" to the musician. Through the music, the musician in his turn "talks" with himself. In his performance, the *zurnaci* realizes his musical speech from the traditional elements of the collective musical language ("the common cauldron" of primary pre-genre formula, as Zemtsovsky puts it, containing musical formulae, models and stereotypes from different structural levels). The musician does so through his subjective skills (mastering of the instrument, musical memory, flair of composition, immediate reaction towards the present musical fund, and artist's gift of improvisation).

The act of playing itself is sometimes a kind of auto-communication for the musician. When he plays not for the others but for himself, when he is alone, or when, playing for the others, he immerses into himself, the musician produces a different kind of music. It may perform the function of a non-verbal monologue, of auto-therapy. Demir Selimov, a *zurnaci* from Kavrakirovo, says, "When I'm angry wi' somethin', I play to myself for an hour. And it passes on" [АИФ, I, №100, c. 42].

In the case of this kind of performance, the musician immerses himself in the act of playing to such an extent that he seems to lack consciousness of the movements of his fingers, of the instrument he plays, or even of the very fact he does play. It cannot be said (even metaphorically) that during such a performance the musician has descended to the non-conscious level and he does not know what he is doing. The aesthetic feeling of his consciousness is so great that his whole body is a conductor of the music performed. The paradox is that the musician identifies himself with the music to such an extent that he loses awareness of the act of playing. [Baumann, 1992:133] The concentrated playing is a conscious artistic act, called by the *zurnacies* "thinking through music" – something like a trip, with the help of music, beyond "the far-away borders of your own epiphany". The musician turns into music, he forgets about the world. This is why Demko plays with his eyes closed, and when he has to think objectively about the music outside him, to produce it together wit the others, the unknown, the strangers, he loses the music. Yet when he plays together with his own band, with musicians having his skills and repertoire, the *zurnaci* dissolves into the music and he does not need to control externally the process of making music. The performance becomes an internal feeling and experiencing of the music. We have watched such an immersing into the music played in different performance situations.

During gatherings of musicians or playing "to table" the physical posture and the gestures of the *zurnaci* should be noted. The musician's eyes are closed, his head tilted backwards or towards his shoulder. The musicians find it hard to verbalize their psychological state, as their emotions are pored into music, but the posture of the body and the musician's gestures in such moments attest to full concentration.

The music is alive in the *zurnaci* on a subconscious level, too. There are *zurnacies* who really do dream of music in their sleep. One musician shares his concerns about his