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Creolisation in Music Traditions: South Connemara, the Scottish Western Isles and Francophone Louisiana

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CREOLISATION IN MUSIC TRADITIONS:

South Connemara, the Scottish Western Isles and Francophone Louisiana

Submitted by

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In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Dublin Institute of Technology

Conservatory of Music and Drama

Supervised by Dr. Marian Deasy and Dr. Maria McHale

DECLARATION

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ABSTRACT

Creolisation in Music Traditions

Why do people mix musics? What causes them to break down the boundaries between music genres and produce new genres that are a mix of others, and what does a melody migrating between cultures have to do to conform to a new music culture?

Researchers such as Bruno Nettl, John Blacking, George List and Mark Slobin have over the past eighty years or more, attempted to look at the issue of music mixing under the headings of diffusion, acculturation and globalisation. This thesis seeks to further the understanding of this phenomenon, by examining three cases of cultures that are known to have mixed musics and whose particular blending of musics can be demonstrated. The cases in question are the music of French-speaking south Louisiana, Scots Gaelic Protestant psalm singing, and a new type of country music and *sean-nós* singing mix from south Connemara in Ireland. Examples of the music genres that mixed (the 'parents') in each case are analysed to demonstrate characteristics of their genre. Examples of the music mix ('the child') are then analysed to demonstrate how the characteristics of the parents can be observed in the child, albeit in a new context.

The difference between individual musicians blending musics experimentally and music mixes that have acquired their own names and conventions, are compared to the concepts of pidgin and creole languages. The three case studies take account of the historical, social, linguistic and religious conditions that may have played a part in creating a new music. The study cross-compares the three cases to find common factors, as well as distinguishing differences, between them. The validity of comparisons with sociolinguistics, in particular various modes of code mixing, is assessed in relation to the cases. Finally, the researcher uses the information and music-mixing strategies demonstrated in the three case studies to arrange and compose several newly-recorded pieces.

The conclusions point to the importance of individual performers in making the innovations leading to new mixed music genres. They also emphasise how changing social and cultural environments, and the presence of a bi-musical community in the years leading up to the mix, are also an influencing factor. In concluding the study, the

researcher finds a deeper affinity with comparisons between creole languages and their creation and the process of creolisation in music.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND LITERATURE REVIEW

1.1 Introduction: Autoethnographical background

To contextualise this study it may be useful to give the reader some idea of my own musical background as my own music will feature in the thesis. This background will, in addition, help to explain why I chose this topic for study. It will also be of use later in the study when I compare my own experiences of music and music making with the experiences of the musicians described in the case studies. Finally, it will help to contextualise the music that I will produce as part of this study.

The first thing I should say is that I am an uilleann piper[1]. I play an instrument quintessentially associated with Irish traditional music and as might be expected I have a great interest in Irish traditional dance music.[2] I also have an interest in traditional song. This includes traditional songs and singing both in Irish and in English. Yet over the years, like many other Irish musicians and others, I have also been interested in musics from outside the Irish tradition, both from other traditions and from contemporary genres such as popular chart music, rock, reggae, and an eclectic mix of individual pieces of music from different genres that I happened to like without necessarily liking their genres.

From my late teens onwards, I also developed a very strong interest in the music of Gaelic Scotland, a music, in particular a singing tradition, that seemed to me both familiar and yet strange. The language (Scots Gaelic)was similar but different to Irish, and the songs in particular could sound quite exotic. There were song

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[1] Irish bellows-blown pipes.
[2] In relation to definitions of 'Irish traditional music', I do not see the word 'traditional' in this context as a description of the music, rather as a label, like jazz or rock. Like those musics it lacks precise boundaries, depending more on its adherents to recognize particular musicians or pieces of music as belonging to the genre. Gearóid Ó hAllmhurain says:'It is best understood as a broad-based system which accommodates a complex process of musical convergence, coalescence and innovation over time. It Involves different types of singing, dancing and instrumental music developed by Irish people at home and abroad over the course of several centuries.'See Ó hAllmhurain, Gearóid, *A Pocket History of Irish Traditional Music* (O'Brien Press, 1998) 5. I find this to be as apt a description as can be given.

formats that were not found in Ireland such as *puirt à beul* (mouth music, lit. 'tunes from the mouth'), similar to Irish lilting but using words that were included for their alliterative, assonantal or rhythmic qualities more than for their meaning; waulking songs—worksongs that were melodically repetitive and carried a strong rhythm and choral singing, and perhaps most unusually, the very strange sounding Psalms that in Dublin in the 1970s could —just about—be heard on the Sunday service on BBC Radio Scotland *Deanaimid Adhradh* [Let us Worship] on medium wave.[3] I was curious about how or why both the musics and the languages had diverged in the way they had. It led to an enduring relationship with the Scottish Western Isles and with the Scots Gaelic language and music of those Islands.

As a musician, I worked over the years in different bands where we played music that ranged from totally acoustic settings of Irish, Scottish and Breton music (reflecting the tastes of the band members), along with newly written songs, to very electric settings using drums, bass, keyboards and acoustic instruments with pick-ups and effects units. During that time, I started writing and arranging music. I was aware that both my arrangements and compositions were drawing on my knowledge of Irish, Scots Gaelic and contemporary popular music and that they were what many might have called a 'fusion'. There was and is nothing particularly unusual about this. Many other musicians were doing the same thing. Susan Motherway points out in relation to contemporary folksingers and bands that they:

> [..]merge traditional and popular music aesthetics in the arrangement of traditional song and the writing of new material. Traditional songs are routinely arranged using instrumentation and harmonies associated with popular music. Stylistic approaches including rock, techno and trance are evident[4]

I also became interested, although to a lesser extent, in music from eastern Europe and the Balkans, much of which seemed to carry a different sense of tonality or rhythm to Irish music. Other musics also caught my attention. For example, French Canadian dance music, which seemed so akin to Irish music but so different to what little I knew of the music of France. Old time Appalachian music which again seemed at times to show such a resemblance to Irish music and yet seemed both

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[3] This programme is still (at the time of writing) broadcast every Sunday on BBC *Radio nan Gaidheal*

[4] Dr Susan H. Motherway, *The Globalization of Irish Traditional Song Performance* (Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2013),21.

very different and yet instantly recognisable. Again, I think that these interests were typical of many traditional musicians at the time.

Later, I worked with contemporary electro-acoustic composer and pianist Roger Doyle playing pipes on some of his compositions. I was particularly intrigued by his Babel project, which consists of a series of five CDs of new compositions.[5] The music is linked by a radio presenter and is set in a future 'Tower of Babel' — a high rise building where different musics are found in different rooms. I was particularly taken with what I thought of as his speculative approach to future music cultures. Although he and I were working in different worlds, in terms of music, it struck me that there was a connection. As a traditional musician I spent a lot of time reflecting on how to 'accurately' reproduce music composed in bygone eras and piping styles from previous generations. There seemed to be a certain amount of symmetry in working with someone who tried to imagine what music would be like in eras that are yet to come. It seemed like a continuation from past into (imagined) future. Doyle had used a number of musicians and singers from varied backgrounds and genres. Although his music was not a recognisable 'fusion' insofar as it did not carry a name such as 'celtic rock' or 'baroque pop' or any other name that would signify hybridity, he was undoubtedly weaving elements of different traditions and contemporary styles together in his own compositions.

In 1998, I toured the Netherlands with Doyle, Connemara sean-nós singer Sarah Ghriallais and the Netherlands Wind Ensemble, playing a selection of Doyle's music. That tour, which resulted in a CD recording of the live concerts, enhanced my curiosity about music mixing.

I developed a strong interest in, and became quite conversant with, what was in the early 1990s still referred to as 'new music technologies', in particular computer –based sequencing and recording.[6] I found it to be an excellent means to compose and arrange music, to test ideas and to record and produce music. It allowed me significant independence in terms of my own music making. In 2008, I recorded and produced my own Album called *Tionchar/Influence*. This was an attempt to gather, in one collection, music demonstrating the various influences that had played a part in my own music formation. Songs that veered close to folk-rock or

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[5] Roger Doyle, *Babel* 5-CD set, (Temple Records 1999).
[6] There is further information about this process in the methodology section later in this chapter

even pop were included along with slow airs and traditional dance music. All included pipes, or whistles. Some of the material came from Gaelic Scotland and I also included sampled instruments.

All of these factors stimulated and interest in exploring the boundaries between musics and in particular where those boundaries appear to break down and where musics mix in a way that gives rise to a new genre. I am aware that in an era of globalisation some may find the breaking down of boundaries to be a threat to diversity. I do not think that this is the case. The creation of something new from existing items is, in my opinion, a celebration of, and an addition to, diversity, not a negation of it. I find musical borderlands very interesting. There are of course, as will become, perhaps, obvious during the course of this study, significant differences between myself, and the musicians who will feature in the case studies. Our cultural backgrounds, from the point of view of music, language and, in some cases, era, mean that comparisons between what they and I do can be difficult. However, I am often struck by the feeling that either by accident or personal design I share something with them. We all work, or have worked, in musical 'borderlands', areas where decisions have to be made in the absence of a framework of reference such as the one offered by working within a music genre, where musicians know to some extent what is expected of them and their music.

'Borderlands are often where the action is' wrote Swedish anthropologist Ulf Hannerz in a 1997 article in relation to cultures.[7] Evoking the 'trickster' character in mythology, a character that embodies ambiguity and contradiction and described by Lewis Hyde as a 'boundary crosser,'[8] Hannerz declared that 'Tricksters thrive in the borderlands'[9]. I am among those musicians and listeners who feel perhaps somewhat more at home with the boundary-hopping freedom of the borderlands, with all their uncertainties in terms of result, than with the level of assuredness that comes with observing and respecting the boundaries of genre.

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[7] Ulf Hannerz, "Flows,Boundaries and Hybrids: Keywords in Transnational Anthropology"
    (Transnational Communities Programme, Oxford (United Kingdom), English version 2000), 2
    Originally published in Portuguese as 'Fluxos, fronteiras, híbridos: palavras-chave da antropologia
    transnacional', Mana (Rio de Janeiro), 3(1): 7-39, 1997
[8] Lewis Hyde, *Trickster Makes This World—Mischief Myth and Art*, Paperback (2010) (New York:
    Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1998), 7.
[9] Hannerz, (2000), 15.

1.2 Overview

The change brought about in music, and specifically in song, when different music cultures encounter each other forms the general research area of this study. This includes any change wrought by such an interaction, but primarily encompasses changes to performance style, and changes which result in a new type of music. In this thesis, three vocal music sub-genres are examined and assessed for evidence of this type of interaction, one in Ireland, one in Scotland and one in the American State of Louisiana. Two questions are considered. The first is the main question and has several parts. The second is a subsidiary question:

(1) What are the musical and social processes that lead to a new music genre, how are they interrelated, and how do these processes affect individual music items ?

(2) To what extent can information about these process be used to create new traditional-style music?

The thesis will look at music mixing in the singing traditions of three case study examples. It will examine genres of music from all three case studies which are the result of a mixing of two or more other genres. In addition to considering the overall music mix, it will include examples of what I would consider to be the apogee of the process, sung melodies[10] that have moved either from one culture to another or from one genre to another, but undergoing changes *en route*, to fit into their new cultural surroundings. This process has been called 'melodic migration'.[11] It is considered here as a subset of the overall music mixes in each case.

The term 'traditional-style music' is used rather than 'Irish traditional-style music'. Although I am an uilleann piper and I play Irish traditional music, the results of the composition or arranging processes of this thesis cannot necessarily be presumed to be in Irish traditional music style as they might be deemed to be closer to other traditions, equally close to both, or different from either. The music in all cases will use many of the traits inherent to the traditions of the case studies and for that reason they will be deemed to be 'traditional-style' without further specification.

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[10] 'Sung melodies' as opposed to 'songs', as very often the words or the themes of the songs will not accompany the melody as it moves between cultures.

[11] There is a fuller discussion of the term 'melodic migration' in section 1.5 below.

Academic interest in the evolution of a new genre of music as a result of the influence of one or more music cultures on each other, is nothing new, but finding a way to describe this process, and to say why it occurs, has proved problematic. The literature on the subject has, over a long period of time, generated much debate and many hypotheses without reaching the conclusion of a general theory.

In attempting to answer the first question, the resultant research and analysis may yield new insights or put forward new hypotheses. In contemplating the second, I will use some of these insights to explore new possibilities for composition and arrangement for traditional music.

The thesis will concentrate on the three cases mentioned above, assessing how they demonstrate a phenomenon sometimes referred to as acculturation.[12] It will identify common traits, both in the processes that gave rise to these examples of acculturation and in the results of these processes. Subsequently, it will draw on this information in order to compose new traditional-style (see 1.2) music.

1.3 The research questions and the field of research

The two research questions, although related to the extent that the answer to the first informs any engagement with the second, are separate to the extent that they require two different methodological processes. The first is an inquiry, calling for an analysis of examples and case studies. The major part of the thesis is spent discussing this question as it is the main substantive issue under consideration. This part of the research belongs to the field of ethnomusicology. Originally coined by Dutch musicologist Japp Kunst (1891-1960), ethnomusicology combines elements of both anthropology and musicology, and holds that an understanding of both is required to answer fundamental questions about music and music-making. It is a relatively recent discipline. Succeeding a field of research known as comparative musicology, the name ethnomusicology came into general use in the 1950s. Initially, it dealt only with non-western music, leaving the study of western music to musicology, but later in the 1950s and 1960s, the meaning of the term expanded to include all forms of music. It brings together a number of disciplines, notably musicology and anthropology but also, to some extent, linguistics, psychology and cultural studies. The discipline examines music in its cultural context,

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[12] For a discussion of meanings of this term, see section 1.3.2 below.

with reference to all cultural activities that may be seen to be related to music and music-making. In a 2007 article in the Journal *Humanities,* anthropologist and ethnomusicologist, Peter Toner, points out that: 'The history of cross-cultural music research parallels the history of cross-cultural research more generally'.[13] Toner holds that ethnomusicology has always been influenced by its two parent disciplines, musicology and anthropology, and outlines how cross-cultural music research evolved over a long period of time, making the exact birth of ethnomusicology difficult to pinpoint. [14]

As this research is concerned, in part, with a close reading of musical texts, musicology will play a large part in the consideration of the first research question. While addressing how pieces of music adapt as they cross cultural boundaries, this first question does not necessarily seek semiological reasons for either the process of adaptation or its outcomes. Although the search for such reasons would undoubtedly be of great interest, it would constitute an entire study in its own right. However, given that it is sometimes difficult to completely separate the process itself from its cause, it is envisaged that observations about the reasons for this kind of musical change will be made at certain points throughout the thesis.

The second research question requires a more demonstrative approach, a focus of applied research,[15] which attempts to show how the information acquired from a consideration of the first question might be utilised to answer the second. It will demonstrate a possible compositional or arrangement application of the insights garnered from the first question. The approach will be either to compose or to arrange, pieces of music that will in each case demonstrate some aspects of the creolisation processes of the case studies, in a new context. These tunes will be recorded as part of this thesis. My approach to the composition, arrangement, and performance of the pieces provided will be explicated, as this will, of necessity, be subjective. This part of the research will draw from autoethnography as a field of research. Autoethnography was first coined as a phrase in a 1979 article by anthropologist David Hayano.[16] It could

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[13] P.G. Toner, 'The Gestation of Cross-Cultural Music Research and the Birth of Ethnomusicology'
Humanities Research XIV/1 (2007), 85–110.
[14] Toner (2007), 85-86.
[15] By applied research I mean the use of information gleaned from pure research to an applied situation such as, in this case, music composition and arrangement.
[16] David Hayano, 'Auto-Ethnography: Paradigms, Problems, and Prospects.,'*Human Organization*, no. 38

be said to be an examination of the relationship of the researcher to the community that he or she is studying. However it is defined and used in different ways by different authors.[17] I will provide more detail about my use of the term in the section on methodology later in this chapter. A comparison will be made between my own process of composition and arrangement, and those of other composers and performers who demonstrate a cultural mix, in particular musicians identified in these case studies. In a change of approach from the first part, the thesis will move to a more reflexive treatment of its subject.

To define the phenomenon at the heart of this thesis, it is first necessary to establish what activities constitute music and 'music-making' in any given culture and what the attendant cultural factors are. The answer could include activities such as hunting-calls, children's games or specific rituals, and issues such as dichotomy and interaction between performer and audience or the expectations of performer and audience. Some activities that might be considered not to be part of music-making in one culture might be integral to it in another. Establishing what constitutes musical activity in a culture facilitates a clearer description of its music and the possibility of differentiating it from the music of neighbouring areas. Finally, it allows for a discussion and understanding of what constitutes *change* in that music culture. It is necessary to know, for example, what Scottish traditional music *is* at the moment, and how it differs from Irish or French traditional music (or classical or jazz), before changes occurring in it can be identified.

Subsequently, particular *types of change* may be identified. These could include change due to new material arriving into the music, change as a result of fad or fashion, or new types of ensembles or performance venues. Finally, the concept of *music-culture genesis*—the creation of a new type of music as a possible result of change, will be considered.

All of this continues to be the subject of much discussion, which, in many instances, has remained inconclusive. The issues alluded to above have a bearing, to differing extents, on the research questions central to this thesis.

(1979): 99–104.
[17] See: Heewon Chang, *Autoethnography as Method*, 1st ed. (Walnut Creek, California: Left Coast Press, 2008),46-47.

The first chapter will contextualise the study in a number of ways. It will:

    (a) Define and delimit the core phenomenon and specify the extent of the investigation.

    (b) Provide a critical analysis of some of the more important literature on the subject to date.

    (c) Provide a list of definitions for terms, as they will be used throughout the thesis. It will become evident from the literature review that this is essential in view of the particular complexities of this area of study.[18]

1.4 Theory of cultural mixes in music

1.4.1 Overview

The question of how elements of one culture come to be found in another has been a recurring theme in the study of cultures. Initially, it was treated in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as part of what is called 'diffusion'. The term 'cultural diffusion' was coined by anthropologist Alfred Kroeber (1876-1960). It has been the subject of research since the late nineteenth century. In practice, diffusion refers to the spread of ideas, religions, languages, technologies and other technological and cultural items from culture to culture by a process triggered by contact between members of two or more cultures. People learn something new from another culture and disseminate this knowledge within their own cultures. In this way, ideas and innovations spread rapidly through one culture, or through several cultures simultaneously, often being modified or changed even as they spread. Agricultural techniques, the use of paper and of musical instruments, to give some examples, are believed to have spread in this way. Diffusionism – the theoretical study of diffusion as opposed to innovation – was very popular in anthropological circles as an explanation of how societies acquire cultural traits, until it was eclipsed by acculturation studies in the middle of the twentieth century. One of the more famous diffusionist theorists, Franz Boaz (1858-1942), held

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[18] Terminology and definitions are crucial to the material discussed in this chapter. However the choice of terms is irrevocably linked to how the subject of the study itself is defined and, for the most part, the subject lacks an agreed or generally accepted common vocabulary. For this reason, in the initial part of this thesis, terms such as 'hybrid', 'mix', 'acculturation', or 'creole', terms used by other writers, will be used without precise definition. The reason for this will become clear in the course of the chapter. Section 1.8 of Chapter One, which follows the literature review, offers a list of terms and their definitions as they will be used throughout the remainder of the thesis

that cultural traits within a society should be understood as the result of a process of diffusion and modification.

The idea of music that is 'pure' and music that is a 'mix' of two or more types of music has been of interest to musicologists since at least as far back as the diffusionist era. It engaged not only ethnomusicologists but also anthropologists who viewed music as a function of a society and therefore relevant to their studies. Diffusionism provided the initial theoretical framework for this type of study.

However, the observation that a particular type of music is a 'mix' of other types of music may be based on a number of perceptions or preconceived notions. It may be perceived, for instance, that there are two or more bounded, fixed and identifiable musics (such as different native traditions or contemporary genres), whose 'boundaries' have been breached or broken in some way or whose 'purity' [19] has been compromised. Such a viewpoint is not inherently pejorative; one may or may not like the result. Discussions and differences of opinion on this can often be heard between those termed 'purists' and 'innovators'[20] in many genres of music.

Alternatively, it may be felt that two or more musics have contributed to a third separate music, without necessarily compromising either of the 'parent' musics. Jazz is often said to be a mix of African-American and European-American music, and yet all three now co-exist. Jazz has not replaced the other two. A third viewpoint is that the observed difference is a progression within one type of music, which, although enabled by an outside influence, is not deemed to have changed the overall music-type. The

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[19]Concepts such as 'boundaries', 'purity', 'genre', and 'native tradition' in culture are of course constructs. Here, they are used merely as convenient terms.

[20] See in relation to this: 'The Language of Passion: A Paper by Tony Mac Mahon | Tony Mac Mahon' accessed June 1, 2017, https://tonymacmahon.wordpress.com/the-language-of-passion-a-paper-by-tony-mac-mahon/. The author, Tony Mac Mahon is a well known and respected accordionist and former RTÉ (Irish state broadcaster) producer and presenter. See also: Síle Denvir, "I Lár an Aonaigh: Iniúchadh ar an athmhúnlú, an athmhíniú agus an taibhléiriú a déantar ar amhráin dhúchasacha Gaeilge in Éirinn agus in Albain i gcomhthéacs nua-aimseartha" (PhD thesis, University of Limerick, 2012). Síle Denvir, in her 2012 study of contemporary traditional singing in Irish and in Scots Gaelic mentions *'amhránaithe le dearcadh 'traidisiúnta' agus amhránaithe le dearcadh 'nuálaíoch'* [singers with a 'traditonal' outlook and singers with an 'innovative' outlook], 213. She also identifies two camps in terms of how traditional song is presented 'c*aomhnóirí'* [conservationists] and *lucht an fhoráis* [those with a progressive approach],i.

introduction of the polka into many music traditions, for example, did not in most cases fundamentally alter the integrity of the music tradition itself.

1.4.2 Diffusion and acculturation

From the early twentieth century, the idea of the survival of elements of African culture among the descendants of slaves provoked much interest in the United States. Anthropologist Melville Herskovitz (1895-1963), particularly in his book, *The Myth of the Negro Past,*[21] traced examples of the survival of African cultural traits in African-American communities. In turn, this led to an increased interest in the differences between African-American and European-American music.

From the mid-1950s, the idea of acculturation in music had largely replaced diffusionism. Acculturation refers to adaptations made to, or in, one culture which make it more like another. It often entails a comparison of the associated power and prestige of the cultures in question and a study of the interplay between them. As a result, the relationships between cultures, colonial or east-west relationships in particular, form a major part of studies in acculturation from this period.[22] Alfred Kroeber, the American anthropologist, held that 'acculturation comprises those changes in a culture brought about by another culture which result in an increased similarity of the two'.[23] Kroeber asserted that if only one element, or certain single elements of a culture, were affected, for example, language or agriculture, then the correct term would be 'diffusion'. For acculturation to have taken place, change would have happened to the *whole* culture and not just to part of it. However, the term 'acculturation' went on to acquire a broader use than Kroeber would have allowed.

The main focus for writers and academics discussing acculturation in music was primarily the *results* of music-culture mixes (and the reasons for these), with a secondary focus on *terms* to describe the process that led to those results. These terms

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[21] Melville J. Herskovitz. *The Myth of the Negro Past* (Harper and Brothers, New York, 1941). Reprinted by Beacon, Boston 1991.

[22] See: George List, *'Acculturation and Musical Tradition', in Journal of the International Folk Music Council vol. 16 1964;* Merriam Alan*, The Use of Music in the Study of a Problem of Acculturation, in American Anthropologist,* 57 (1955).

[23] A. Kroeber *Anthropology* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1948), 425. This as Bruno Nettl points out in the case of music would ultimately result in the two cultures becoming identical over time. See: Bruno Nettl, 'Speculations on Musical Style and Musical Content in Acculturation,' *Acta Musicologica* 35, no. 1 (March 1963): 35–37. 37

became, and remain, widely diverse. Lacking dedicated terminology, terms were borrowed from many disciplines including botany, chemistry, zoology and physics, and included labels like 'hybrid',[24] 'amalgam',[25] 'hotch-potch',[26] 'cross-fertilisation'[27] and 'compound'. [28]

1.5 Melodic migration

'Melodic migration' is the term used in this study to describe melodies that have passed from one culture into another, or into several others, either in unison (to several cultures at the same time), or moving sequentially from one to the other. It was used by composer Bright Sheng to describe the movement of music along the Silk Road from other countries into North-west China,[29] although in this thesis it is used somewhat differently.[30] In some cases, the 'migration' happens through diffusion or acculturation. In many instances, the melodies undergo changes in order to conform with cultural expectations in the adopting culture. These could be likened to the changes that immigrants undergo when adapting to a new culture. The case studies will observe one example of melodic migration in each case. These are included as I believe they are the best examples of the process of creolisation in music. However many other examples will also be used.

The idea of melodies moving between cultures had previously been widely noted. Wilhelm Tappert, the German musicologist, first described a body of melodies found in many European states, as having 'wandered' between cultures. He called them the world's most 'indefatigable tourists'. [31] The concept of 'melodic migration' will not, however, be examined as a phenomenon in itself. This study is concerned with the

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[24] Margaret J. Kartomi, 'Processes and Results of Music Culture Contacts,' *Ethnomusicology* 5/2 (May 1981), 227–249, 228.

[25] Robert Baron, 'Amalgams and Mosaics, Syncretisms and Reinterpretations: Reading Herskovits and Contemporary Creolists for Metaphors of Creolization' *The Journal of American Folklore* (2003), 369.

[26] Robin Cohen, 'Creolisation and Cultural Globalization.pdf,' *Globalizations* 4/3 (October 2007), 369–384, doi:10.1080/14747730701532492.

[27] Kartomi, 1981, 228

[28] Baron, 2003, 89

[29] Bright Sheng, 'Melodies of The Silk Road.pdf,' accessed 18 November 2015, http://brightsheng.com/articles/essayfilesbybs/MELODIES%20OF%20THE%20SILK%20ROAD%20.pdf.

[30] Bright Sheng discusses the movement of peoples over time along the silk road and the bringing of their music to parts of China where it had previously not been heard. In this thesis the migration referred to is between cultures rather than places. It refers to melodies that are brought into a music culture from outside

[31] Willhelm Tappert *Wandernde Melodien* (Wandering melodies) (Brachvogel & Randf, Berlin, 1889), 5.

process and *results* of contact between music cultures. Migrating melodies merely provide a useful subject of study, affording a chance to observe and compare versions of a melody in different cultures. Why some migrate and others do not will not be covered, except in passing reference.

1.6 Boundaries of the research

The chapters dealing with the three case studies central to the research in this thesis will provide a close analysis of a number of pieces of music in each case. In most instances this will be three but, where I think it is required, further examples will be included. This thesis does not set out to search for one of music's 'universals'. Neither, in its attempts to describe a music culture by looking at certain features of that music, is it an exercise in essentialism. Rather it seeks internal traits common to the singing and the songs of each of the three music cultures without reducing the cultures in question to these common traits. These traits are viewed as being indicative of the music culture but not *the* essential traits of that music culture. The first question is the main question of the thesis. As such, it takes up the bulk of the thesis. The applied research piece, the compositions and arrangements that form the basis of answering the second and subsidiary research question, will be a smaller but will offer a complementary method of approaching the core issue of music mixing.

1.6.1 The process of hypothesising and theorising

Knowledge of the process of change in music due to intercultural contact, and the taxonomy of the process and its results can be seen as a system of layering of knowledge rather than of theory and theory displacement/replacement. This thesis adds to this layering process:

> While it sometimes appears as if the newest problem or body of theory negates earlier approaches as faulty or outmoded, it is more accurate to view each as a theoretical layer that continues to inform later thinking. [32]

1.7 Literature review

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[32] 'Anthropology of Music—Musical Anthropology, Comparative Musicology And Ethnomusicology, The Anthropology Of Music, Bibliography—Study, Anthropological, Sound, and Emphasis—Jrank Articles,' accessed 10 August 2012, http://science.jrank.org/pages/7893/Music-Anthropology.html.

1.7.1 Introduction and Rationale[33]

Before undertaking a literature review, it is essential to define with some precision what the phenomenon in question actually is. Two distinct actions are necessary in order to provide a satisfactory definition: *defining* and *naming*.

Defining the process of acculturation[34] in music has been almost as difficult for musicologists and ethnomusicologists as naming it and, in many ways the problems with the former are reflected in the problems with the latter. If there is no overall agreement about how the process of change in music resulting from intercultural contact should be defined, whether for example, it is a single phenomenon or several related but separate phenomena, then it is difficult to agree on a name.

Care must be taken to separate the process from the result. For example, it might be said that a process called 'acculturation' led to a music, which is a 'hybrid', called 'reggae', thereby naming the process, the type of result and the specific result.

This review has been organised to take account of the opinions of some of the more influential writers on the subject. It looks at writings from musicology, ethnomusicology, anthropology, linguistics, globalisation and creolistics, and covers a number of the main conceptual and methodological areas that are crucial to understanding and contextualising the ensuing content of the thesis. In fact, as will become evident, the issues that arise are relatively few in number but, being extremely problematic, have tended to emerge in debate in a cyclical fashion.

In order to grasp some of the main arguments, this literature review covers a time-span of almost eighty years, beginning in the 1930s. It is not a historiography of developments in ethnomusicology, with regard to acculturation. It is organised conceptually, and not necessarily chronologically. This helps to keep various trends, analyses and interpretations of the subject matter, in focus.

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[33] This literature review will consider literature relevant only to the general theoretical framework of this study. It will not include literature pertinent to the case studies. The latter will be dealt with separately in each of the case study chapters.

[34] Although the term 'acculturation' is used here in deference to the prominence of the word in ethnomusicological discourse in the late twentieth century, the term 'creolisation' will be used in preference elsewhere in this thesis. This is further explained later in this chapter.

The main areas considered in this review are:

1. Musical activity in society

2. The process of change in music

3. Acculturation in music

4. The flow of influence

5. Music-genre genesis

6. Nomenclature

7. Creolisation and globalisation

8. Comparisons of music and language.

Each of the above is important to the rest of the thesis in that each yields information that helps to explain the process of diffusion and acculturation in music.

1.7.2 Musical activity in society

As has been stated, it is necessary, in order to be able to recognise change, to consider what aspects of behaviour in a given society can be considered 'musical'. Historically, ethnomusicologists have been divided about whether to seek to explain or describe the nature of a particular music, in terms of the general culture of the community (thus tying ethnomusicology strongly to anthropology), or to look for that special characteristic in the music itself, a viewpoint that positions ethnomusicology closer to musicology.

In relation to song, folklorist and collector of music Alan Lomax[35] made the point that performance style was related to other aspects of a society's culture. In a 1959 article called 'Folk Song Style' that would form the basis of his major research project on cantometrics,[36] he made a number of observations about the relationship of societal organisation to singing style. Having concluded a research visit to Spain, Lomax wrote,

> When I left Spain, I had established in my own mind the possibility that a correlation exists between a musical style and certain social factors, most especially the position of women,

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[35] Alan Lomax (1915-2002)): Collector of folk Music, ethnomusicologist, writer, record producer.

[36] Alan Lomax, 'Folk Song Style', *American Anthropologist*, no. 61 (1959). Cantometrics is the name given to a method developed by Lomax for relating elements of singing styles in various cultures to other aspect of that society's culture. The cantometrics project brought together cross-disciplinary teams including musicologists anthropologists, experts in dance, and linguists, in an attempt to develop a comprehensive theory of the influence of the culture of societies on their folk song.

the degree of permissiveness toward sexual love, and the treatment of children. I had also begun to see the bearing of local history on the problem, but this still seemed secondary to the more basic factors of social structure and sexual pattern. [37]

Lomax decided to adopt a methodical approach when he widened his musical research in Italy. He was attempting to answer two questions: What role does history play in the formation of musical style? and, what are the social and psychological mechanisms involved in implanting a musical style in all the individuals of a given region? He subsequently broadened this research to other countries and ultimately arrived at a description of European musical styles based on cultural values.

> In every case which I had the opportunity to examine there is a positive correlation between the musical style and the sexual mores of the communities. The Slavic enclaves of the North are open-voiced and permissive, those of the center less markedly so, and finally, in the South, the Albanian and other Slavic communities stand like islands of feminine independence in the sea of southern jealousy and frustration, though the Eurasian social and musical patterns have altered the Albanian style considerably. [38]

Lomax held that the study of musical style should embrace the total human situation which has produced the music. He lists eight important elements including: the number of people habitually involved in a musical act; relationship between music-maker and audience, physical behaviour (bodily and facial gestures) of the music maker, vocal timbre and pitch, the social function of the music, the psychological and emotional content; the learning and transmission of songs, and finally, the formal musical elements such as scales, intervals, melodic contours, harmony, rhythmic patterns, interplay between poetic and musical patterns. These formal musical elements, constitute what Lomax refers to as 'the symbols which stand for the whole'.[39]

Ethnomusicologist and writer John Blacking (1928-1990), who had conducted research into the music of the Venda tribe in South Africa, expressed the view that, to some extent, a theory of musical change must be sought, within the music itself rather than in the general culture. Blacking held that music and culture are interpenetrative;[40] any complete description of music must take into account what might otherwise be

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[37] Lomax, 1959, 941.
[38] *Ibid.*, 994.
[39] *Ibid.*, 929.
[40] See John Blacking, 'The Cultural Analysis of Music' in *Venda Childrens' Songs* (Witwatersrand, University Press, 1967), 191-198.

considered non-musical cultural factors such as performance norms, division of roles of the sexes, religion and ceremonial customs. He claimed that this created a problem:

> The chief problem in developing a theory of music is to find out if it is possible to identify an area of "musical" behaviour that differs qualitatively from other kinds of social behaviour. The common-sense view [...] is that music *is* a special kind of behaviour.[41]

He believed that a clear division had to be found between the cultural practices that were to be considered musical and those that were not. This second stipulation was and is much harder to achieve. Although most ethnomusicologists would agree with the first part of the above statement, the second reveals more divisions of opinion, as will be seen later.

When looking at a music culture, the first task is to define what that culture itself sees as being musical or belonging to *its* musical culture, as opposed to another. Therefore, the musician or singer and audience must share a concept of what constitutes music (many societies in the past would not necessarily have had a concept of 'our' music. Whatever was played or sung would have constituted what music was). This may include scales, vocal timbre, performance norms, instrumentation, ornamentation and other variables in a particular mix, which enables the community to recognise its music. As early as 1885, Alexander Ellis had written an article outlining differences in scale types and pitch between various cultures.[42]

Ethnomusicologist, Bruno Nettl, in a 1963 article in *Acta Musicologica*, was careful to separate the concepts of *content* and *style*, stating that:

> In musical terminology, distinction is sometimes made between content and style. Although these two aspects of music are logically inseparable, there are examples taken from observations of cultural dynamics, which indicate that each may have a kind of life of its own, that each is capable of undergoing change by itself.[43]

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[41] John Blacking, 'Some Problems of Theory and Method in The Study of Musical Change,' *Yearbook of the International Folk Music Council* 9 (1977), 1–26.

[42] Ellis Alexander, 'On The Musical Scales Of Various Nations', *Journal of the Society of Arts* 33 (March 1885), 485-517.

[43] Bruno Nettl, 'Speculations on Musical Style and Musical Content in Acculturation', *Acta Musicologica* 35/1 (March 1963), 35–37. Note that 'style' as it is used here (to indicate a structural 'vehicle' that carries musical content) is different from 'performance style'— the way in which a performer executes music or song.

To Nettl, the content is the individual musical idea; the composition, as it were, and the style is 'the aggregate of characteristics which a composition has, and which it shares with others in its cultural complex'.[44] Either of these, according to Nettl, could migrate between cultures;

> […] it is possible for musical ideas—in Western cultivated music we would call them themes— to move from one culture to another and, in so doing, to change their character, and it is also possible for characteristics of a musical style to move without being accompanied by specific compositions or themes.[45]

In his book *The Study of Ethnomusicology* (1983), writing in regard to what he called the 'character' of a society's music, he stated that 'in the end the overriding determinant must be the special character of a culture',[46] thus tying the music of a people very strongly to other elements of its culture (while pointing out that 'culture' itself needs a definition). However, defining what other elements of the wider culture should be included as part of a society's music was more elusive. 'Most ethnomusicologists are not yet ready to pinpoint that part of culture that provides the main clue'. [47] He does allow that the language of a culture probably affects the singing of that culture, but is unable to specify how. He also holds that some elements of the performance style of a culture may be linked to other aspects of that culture such as the relationship among performers, and the degree to which a society accepts or rejects change, although it is difficult to pinpoint what role if any, non-musical aspects of a culture have on its music. Drawing a tentative conclusion about the relationship of a musical style to its attendant culture, he concludes that:

> Certain components in the music of a society, prominently including singing style and the relationship among performers in a group, often seem to be related rather directly to the society's culture. Others including scales and forms are the development of earlier forms in directions determined by cultural values such as attitude towards change, but their specific character seems to have nothing to do with the central values and guiding principles of their society.[48]

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[44] *Ibid.*, 35.

[45] Nettl, 1963, 35. To illustrate the latter point, in Irish music, for example, the polka is a format or musical style that came into the culture from outside. Most polkas played in Irish music however are compositions from within the culture.

[46] Bruno Nettl, 'The Why's of musical style', in *The Study of Ethnomusicology-Thirty-one Issues and Concepts* (University of Illinois Press, 1983), 347.

[47] *Ibid.*

[48] *Ibid* ,352.

While Lomax, Nettl and Blacking maintain that there is a strong bond between other cultural activities and music-making, John Blacking, believed that a distinction has to be made between cultural activity that is part of music-making and cultural activity that is not. It is also important to him that proof of change had to be sought *within music itself* and not just in the culture around it:

> If the concept of musical change is to have any heuristic value it must denote significant changes that are peculiar to musical systems, and not simply the musical consequences of social, political economic or other change.[49]

The extent to which the identifying markers of a music culture should be sought within the music, as opposed to in the general culture of its community, is an issue that appears repeatedly among writers when it comes to dealing with the concept of change in music.

An alternative view held by writers such as Clifton Thomas, counters that descriptions such as those of Blacking, Nettl, and Lomax, seek to provide an *objective* description of something that is a *subjective* phenomenon, i.e. that music is an experience and that therefore it belongs to the phenomenological world.[50]

1.7.3 The process of change in music

There is no unqualified agreement about what should be considered fundamental change to a particular music culture (as opposed to elements of that music). Nor, indeed, is there complete agreement as to what causes change.

This study deals with the type of change that appears to be caused by one music culture impinging on or affecting another. Not all musical change is of this character of course. Change could be brought about by factors deemed to be internal to a culture, such as new compositions or musical directions, or it might be caused by outside factors that might not be considered musical in nature, such as economic development, changes in social structure, or religion. But in all of these cases the general perception is that the music culture has changed.

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[49] John Blacking, 'Some Problems of Theory and Method in The Study of Musical Change', *Yearbook of the International Folk Music Council* 9 (1977), 3.

[50] See: Thomas Clifton, *Music as Heard: a study in Applied Phenomenology* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983).

Alan Lomax in 'Folk Song Style', held that music traditions are highly conservative and only make fundamental changes in the most extreme circumstances:

> Musical style appears to be one of the most conservative of culture traits. Religion, language, even many aspects of social structure may change; an entirely new set of tunes or rhythms or harmonic patterns may be introduced; but, in its overall character, a musical style will remain intact. Only the most profound social upheavals – the coming of a new population, the acceptance of a new set of mores-or migration to a new territory, involving complete acculturation, will profoundly transform a musical style, and even then the process takes place very slowly.[51]

Alan Merriam [52] believed in differentiating between changes from within and changes from outside a culture. In *The Anthropology of Music* (1964), he stated that:

> Change can [...] be viewed as it originates from within a culture or internally, as opposed to change which comes from outside a culture or externally. Internal change is usually called 'innovation' while external change is associated with the process of acculturation.[53]

Merriam pointed out that different societies have different attitudes to innovation in music; 'Internal change then, derives not from chance but in great part at least from the concepts held about music from within the culture'.[54] He also wrote that:

> [...] within a music system different kinds of music are more or less susceptible to change, thus
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> [...] less change can be expected in religious than in social or recreational music. [55]

In an essay entitled, 'How Culture Changes', published in 1965,[56] anthropologist, George Peter Murdock (1897- 1985), stated that:

> Changes in social behavior, and hence culture normally have their origin in some significant alteration in the life conditions of a society...Any event which changes the situation [...] so that habitual actions are discouraged and new responses favored, may lead to cultural innovations. [57]

Referring to the causes for such innovation, he added:

> […] especially influential […] are increases or decreases in population, changes in geographic environment, migrations into new environments, contacts with peoples of differing culture,

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[51] Alan Lomax 1959, 930
[52] Alan Merriam 1923-1980: Ethnomusicologist, author and jazz musician, known primarily for his book *The Anthropology of Music* (see next footnote)
[53] Alan P. Merriam, *The Anthropology of Music* (Northwestern University Press, 1964), 303.
[54] *Ibid.,*306.
[55] *Ibid.*
[56] George Peter Murdock, *Culture and Society: Twenty-Four Essays*, 2nd ed. 1969 (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1965), 116.
[57] *Ibid.*

natural and social catastrophes such as floods, crop failures, epidemics, wars, and economic depressions, accidental discoveries, […] death or rise to power of a strong political leader. [58]

Murdock listed four stages by which an innovation becomes accepted as part of the culture. These are:

- *Innovation:* the process which leads to the 'new' item or practice.
- *Social acceptance*: the innovation gains widespread acceptance within the community
- *Selective elimination:* the community divests itself of some innovations but keeps others.
- *Integration:* the former innovation becomes an accepted component of its adopting culture.[59]

In relation to social acceptance, Murdock believed that: 'A factor of considerable importance in social acceptance is the prestige of the innovator and of the group which is first to imitate him'.[60]

It is of interest that Murdock does not appear to distinguish between innovation from within and change from outside the culture. This was to become an important distinction for other writers. He listed a number of types of innovation. These included:

- *Variation:* a slight modification of pre-existing behaviour such as fashion, etc.

- *Invention:* the transfer of elements of behaviour from one context to another or the synthesising of previously existing elements into something new. The airplane, for example, synthesises wings, propeller, and engine (all previously existing) into something new. Some degree of creativity is always present in invention.

- *Tentation*: a break with the past, involving trial and error, caused by necessity and/or all else having failed. Crises, famines, war etc. bring major changes, of necessity, in things like diet and medicine.

- *Cultural Borrowing:* the innovator is not the originator but the introducer. Cultural borrowing, according to Murdock, is merely a special case of imitation.

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[58] *Ibid.*
[59] *Ibid.,* 117.
[60] *Ibid.,*126.

The overwhelming majority of the elements in any culture are, in his view, the result of borrowing. He offers the opinion that all cultures owe at least 90 per cent of their constituent elements to cultural borrowing. [61]

While John Blacking was concerned with finding an overall theory of change in music, he was quick to distinguish '[...] radical change from variation and innovation within a flexible system'.[62] In his view, quite a number of changes within a music do not change the fundamental nature of the music itself, even when that includes bringing music in from outside the culture.

> If, for example, features of a society's musical system are that every sect or corporate group has its own associated music and that novelty of any kind is welcomed, then the addition of new styles and items through social contacts *cannot* be regarded as cases of musical acculturation.[63]

Bruno Nettl in *The Study of Ethnomusicology* (1983) appeared to indirectly support this when characterising Iranian urban popular music. Differentiating it from Iranian classical music he states:

> By contrast, a characteristic of the popular music, also urban, is the acceptance and encouragement of variety and of outside influence, reflecting a heterogeneous, accepting kind of culture. [64]

Thus, the attitude of the community itself to what is acceptable as part of its music and what is foreign to it would appear, to both Blacking and Nettl, to have an important bearing on acculturation.

Blacking was quite critical of both Lomax and Nettl for what he thought was an over-emphasis on social factors in considering musical change. In Lomax's case, according to Blacking, the problem was twofold; firstly 'the notion that musical changes *reflect* changes in culture' (rather than a simple correlation occurring between music style and culture) and secondly 'a somewhat restricted concept of cultural evolution'. [65] He felt

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[61] Murdock, 117-122.
[62] Blacking, 1977, 2.
[63] *Ibid.,* 5.
[64] Nettl, 1983, 352.
[65] Blacking, 1977, 9-10.

that, given the sheer variety and multiplicity of possible sources of social change, right down to the individual, Lomax did not allow for flexibility in estimating what kinds of social and cultural change are the most significant as catalysts for musical change.[66]

In Nettl's case the problem, according to Blacking, was the assertion that musical change was caused by contact between peoples and cultures, or the movement of populations.[67] Blacking reckoned that it was caused by 'decisions made by individuals about music-making on the basis of their experiences of music and attitudes to it in different social contexts'.[68] This last, he refers to as 'intentionality in group expression'.[69]

Although Merriam, Nettl and Blacking all take care to differentiate between change from within and change from outside a culture, it is unclear whether, in their opinions, the provenance of change makes a difference to the *type of change* in a music culture. If the kinds of change brought about by internal variation or innovation in a music culture do not differ from the kinds caused by an outside influence, then it would appear that the provenance of change might well be irrelevant to the subject. It might be speculated whether much of what looks like internal innovation might not ultimately be a case of an element of an external culture being 'borrowed' – in keeping with Murdoch's view that most change in a culture stems from borrowings from outside. Again, if there is no difference in the kind of change that is brought about by outside influence, as opposed to change from within, then it might even be impossible, as well as irrelevant, to distinguish the two.

The main positions of the above authors could be summarised as follows: The character of a society's music appears to be determined to a large extent by that society's overall culture (Nettl, Blacking, Lomax, Merriam). While other social aspects of a society's culture might be considered part of music-making (Nettl, Merriam, Lomax, Blacking), cultural activity which is an integral part of music-making must be distinguished from activity which is not (Blacking). Some societies are more open to innovation and change within their music systems than others (Nettl, Blacking, Merriam). Within music cultures, some types of music are more susceptible or more resistant to change than

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[66] *Ibid.,* 11.
[67] *Ibid.,* 12.
[68] *Ibid.*
[69] *Ibid.*

others (Merriam, Nettl). There is a difference between change from within a music system and change from outside that system (Blacking, Nettl, Merriam). Major change to a culture only occurs as a result of major traumatic events e.g. war, or famine, things affecting the whole society (Lomax, Murdock). Cultural borrowing accounts for most of the change in a culture (Murdock). The style of a piece of music, e.g. a tune, and its melodic content, should not be confused. To some extent, they operate independently of each other; either can move from one music culture to another (Nettl). Finally, although a music and its culture are interpenetrative, change in music must, to some extent, be sought in the music itself and not just in the general culture (Blacking).

1.7.4 Acculturation in music

In the mid-twentieth century, musical change caused by the interplay of cultures was mainly referred to using two terms—acculturation (see: 1.4.2) and syncretism. Syncretism referred originally to the ability of religions to subsume elements of other religions within their domain. An example of this would be the way in which the early Christian church adopted and adapted pagan deities, making them into Christian saints, thus incorporating elements of an older religion into a newer one. The concept was ultimately expanded to deal with other elements of culture and became particularly associated with music in the mid-, to late twentieth century.

Eleven years after Melville Herskovits's book *The Myth of the Negro Past* (1941),[70] Richard Waterman, in a 1952 article entitled 'African Influence on the Music of the Americas',[71] considered to what extent African-American Music was influenced by European, and to what extent by African music. He concluded that there were two factors that allowed African music to influence American music; firstly, that 'American Negro groups have remained relatively homogenous, with regard to culture patterns and....in-group solidarity' and, secondly, that 'there is enough similarity between African and European music to permit syncretism.'[72]

This view was later mirrored by ethnomusicologist George List (1911-2008). List was interested in the effect of cultural contact, in particular colonialism, on indigenous

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[70]Melville J.Herskovits *The Myth of the Negro Past*. (Harper and Brothers New York, London, 1941).

[71] Richard A. Waterman: 'African Influence on the Music of the Americas',in Sol Tax ed. *Acculturation in the Americas* (University of Chicago Press) 1952. Reprinted in Alan Dundes, Ed. *Mother Wit from The Laughing Barrel*. University Press of Mississipi ,1990.

[72] Waterman, 1990, 83.

cultures in non-western societies. The concepts of acculturation and syncretism were of special interest to him. In a 1964 article on acculturation in *The Journal of the International Folk Music Council*, List concluded that there are three factors that determine the level of acculturation that will take place when cultures come into competitive contact:

- The vitality of each of the competing cultures and the degree to which individuals accept and maintain allegiances to the values of their respective cultures.

- The degree to which the dominant culture is tolerant of the culture on which it impinges; he holds that religious attitudes are important in this regard.

- The degree of similarity or disparity between the two cultures (the degree of disparity existing between values or aspects of the juxtaposed cultures or between similar aspects such as musical style).[73]

He also concludes that the acculturative process can lead to one of several possible levels of acculturation: firstly, the disappearance of indigenous music – one music obliterates the other; secondly, acculturation, where one music acquires many of the traits of the other. This can entail transference of function, e.g. work songs becoming recreational songs. Often in this latter process, stylistic changes occur to the music.[74] Thirdly, both cultures show equal musical vibrancy but are performed separately; fourthly, hybridisation, where a new music is born, incorporating traits from both competing cultures.[75] In reference to hybridisation, List adds that;

> For the creation of such a new idiom it is not only necessary that the music of the subordinate culture have enormous vitality but that the dominant culture show a reasonably tolerant attitude

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[73] List, 1964, 18–21.

[74] This seems to be borne out by an example from Nova Scotia. The Scottish waulking song – a choral worksong tradition with its own body of songs was brought with Scottish Highland immigrants to Cape Breton Island in Nova Scotia in the ninetenth century. As the work associated with these songs (waulking or fulling of cloth) went into decline, singing them became solely a social or recreational activity, and performance of them which in Scotland was done exclusively by women, became a male activity as well. Many of the waulking groups up to the 1970s were exclusively male. Many more Gaelic songs from outside the body of Scottish waulking songs were adapted and included in the Cape Breton waulking song repertory, many with few or no vocables (nonsense syllables) being used – a strong stylistic feature of Hebridean waulking songs. In recent times the groups who perform them in Cape Breton are more mixed in terms of gender.

[75] List, 1964, 19-20.

towards this music. To produce such a synthesis it is also required that the two musical styles in question have sufficient elements in common that fusion is facilitated'.[76]

Alan Merriam mentions that, for ethnomusicologists up to that time, music was viewed as one of the more stable and change-resistant elements of culture over long periods, quoting Herskovits on the stability of African music in the Americas over a four hundred year period.[77] He accepted however, that change occurs faster in some cultures than in others, noting the Polynesian peoples' rapid adoption of western music; he arrived at the conclusion that some cultures and their music may be more open to or susceptible to change than others[78] pointing out that:

> Internal change [...] derives not from chance but in great part, at least, from the concepts held about music within the culture and it is to these sources [...] that we must turn for a fuller understanding of why music changes more in some cultures than in others. [79]

He sums up his conclusions on musical change by saying that:

> [...] no single explanation fulfills all requirements. It is clear that ethnomusicology needs a theory of change, which will apply to internal and to external factors either separately or in conjunction with each other. [80]

This, I think, is a conclusion with which John Blacking, to a large extent, would have agreed, although he was concerned with finding a unifying theory of musical change and perhaps would, ultimately, not have been totally satisfied with separate theories for internal and external change.

1.7.5 The flow of influence

The question arises in cultural contact situations as to which of the two contact cultures is more influenced by the other. This can be further extended when looking at more than two cultures in simultaneous contact. The direction in which influence between cultures goes can be characterised as being a flow. Nettl believed that this flow of influence or 'direction of influence', as he called it, always goes from what he called the 'more complex' style to the 'less complex' one.[81] Merriam, however, held that this is not

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[76] *Ibid.*, 20.
[77] Merriam, 1964, 307.
[78] *Ibid*.
[79] Merriam,1964, 306.
[80] Merriam, 1964, 307.
[81] Bruno Nettl, 'Historical Aspects of Ethnomusicology', *American Anthropologist* 60/3 (1958), 523.

borne out by the evidence.[82] Blacking also disagreed with the assumption that 'more complex' music styles will generally influence the 'simpler' ones.[83] For later writers, as will be seen, further down in this review, ideas regarding the flow of influence became far more complex.

1.7.6 Music-genre genesis

While a music might be influenced by another, with which it comes into contact, or both might be influenced by each other, in certain situations the contact has such an impact that what might be considered a new genre of music is created. Some twentieth century examples of this would be reggae, Cajun, jazz and rock music.

Academic and writer Margaret Kartomi in an article in the journal *Ethnomusicology* written in 1981, outlines what she considers to be the main differences between mere borrowing between music cultures and influences leading to substantial change to the genre. Finishing with a quotation from Melville Herskovits[84] she states:

> The process of intercultural musical synthesis, as opposed to the borrowing of single discrete elements (such as a musical instrument), is not a matter of the addition of single elements of one culture to another. It is a matter of setting into motion an essentially creative process, that is, the transformation of complexes of interacting musical and extramusical ideas. It is not that the whole equals the sum of its parts, or even the sum of a few of its parts. If it were simply a matter of addition, then the elements that were added together could logically be subtracted from the new whole and be identifiable again in their original form. But 'acculturation, like any other phenomenon of cultural dynamics, is not reversible'.[85]

Whereas an outside influence can come into a culture and not change the general integrity of the genre, when this process is of a particular intensity, the results, not being reversible, might lead to a new type of music.

Of course, the influence of one culture on another or both on each other, does not always take place in a situation where there is colonial or unequal power relationship

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Nettl points out that the relationship is between more or less advanced *musics* and not necessarily their societies.

[82] Merriam, 1964, 316.

[83] Blacking, 1977, 12. Blacking however does point out that the concepts of 'complex' and 'simple' in music styles can be problematic.(*Ibid*.).

[84] Melville Herskovits, *Cultural Relativism:Perspectives in Cultural Pluralism* (New York: Random House, 1971), 171.

[85] Margaret J. Kartomi, 'Processes and Results of Music Culture Contacts', *Ethnomusicology* 5, no. 2 (May 1981): 227–249, 233.

between them and the borrowing of elements between cultures can be quite common. Kartomi observes that:

> Throughout history, single discrete musical traits have been adopted by cultures from foreign sources. 'Enough cases of culture transfer have been observed to make it clear that the borrowing of single elements is much more frequent than that of trait complexes' (Linton 1963:485). Transfer and incorporation frequently happens in a peaceful context. For example, the incorporation of a few Indian musical traits into pop and rock music in the 1970s reflected the burgeoning interest of the West in Eastern religions.[86]

Throughout, Kartomi is careful to distinguish between mere influence and total change; what Blacking would call change to 'the system' (see 1.7.10). Interestingly, in dealing with this, neither refers to the fate of the parent genres, whether they survive independently of the new genre, or whether one becomes the new music or if one or both parents die out in the change. It would also be interesting to define how, and under what circumstances, a musical mix attains acceptance as a new genre of music. The birth of a new genre ends the process of acculturation insofar as it no longer makes sense to talk of the music being acculturated, if it is now recognised and treated as a separate genre.

Distinguishing between the *processes* and the *results* of acculturation is essential to avoid confusion, according to Margaret Kartomi.[87] She argues that one should not describe the results of the acculturative process with the term used to describe the process itself, thereby rejecting the term 'acculturated' music. As all music could be said to be acculturated, the use of the term, for specific types of music, implies that there is such a thing as 'pure' or 'untainted' music, an idea that she firmly rejects, stating that: 'Intercultural musical synthesis is not the exception but the rule'.[88]

This, more complex reading of the flow of influence in cultural contact situations, exemplified in Kartomi's comment above, also seems to open up questions about the appropriateness of terms like 'acculturation' or 'syncretism', which seem to acknowledge a one-way process only. Many writers, as will be seen below, now accept that the flow of influence should not be seen as unidirectional and that all cultures in fact are changed by contact with another.[89]

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[86] *Ibid.*, 236.
[87] *Ibid.*, 234.
[88] *Ibid.*, 230.
[89] See for example Flannery Wm Peter, Stephen P Reise, and Jiajuan Yu, 'An Empirical Comparison of

1.7.7 Nomenclature

The issue of nomenclature is of particular interest. Margaret Kartomi looks at the range of terms used to describe the results of musical influences of cultures on each other. She cites transplanted, hybrid, borrowed, mixed, pastiche, exotic, blended, fused, integrated, osmotic, creole, mestizo, mulatto, cross-fertilized and syncretic as some examples and comments:

> Lacking an appropriate musicological terminology, writers borrowed these expressions from such disciplines as biology, botany, chemistry, the culinary arts, physics, anthropology, linguistics, and mythology, and applied them by analogy to musical effects which they resembled in one way or another. [90]

Kartomi argues that, 'We have suffered long enough from the disadvantages of ambiguous definitions, for terminological confusion implies that we are labouring under theoretical confusion as well'[91] and goes on to analyse other terms used in describing musical mixes from the point of view of their accuracy and appropriateness in describing the process of intercultural contact. She rejects many as inappropriate and opts for three terms – transculturation, synthesis and syncretism.[92]

1.7.8 Creolisation and globalisation

With the advent of new technologies and trends such as multiculturalism,[93] in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, writers with an interest in Globalisation Theory [94] and the relatively newly-defined area of 'World Music', [95] revisited the

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Acculturation Models,' *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 27 (2001). This looks at the merits of what are called the unidirectional and bidirectional models to describe the process of acculturation in a sample of Asian-Americans. As the names suggest the unidirectional deals with a 'one-way' flow whereas the bidirectional deals with a 'two-way' back and forth flow. Other theorists refer to multiple simultaneous directions of influence culture in modern societies.

[90] Kartomi, 228.

[91] *Ibid.,*231.

[92] *Ibid*., 234.

[93] Multiculturalism as a term is both descriptive – describing the existence of many different ethnic groups in one society- and prescriptive i.e. supporting the institutional recognition of different ethnic groups within one society and encouraging a positive view of this type of society.

[94] Globalisation can refer to the growing internationalisation of the world in terms of economies and culture or the growing international integration of the world's societies, and the effect this has on the world's polities, economies and cultures. For a more comprehensive discussion on definitions of Globalisation see '— Definitions-of- Globalization.pdf,' accessed 4 June, 2013, http://www.sustainablehistory.com/articles/definitions-of-globalization.pdf.

concepts of diffusionism, acculturation, syncretism and hybridity; in some cases, adding a new term – creolisation: [96]

> Provided one discards the biological referents and uses the expression sociologically, the term 'hybridization' is more or less synonymous with creolization and many authors use these two terms interchangeably.[97]

The period from the 1990s onwards saw the emergence of a more complex understanding of how intermeshed, interdependent and interpenetrative cultures are in the contemporary world. Exchanges were seen as involving multiple cultures, not just two:

> Everywhere, cultural identities are emerging which are not fixed, but poised, *in transition*, between different positions; which draw on different cultural traditions at the same time; and which are the product of those complicated cross-overs and cultural mixes which are increasingly common in a globalized world. [98]

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[95] 'World Music' as it it known in the U.K. and Ireland, or 'World Beat' as it is called in the U.S. could be described as traditional music mainly from the developing world, most often traditional music from Asia, South and Central America, and Africa. The term also includes hybrid mixes of music from these regions with western music. The term became popular from the late 1980s onwards to describe non-western traditional music.

[96] Creole and Creolisation are fluid terms. The following are some definitions that possibly best describe the most common understandings of the terms:
(1) 'The concept of cultural creolization, introduced in anthropology by Ulf Hannerz (1992), refers to the intermingling and mixing of two or several formerly discrete traditions or cultures. […] Creolization, as it is used by some anthropologists, is an analogy taken from linguistics. This discipline in turn took the term from a particular aspect of colonialism, namely the uprooting and displacement of large numbers of people in the plantation economies of certain colonies, such as Louisiana, Jamaica, Trinidad, Réunion and Mauritius. -Thomas Hylland Eriksen (1999) 'Tu dimunn pu vini kreol: The Mauritian creole and the concept of creolization', University of Oxford, Paper presented at the Creolization Seminar, Transnational Communities Programme, WPTC-99-13.
(2) 'Creole cultures — like creole languages — are intrinsically of mixed origin, the confluence of two or more widely separated historical currents which interact in what is basically a center/periphery relationship. [However,] the cultural processes of creolization are not simply a matter of constant pressure from the center toward the periphery, but a much more creative interplay. [...] Creole cultures come out of multi-dimensional cultural encounters and can put things together in new ways.' - Ulf Hannerz (1992) *Cultural Complexity*, (New York and Chichester: Columbia University Press), 264-5;
(3) 'Creolization' is probably the last word that anyone should try to pin down with a monolithic definition. It carries multiple meanings and is constantly applied in novel ways. [...] The general idea of 'restructuring' might present a useful change of perspective on how creolization operates. Restructuring can involve mixture, and in some instances any distinction between the two is arbitrary. But restructuring can also occur through the internal reorganisation of elements or through a simplification of features without the addition of any exogenous elements.'— Charles Stewart (ed) *Creolisation: History, Ethnography, Theory* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2007), 18.
(All above taken from:
http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/sociology/rsw/current/cscs/creolizationconcepts/hybridity/. (Last updated 2007).

[97] Definitions from Warwick University, *Hybridity*, accessed 10 July, 2012, http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/sociology/rsw/current/cscs/creolizationconcepts/hybridity/. Last updated 2007

[98] Stuart Hall, David Held and Tony Mcgrew (eds) (1992) *Modernity and Its Futures* (Cambridge and Oxford: Polity Press, 1992), 310.

Studies in globalisation often downplayed, dismissed as outdated, or even ignored, earlier theories of diffusionism and acculturation. In an article in 2011, outlining the similarities between acculturation theorists and globalisation theorists in anthropology studies, Joao Leal noted:

> Despite their importance, both diffusionism and acculturation theory have often been relegated to the margins of the history of anthropology. Henrika Kuklick (1991), in her book on the history of British social anthropology, for instance, hardly mentions the influence of diffusionism in W.H.R. Rivers's late work. And even the diffusionist affiliation of Boas, as Brad Evans (2006) has convincingly argued, has been downplayed in the history of North American anthropology. Given this disciplinary amnesia, the possible contributions of diffusionism and acculturation theory to the anthropological understanding of global flows of people and culture have been often ignored or, in some cases, dismissed as irrelevant to the globalist agenda.[99]

The issue of the balance of power between cultures and communities, dealt with by List in 1964 (see 1.7.4), as well as the flow of influence between cultures, also assumed increased importance but in new and complex contexts such as immigration, increasingly mobile communities and in the case of music, the 'world music' boom and the intentional fusing of music from different cultures;

> Creolization is a slippery concept, powerful in its ability to characterize emergent cultural forms but eluding precision in definition. Perhaps its slipperiness befits a concept so useful for rendering the fluidity of processes built out of the interpenetration of culture.[100]

Yet, the confusion of terminology and theory, which Kartomi had attempted to clear up in her 1981 article, had not been resolved. Importantly, some writers, took a very different approach to terminology from that adopted by Kartomi. Mark Slobin in a 1992 article for the journal *Ethnomusicology* stated :

> For me, terms are creatures of discourse, somewhere between stalking horses and red herrings. At best, the ones I'm offering here are what James Clifford calls 'translation terms, 'each being 'a word of apparently general application used for comparison in a strategic and contingent way,'..... Like Clifford, what interests me is not a definition, but what goes on in your head when you match terms with reality. [101]

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[99] Joao Leal, 'The Past Is a Foreign Country': Acculturation Theory and the Anthropology of Globalization,' *Etnografica* 15/2 (2011).

[100] Robert Baron, 'Amalgams and Mosaics, Syncretisms and Reinterpretations: Reading Herskovits and Contemporary Creolists for Metaphors of Creolization' (*The Journal of American Folklore*, vol.116, no.459 Winter 2003), 88-115, 88.

[101] Mark Slobin, 'Micromusics of the West: A Comparative Approach,' *Ethnomusicology* 36/1 (1992), 1–87, 3.

However, writing nearly ten years later than Slobin, in a 2002 collection of essays on hybridity in music, Wolfgang Holzinger seemed to reiterate the comments made by Margaret Kartomi more than twenty years earlier:

> In my initial treatment of the problem,[…] I was irritated to find that there were so many similar notions and words for what is called 'Hybrid' in the musical domain. Expressions like fusion, synthesis, amalgamation, blending or mix are most frequently used but without reflecting possible differences [...] as scholars we are also obliged to practice an alternative language that proves our ability to discriminate between the various hybridizing principles employed by composers for musical innovation […] I think it is legitimate to persist in criticizing the use of smart metaphors instead of solid, highly differentiated categories.[102]

This discussion, both theoretical and terminological, appears to be cyclical. In the same article, Holzinger writes, 'As a cultural term Hybridity became very fashionable during the 1990s'.[103] The term, however, had been used for quite some time in ethnomusicological discussion, before the 1990s, having been in use throughout the 1960s, 1970s and even into the 1980s.[104]

The angst over terminology continued well into the new millennium. Coming from a different discipline, with an equal interest in this particular area of debate, folklorist Robert Baron, in a 2003 article in *The Journal of American Folklore* on creolised forms of culture in general, also looked at the issue of nomenclature.[105] He sees the different terms in use as an example of catachresis,[106] and is more relaxed than Kartomi or Holzinger about the use of many terms borrowed from other disciplines. He finds that many of the different terms employed as metaphors by various writers are suitable to describe *different aspects* of creolisation. He describes how the process of catachresis led to the adoption of the terms 'creole' and 'creolisation' themselves and the usefulness of this:

> Adaptation of the term creole itself from its culturally specific meaning within colonial and

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[102] Holzinger W. 'Towards a typology of Hybrid forms in Popular Music' in Gerhard Steingress, ed., *Songs of the Minotaur: Hybridity and Popular Music in the Era of Globalization* (Lit Verlag Munster Hamburg, London, New York, 2002), 258.

[103] *Ibid.,* 256.

[104] See for example, Bruno Nettl, 'Some Aspects of the History of World Music in the Twentieth Century-Questions, Problems,' *Ethnomusicology* 22/1 (1978).

[105] Robert Baron, 'Amalgams and Mosaics, Syncretisms and Reinterpretations: Reading Herskovits and Contemporary Creolists for Metaphors of Creolization', *The Journal of American Folklore,* 116/459, (2003).

[106] Catachresis properly means the misuse of a word or its misplacement. The use of a word in a context that differs from its proper application. The Roman Orator Quintilian defended its use as a way by which one adapts existing terms to applications where a proper term does not exist.

postcolonial contexts (for cultural identity and language) to new meanings as a broader cultural process of 'creolization' involves the fundamental metaphorical mechanism of conceptual displacement....By tracking metaphors used for creolization and examining their expanded meanings, we can open new pathways to understanding how cultural creolization is theorized .[107]

However, the sometimes awkward and imprecise use of 'creoleness' as a concept was pointed out by Martin Munroe and Celia Britton:

> […]'creoleness' that elusive slippery contested concept that is a peculiarly American invention, a term rooted in, born and indicative of contact between European and African people and cultures in the Americas. Its contested nature is epitomized in the debates it has provoked in the Francophone Caribbean in the past twenty years.[108]

Referring in 2007, to the post-modernist assessment of the potential of the concept of Globalisation for new understanding, Robin Cohen and Paola Toninata stated:

> New exotic mixes of cultures were forming, with 'travelling cultures' being revalorized or newly invented. The evolution of dynamic, mobile mixed cultures was described as 'hybridity'. In some ways this was an unfortunate expression to adopt for, as plant breeders know, hybrids are showy but have a marked tendency towards sterility and uniformity – precisely the opposite meaning those who used the term 'hybridization' intended to convey.[109]

The repeated return by writers to the issue of nomenclature in relation to the phenomenon of music mixing can seem a little obsessive. Why would so much emphasis be placed on something that is not the substantive issue? However, if Kartomi's warning that terminological confusion may indicate theoretical confusion (see: 1.7.7) is to be believed, then the issue becomes a core one and cannot be ignored. Attempting to find apt terms to describe the phenomenon, is also attempting to untangle the theory.

Kartomi's comment also has implications for labelling or naming the process. If there is no definite understanding of the phenomenon or phenomena being discussed, then the catachresis, described by Baron above, the successful identification of definitive terms for its/their description, may not be possible. Certainly, the issues around naming seem to reappear cyclically without apparent resolution and I wonder if the issue of

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[107] Baron, 2003, 90

[108] Martin Munro and Celia Britton, eds., *American Creoles: The Francophone Caribbean and the American South* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2012), 4.

[109] 'Hybridity,' accessed 10 July, 2012,
http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/sociology/rsw/current/cscs/creolizationconcepts/hybridity/.

nomenclature can ever be dealt with authoritatively without first effecting a resolution of the substantive theoretical question(s).

The interest in cultural flows in contemporary societies from around 1990 onwards also led to an increased focus on ethnic minorities in major urban centres. The concept of 'third cultures', a term originally coined in the 1960s by sociologists John and Ruth Useem,[110] was developed to refer to people operating in more than one society at the same time, which aptly described the situation of minority immigrant communities and their children in major urban centres. Much has been written about the effects of this close proximity of majority and minority ethnic cultures on music.[111]

The issue of flow and counterflow, was discussed by Ulf Hannerz in an article originally published in a Brazilian journal in 1997. Characterising the way that change in the world has affected the study of culture in general, he says:

> We now look for test sites of theory where some, at least, of the inhabitants are creoles, cosmopolitans, or cyborgs, where communities are diasporas, and where boundaries do not really contain, but are more often interestingly crossed. Borderlands are often where the action is, and hybridity and collage are among our preferred words for characterizing qualities in people and their products.[112]

In the same article, he offers the view that researchers and writers seemed to be returning to the early twentieth century theories of diffusion,[113] and warns about not seeing cultural boundaries as synonymous with social boundaries.[114]

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[110] Useem, John and Ruth Hill Useem, 'The Interfaces of a Binational Third Culture: A Study of the American Community in India,' *The Journal of Social Issues*, 23/11 (1967), 130-43.

[111] See, for example: Jacqueline Warwick: Bhangra and South Asian Presence in Toronto,' *Popular Music and Society*, 24/2 (2000), 25-44. Also: Abdalla Uba Adamu, 'Transnational Influences and National Appropriations: The Influence of Hindi Film Music on Muslim Hausa Popular and Religious Music' (presented at the *Congrès des Musiques dans le monde de l'islam*. Assilah, 8-13 août 2007. Conference on Music in the world of Islam., 8-13 August, 2007, Assilah, Morocco: Maison des Cultures du Monde Paris, France), accessed 6 March, 2013, http://www.maisondesculturesdumonde.org/actualite/congres-des-musiques-dans-le-monde-de-lislam.

[112] Ulf Hannerz, *Flows,Boundaries and Hybrids: Keywords in Transnational Anthropology* (Transnational Communities Programme, Oxford (United Kingdom), English version 2000, 2. Originally published in Portuguese as 'Fluxos, fronteiras, híbridos: palavras-chave da antropologia transnacional', Mana (Rio de Janeiro), 3(1): 7-39, 1997

[113] *Ibid*., 2-3.

[114] *Ibid*., 8.

In looking at terminology and seeking an apt word to describe the mixing of cultures, Hannerz considers many of the terms current when he was writing,[115] but opts for the term creolisation:

> […] but that to which I have been most strongly drawn myself, primarily on the basis of my field experience in Nigeria, is 'creolization'[....] while I believe that the others mostly denote cultural mixture as such, and although 'creolization' is no doubt sometimes also so used, I think this concept can be used in a more precise, and at the same time restricted, way.[116]

It can be argued that all cultures are creolised. No culture exists in a vacuum and all come into contact with other cultures. By extension, it can be said that all musics are creolised, reflecting Kartomi's view that 'Intercultural musical synthesis is not the exception but the rule' (1.7.6). Irish musicologist Susan Motherway wrote: '[…] cultures are constantly undergoing change as a result of outside influences and musical exchange both local-local and global-local'[117]. So why treat some musics as being creolised but not others? Hannerz says:

> The claim need only be that in one particular period, some cultures are more creole than others, to the extent that the cultural streams coming together, under the given conditions and with more or less dramatic results, are historically distinct from another, even as they themselves may have resulted from other confluences. At some point or other, we or our forefathers may all have been creolized, but we are not forever engaged in it to the same degree.[118]

Of course, it might be pointed out that 'dramatic results' is a subjective concept, but where a subjective viewpoint about a type of music being different becomes commonly accepted (often by the acquisition of a commonly accepted name like 'calypso', or 'jazz'), it is reasonable to recognise that it is a special case, that its particular mix has been deemed by the wider community to be worthy of separate treatment.

In short, many acculturation and creolisation theorists agree to some extent with the following: The flow of influence is not just a one-way process (Kartomi, Merriam, Baron, Hannerz). The power balance between cultures is not an equal one and the flow of influence is stronger in certain directions at certain times (List, Hannerz,). A

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[115] To add to Kartomi's, and Baron's collections he cites: hybridity, collage, mélange, hotchpotch, montage, synergy, bricolage, creolisation, mestizaje, mongrelisation, syncretism, transculturation, and third cultures.
[116] Hannerz (1997), 14.
[117] Motherway, *The Globalization of Irish Traditional Song Performance*,15.
[118] *Hannerz (1997), 14*-15.

distinction should be made between the processes and the results when discussing hybridity or acculturation (Kartomi). There is a lack of consensus among writers about what to call the process of music mixing (Kartomi, Baron, Holzinger) and this may indicate that the theory is also in a state of confusion (Kartomi).

1.7.9 Comparisons of music and language

How are the processes and results of music culture mixes to be read in a way that does not reflect merely the anthropological or the societal? It is perhaps apt to consider again John Blacking's argument that change must be sought to some extent in the music itself, and not just in the surrounding culture. In most of the treatments of the issues of hybridity and acculturation mentioned above, the focus has rested fairly solidly on anthropological or sociological issues; rarely, if at all, is music discussed separately. Although this is not surprising, given most writers' insistence that the two cannot be separated, at times it can seem as if the emphasis is on one at the expense of the other. A somewhat different treatment of the subject however, can be found in some of the analogies taken from sociolinguistics. Sociolinguistic analogies with music as an area of study is quite big. I will therefore include here only some issues that I think might be of use to this study, and some of the writers on these topics. They will be discussed only in reference to the case studies included in this thesis. These analogies all deal with concepts relevant to the area of bilingualism or multilingualism. They are chosen because the three case studies all involve communities engaging with more than one type of music which, in my opinion, almost naturally invites comparison.

Mark Slobin, in his treatment of the idea of the interplay of a superculture and its subcultures,[119] maintains that the study of music in culture has a lot to learn from sociolinguistics. In his 1992 article on micromusics, he notes that:

> Although as early as 1974 Dell Hymes thought that 'musical terminology will prove a great resource for exploration of speech styles' (1974:443), few ethnomusicologists have returned the favor by noticing that many terms, concepts, and methods from sociolinguistics might stimulate our discussion of music in culture. [120]

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[119] A superculture, as Slobin uses the term, is the overarching culture of a society. Within every superculture there are a number of subcultures—cultures that differentiate themselves from the larger culture to which they belong.

[120] Slobin, 61. Although Slobin gives a good rationale for the linguistic/music analogy here, it is hard to credit his comment that 'few ethnomusicologists have returned the favour', especially in the light of Steven Feld's 1974 article (see below) complaining about the linguistic approaches of a number of

He looks at the idea of linguistic 'codes' and the idea of 'code-switching',[121] but points out that if the linguistic concepts are to be of any use, then one must find a musical equivalent for each one of the concepts used:

> [...] there is the knotty question of what a musical 'code' might be. 'Style' is an admittedly slippery concept, but it is intuitively clear, at least in terms of being a 'set of consistent rules'. [122]

He goes on to say that:

> A future more sophisticated sense of musical code might want to evolve more precise terms that would take account of 'languages' 'dialects', 'levels' and 'registers'—all of which count as 'codes' for sociolinguists. [123]

He holds, somewhat strangely in my view, that music contains far more variables to be labelled than language.

> One more, crucial point about music: it's richer in codes than language. True, utterances can be combined with intonation patterns and gestures to add layers of meaning, but even highly expressive speakers draw on fewer variables than musicians can. A band playing a song can pull together not just text and tune, but timbre, rhythm, and instrumentation for several performers simultaneously in a stratified system I call code layering, style upon style upon style-then shift any number of the variables in the next section to produce a new kaleidoscopic code combination.[124]

However, surely language variables can include several of the above and more, including rhythm, pitch, intonation, prosody, and many layers of meaning, all of which it could be argued are capable of further layering into complex patterns.

Slobin references research into linguistic code-switching by Shana Poplack, who contrasts the code-switching of French Canadians and New York Puerto Ricans.[125] Despite having 1700 examples of code-switching from each group, she is apparently reluctant to draw conclusions about bilingual behaviour. In particular, it is hard for her

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ethnomusicologists. Perhaps, along with the nomenclature debate, this is an example of how the analyses of music mixes in the Globalisation era post-1990 have not actually changed much from the acculturation analyses of the 1960s, despite the movement of focus to modern urban multicultural environments and the inclusion of multiple streams of simultaneous influence.

[121] Code-switching is switching between two languages in the same conversation, normally between two or more bilingual people.

[122] Slobin, 62.

[123] *Ibid.*

[124] *Ibid.*, 62-63.

[125] Shana Poplack, 'Contrasting Patterns of Code-Switching in Two Communities' in *Code-Switching: Anthropological and Sociolinguistic Perspectives*, ed. M. Heller (The Hague: Mouton de Gruyter, 2008), 215–44.

to distinguish between when a speaker is using loan-words and when they are code-switching.[126] Of course the same complexities may well be the case in musical 'codes' or genres.

The issue of complex code-switching activity and the emic and etic views of this are also discussed by François Grosjean in a 1999 publication[127] where he describes different bilingual language 'modes'. According to him, bilinguals tailor the amount and type of code-switching that they will do according to who they are speaking to and how much, if any, of both languages the other person knows. In a 2010 publication[128] Ewa Niemiec examines views of code-switching which see it as a sign of linguistic proficiency rather than incompetence:

> […] code-switching does not necessarily prove the existence of some gaps in the linguistic competence, on the contrary – it may be indicative of a highly developed pragmatic competence. It is also suggested that in some cases bilinguals may switch unconsciously when talking to monolinguals, because they find themselves in the bilingual language mode, but it does not mean they cannot speak in one language only.[129]

To the idea of code-switching, one could add another linguistic phenomenon that might be of use, as an analogy for music mixing: 'diglossia'. Diglossia, a term coined by C.A. Ferguson in 1959,[130] is the use of different languages and dialects, or codes for different social situations. The choice of language or code often denotes the perceived prestige (either high or low) of the language or dialect in question. In some societies, people might use one language in a formal situation and another language at home or in an informal setting. Within the same language, different forms can be used on different occasions; for example, a more formal language might be used for public speaking than the form used at home. This sociolinguistic concept is useful when evaluating George List's four possible outcomes of acculturation in music, in particular, the idea of compartmentalisation, where people separate and compartmentalise the two or more different musics, not intermingling them, as opposed to his hybridity outcome where intermingling does occur.

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[126] Slobin, 69.

[127] François Grosjean, 'The Bilingual's Language Modes,' in *One Mind, Two Languages: Bilingual Language Processing*, ed. Jane Nicol (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001).

[128] Ewa Niemiec, *Between Us Bilinguals*, E-book (Warsaw: Ewa Niemiec, 2009).

[129] *Ibid.*, 6.

[130] C.A. Ferguson, 'Diglossia,' *Word,* no.15 (1959): 325–40.

Some other concepts borrowed from sociolinguistics could be added; the idea of *language 'shift',* where populations speaking one language gradually migrate to another, usually of higher status, sometimes becoming bilingual for a while on the way and sometimes leading ultimately to a complete loss of the first language (this is also in keeping with one of George List's four possible outcomes: disappearance); the concept of *language 'tip'* -where an apparent sudden change in a community's language or a sudden collapse of language will, in reality, have been preceded by many years of undermining, might also be a useful addition in analysing apparent sudden changes in music.[131] These terms from linguistics are remarkably similar to the idea of the flow of influence discussed by Nettl, Blacking and Merriam. Where List speaks of the 'vitality' of competing cultures in determining an outcome, linguists might tend to note the relative 'prestige' or status of competing languages as being the major determinant. Noticeably, the numbers participating in the various cultures, no matter how large or small, are not of great importance to the outcome in these cases.

Another borrowing from sociolinguistics that I think will be of benefit to the current discussion is the concept of pidgin and creole languages. A pidgin language is a language that is a mix of two but is used solely for limited communication between members of two different language communities. It is often used for the purposes of commercial transaction. A pidgin language is not a natively spoken language. A creole on the other hand is also a mix of languages but is the native language of a community. Pidgins can go on to become creoles (normally by intermarriage between members of two different linguistic communities) although this does not always happen. The concept of pidgins and creoles is particularly useful to the current study, in that it offers a ready analogy of code mixing, in an area of culture that shares some degree of affinity with music.

These concepts of code-switching, diglossia, language shift, language tip, pidgins and creoles may provide interesting models for comparison when it comes to music cultures. Whether the same concepts can be applied to the music cultures chosen here, and to what extent the parallels can be informative, are among the issues this thesis will

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[131] See Elizabeth Mertz, 'Sociolinguistic Creativity- Cape Breton Gaelic's Linguistic 'Tip' ' in *Investigating Obsolescence-Studies in Language Contraction and Death*, Studies in the Social and Cultural Foundations of Language 7 (Cambridge University Press, 1989), 103–16, for a description and discussion of 'language tip' in Cape Breton Island Nova Scotia

examine.

Comparisons between language and music have also attracted numerous warnings from writers, who point out the limitations of this approach. Steven Feld in an article written in 1974,[132] criticises some linguistic models used to provide analogies for, or theories about, music. He takes the view that, even though writers who used these models are attempting a scientific approach to the study of music, the methods do not stand up to scientific scrutiny. He is critical of Nettl and others who use linguistic approaches to music derived from analogies to structural linguistics,[133] which he finds are often 'minimally empirical'. He agrees fully with John Blacking's criticism of musical structuralism as isolating logical units outside of their cultural contexts.[134] He is also critical of some transformational[135] approaches, pointing out that 'notes cannot be assigned a specific lexical meaning,'[136] Feld does not rule against the potential usefulness of linguistic analogies, but makes the point that the methodological approaches up to that time had not been very scientific.

John Blacking also warned about the danger of relying too much on linguistic theory as an analogy, pointing out that music cannot communicate in the same way that language can. He writes: 'Music is not so much an immediately understood language which can be expected to produce specific responses as it is a metaphorical expression of feeling'.[137] He goes on to say: 'Music cannot express anything extramusical unless the experience to which it refers already exists in the mind of the listener'[138] and specifically cautions that:

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[132] Feld, Steven, 'Linguistic Models in Ethnomusicology.pdf,' *Ethnomusicology* 18/2 (May 1974), 197–217.

[133] Structural linguistics is the study of linguistics which attempts to classify all elements of speech under different linguistic headings such as phonemes (The smallest basic sounds of a language sometimes corresponding to the sound represented by a single letter), and morphemes (the smallest unit in a language that carries meaning e.g. '— ette' at the end of a word) It attempts to uncover underlying structures in language. The Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913) is accredited as the founding father of this branch of linguistics

[134] Blacking, John. ' Extensions and limits of musical transformations.' Paper presented at 1972 Society for Ethnomusicology (SEM) meeting, Toronto.

[135] Transformational Grammar is a theory of grammar that recognises two structures in speech or utterances, a deep structure and a surface structure. Some linguists such as Noam Chomsky originally held that all languages have a large measure of similarity at the deep structure level but that these similarities are concealed at surface level. It holds that the deep structure of language manipulates what happens at surface level. The theory while not having been totally abandoned has in large measure been superseded by other theories.

[136] Feld, 199.

[137] John Blacking, *Music, Culture, and Experience* (University of Chicago Press, 1995), 35.

[138] *Ibid*.

> [...] methods of analysis which are used by other disciplines, such as linguistics or systematic music should not be applied to the cultural analysis of a musical tradition since they may impose on the data a structural bias which distorts its intrinsic patterns. [139]

Despite the misgivings of writers like Blacking and Feld, linguistics and its subfields, including sociolinguistics, continued to influence and provide models for musicology and ethnomusicology as can be seen in Mark Slobin's 1992 article (1.7.9). Research into the links between language and music has continued to increase in volume even after Blacking and Feld's criticisms.[140] Mihailo Antovichas described the debate as having two schools of thought, 'formal' and 'referential', mirroring schools of linguistic thought.

> Formal schools have denied anything in music 'but itself' and claimed it should be studied on the basis of its internal, inherent structural relationships, with no reference whatsoever to the external world [...] Referential schools, on the other hand, have claimed that any purposeful approach to music must acknowledge the vast influence it has on the extramusical domain. On this view, music should be studied through what it sparks outside itself, where targets of the impact have been diversely identified: music is thus explained through human effectual reaction, where what is heard evokes or even contains emotions.[141]

As yet, there has been no overall theory in music which mirrors the descriptive power of mainstream linguistic theories and which has found general acceptance. At most, analogies with areas of linguistics appear to offer new insights or approaches to addressing problems in the study of music.

The issues of how meaning could be accorded to music as it can to language, of the extent to which this meaning can be broken down into smaller units bearing resemblances to words and phrases (if possible), and of the extent to which one can relate small musical phrases or John Blacking's 'sonic objects',[142] to these smaller units of linguistic meaning, remain problematic. How much of the wider cultural context

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[139] Blacking, 1995, 69

[140] See, for example: Lerdahl, Fred and Ray Jackendoff, *A Generative Theory of Tonal Music* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1983). The authors build a theory of music grammar on the lines of Noam Chomsky's Transformational grammar. See also Ray Jackendoff, 'Parallels and Nonparallels between Language and Music,' *Music Perception* 26/3 (2009), 195–204.

[141] Mihailo Antovic, 'Musicolinguistics — from a Neologism to an Acknowledged Field,' *Facta Universitatis* 3/2 (2005), 243–257.

[142] Sonic objects—a term coined by John Blacking to describe features of music such as turns of melody or harmony in: John Blacking, *How Musical Is Man* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1973), 34.

needs to be considered or included along with these is also a somewhat thorny question. How they all might be rearranged to yield specific, predictable meanings, as is the case with the syntactical structures and grammars of language, if such is even possible, appears, fifty years later, to be as far beyond reach as ever.

The possibility of anthropological change being linked in some way to musical change is a useful concept when looking at the broad picture. However, in looking at the process of change, the question needs to be asked: what changes in the music? It might be answered by simply detailing changes in a piece that has been 'acculturated' or 'creolised' and deciding which stylistic items emanate from which culture. In one way, this will answer the question 'what has changed?' However, if a stylistic item cannot be separated from its societal meaning (presuming it has such), then the question has not been adequately answered. An attempt must be made to divine what the new piece, with its stylistic changes, *means* to its performers and its audience, and how this might differ from the meaning the stylistic items held in their old music context. This is the kind of lexical meaning that Steven Feld would perhaps want from a theory of music that might approximate the relative rigour of linguistics. This question of musical meaning belongs to the area of semiotics.

Again, it is worth summarising what the writers above have to say on language as an analogy: language and music appear on the surface to share many common features that might make comparison fruitful (all). The analogies fall far short of uncovering in music the same syntactic, lexical, and grammatical structures observed in language (Blacking, Feld). Within linguistics, the area of sociolinguistics offers perhaps the greatest potential to aid musicological and ethnomusicological understanding (Slobin).

1.7.10 Summary of literature review

The foregoing discussion of literature and theories on the subject that have emerged over the last eighty years quickly highlights the amount that is *not* known in relation to music and musical change. The conclusions are far from satisfactory. Reference frameworks have shifted from time to time (diffusion, acculturation, globalisation, creolisation) but many of the same questions reappear regardless of era or framework. How is a particular music culture to be defined? What constitutes change to a music culture? Is the flow of influence between cultures unidirectional, bidirectional and

equal, bidirectional but unequal, or multilateral, either equal or unequal? To what extent can music and language be compared? At best, these questions have elicited a measure of consensus but with little proof or empirical evidence.

Most of the writers included here hold that music should not be examined separately from other areas of human culture – extramusical areas – as these provide a context which is needed in order to derive any meaning (Blacking, Nettl, Merriam). There also appears to be general acceptance that the concept of music is different in various societies, and that not all societies agree on what is to be considered musical. A distinction needs to be made, if possible, between what constitutes musical activity and what constitutes other, non-musical cultural activity (Blacking). When looking at change in music a differentiation also needs to be made between change within a musical system and change to the system itself (Blacking). Despite the efforts of some to link other aspects of culture to particular types of music (Lomax), there has not been, to date, any generally agreed conclusions as to how the correlation works or if, indeed, it exists. Some writers believe the system (i.e. the framework of the overall music culture) must be defined; to others, this seems impossible. Culture may just be a continuum with ill-defined boundaries that gradually merge, one into the other (Hannerz). However, people appear to have a strong sense of genre and divisions between types of music, although any attempts to thoroughly distinguish or define types of music in an academically satisfactory way has, to date, been unsuccessful. For the purposes of this thesis, general acceptance of a music as a genre (which is often marked by the acquisition of a name, or by the acceptance of its uniqueness by multiple writers or commentators) will be accepted as confirmation of that genre's existence.

The renewed interest in intercultural influence in music, as a result of globalisation and the rise of interest in 'world music', adds complexity to the earlier studies of acculturation and diffusion. It adds further layers or streams of cultural influence to the two or three that might have been identified by acculturation theorists and it complicates the charting of the flow of influence. Meanwhile, the problems posed in the mid-twentieth century persist within the new multicultural societies and cultural mixes of the twenty-first century.

The aim of this comparative study of three cases of music cultures mixing, is to add more empirical data to the available information, and it is hoped that it may, in time,

serve to aid the process of formulating a more general theory of change in music. The second part of the study will identify some separate issues, for composers and players who set out to creolise music, that also merit consideration.

1.8 Definition, terminology and methodology

As discussed at the outset, a perusal of theory and terminology quickly gives an indication of the difficulties involved in selecting terminology for any discussion of the phenomenon of mixes in music cultures. It also demonstrates the difficulty of deciding how to define and put boundaries around any related theory. The lack of clarity with regard to terminology and process in the literature in general makes it necessary to make a clear selection, at this point, for use in the rest of this study.

It is not proposed, however, that what follows is a definitive description of either process or terminology. It is rather a working model that allows for some initial measure of clarity, with the proviso that the research itself may change or indeed negate these understandings and terms. Nor is it claimed that the terms used here are more or less apt than terms that others might choose.

1.8.1 Definition of the process

Whatever name is given to the process, the same factors seem to be present. Elements of performance style, music format, themes, method of performance and even scales from two or more cultures seem to have been mixed. It may be a subconscious evolutionary process over a period of time. On the other hand, it may be the result of short periods of intense change caused by societal and cultural factors affecting music. It may even be the result of the creativity of one or two individuals drawing inspiration from other musics who leave their mark strongly on the music of a culture.[143]

One of the first challenges encountered is to determine whether the development of individual style, local/regional style, cultural style, and the processes of acculturation, hybridisation and creolisation should be considered different stages of a single process or different, distinct processes. All of them are brought about by changes to a music. As

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[143] Bruno Nettl, 'Change in Folk and Primitive Music-A Survey of Methods and Studies,' *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 8/2 (1955), 101–109.

this thesis is concerned with change brought about by interaction *between* cultures and not *within* a culture, it follows that, for the most part, individual and local or regional styles are ruled out because they constitute innovations *within* a culture.[144]

It is also important to look at the issue of *process,* as opposed to *result,* as Margaret Kartomi points out (see 1.7.6). It could be argued that Kartomi's acceptance of the idea of a 'result' seems to conflict with the idea of an ongoing process of change that continues without ever reaching an endpoint. However, the identification and naming of a particular style can be viewed as a 'snapshot' of something that is constantly in transition. It is an attempt to confer fixed boundaries and parameters, thus removing the 'free-fall' of a never-ending process. By doing so, a cultural item can be described in detail at a particular stage of its development. The term *creolised music* will be used for a result or 'snapshot' of a music mixed with another to any level, if a whole community now practises that music or that style, and *creolisation* will be used for the process leading up to that point (and beyond).

There are many possible objections to the words creolised and creolisation being used in this particular way. Firstly, as already stated, creole is a linguistic and anthropological term and not primarily a musical one. Secondly, many people in plantation societies such as the Caribbean islands and Louisiana object to the use of the word 'creole' in a general way on the basis that it has historically been used to describe their communities and that it properly belongs uniquely to them. However, with regard to this second point, the use of the term creole and its verbal and adjectival forms is primarily intended as a borrowing from linguistics, an example of the catachresis mentioned by Barron. It is intended as a non-prescriptive description of the various levels and types of cultural mix found in music.

1.8.2 The creole continuum

The process referred to as creolisation begins with the borrowing of a small number of items of music from one culture into another, and culminates, for the purposes of this study, in the mixing of elements of two or more cultures into a recognisable new 'genre'. If the wider community perceives the difference from existing music as strong enough,

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[144] Always allowing for the fact that personal innovation can be caused by an individual being influenced from outside the culture. This *is then* an intercultural matter and, in particular when it goes on to influence the wider culture of the innovator, will be treated as such in this study.

it may acquire a name thereby recognising its status as a new music. It is of course understood that the process of change continues beyond these designated points. This is referred to in linguistics as the 'creole continuum' The idea of the continuum also allows for the consideration in musical terms of another linguistic phenomenon` – that of 'decreolisation'. Once a language has become a creole, it sometimes continues to journey closer over time to one of its constituent languages, thus moving further away from its incarnation as a creole.

An adequate description of a creolised music requires a comparison between it and its contributing musics. The difficulty in measuring similarity and disparity in music has been a consistent problem of both musicology and ethnomusicology.[145] As John Blacking puts it, 'Neither musicologists nor ethnomusicologists have yet devised a system […] to explain […] the essential differences between the music of Haydn and Mozart or of the Flathead and Sioux Indians'.[146] However, common perception among people who are emic to a music culture most often recognizes the differences between types of music without necessarily knowing the exact boundaries.

1.8.3 Other terminology

For the remainder of this thesis the term *genre* will refer to music from different music cultures, for example, 'Afro-Caribbean', 'Louisiana-French', 'Gaelic'. *Modern genre* will be used for contemporary music categories such as country, rock and jazz, and *sub-genre* for different categories of music within a recognised music culture, such as, 'dance music' or 'ballad' in Louisiana-French music. Notwithstanding that diffusion theorists might prefer the term *diffusion*, the term *acculturation* will be used to describe the process of one music culture being made to conform to the norms of another, for whatever reason. As such, it will be considered a subset of creolisation. The term *performance style* will refer to the manner in which a music is performed. This will include the incorporation of various 'sonic objects' such as ornamentation, as well as vocal timbre, scales and cadences and the amounts and combinations of these. It will only refer to the sounds of the singing and the use of language. *Individual performance style* is the term that will be used for those elements of style that might be unique to an individual, or to an instance of a performance of a song. *Format* is chosen as a term for

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[145] See in particular, Nettl, Bruno, *The Study of Ethnomusicology—31 Issues and concepts* (University of Illinois Press, 1983), 117.
[146] Blacking, John, Music, culture, and Experience (University of Chicago Press, 1995), 55.

a particular type of tune or song, e.g. a jig, a waltz, a two-step, a ballad or a reel are all examples of *formats* (This is what Nettl would have referred to as 'style', (see page 13) *Characteristics* will refer to the typical items in a music culture. These include performance style. The term *parent music* will describe music that is a main contributor to a creolised music and *attendant culture*, the culture from which the particular music genre emanates. *Music texts* will refer mainly to audio recordings of songs and music, and in some cases to a staff notation transcription. Finally the word *prestige* when used in relation to cultures or the music of a culture will be used to refer to that culture's status officially, its social desirability, and its use or otherwise by powerful or wealthy elites in a country or state.[147]

It is important to reiterate that these are not definitive terms. They are for use only in the course of this study, in order to avoid confusion.

1.8.4 Overview: Three case studies

As the conceptual area of music being described in this research is so large, it has been decided that it would be most useful to concentrate on three case studies, each showing the process at what seems to be various stages.

The first case study has the farthest reach in historical terms. It looks at the Gaelic psalm singing tradition in North-Western Scotland. This is a form of music set apart from the body of folk music that its singers might draw on in a secular setting, and also from the main body of the English ballad tradition from which it is said to emanate. To the casual observer, it can sound very different to both of these music traditions.

The second case study examines what is sometimes referred to as Louisiana-French music but now also commonly goes under two different names – Cajun Music and *zydeco* music. It comprises the music(s) of the French-speaking community of Louisiana, both white and black.

In many ways, as will be seen, the case of Louisiana best exemplifies the potential complexities of music creolisation and some of the problems inherent in studying it. The region has been influenced by at least three major culture groups and has had influxes of immigrants in significant numbers from several other cultures.

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[147] This often leads to individual parts of that culture such as its language or its music being socially desireable.

The third and final case study is the new genre of songs being composed in the Irish language in the south Connemara[148] region of Ireland since the early 1980s. The Connemara area is home to a very stylised form of traditional singing generally referred to as *sean-nós* (old-style). With the arrival of modern mass media and the English language music that this brought with it, other forms of music became popular; most noticeably, in the late twentieth century, a type of country music commonly called 'country and Irish music'. In the 1980s, a new form of popular music in the region, seemingly incorporating elements of country and Irish music and the traditional singing style of the region, began to make inroads among listeners and in the local media.

There are two main reasons for choosing these particular case studies. The first is one of language and access. I have some knowledge of the four languages involved, English, Scots Gaelic, Irish and French, which facilitates using primary sources when necessary, or translating from secondary sources. Other interesting examples might have included: Middle-eastern popular music, West Indian music, the music of Southern India, or the Inuit music of Greenland to name a few. But all these cases would be totally reliant on (possibly scant) secondary sources and translated material. Secondly, all three of the case studies involve the influence of the English-speaking world to a greater or lesser degree and this provides fertile ground for comparison. The three cases have been chosen also because of the differences of mix, historical eras and geographical locations and because of perceivable differences in the creolisation process in each. The study will attempt to ascertain if there are any links or similarities between the processes involved in all three which might enable further hypotheses to be formed for more general testing elsewhere. Two out of the three might be seen as having immediate similarities, those being the cases of Connemara and the Scottish examples. They are both, after all, part of the Gaelic-speaking world and both involve music or musicians from that world meeting music from the English-speaking world. In fact, there are differences in timeline between these two cases (the Irish case comes from the late twentieth century, the Scottish case from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries). There are also big differences between the traditional musics of both, in particular their singing traditions, as outlined in the autoethnographical background (see

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[148] Conamara or Connemara is a region in the west of County Galway. The southern part of the region is mainly Irish-speaking the northern part mainly English-speaking.

1.1). Furthermore, the Scottish case has a large religious component while the Irish case is totally secular.

In other ways, the Irish case study might bear more relationship to the Louisiana case, in terms of the use of music for entertainment and dances. But, in a further twist to the narrative, it should also be noted that, in some instances, the Louisiana and Scottish examples share strong similarities in terms of the apparent extent of the mixes and how far they might have moved from their 'parents'.

The three also show very different levels of success in terms of their adoption by the communities in which they are found. Whereas the French music of Louisiana, with its African-American, French, and Anglo-American influences, became the main music of the French-speaking Louisianians, the Gaelic psalm singing tradition appears to be compartmentalised within the Gaelic singing tradition and does not appear to have affected the secular song tradition in any way. The new Irish language country music appears to be a late sub-genre of music in a language where its native speaking community appears to be dying out.[149] It might in other circumstances have become the dominant music in its linguistic community, but it will now probably either converge with more mainstream music, or will die out completely, never having achieved a more widespread base.

The linguistic aspect of this thesis is fortified not just by the use of analogies from linguistics but also by the fact that each case study involves two languages, and the link between language and song, or rather singing style, is one of the areas under examination.

In all three cases, singing is the main subject of study. Whereas the instrumental traditions in each may also display signs of creolisation, the singing tradition may more readily respond to changes, as it is not restricted by the same set of characteristics and limitations that many instruments have. The performance style of singers will form the main part of the research for the thesis. Style is what makes a particular singing culture recognisable and can be a main indicator of change in music.

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[149] This will be elaborated on in Chapter Four.

The cases have been taken from a mix of historical eras. This serves to give a temporal, as well as a geographical, aspect to the study. It should be remembered that the process of creolisation in music is never-ending. The research in this thesis will not concern itself with other modern manifestations of the process, of which there are many.[150] In ways, contemporary cases may be more complex, because of the amount of varied musical influences present from various media, and from live and recorded performances. However, the difference may be more a matter of the intensity of the process, rather than the process itself.

All three case studies have a rural, and often a peripheral setting. This is, I think, of interest, as it allows an opportunity to examine whether isolation or peripherality plays a part in the process. Perhaps, given the discussion of the literature review, and, in particular, the cyclical reappearance of some of the issues, they will emerge as being not quite as disparate from contemporary urban manifestations of the phenomenon as they might at first appear.

1.8.5 Methodology

Given the scope of this research, encompassing different societies and languages, different musics and styles, and including an element of arrangement and composition, I have decided that a combination of research elements is best suited to the task and will be used in the course of this thesis. The information used to answer the first research question comes primarily from, for the historical social and cultural backgrounds, written sources, and for the music itself a close analysis and comparison of musical recordings and texts, augmented by interviews with musicians and experts. The analyses of musical recordings are of prime importance to this study. They outline and demonstrate the elements found in the mix. In doing so, they yield information which facilitates a description of what happened in the creolising process of the music in each case. A series of interviews (outlined below) will provide some contextualisation from musicians and academics who are emic to the communities in question, but these are not the primary texts of this study.

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[150] Of which, reggae, bhangra, and middle-eastern and Indian urban popular music or even, from earlier periods jazz, rock and ragtime are all examples.

The first part of the study directed towards the main research question contains three case studies. Each case study has four parts, or stages, organised as follows:, First, in each case, any relevant historical, social and cultural factors which may have led to the creolised music will be described and considered. Apart from providing a background to the case, these elements may have played a significant part in the process leading to the creolised music. This means that in each case a large amount of time is given to discussing these factors before consideration of the music itself. Secondly, after considering the relevant historical, social and cultural aspects, the musics that contribute to the creolised music — what I am referring to as the 'parents'— will be considered in turn. In two of the cases, Connemara and the Scottish Western Isles there will be two musics. In terms of this study, Louisiana will be anomalous in that three 'parents' will be considered. As part of this overview of the contributing musics, three audio examples of songs and their singers' styles from each contributing 'parent' will be closely analysed. Thirdly, this will be followed by an analysis of three examples of the creolised musics. In doing these second and third stages, I hope to demonstrate:

A. The characteristics of each of the parent musics.
B. Which of these characteristics has contributed to the creolised music.

As I have already stated, the primary texts of this study will be the audio recordings used as examples. These audio recordings contain most of the musical information needed. A website to accompany the thesis allows the reader to quickly hear audio excerpts of the examples under discussion, as they appear in the text. A link to the relevant page is provided in all cases. The audio examples are also included on a usb key that accompanies the thesis.

Much of what is being examined concerns performance-style. Transcription of audio examples using staff notation is not, I believe, the best method to analyse or demonstrate visually, aspects of these performances. Instead a software program called Melodyne has been used, both to analyse the recordings in the study and for commentary. Melodyne records and analyses audio recordings representing individual notes as 'blobs' occurring at pitches along a timeline. It provides information about pitch and pitch variation, amplitude and amplitude variation, start and end points, and the pitch transitions from one note to another. Although it is designed primarily for performance amendment — any of the above parameters can be changed using it — its

analytical and descriptive abilities for a given performance are what make it useful here. This is, to the best of my knowledge, a new and possibly unintended use for the software but one that I think offers exciting opportunities for the analysis of performances. Figure 1.1 below shows audio wave information– the way audio is normally transcribed on computer screen. The subsequent Figures show how Melodyne transcribes this information

Figure 1.1: Traditional 'wave' representation of audio

B.
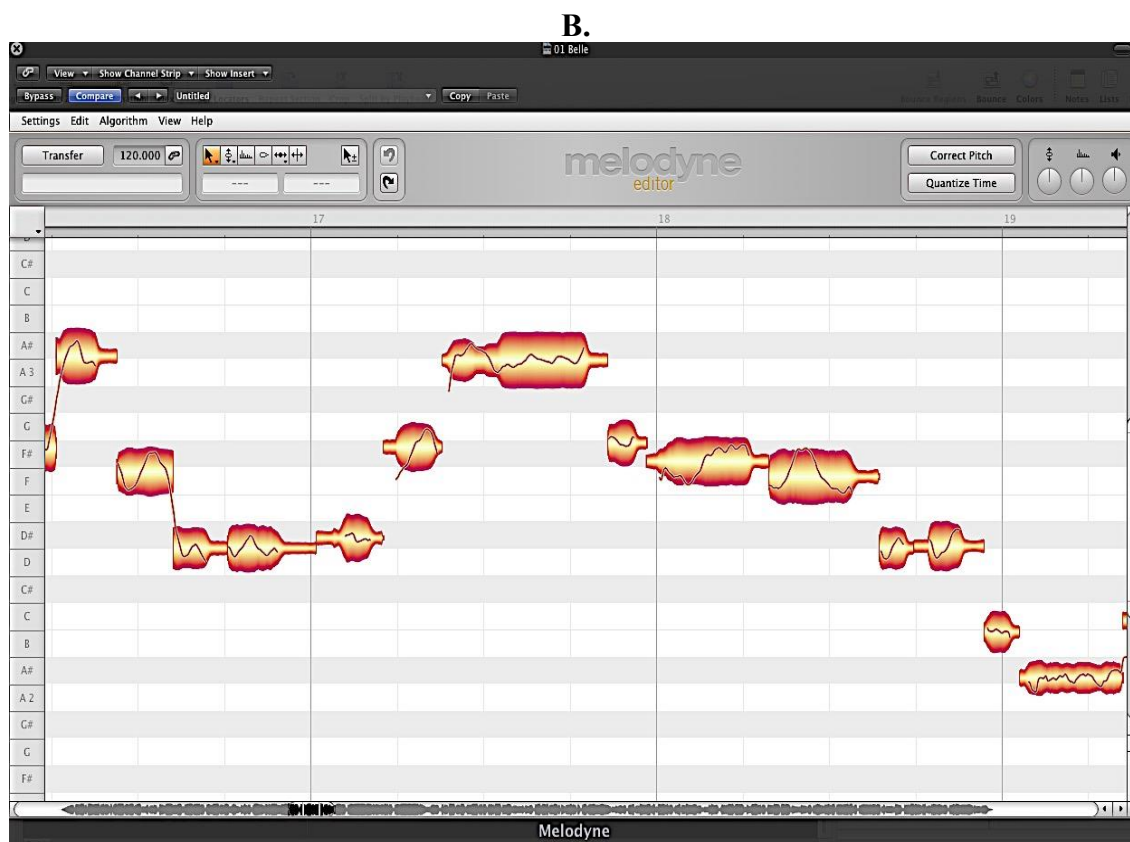
Figure 1.2: Melodyne representation of audio. Notes are shown as a series of 'blobs' that give information about pitch, length, duration, amplitude, position and pitch drift (how the pitch of the note drifts from the centre of the pitch over time).
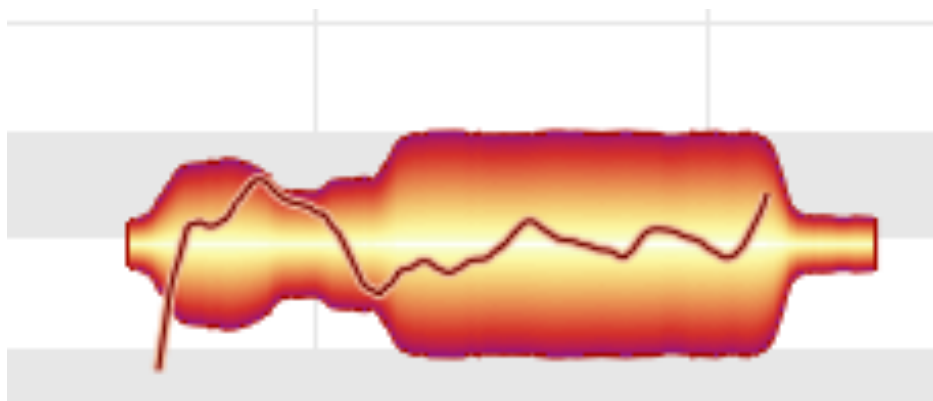
Figure 1.3: Individual note 'blob' showing amplitude variation (outer boundary) and pitch drift (line running through the blob).
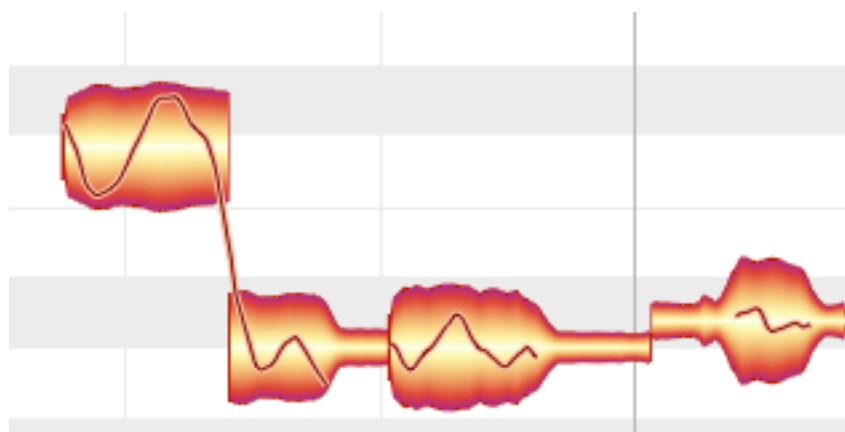
Figure 1.4: A series of note 'blobs' showing the overall pitch of each note (pitch is shown on side ruler-see Figure 1.5, below); pitch transitions from one note into another, pitch variations within each note during performance; amplitude variation; and the position of notes in relation to each other.
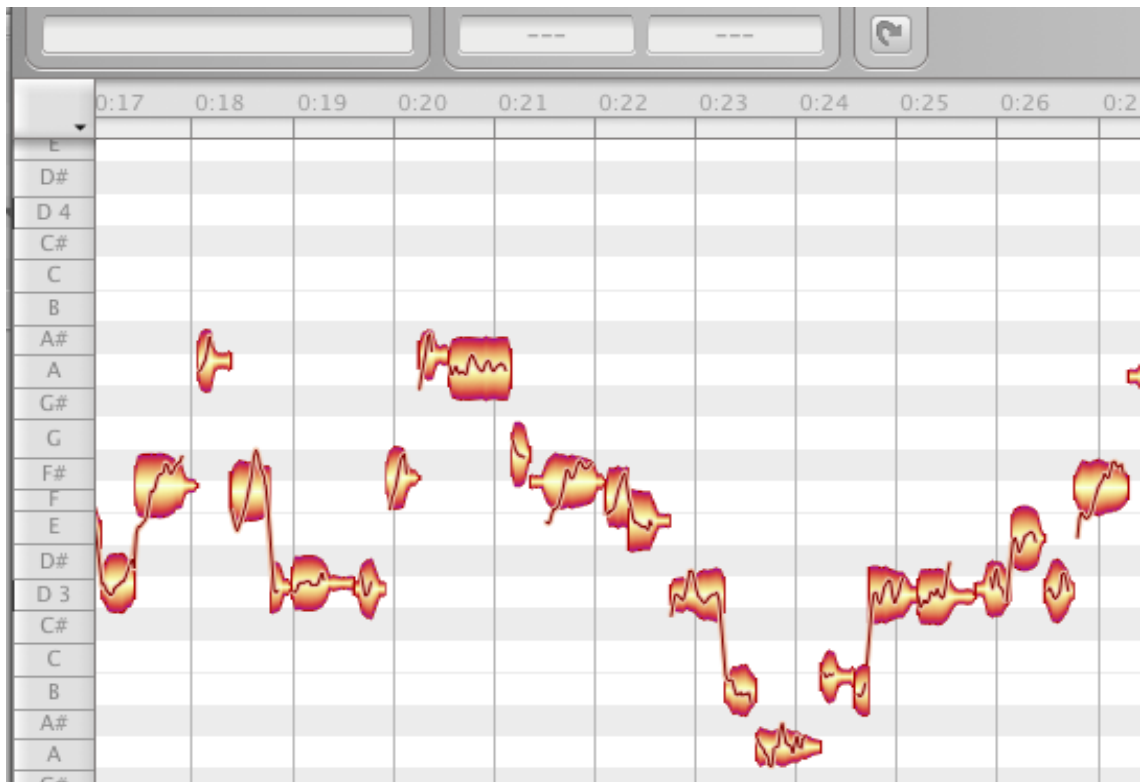
Figure 1.5: Information about the pitch of each note (The pitch ruler is on left hand side) and the timeline of the performance (ruler along the top) is also provided.
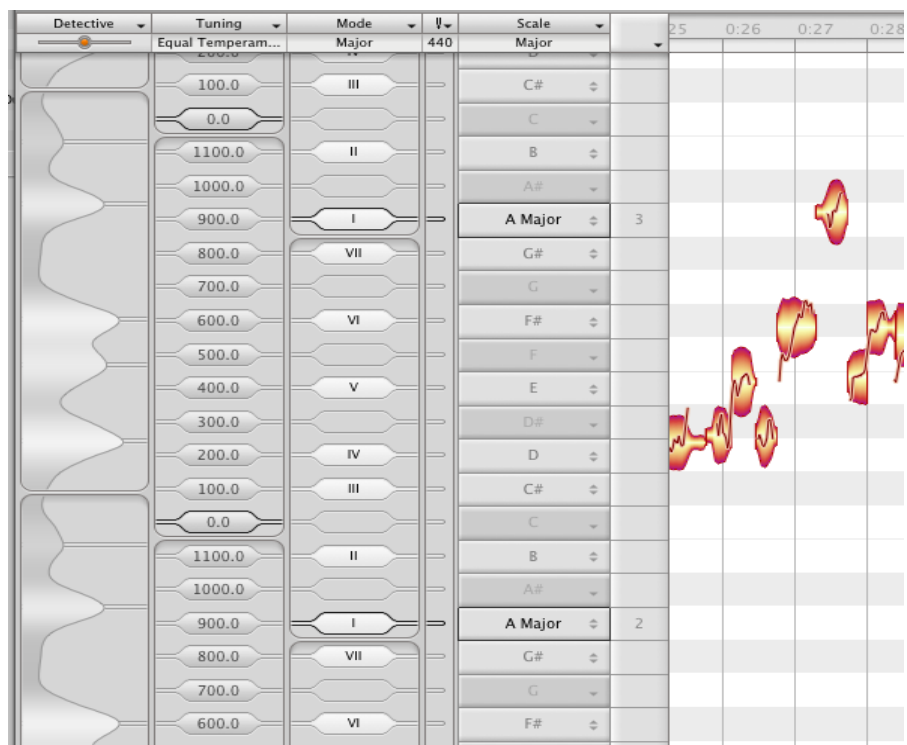
Figure 1.6: Other information provided by Melodyne relates to scale, mode and pitch cent values for a performance if they are required. Most of these will not be referenced in this thesis.

Sometimes the transcription of a part of a melody can be faulty due to things like extraneous noise on the recording, or the momentary hitting of certain pitches in a recording where the programme cannot accurately determine their importance. The software allows for manual correction where needed.

In relation to the creolised music, each case study will also look at an example of 'melodic migration'. This will be done in order to provide what is perhaps the apogee of the process, the ultimate encompassing of the major adjustments and changes that are part of the creolisation process, but the other examples of the creolised music under consideration will also show many of these traits. Fourth and finally, having analysed the musics in question, in each case study, the historical, social and cultural factors, along with the music analyses, will be discussed to try to build a comprehensive picture of what the characteristics of the creolised music are; where those characteristics may have originated; and to some extent, how and why those changes occurred in the music culture of the case study region.

In this final section comments from people interviewed in all three areas of the case studies will be included where I think they help to clarify or strengthen points being made. In all cases the interviews were unstructured.[151] I prefer this approach for a number of reasons. First, it allows the interviewees to talk in-depth about issues that they feel to be important rather than responding to a set list. To some extent they can lead the interviewer to areas they think are important and where the interviewer might not have planned to go. This is significant as in most cases I interview people with more knowledge of many aspects of the topic than myself, and who are emic to the culture in question. Secondly it allows the interviewer to question in more depth, issues raised by the interviewee. Finally the data is qualitative rather than quantitative. As the main issue in each chapter, the creolisation process itself, is dealt with by analysing the music examples, these interviews are used only to try to yield extra information. I feel that the kind of qualitative information yielded by unstructured interviews is most appropriate for this. All interviews were carried out in accordance with the ethical

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[151] It should probably be pointed out that three of the completed interviews were originally semi structured. I had asked three of the musicians in Louisiana to try an experiment which was to 'acculturate' a melody that I had written. They were then interviewed to ascertain what they had to do to make the tune 'conform' to a Louisiana French music aesthetic. This part of the interview was structured in order to compare answers. A further section of the interview in each case was unstructured, a general discussion on Louisiana French music. For practical reasons, (only two out of three were able to work on the 'acculturative' process which was too small to be in any way representative) it was decided not to include the experiment in the thesis, leaving only the unstructured parts of those interviews for use. All other interviews were totally unstructured.

guidelines of Dublin Institute of Technology. The interviews were of various lengths, in one case one and a half hours, in another, due to the advanced age of the interviewee, less than fifteen minutes. I interviewed two people in Louisiana twice, on different occasions. The rest were interviewed once. Most were interviewed in their homes or workplaces. One was in a community centre, and one in a café. In all, I interviewed eight people. Only those sections of the interviews that are included here have been transcribed. Information and comments from the interviewees will be used during the thesis only where they help to illuminate points already made in the discussion of the music texts or to provide other important information.[152] All the recorded interviews are held by me on a password protected hard drive.

The analysis of music examples in the case studies, it might be noted, uses a structuralist approach. I am of course, cognisant of John Blacking's criticism of structuralist approaches as discussed in the literature review. His criticism is that structuralism removes music from its cultural context. However, I think that observing different elements of the musics themselves, occurring in new structural contexts, is itself illuminating in terms of demonstrating the results of a process. This is regardless of whatever cultural meanings those elements may have had in their original setting, or any new ones they may have acquired along the way.

After considering each of the case studies, Chapter Five will mark a change of method. This chapter will attempt to use information from the case studies as a series of techniques to compose or arrange four pieces of music. In doing this I will both apply the results of my research to solving a practical problem—how to compose or arrange new traditional-style music—and at the same time build an autoethnographical picture of my own journey and to what extent it relates to the experience of others doing similar work. I have already, at the beginning of this chapter, included some background information about my own music making as part of this process. As was pointed out also earlier in this chapter, autoethnography is still something of a fluid concept.

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[152] References to comments in these interviews are footnoted giving the relevant position of the comment within the interview itself. Two numbers denote the position in the audio recording, one followed by an apostrophe to denote minutes, another followed by inverted commas to denote seconds. Thus 2'03" is two minutes and three seconds. Only two of the interviews lasted for more than an hour. If anything over an hour is referenced, the hour is denoted by a number followed by a full stop. Thus 1.2'03" is one hour, two minutes and three seconds.

Heewon Chang[153] has given some useful guidelines for conducting autoethnographical research which I will follow for this study. Pointing out that autoethnography should be 'ethnographic in its methodological orientation, cultural in its interpretive orientation and autobiographical in its content orientation'[154] she argues that autoethnography is 'not about focusing on self alone, but about searching for understanding of others (culture / society) through self.'[155] The researcher needs to place him or herself within a particular cultural or ethnic group. Of course, the question of which cultural group the researcher is attempting to relate him or herself to, needs definition. In my case I will be trying to gain an understanding of those who engaged in mixing musics in the case studies, by my own attempts to do the same thing. I will of course be allowing for the considerable differences between us, as well as the similarities. In doing so I will also be attempting to gain a better understanding of the attraction to many musicians and listeners in the society that I live in, to musics that are a mix of others. I will however, in answering the second research question try to point out if there are lessons from my own efforts that could be learned for further composition or arrangement.

From a practical point of view, I will either arrange or compose four pieces of music in which I will use information gleaned from the musics of the case studies. These new pieces will be recorded using both uilleann pipes and an electronic uilleann pipe simulator called 'v-pipes uilleann'. [156] Some backing will be constructed by multitracking the pipes, adding tracks recorded using various computer software packages. This will be explained in each piece The elements from the case studies that I will be including will be discussed in each case in Chapter Five. In offering an analysis of my own approach for each of the pieces I will attempt to draw comparisons between my own music mixing as outlined at the beginning of this thesis and the music mixing of the case studies.

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[153] Chang, *Autoethnography as Method* (Walnut Creek, 2008).
[154] *Ibid.*,48.
[155] *Ibid.*,48-49.
[156] These 'pipes'consist of a simulated piping 'chanter'a long hard plastic tubular bar with sensor pads along its length where the holes of a real chanter would be. A small square box-like structure with a pressure sensor is placed under the arm where the real bag of the uilleann pipes normally goes. When squeezed it produces the sound. When squeezed further, to a set pressure, this produces a second octave. The two parts are connected by a cable. The 'chanter' can be played exactly as an uilleann pipe chanter would be. The set is powered by a rechargeable battery.

Finally in Chapter Six the case studies will be cross-referenced both against each other and against the comments and observations of the writers in the literature review. An assessment will also be made in this chapter of my own process of arrangement and composition both as an attempt to see if this can add further information about the music mixing of the case studies, and to try to outline methods for use in further composition and arrangement.

The case studies will be cross referenced from the point of view of:
  (a) Historical and social background. This will explore possible common factors in the case studies, such as in the development of the cultures in question and the moulding influences which may have contributed to musical change in them.
  (b) Prestige and strength of the relevant attendant cultures. This is important for any discussion of the idea of 'flows of influence' in the creolisation process.
  (c) Amount of music elements mixed and the level of that mix
  (d) Musicological components. As far as possible, this study will specifically examine changes in the musical texts themselves.
  (d) The Socio-linguistic analogies identified earlier in this chapter.

.The examples analysed in the case studies will be referenced, and the example of 'melodic migration' from each case will be included. The chapter will end with conclusions for the whole thesis.

I have travelled to all three areas of the case studies on a number of occasions for this research. I also completed a short internship with the Cajun and Creole Music Collection (CCMC) in the University of Louisiana at Lafayette in 2012-2013[157] and conducted research in the School of Scottish Studies Archives in the University of Edinburgh and the Irish Traditional Music Archive in Dublin.
The first case study, which will be looked at in the next chapter, will be the Scots Gaelic psalm singing tradition, as this seems to neatly encompass many of the aspects of the creolisation process.

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[157] This was thanks to a DIT 'Fiosraigh' internship award.which enabled me to travel to Louisiana.

CHAPTER 2

GAELIC PSALM SINGING IN THE HIGHLANDS AND ISLANDS OF SCOTLAND

> When a religious melody is assimilated in folk music, its sequence is simplified tonally and formally, obviously under the influence of folk music's established models [....] a foreign melody becomes domestic; it conforms.[1]

2.1. Introduction and overview

This chapter concerns the Gaelic Psalm singing tradition of the Scottish Highlands and Islands. The singing of the one hundred and fifty psalms from the Bible's 'Book of Psalms', by Gaelic-speaking Presbyterian communities in the North-Western Highlands and the Hebridean Islands, is markedly divergent from the mainstream musical traditions of both the Gaelic and English cultures of Scotland. The psalms are metrical constructions, but use a metre that was unknown to Gaelic. Therefore they seem anomalous to that tradition. Equally, however, the style in which they are sung can often sound strange to those used to the singing of metrical songs in English.

This remarkable singing tradition emanates from the political, social and cultural changes wrought both by the Protestant Reformation—in particular its Calvinist strand—in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland in the period between the mid-seventeenth century[2] and the middle of the nineteenth;[3] and also from the burgeoning influence of English and Lowland Scottish culture in the same area, over a period from the eleventh century to the present day. While these two processes were not coterminous, they acted together to transform the religious and cultural life of Gaelic Scotland. They caused the new Gaelic Protestant congregations to renegotiate part of their musical aesthetic in order to accommodate the new liturgies. Composer and music historian

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[1] Thorkild Knudsen, 'Ornamental Hymn/Psalm Singing in Denmark, the Faroe Islands and the Hebrides' (presented at the 5th Congress of Nordic Musicologists, Aarhus, Denmark, 1966), 5.

[2] Although the Reformation started in Scotland in the mid sixteenth century, and spread relatively rapidly in the Lowland area, it was to be at least another hundred years before it made any real headway in the Gaelic Highlands and Hebridean Islands.

[3] No absolute dates can be fixed for the start and end points of this era. The Reformation initially at least, crept rather than swept into the Highlands and the main events that firmly rooted the reformation in the Highlands and Islands were completed by the mid nineteenth century.

John Purser comments that 'Gaelic Psalm-singing […] developed partly as a result of a conflict between the Gaelic language and the metrical psalms in English.'[4]

The chapter will begin by outlining the cultural, historical and societal elements of the period during which this style of singing the Psalms emerged. It will also consider the political, social and cultural interplay between the two main Scottish cultures of the time, English and Gaelic, and the issue of their relative prestige. Consideration will be given to the effects of the Reformation on Scotland and in particular on the Highlands and Islands. These two events—the Scottish Reformation and the gradual influence of the Anglo-Scottish world on the Scottish Gaelic one, are pivotal to understanding the cultural changes which occurred in Gaelic Scotland and led to the compromises that were made in the singing of Gaelic Psalms. The process that led to the creation of these psalms and determined their singing style involved an almost head-on clash of two very different musical and versification systems and their performance norms. To understand what happened therefore it is necessary to have an understanding of these two systems.

A two-part approach has been adopted to the music in this chapter. First it will discuss and demonstrate aspects of the secular folk music of each of the two music traditions – Lowland Scots and Scots Gaelic. These will be demonstrated from three viewpoints – versification, music and singing style. In terms of versification it will demonstrate firstly the English and Lowland Scots style of verse known as common metre. This was used often for versification in ballads. The most prevalent music conventions of the Scots ballad will be given, with particular attention to the issue of tonality. The chapter will then outline the norms of Gaelic song verse and its specific schemes of versification and will contrast these with Lowland Scots common metre, before demonstrating some of the features of Gaelic music and its sense of tonality at the time of the Reformation in the Highlands and Islands. Finally, it will demonstrate the predominant singing style associated with each music culture. In all cases examples of music and verse will be provided for demonstration. The second part of this approach will show how the common metre ballad influenced the psalters produced by reformers in the Lowlands and how common metre was ultimately used in the translations of the Psalms into Gaelic even though its aesthetic was not very well understood in Gaelic communities. This ultimately led to a creolised music. Examples of the creolised Gaelic

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[4] John Purser, *Scotland's Music* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 2007),18.

Psalm tunes and singing style as they are found today in the Outer Hebrides or Western Isles area[5] will be provided. Subsequently, the chapter will move to analyse the process of creolisation in Gaelic Psalm singing, by dovetailing the historical, social and cultural strands with the musical ones, in order to unravel the story of the creolised music. As with the other case studies, the field recordings referenced are of primary importance, as these carry the details of the performance style. Staff notation will be used in discussing the issue of tonality. A close reading of several audio texts and examples of other audio recordings which demonstrate the same phenomena, will also be given. Melodyne (described in detail in Chapter One) will be used to analyse specific aspects of individual singing. The Western Isles and particularly the Isle of Lewis (*Eilean Leòdhais*), the biggest island in the group, are the focal point for what remains of this tradition today and so it will be the main musical focus of this study when looking at the Gaelic music and psalm singing traditions.

This case study is quite technical in terms of the descriptions of both music and verse. The musical descriptions, while not overly complex, are quite detailed. In my opinion, however, this is warranted, as the Gaelic psalm singing tradition provides a very good example of what John Blacking describes as 'heuristic satisfaction'(see Chapter One) and for these reasons it is worth considering in detail. The precise details of the result of creolisation and the provenance of each part of the mix can be demonstrated in the music itself quite clearly. This is rare in music creolisation processes, which makes this a particularly powerful example.

I have travelled to and stayed on the Isle of Lewis on many occasions since the mid-1980s both as a Scots Gaelic learner and as a musician learning about the music of the Western Isles in general, and of Lewis in particular. On these occasions I attended services in the Church of Scotland in the townland of Miabhaig in the west of the island, staying with members of the congregation in the nearby townland of Càirisiadar. Over the same time I also attended Free Church services in Portree on the Isle of Skye, in Francis Street in Stornoway, Lewis, and in the townland of Grabhair in the southeast of Lewis, taking part in the psalm singing, and learning the melodies and the style. In 2009, for an earlier study, I visited the University of Edinburgh's School of Scottish Studies Sound Archive and spent a number of days listening to recordings of both the psalms

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[5] Also known as The Outer Hebrides.

and of interviews recorded in the 1950s with congregants from Lewis. I also spoke with Morag MacLeod[6] who, with Danish musicologist Thorkild Knudsen, collected field-recordings of congregations and individual singers in the 1960s. For this study I interviewed Calum Martin, a well-known Gaelic singer and musician who is a 'Precentor' (a person who lines-out, or chants the lines of the Psalms to the congregation, which they then sing back) in Back Free Church, northeast of Stornoway. Calum has produced recordings of the Psalms with members of various congregations from around the Island and is well known for both his own music and knowledge of the Gaelic psalms and Gaelic psalm singing. I also interviewed Murdo MacLennan from Marabhaig in Lewis, an elderly precentor who has been precenting in churches in the south-east of the island for over sixty five years.

The Psalms are performed nowadays solely by members of Gaelic congregations of the Scottish Presbyterian churches—the Church of Scotland, the Free Church of Scotland and the Free Church of Scotland (Continuing)[7] and are mainly found in the Outer Hebridean Islands, where most of the remaining Gaelic-speaking communities are located. For many years, these churches did not accept part harmony, the singing of hymns, or the use of instruments in services,[8] and thus the supremacy of Psalm singing as the only musical worship permissible in liturgies was maintained. Although there are one hundred and fifty Psalms in the Bible's 'Book of Psalms', only a handful of tunes (between twenty and twenty-five, depending on the congregation) are used by Gaelic congregations to sing them nowadays. With only one exception[9] these tunes are taken from the English / Lowland tradition. All the Gaelic psalms and their tunes are in common metre, a form of verse very common in the English language. Because of this, any tune can be used to sing any psalm. However, as Morag MacLeod says 'This metre was and is entirely alien to Gaelic literature and any other Gaelic poetry composed in it is parody'.[10]

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[6] Morag MacLeod is a former researcher, now retired, with the School of Scottish Studies in Edinburgh.
[7] The Church of Scotland is Presbyterian unlike the Church of England or the Church of Ireland. The Free Church of Scotland was originally formed in 1843 after a split in the Church of Scotland, known as the Disruption. Following a further split in 1900 which saw most of its members joining a The United Presbyterian Church of Scotland the current day Free Church of Scotland was formed from those who remained outside the United Presbyterian Church. The Free Churchof Scotland (continuing) formed as a result of a split in the Free Church in 2000.See:"Churches," accessed June 3, 2017, https://scottishchristian.com/churches/.
[8] In the case of the Free Church, not until November 2010.
[9] A tune called 'Stornoway' written in the nineteenth century by Lewis man, Ian Matheson.
[10] Various, *Gaelic Psalms from Lewis*, L.P., vol. 6, Scottish Tradition (Tangent, 1975), outer cover notes.

The Psalms are 'lined out'—that is, a person stands in front of the congregation and 'calls' or chants each line of the Psalm, to which the congregation responds, using a highly stylized version of the relevant line of the tune. This was once normal practice in many churches throughout Britain and parts of North America.[11] In Britain, it is now found only among Scots Gaelic speaking congregations, although lining-out exists in some Baptist churches in the United States, predominantly, but not exclusively, among members of the African-American community. In the nineteenth century, Gaelic-speaking congregations would have used fewer tunes but the stock of tunes was gradually added to from the English repertoire in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For those unfamiliar with the Gaelic Psalms, an audio example of an excerpt is included below. No further comment will be offered on it at this point.

https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigration2/

(go to 'Sample excerpt: Coleshill)

 Or: USB /Audio /1.1

This chapter is not intended to be a study of all the musical, social or cultural elements of either the Scottish ballad or of the Gaelic singing traditions. A complete comparison of these traditions would not only be beyond the scope of a study such as this but would also be an unnecessary step to demonstrate the creolised music, since not all the elements of both traditions are present in the mix. The chapter will therefore be selective in its musical treatment, concentrating on elements from both cultures that are found in, or are relevant to, the Psalms and the singing style associated with them.

2.1.1 Texts and recordings used in this case study

With the exception of one or two examples which are given for demonstration purposes the examples of common metre ballad lyrics in this chapter are taken from *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, collected by Francis James Child and published in five volumes, between 1882 and 1896.[12] Child was a Bostonian academic who became interested in the connections between North American and British versions of English

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[11] See Nicholas Temperley, 'The Old Way of Singing—Its Origins and Development, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 34/3 (1981), 511-544.

[12] Francis James Child, *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads (5 Volumes)*, vol. 1–5 (Dover Publications, 2003).

and Scots Ballads. He collected mainly from printed sources, endeavouring to find the earliest versions of particular ballads and later variations on them.[13] Although Child's collection comprises several different metres, the examples chosen here are all in common metre, as this is the only one relevant to the Gaelic psalms.

Although Child worked assiduously collecting the lyrics of the narrative ballads, he did not concern himself greatly with the music, much to the detriment of any possible holistic treatment of the music and lyrics of the ballads in his collection. He did eventually, in his fifth volume, provide fifty-five music scores, but as his collection contained three hundred and five ballads and their variants, most of his collected lyrics were 'orphaned' from their melodies. [14]

The lyrics and audio examples that follow will be dealt with separately as they exemplify different issues. The lyrics provide information on rhyme and metre, while the audio provides details of the performance style. The audio recordings used in this study are mainly from archived sources. For the Scottish ballad, the included audio examples are taken primarily from the *Tobar an Dualchais / Kist o' Riches* website, an on-line archive of field recordings carried out by, or for, Edinburgh University's School of Scottish Studies, This on-line archive also includes material recorded for the BBC since the 1930s. It is widely recognised as one of the biggest repositories of field-recorded Scottish traditional music both in Gaelic and in Scots. *Tobar an Dualchais / Kist o' Riches* also provides many of the examples of Gaelic singing used in the thesis. Details will be provided at the point of reference. Other examples of both Lowland Scots and Scots Gaelic singing come from commercially available recordings.[15]

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[13] Child's research took him to Great Britain and Canada as well as the United States. Comparing the English and Scots ballads with ballads from other European countries, he found that many of the narrative themes were in fact international, being found not just in Great Britain and North America, but also throughout much of Europe Child is viewed as being one of the foremost authorities on the English and Scots ballads.

[14] A complete collection of tunes for the Child ballads was provided by Bertrand Harris Bronson in four volumes published between 1959 and 1972. See: Bertrand H. Bronson, *The Traditional Tunes of The Child Ballads*, vol. 1 (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1959). He also published a single volume version in 1976, reprinted in 2015. See: Bertrand Harris Bronson, *The Singing Tradition of Child's Popular Ballads. (Abridgement)* (Princeton University Press, 2015). These volumes consisted of tunes associated with the Child ballads that were extant at the time Bronson was writing.

[15] Ewan McColl and Peggy Seeger, *Popular Scottish Songs* (Folkways Records, 1961). Various artists, *The Muckle Sangs—Classic Scots Ballads*, CD, Scottish Tradition (Edinburgh: Greentrax, 1992). Lucy Stewart, *Lucy Stewart: Traditional Singer from Aberdeenshire, Scotland,* vol. 1 (Folkways Records, 1961). Christine Primrose, *'S Tu Nam Chuimhne,* CD, (Temple Records, 1995).

2.2 Scotland—historical background

Scotland is divided, both geographically and culturally, into two major parts. In English, these are called 'Highlands' and 'Lowlands', reflecting the regions' topographies. The Highland boundary fault, a geological feature that marks the division between the two, runs Southwest/Northeast, from an area slightly north and west of Glasgow, at the Firth of Clyde, to the North Sea near the town of Nairn on the Moray Firth (see Figure 2.1). To the north and west of this line are the Highlands, to the south and east of it, the Lowlands. All of Scotland's cities (with the exception of Inverness) most of its major towns, agriculture and industry, and the vast majority of its 5.2 million population, are located in the Lowlands. Although the Highland area covers almost sixty percent of the territory of Scotland, its population as of mid-2013 was only around 232,950.[16] A series of island groups lie to the west and in the north, off the coast of the Highlands. Some, such as the Isle of Skye [*Eilean Sgiathanach*], are very close to the mainland while others are situated between five and forty miles out to sea.

In Scots Gaelic the names given to the two areas are, *Gàidhealtachd* (Highlands) and *Galldachd* (Lowlands). Whereas the English names refer to topography, the Gaelic names more accurately translate as, respectively, 'territory of the Gaels' and 'territory of the foreigners' in effect recognising a division between the two peoples and their cultures.

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[16] 'Population | Highland Profile—Key Facts and Figures | The Highland Council,' accessed 14 October, 2015,
http://www.highland.gov.uk/info/695/council_information_performance_and_statistics/165/highland_profile_-_key_facts_and_figures/2.

Figure 2.1 Map of Scotland showing the Highland/Lowland division. The Hebridean Islands are in the North-west, to the left of the area marked 'Highlands' (compliments of bugbog.com). [17]

One of the main narratives in Scottish political and socio-cultural development from the late medieval period onwards is that of growing Lowland power and a corresponding, gradual demise of the influence and power of the Highland Gaelic area. From the base-line of a relatively united Kingdom of Scotland, established on the mainland late in the first millennium,[18] the struggle for political control of Scotland was played out with England in the Wars of Independence (1286-1328), resulting in a reassertion of Scottish Independence by the end of the fourteenth century. There followed a relatively stable co-existence with England which lasted for more than two hundred years

The relationship between England and Scotland, however, changed again in the sixteenth century when the Protestant Reformation movement in Scotland, was opposed by Catholic noblemen. Protestant noblemen found common cause with, and sought help from, their English counterparts in promoting and protecting Protestantism. This, in turn, led to a loosening of the alliance between Scotland and France (known as the *auld*

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[17] Source:http://www.bugbog.com/maps/europe/british_isles/scotland_map.htm2.11

[18] The Western and Northern Isles would have formed part of a separate Norse lordship. The Western Isles came under Scottish rule after the treaty of Perth in 1266.

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alliance) which had been initially strengthened because of resistance in both jurisdictions to the Reformation.[19]

In 1603, Elizabeth I of England, the last Tudor to rule, died without leaving an heir. Her distant relative, James Stewart – James VI of Scotland – became James I of England and from then on England and Scotland shared a monarchy. This 'Union of the Crowns' as it is known was followed over a century later by the union of the two countries and their parliaments to form the Kingdom of Great Britain (1707). In the interim between the two unions, clashes between Catholic and Protestant elements of the aristocracy led to James II (1633-1701) being deposed and replaced in 1689 by the Protestant William of Orange (1650-1702). This sparked rebellion in the Gaelic Highland area where loyalty to the Catholic Stewarts, who had fled to France, was strong. The friction between Catholic and Protestant elements of British society culminated in the Battle of Culloden (1746), which led to the destruction of the last vestiges of the Highland Lords as a semi-independent political force within Great Britain.

In the latter half of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth, due to economic pressure on their estates and improved cross-breeding of sheep to adapt them to inhospitable terrain, a series of mass evictions popularly known as 'the Highland Clearances' led to the Highlands and Islands losing much of their tenant populations. It is generally regarded as one of the most traumatic events in Highland history and culture. 'In the space of less than half a century, the Highlands became one of the most sparsely populated areas in Europe'.[20] Many of these people emigrated to Canada, in particular to Nova Scotia and Cape Breton island where Scots Gaelic continued to be spoken natively until very recent times.

2.2.1 Highland and Lowland social and cultural differences (1500 – 1850)

Linguistically and culturally, the Highlands and Lowlands of Scotland had been diverse, since at least the fourteenth century. Highland people were mainly Scots Gaelic speaking; Lowlanders spoke a variant of English historically called 'Inglis' or 'Lallans',

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[19] Scottish and French Catholic nobles were allied in their attempts to suppress the rise of Protestantism. Over time as more and more Scottish noblemen became Protestant the French alliance weakened and alliances with English reformers were strengthened.

[20] 'BBC—History—British History in Depth: The Cultural Impact of the Highland Clearances,' accessed 16 October, 2015,
http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/civil_war_revolution/scotland_clearances_01.shtml.

known nowadays as Lowland Scots or simply 'Scots'. Over the centuries, as the influence of the South grew stronger, the Highlands became anglicised. This process began, slowly, but accelerated as time went by, spurred on by events such as the Union of the Crowns (1603), the Statutes of Iona (1609, see below); the Act of Union (1707), The Battle of Culloden (1746) and the Highland Clearances throughout the nineteenth century. As Gaelic political and military power in Scotland waned, English and Lowland influence, political, military and cultural thrived. Correspondingly, there was a growing realisation among the Gaelic aristocracy that survival, for them at least, meant embracing English political, social and cultural ways. Many in the Lowlands viewed Gaelic culture as outside the reaches of civility. Wilson MacLeod says that:

> Beginning in the late 1300s, commentators from the Scots-speaking Lowlands (or *Galldachd*) began to develop strongly negative attitudes towards Highlanders, whom they had come to consider backward, violent, even barbarous. These prejudices intensified in the later 16th century [...] and new ideologies of kingship and government gave new impetus to the imposition of 'civility' on the *Gàidhealtachd*.[21]

2.2.2 The Statutes of Iona–the pacification and anglicisation of the Gaelic aristocracy

In 1608, James II had sent an emissary, Lord Ochiltree, to talk to the highland chiefs.

> Finding fair words of no avail, Ochiltree asked the Chiefs to come on board his ship, the Moon, to hear a sermon from the Bishop of the Isles, and to dine afterwards. All accepted the invitation except Rory MacLeod, who suspected some sinister design. The result showed his wisdom. Ochiltree, when dinner was done, announced to his guests that they were his prisoners, and sailed with them to Ayr, whence he took them to Edinburgh, and presented them to the Council.[22]

Following a period of imprisonment, the chiefs were released on condition that they meet with the Bishop of the Isles on the Island of Iona. There, in 1609, they signed what became known as the Statutes of Iona.

Among the nine Statutes were provisions for a ban on distilling whiskey or making wine for anything other than household consumption; an undertaking to repair old

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[21] Wilson McLeod, *Gaelic in Contemporary Scotland.pdf*, Ms. Research, (2006), http://www.poileasaidh.celtscot.ed.ac.uk/MCLEODCATALAN2.pdf. , 1.

[22] 'The Island Clans During Six Centuries,' accessed 2 December, 2013, http://www.electricscotland.com/webclans/island_clans_chap6.htm.

churches; an end to 'quartering' (lodging officials with the tenantry for free); and an undertaking to provide an inn on every island.

But two of the statutes are perceived to have affected Gaelic aristocratic culture, and by extension, Gaelic culture in general, negatively. Statute number six declared that:

> Every gentleman or yeoman in the Islands possessing 'thriescore kyne,' and having children, to send at least his eldest son, or, failing sons, his eldest daughter, to some school in the Lowlands, there to be kept and brought up 'quhill they may be found able sufficientlie to speik, reid, and wryte Inglische'.[23]

and statute number eight declares:

> The chiefs not to entertain wandering bards, or other vagabonds of the sort 'pretending libertie to baird and flattir,' and all such 'vagaboundis, bairdis, juglouris, or suche lyke' to be apprehended, put in the stocks, and expelled the Islands. [24]

These statutes, the sixth in particular, ensured that Gaelic culture among the aristocracy would come under severe pressure as the eldest son and heir to the estate would have been at least partly reared in the Lowlands and would be more in tune with English and Lowland culture. The eighth tried to end the system of poetic patronage and thus ultimately to eradicate the literary classes and literature of the old Gaelic system. A further agreement in 1616, signed by the chiefs and the Privy Council in Edinburgh, furthered the aim of the sixth statute by stating that 'chiefs' heirs should not inherit unless they knew English. [25] However, as Julian Goodare points out, the chiefs developed a dual identity with one foot in both cultural and political camps, as it were:

> There were sometimes tensions between these two identities and some chiefs would have difficulties balancing them but it seems clear that they sought to maintain both in parallel […] They might one day have to choose one identity or the other but that is a story that belongs more to 1746 than to 1609. [26]

The position of many clan chiefs in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Scotland could be described both politically and culturally as moving from a Gaelic-centred one, which included Ireland in its ambit, to a more English and Lowland one, centred on the island of Great Britain in general and Lowland Scotland, in particular. Historian Dr. Martin

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[23] 'Am Baile—400th Anniversary of the Statutes of Iona (1 of 2),' accessed 2 December, 2013, http://www.ambaile.com/en/item/item_page.jsp?item_id=118765.
[24] *Ibid.*
[25] Julian Goodare, 'The Statutes of Iona in Context,' *The Scottish Historical Review,* 77/203 (1998), 31–57.
[26] *Ibid.*, 56.

McGregor in a 2012 publication referring to a paradigm of the two peoples, the *Gaidheal* (Scottish Highlanders and Irish Gaelic people) and the *Goill* (non-Gaelic consisting of the rest of the archipelago), says:

> During its lifetime this paradigm was stretched to its limits and beyond, starting with the actual presence of *Goill* in Ireland, and, more puzzlingly, of non-Gaelic Scots in Scotland. Internal frontiers like these could simply be overlooked, but the incremental impact of Reformation, English conquest of Ireland and Union of the Crowns proved impossible to absorb without some recalibration of ethnicities and nationalities.[27]

The eighth statute (which banned support for poets) appears to have had very limited effect initially, as the system of poetic patronage continued until the eighteenth century in Scotland. However, the direction of change was firmly established. The status of Gaelic, and by extension its attendant culture, was severely diminished and this ensured its steady decline over the coming years. Change therefore, occurred as a top down phenomenon in Gaelic society. The Gaelic chiefs became Lords or *Lairds* in the Scottish, and subsequently the British, systems, and most sent their children to be educated in schools in England and the south of Scotland as required. This process gradually brought the Gaelic Highlands, into conformity politically, and among the aristocracy, culturally with the rest of Scotland.

The effect of the Statutes on common Gaelic society was less marked. There was little incentive, initially, for the common highlander to learn English or adopt English and lowland customs, as the prospect of social and economic advancement was small. Most would live out their lives in or around the areas in which they were born, as dependants of the chief.

2.2.3 Internal cultural difference in Gaelic society: Gaelic High and Low Cultures
Culturally, there was a division between the clan élite – the aristocracy – and the common person in Gaelic society, just as in most European societies at the time. The language of Gaelic aristocratic society in both Scotland and Ireland was different to that of the common people. Aristocrats and the professional classes, from around the thirteenth to the eighteenth centuries, used a standardised language nowadays known as 'Classical Gaelic'. The poets in particular acted as guardians and cultivators of this higher form of Gaelic. They were part what is known now as the bardic tradition writing

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[27] Martin MacGregor, 'The Campbells: Lordship, Literature and Liminality,' *Textual Cultures* 7/1 (2012), 121–157, 123-4.

a highly codified form of verse. They underwent many years of training and their poetry was regarded as having mystical power. They were employed by the chiefs to write panegyric poetry. Satires written by them were thought to bring harm to the subjects of the satire. They exerted a lot of influence over the chiefs of the clans. Many were very wealthy and they had the right of free movement throughout the Gaelic world, a right not granted to the common people. With the decreasing power of the clan chiefs, in particular, following the battle of Culloden, the professional poets of the Gaelic system as a class, their form of language and their literature, went into terminal decline. This in turn allowed the language and versification of the common people to come to the fore. However, another factor came into play in the eighteenth century that was to have both religious and cultural implications. This factor was the Reformation.

2.3 The Reformation in the Highlands and Islands

Any understanding of the processes that led to the Gaelic metrical psalm singing tradition in Highland Scotland must take account of the progress of the Protestant Reformation. The geography of the Highland and Islands area and its distinctive culture mitigated against a ready acceptance of outside influences, thus affecting its progress. As a result, it was not until the eighteenth century that the Reformation took root firmly in the Highlands and Islands; this was almost three centuries after its success in the Lowlands.

2.3.1 Background to the Scottish Reformation

In the earlier stages of the Reformation in Europe, it looked as though Protestantism in Scotland would follow the path of Luther.[28] This was primarily due to the influence of the early reformer, Patrick Hamilton (who had studied in the University of Wittenberg and was influenced by Luther) and to the spread of Lutheran ideas by books

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[28] The Protestant Reformation, which had started with Martin Luther's protest in Wittenberg in 1517, had by 1537 broken into three main parts; the Lutherans mainly in Northern Europe, The Geneva and Strasbourg reformers based mainly in those cities, and the Anglican Reformation in England. Both the Anglicans and the Lutherans saw themselves in protest against Rome and maintained hierarchical churches with bishops although they renounced papal supremacy. They hoped to reform the Catholic Church. The Geneva and Strasbourg reformers by contrast believed in starting a new church based on scripture only, and rejected hierarchy. Initially Lutheranism made major inroads into Scotland led by Patrick Hamilton. Hamilton was executed in 1528, making him the first Scottish Protestant martyr.

> When Lutheran books in Latin started to appear in Scotland, the radical message which they carried quickly made a strong impression on many Scots,[…] although King James V tried to ban their distribution.[29]

The ideas of the Genevan reformers (later known as Calvinists), were first promulgated by George Wishart, (1513–1546) an early Scottish reformer, and later by John Knox (1513–1572). It was Knox who steered Scotland from a Lutheran reformation to a Calvinist one.[30] Initial attempts at reformation in Scotland had led to an increasingly bitter internal division between Catholics and Protestants, leading to war between the factions and attempts by both to control the Scottish throne. The gradual process of anglicisation in Gaelic Scotland was already under way by the time the Protestant Reformation began to take hold in Scotland in the sixteenth century.

2.3.2 Catholicism and early efforts at reformation in the Highlands

Strangely enough, little effort seems to have been made initially by the Reformed Church to proselytise in the Highlands, and with one or two exceptions, the Highland area remained firmly Catholic. However, organised Catholicism in the Highlands was itself very weak. Often, there were few priests to serve the congregations and the geographical reach required, to get to all congregations, was enormous;

> […] the Catholics in the Highlands were cut off from the wider Church. There was no system to replace priests who died or were otherwise unable or unwilling to serve. By 1600 there were only about 12 Catholic priests in all of Scotland, none of whom served in the Highlands. Despite this many Highlanders […] continued to follow Catholic practises in so far as was possible.[31]

Seventy-five years later, there was little change:

> In 1675 two Catholic schools were set up, one in Glengarry and the other on the Isle of Barra, but there were problems with distribution of the pupils. A survey was conducted which estimated that there were some 14,000 communicants of which 12,000 belonged to the Highlands and the Isles and with only three or four priests, three from Ireland.[32]

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[29] 'BBC—Scotland's History—The Scottish Reformation,' accessed 23 November, 2013, http://www.bbc.co.uk/scotland/history/articles/scottish_reformationReformation/.

[30] During the five-year reign of Queen Mary from 1553- 1558, English Protestants were severely persecuted with more than two hundred and eighty of them being executed. It became known as the Marian persecution and Queen Mary herself became known as 'Bloody Mary'. As a result, many of them fled to join Protestant communities in Strasbourg and Geneva. They were joined by many Scottish reformers including Knox, fleeing persecution in Scotland. The exiles returned only after the death of Mary. Many of these became acquainted with Calvinism during the period of exile. The return of the Scottish reformers- now strongly Calvinist, was to be a pivotal moment in the Reformation in Scotland.

[31] 'Highland Religion: 1600-1650,' accessed 23 November, 2013, http://home.comcast.net/~gmcdavid/HistNotes/highland_rel.html.

[32] 'The Roman Catholic Church in Scotland after the Reformation of 1560,' accessed 23 November, 2013,

However, Protestantism does not seem to have benefitted from this. This may have been due, in part, to a lack of manpower in the new Protestant churches. It would appear that, after initial successes, the Reformation went through a lull in progress, due to the passing of its early pioneers.

> After 1573 the Protestant Kirk faced a manpower crisis as the initial wave of reformers like John Knox died off. Attitudes were hardening on all sides across Europe as Catholicism and Protestantism became more rigidly defined. Plots abounded to restore Catholicism: in France the Protestants were massacred; in England Catholics were martyred. Scottish Protestantism had captured the state, but feared it had only secured conformity rather than genuine conversion.[33]

Despite the poor state of Catholicism in the Highlands and islands, the early Reformation in Scotland seemed destined to be confined to the Lowlands. Referring to the dilapidated state of organised Catholicism in the Highlands, Wilson McLeod states that:

> The Protestant reformers did little to fill this spiritual vacuum […] and it was not until the better part of a century after the Reformation in the Lowlands that Protestantism became the major faith in Gaelic Scotland. Even then Episcopalianism tended to prevail over Presbyterianism..[34]

2.3.3 Conversion or conformity?—initial Protestant communities in the Highlands

Another factor slowing the progress of the Reformation in the Highlands and Islands was the difficulty of converting ordinary tenant crofters if the clan chief had not himself converted.

> Highlanders were strongly inclined to follow the lead of their chiefs, and the conversion of a chief often, though not always, caused the Clan to follow. Archibald, fourth Earl of Argyll and Chief of Clan Campbell, was an early convert to the Protestant Faith and after his death in 1558 his son, another Archibald, continued to energetically support the new religion.[35]

Often the level to which the new religion was properly understood was quite poor, and, as stated, it might be more correct in many instances to speak of conformity rather than conversion. A number of social and cultural variables, or even simple happenstance, could affect adherence to one church or the other. For example, Douglas Somerset

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http://www.thereformationReformation.info/catholic_church.htm.
[33] 'BBC—Scotland's History—The Scottish Reformation,'
[34] Wilson McLeod, *Divided Gaels: Gaelic Cultural Identities in Scotland and Ireland c.1200—c.1650* (Oxford University Press, 2004), 197.
[35] Glenn McDavid, 'Highland Religion: 1600-1650,' Historical, accessed 23 November, 2013, http://home.comcast.net/~gmcdavid/HistNotes/highland_rel.html.

describes a fluctuating situation, in terms of religion, on the Outer Hebridean island of Barra:

> It was reported of Barra, for instance, (to the 1766 General Assembly) that 'in Charles I time all the inhabitants were Protestant, but after the Restoration (of 1660) Popish priests got in among them and perverted them, and their then Protestant minister was a man inattentive to his character and to duty'.[36]

In relation to some of the problems faced by the Synod of Argyll[37] which met first in 1639, Somerset states 'there was an entrenched superstition among the people, for instance in sun-worship'.[38] However, other problems also existed—the lack of religious literature in Gaelic and the lack of ministers or preachers conversant in the language.

> Parishes were generally far too large for one man,[...] there was a shortage of Gaelic-speaking ministers [...]travel was tiring and dangerous, especially in winter;[...]there were effectively no Gaelic books available[...] there were problems with law and order[...] there were some prominent Papists and Episcopalians among the Highland chiefs; [...]it was difficult to get ministers to attend the Synod, especially those from the Presbytery of Skye; and there were several civil wars. [39]

In summary, the slow spread of Protestantism in the Highlands and Islands stands in marked contrast to the rapidity of its establishment in other parts of Britain including the Lowlands. Somerset remarks:

> These things happened more slowly in the North than in the South. The Reformation period in the South [of Scotland]was complete with the Reforming of the universities in the 1570s and the setting up of Presbyteries after 1581. But in the North the change took much longer. Spiritually, much of the great change did not take place until the eighteenth and even the early nineteenth centuries. [40]

2.3.4 The cultural effect of the Reformation on the Highlands and Islands

The lack of printed material in Gaelic, and of ministers and 'readers'[41] who could speak it, formed a major obstacle to reform in the Highlands and Islands. Attempts were made

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[36] Douglas Somerset, 'The Reformation in the North of Scotland'-Dr Douglas Somerset » Reformation Scotland,' accessed 23 November, 2013, http://www.reformation-scotland.org.uk/articles/reformation-in-the-north-of-scotland/.

[37] Synods were convened meetings of church authorities based on administrative regions. Its level was between that of the Presbytery at a very local level and the National Assembly at the highest level. The Argyll synod hosted by the Campbell clan chiefs was particularly active in relation to Gaelic liturgical and scriptural materials, and the promotion of Protestantism among the people of the Highlands and the western islands.

[38] Somerset, 'The Reformation in the North of Scotland'

[39] *Ibid.*

[40] *Ibid.*

[41] Lay people who were taught to read and could read to others if no minister were present.

to redress the former early on by the publication in 1567 of *Foirm na nUrrnuidheadh* [The Form of the Prayers], a translation of the Protestant 'Book of Common Order', which itself was based on the form of worship used in Geneva. This was the first book ever published in either Irish or Scots Gaelic and was used in both countries. The translator was Seon Carsuel (John Carswell) Bishop of the Isles who had been appointed by Queen Mary in 1565. Carswell himself moved between Episcopalianism (he accepted the bishopric from Queen Mary much to the disappointment of the puritan branch of the church) and more fundamental Protestantism, and towards the latter part of his life, he was closer to Episcopalianism than Calvinism. Carswell says, in his introduction to *Foirm na n-Urrnaidheadh,* that he had waited to see if anyone else would translate it and had reluctantly taken the work on himself. Carswell had a bad opinion of the Gaelic poets, complaining in the introduction of *Foirm na nUrrnuidheadh* about the secular outlook of the bardic schools and their hold on people's imagination.[42] However, the lack of involvement by the Gaelic poets in the production of Protestant religious literature may have had repercussions for the translation of the psalms, in particular the choice of verse form, as will be seen later in this chapter.

2.3.5 The use of the vernacular

The form of Gaelic used by Carswell was adapted from Classical Gaelic, the literary and aristocratic language,[43] and in doing so, he broke one of the fundamental tenets of the new religion, as laid down by Calvin himself—that the Church and its liturgies should always use the vernacular. The overwhelming majority of common Gaelic speakers were illiterate, spoke only their own dialects and would have found Classical Gaelic, even if read aloud to them, obscure.[44] The use of a form of classical Gaelic for printed materials continued for quite some time. Writing about a trip to the island of Coll over two hundred years later in 1778, Samuel Johnston remarked:

> Mention was made of the Earse translation of the New Testament, which has been lately published, and of which the learned Mr. Macqueen of Sky [sic] spoke with commendation; but Mr. Maclean said he did not use it, because he could make the text more intelligible to his

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[42] Ewan A McLean, 'Gaelic Psalm-Singing and the Lowland Connection,' *The Liturgical Review of The Church Service Society* 3, no. 2 (November 1973): 54–62.

[43] Gaelic at the time, like modern German, had two forms, a high language form for the aristocracy and the dialects of the ordinary people.

[44] To this day Gaelic speakers refer to '*Gàidhlig a' chùbaid*' [pulpit Gaelic], a form that would not be used in everyday speech.

auditors by an extemporary version. From this I inferred, that the language of the translation was not the language of the Isle of Col [sic].[45]

The decision to use Classical Gaelic will be revisited when discussing the Gaelic psalms themselves later in this chapter. The publication of *Foirm na n-Urrnuidheadh* did not open any floodgates in terms of the provision of Gaelic religious material. It was another sixty-six years before the next publication, a Gaelic edition of Calvin's catechism, was printed in 1631. The Synod of Argyll printed a short catechism in 1653. By 1658 the first fifty psalms had been translated but it was not until 1694 that the complete one hundred and fifty psalms in Gaelic were printed. It took until 1767 for a translation of the bible – *the* essential text for the reformed church – to be printed (this is the publication referred to by Samuel Johnson in the quotation above).

Carswell's precedent determined that the form of language used in the liturgies of the new church in the Highlands would not be that of the ordinary person. The choice that he and others who followed made, may have been influenced by the fact that Classical Gaelic was the only form of the language that had a conventional writing system. The translation was urgently required at the time and it is likely that neither Carswell nor subsequent translators would have had the time or the training to produce a new orthography and grammar for the commonly spoken language. They may also have taken their cue from elsewhere. As will be seen later, it was not just in the case of Gaelic that the vernacular language was ignored. However, support at official level for Protestant printed material in Gaelic, and training in the language amongst reformers, was also quite weak, and this undoubtedly compounded the delays.

In relation to financial, cultural, and organisational supports for the reformation, one aristocratic family, the Campbells of Argyll, is worthy of note.

2.3.6 The Campbells of Argyll

From early on, the Campbell clan in Argyll was actively involved in the Reformation. In particular, the fourth earl, Archibald Campbell (1507-1588), who met, and was greatly influenced by, John Knox, converted and gave much support to the reformers. He had a close friendship with Carswell, who acknowledged that support in his preface to *Foirm na n-Urnaidheadh.*

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[45] 'A Journey To The Western Isles of Scotland by Samuel Johnson-Coll,' accessed 30 November, 2013, http://www.electricscotland.com/history/journey/jour25.htm.

The Campbells are a central part of the story of not just the Reformation in the Highlands, but also the rapprochement between Lowland Scots and Gaelic societies. In some ways, they were seen as having a foot in both the Highland/Gaelic and Lowland/English camps long before other highland or island chiefs. The Campbells' poets were able to exploit this.

> Elision of frontiers made it unproblematic for Irish or Scottish classical poets to represent Campbell ambitions so long as these were contiguous with Gaeldom in its fullest sense. The challenge came from the Reformation onwards, as the Campbells outgrew 'Gaeldom' and engaged with the matter of Britain. The literati turned to Arthurianism, and the elevation of Arthur, an early medieval North Briton from whom the Campbells claimed descent in the version of their pedigree the literati favoured, into King Arthur himself. [46]

Later, an Irish poet gives the seventh earl a telling title. The title is not meant to be derogatory but rather acknowledges the reality of the Campbells' political and cultural situation:

> *Dual ollamh do thriall le toisg* ('It is customary for a poet to travel on a diplomatic mission'), is a poem of Irish authorship addressed to Gilleasbuig, seventh earl of Argyll around 1595, as the crisis engendered by English attempts to conquer Ireland intensified. The poet coins for Gilleasbuig the striking neologism of *Breat-Ghaoidheal* or 'Brit-Gael', and urges him to succour Ireland not on the grounds that she had nurtured his kindred, as we find in parallel contemporary appeals to MacDonald chiefs, but because his progenitor King Arthur had exacted tribute there. [47]

The Reformation in the Highlands and Islands was a slow process that was dependent on converting the chiefs and clan élites rather than on a sudden or revolutionary change among the people. As Douglas Somerset attests to above, the full spiritual (or perhaps theological) conversion of the common people was an ongoing, and somewhat oscillating, process, extending into the eighteenth and even the early nineteenth century, and the support of the Campbells was crucial in offsetting the many problems besetting it.

2.3.7 The effects of Calvinism on Gaelic society and culture

The Reformation had a major effect on Gaelic society and culture, including its music. However, some effects of the Reformation on Gaelic Scotland are disputed. In keeping

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[46] Martin MacGregor, 'The Campbells: Lordship, Literature and Liminality,' *Textual Cultures* 7/1 (2012), 121–57, 124.
[47] *Ibid.*, 124-5.

with the tenets of Calvinism, Gaelic was used in Protestant services and meetings as it is to this day, but opinions differ as to the effect that Calvinism had on other elements of Gaelic culture such as storytelling and secular singing, dancing, and the playing of instruments.

One of Scots Gaelic's major poets of the twentieth century, Ruaraidh Mac Thòmais (1921-2012), also known as Derick Thompson, probably best sums up this viewpoint in his poem, *Am Bodach Ròcais* (The Scarecrow),[48] which is worth quoting in full. As someone who grew up in one of the staunchest Gaelic-speaking Presbyterian communities in Scotland, on the Island of Lewis, Mac Thòmais's perspective is very much that of an insider. The scarecrow in the poem is a reference to Calvin himself while a *cèilidh-house* refers to a neighbour or friend's house where people are socialising. *Conall Gulban* was a fifth-century king who features in Gaelic mythology.

Am Bodach-rocais	**The Scarecrow**
An oidhch' ud	That night
thainig am bodach-ròcais dhan taigh chèilidh:	the scarecrow came into the cèilidh-house:
fear caol ard dubh	a tall, thin black-haired man
is aodach dubh air.	wearing black clothes.
Shuidh e air an t-seis	He sat on the bench
is thuit na cairtean as ar làmhan.	and the cards fell from our hands.
Bha fear a siud	One man
ag innse sgeulachd air Conall Gulban	was telling a folktale about Conall Gulban
is reodh na faclan air a bhilean.	and the words froze on his lips.
Bha boireannach 'na suidh' air stòl	A woman was sitting on a stool
ag òran, 's thug e 'n toradh	singing songs, and he took the goodness out of
as a' cheòl.	the music.
Ach cha do dh'fhàg e falamh sinn:	But he did not leave us empty-handed:
thug e òran nuadh dhuinn,	he gave us a new song,
is sgeulachdan na h-aird an Ear,	and tales from the Middle East,
is sprùilleach de dh'fheallsanachd Geneva,	and fragments of the philosophy of Geneva,
is sguab e 'n teine à meadhon an làir,	and he swept the fire from the centre of the floor
's chuir e 'n tùrlach loisgeach nar broillichean.	and set a searing bonfire in our breasts.

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[48] Text and translation from: Maurice Lindsay and Lesley Duncan, eds, *The Edinburgh Book of Twentieth-Century Scottish Poetry* (Edinburgh University Press, 1988), 335-6.

This poem reflects a view of Calvinism as being, at best, joyless (a view not shared by everyone)[49] and at worst, as having killed off central parts of Gaelic cultural identity, namely, singing, storytelling and recreational gathering. This view seems to be backed to some extent by the accounts of others. Alexander Carmichael, who compiled the major Gaelic collection of Folklore of the Hebrides, 'Carmina Gadelica',[50] writes of a conversation with an old woman in the townland of Ness in the northern part of the Island of Lewis. When asked about music and song in the area she replied:

> In my young days there was hardly a house in Ness in which there was not one or two or three who could play the pipe, or the fiddle, or the trump. And I have heard it said that there were men, and women too, who could play things they called harps, and lyres, and bellow-pipes, […] A blessed change came over the place and the people,[…] and the good men and the good ministers who arose did away with the songs and the stories, the music and the dancing, the sports and the games, that were perverting the minds and ruining the souls of the people, […] If there was a foolish man here and there who demurred, the good ministers and the good elders themselves broke and burnt their instruments, saying :-
>
> *'Is fearr an teine beag a gharas la beag na sithe,*
> *Na'n teine mor a loisgeas la mor na feirge.'*
>
> [Better is the small fire that warms on the little day of peace,
> Than the big fire that burns on the great day of wrath.][51]

In relation to the Gaelic language, much criticism is also directed at a Protestant education body, the *Scottish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge* (SSPCK), formed by Royal Charter in 1709. It set up many schools in the Highlands to try to educate the young in the Protestant faith. The attitude of the Society towards the language was initially quite hostile and damaging, the use of Gaelic being totally banned:

> The SSPCK achieved much in determining the fortunes of Gaelic. The location of its schools mirrored the geographical decline of Gaelic over time, and it maintained an antipathy towards

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[49] Calvin is blamed for many things (as can be seen in this poem) sometimes perhaps unfairly, and many will point out that there is a big difference between Calvin himself and Calvinism, a tradition that developed after his time and drew from other reformers as well as Calvin. Calvin was unbending in his theological stances and could be ruthless, as demonstrated by the burning of Michael Servetus, tried and convicted as a heretic by Genevan authorities, under the influence of Calvin. Yet when the early Genevan reformers initially banned all music from the churches it was Calvin among others who insisted that it be included for the Psalms. Calvin also invited people to his house on Sundays to play *pétanque* a form of the french game *boules*, something that would not have be permitted by later sabbatarian Calvinists.

[50] 'Carmina Gadelica' is a collection of prayers charms, blessings and incantations collected by Alexander Carmichael (1832-1912) and published by him in two volumes in 1900. Four more volumes from his writings were subsequently published by members of his family, as volumes 3 (1940), and four (1941). Professor Angus Matheson edited and published a fifth volume (1954) and a sixth (and final) volume (1971). At the time of writing this thesis, the volumes have been out of print for many years. Online versions of four of the volumes can be seen at http://www.electricscotland.com/books/pdf/carmina.htm

[51] 'Carmina Gadelica—Introduction,' accessed 26 June, 2014, http://www.smo.uhi.ac.uk/gaidhlig/corpus/Carmina/Mintro.html.

the language, which fitted the political mood of the country outside the Highlands. Moreover, through banning the use of Gaelic, it brought about an attitude change whereby English was seen as the only medium for education.[52]

SSPCK did amend its policies, however, in the 1760s, adopting a more tolerant attitude towards Gaelic and supplying some bilingual texts.

While much of the above might seem like an indictment of Calvinism culturally, not all preachers and missionaries would have disapproved of music and dance. It should also be remembered that the process of anglicisation had been growing since long before the arrival of Protestantism and would continue to do so in both Calvinist and non-Calvinist parts of the Highlands. Some later Gaelic writers and academics would question the notion that a hostile Presbyterianism led to the demise of Gaelic. Donald E. Meek in a 1996 paper for an evangelical publication described the relationship of the Presbyterian Church to the Gaelic language as more utilitarian than hostile. Given that the objective was to preach the gospel, then whichever language the congregation understood, either English or Gaelic- would be used:

> It could, in fact, be argued that, far from rejecting Gaelic culture in its totality, the Presbyterian churches (in particular) have so strongly embraced certain parts of it, notably the Gaelic language itself, that they have produced a distinctive brand of culturally conditioned Highland Evangelicalism. Some have gone so far as to call this 'Gaelic Calvinism', at least in its pre-1690 phase. Whatever we may say for or against such a label, it is undeniable that, in fulfilling their aims, no other public bodies in Scotland have used Gaelic so consistently as the Presbyterian churches. A major by-product of this has been the strengthening of the language and of some (though by no means all) dimensions of the culture. [53]

2.3.8 Summary

The differences between the Scottish Highland and Lowland society were substantial. The Scottish Lowlands were closer to England in terms of language and culture, the Gaelic Highlands closer to Ireland. Over time, as a result of both geography and changing power balances in both Britain and Ireland, the Highlands and Islands gradually disengaged from Ireland and engaged more fully with the island of Great Britain. Their society, starting from the top down, gradually inclined towards Lowland

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[52] 'ScottishHistory.com,' accessed 3 December, 2013, http://www.scottishhistory.com/articles/highlandsHighlands/gaelic/gaelic_page1.html.

[53] Donald E. Meek, 'Saints and Scarecrows—The Churches and Gaelic Culture in the Highlands Since 1560,' *Scottish Bulletin of Evangelical Theology* 14/1 (1996), 3–22.

Scottish society as the latter grew in power and influence, aided by alliance and eventually union with England. The Reformation, which had originally succeeded only in the Lowlands, managed ultimately to make serious inroads into Highland and Island society. The corollary was that Gaelic culture and politics began to decline in both pervasiveness and status throughout the Highlands and Islands.

The cultural division of Scotland was mirrored in the music of its two main regions – in particular in their singing traditions, as was the changing balance of power and status between the two. The spread to the Highlands of new materials for Protestant liturgies would bring a new form of verse, and a new type of music, to the Gaelic communities of Scotland.

2.4 The aesthetics of Gaelic and English verse

This section will deal with the differences between Gaelic and Lowland Scots music and verse. These differences are important when it comes to understanding the kind of compromises made in the Gaelic psalm singing tradition. I will start by discussing, and then demonstrating the differences between the systems of versification, which reflect the very different aesthetic systems involved. In the case of the Lowland Scots tradition I will, as previously stated, consider only one type of verse—common metre— as this is the only one of relevance to the Gaelic psalms. A number of Gaelic verse forms will be considered, as no single form is known to have influenced the singing of the Gaelic psalms. The Gaelic poetic system's difference from common metre is the main point of interest. In relation to Gaelic versification, it is the vernacular tradition that is under consideration here as the bardic system was already in decline and would anyway have been unfamiliar to the uneducated mass of people.

Gaelic and English cultures had different aesthetic systems for the composition of verse. This was probably influenced by the rhythmic intonations of the two languages. Without delving too deeply into the influence of the prosody or isochrony of the two languages on their respective systems of versification, Gaelic high culture's bardic tradition had used a syllabic system of verse making called *Dán Díreach* (lit. 'Straight Poem'). Syllabic systems use a regular number of *syllables* in the lines whereas stressed metre, uses a regular number of *stresses* in the lines. Although the Gaelic bardic tradition used a syllabic system, the vernacular tradition primarily used a stressed metre system. English also used a stressed metre system in most of its verse. The stressed

metre verse systems of Gaelic and the English tradition were different, as will be seen. Both cultures sometimes also used verses where both the stresses and the number of syllables followed a strictly regular pattern. This feature is known as accentual syllabic verse.

Although English and Lowland Scots used many different forms of rhyme and verse, 'common metre', sometimes also called 'ballad metre' was to be the metre of choice for translations of the psalms and later for hymns.[54]

2.4.1 Rhythm, rhyme, and metre in Lowland Scots verse

The Lowland Scots song tradition was strongly oriented towards the ballad —a song containing a complete story—also known in Scots as a *Muckle sang*. The songs are long (often forty or fifty verses) and tell of love, murder and battles. They normally begin close to the climax of events and mostly use the third person, telling the tale from the point of view of an observer or narrator. Many well-known ballads are found in England, Scotland, Ireland, and parts of North America and some of these have been around for many centuries. [55] However, it is not the subject matter of these songs that is of interest here, but rather the rhythmic and rhyming schemes used in the verses.

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[54] David Copper, however, distinguishes between the two, pointing out that in ballad metre *normally* only the second and fourth lines rhyme whereas in common metre the first and third lines also rhyme. (emphasis is my own) See: David Cooper, *The Musical Traditions of Northern Ireland and Its Diaspora: Community and Conflict* (Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2010), 34.

[55] They are often classified into three types, the 'folk ballad' which was passed down in the oral tradition only, the 'broadside ballads', which were newly composed ballads printed on a single sheet and sold at fairs and in public houses, and very popular in the seventeenth century in Britain, America and Ireland; and the 'literary ballads' which will be described later in the body text.

Figure 2.2: A broadside ballad sheet from the seventeenth century (courtesy English Broadside Ballad Archive) See next page for enlarged copy. [56]

English and Lowland Scots traditionally built their verses on groups of stressed and unstressed syllables. One of the basic and most common units for expressing this in poetic verse and song was the *iamb*, an unstressed syllable followed by a stressed one as found in the words 'forget' or 'deny'. Various groupings of iambs, called iambic feet, are used to give different types of verse. Each identifiable grouping is called a metre. For example iambic pentametre consists of five iambs per line, as in the rhythm of the line (stressed syllables underlined):

>   *Your force to break, blow, burn and make me new*[57]

Metrical verse can be strict, in that it adheres strongly to the chosen metre or it can be employed more loosely, often by adding extra, unstressed, syllables.

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[56] Source: English Broadside Ballad Archive, Roxburgh collection, The British Library. Reproduced in : http://theappendix.net/issues/2013/7/come-hear-this-ditty-seventeenth-century-drinking-songs-and-hearing-the-past

[57] From: John Donne, Holy Sonnett XIV 'Holy Sonnets: Batter My Heart, Three-Person'd God by John Donne : The Poetry Foundation,' accessed 27 February, 2016, http://www.poetryfoundation.org/poem/173362.

Figure 2.2. (Enlarged)

Although iambic pentameter (five stresses) became the most commonly used rhythm in English poetry, common song verse tended (and still tends) to use four stresses.

The iamb was the basic rhythmic unit of much English poetry from late medieval times,[58] and of common metre—the form of versification relevant to this study.

Common metre, was traditionally one of the main forms of song versification in use in Lowland Scotland and in England, and most English speakers are familiar with it to this day. It consists of a line with four stressed syllables followed by a line with three, which gives a half-verse. The two-line pattern is repeated to give the full verse. An example of common metre can be seen in 'The Ballad of Father Gilligan' by W.B. Yeats. The first verse is given below. The underlined syllables are stressed;

The Ballad of Father Gilligan

The <u>old</u> priest, <u>Pe</u>ter <u>Gilligan</u>,
Was <u>weary</u> <u>night</u> and <u>day</u>;
For <u>half</u> his <u>flock</u> were <u>in</u> their <u>beds</u>,
Or <u>under</u> <u>green</u> sods <u>lay</u>.[59]

The above verse is in fact also an example of accentual syllabic verse in that the number of syllables within the lines also follows a regular pattern—eight on the first and third lines, and six on the second and fourth lines. [60] The accentual syllabic form can be seen again in this verse from 'A Red, Red Rose' by Scots poet Robert Burns:

A Red, Red, Rose

So <u>fair</u> art <u>thou</u>, my <u>bon</u>nie <u>lass,</u>
So <u>deep</u> in <u>luve</u> am <u>I;</u>
And <u>I</u> will <u>luve</u> thee <u>still</u>, my <u>dear,</u>
Till <u>a'</u> the <u>seas</u> gang <u>dry</u>.[61]

Both of the above verses are perfectly iambic; every stressed syllable is preceded by only one unstressed syllable. Accentual syllabic verse is rare in folksongs in common metre. Most folksong verses are loose in their observation of iambic rhythm often including extra, unstressed syllables.

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[58] See with regard to this Martin J. Duffell, *A New History of English Metre* (Modern Humanities Research and Maney Publishing, 2008). ch. 4 and 5

[59] William Butler Yeats, *Collected Poems of W. B. Yeats* (Simon and Schuster, 2008). Number 37.

[60] This perfect or almost perfect accentual syllabic verse is a feature of what is known as the literary ballad. Eighteenth and nineteenth century poets often used accentual syllabic common metre in verse.

[61] From 'A Red, Red Rose' by Robert Burns. *Robert Burns: Selected Poems*, ed. Carol McGuirk, Penguin Classics (Penguin Classics, 1994), 178.

For example, the same metre in almost perfect form again is evident in verses such as this from the Scottish ballad 'The Ballad of Matty Groves'[62]

The Ballad of Matty Groves

Tis <u>true</u> I <u>am</u> Lord <u>Ar</u>len's <u>wife</u>
Lord <u>Ar</u>len's <u>not </u>at <u>home</u>
<u>He</u> is <u>out</u> to the <u>far</u> cornfields
<u>Bring</u>ing the <u>year</u>lings <u>home</u>

It can be seen however, in the above that in the third line, the stressed syllable 'far' is preceded by two unstressed syllables. Likewise in the fourth line between the first and second stresses there are two unstressed syllables. This does not however, break the convention for common metre as the amount of stressed syllables in each line is unchanged.

Both 'A Red, Red Rose' and 'The Ballad of Father Gilligan' as well as other poems written in accentual-syllabic verse are sometimes referred to as 'literary ballads' to distinguish them from folk ballads. The literary ballad can be seen as a refined or perfect example of the metre of the traditional ballads. It was used mainly by the literate poets of English and Lowland Scottish society. Its importance in the context of this thesis will emerge when considering the English translations of the psalms, as the translations were in common metre, mostly in accentual syllabic form.

The verses of common metre normally consist of four lines. Although the second and fourth lines only have three stresses or beats, an extra, i.e. fourth stress or beat called a 'virtual beat', is understood at the end of the second and fourth lines, even though there are no words to carry it. When the lines are read, a silence or pause is left at this point. This is essential in order to keep the rhythm of the metre. It can be noticed when reading aloud and in rhythm the second and third lines of 'A Red Red Rose' above, for example, where there is a pause between lines two and three equal to one iamb.

Common metre is one of three types of metre that were widespread at one time both in English and in Lowland Scots. Other rhythmic structures were in use in English verse

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[62] 'Mattie Groves,' accessed 25 May, 2015, http://www.contemplator.com/child/mattie.html.

but, between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, common metre became one of the most popular.

The use of end rhyme was also a feature of the Lowland folk ballad. Rhyme occurred between the last words of rhyming lines. Using the letters ABCD to label rhyming sounds at the ends of lines, the scheme used in 'The Old Priest Peter Gilligan' above is ABCB, *day* in the second line (B) rhymes with *lay* in the fourth (D).The same rhyming scheme applies to the other two examples. Although in all of these, end rhyme occurs only between the second and fourth lines, sometimes it was also used between the first and third, and this would then be designated as ABAB. Far less common in Scots and English verse was universal end rhyme, where multiple consecutive lines followed the same rhyme. In a four-line verse this is often denoted as AAAA This last will be of relevance in discussing Scots Gaelic verse.

2.4.2 Rhythm, rhyme, and metre in Scots Gaelic verse

Common metre was alien to the Gaelic poetic aesthetic, even though the songs of the non-bardic tradition used a stressed-metre system. The stressed system of common Gaelic verse was extremely varied with no one rhythmic system holding sway as much as common metre did in Scots and English. Nineteenth century writer Lachlan McBean declared that: 'From a literary point of view the crowning glory of Gaelic verse is the extraordinary diversity and complexity of the metres adopted'. [63]

A large part of the repertory of both the Highlands and (especially) the Western Isles, consisted of worksongs, mainly the *Òran Luaidh* or 'Waulking song' for fulling cloth, but also the *Iorram* or rowing song, and songs for weaving, milking, and spinning. There are also fairy songs, and lullabies, the strange chant-like song called *Duain na Fèinn* (Fenian Lays), for reciting heroic tales, the *port/puirt à beul* [tune(s) from the mouth], *canntaireachd,* the tonic solfa of highland pipers, and *pìobaireachd* songs based on the classical *ceòl mòr* of the highland pipers. There are also love songs and narrative songs of war and murder, as well as satirical songs. The waulking songs in particular have shown a great resilience over many hundreds of years within the Gaelic

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[63] L. McBean, *Songs and Hymns of the Scottish Highlands* (Edinburgh: MacLachlan & Stewart, 1888), 8.

singing tradition. As Simon McKerrell says, 'Waulking songs remain a central part of the Gaelic traditional repertoire'.[64]

Figure 2.3: Women at an outdoor waulking table or *luadh* fulling cloth[65]

By way of demonstration, a video of women from the island of South Uist led by Kate Nicolson performing a waulking song in 1970 for Edinburgh University's School of Scottish Studies is included at the link below. [66] As this is for demonstration purposes only, no further comment will be made on it here.

https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigration2/gaelic-song

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[64] Simon McKerrell, *Focus: Scottish Traditional Music*, Focus on World Music (New York and London: Routledge, 2015), 13.

[65] Waulking the cloth in Eriskay 1934, from The school of Scottish studies collection Source http://www.pearl.celtscot.ed.ac.uk/gallery.html

[66] School of Scottish Studies Collection. SSS Archive Ref.: VA1970.01; Source https://vimeo.com/20467842

(go to 'Waulking song example') [67]

Gaelic's stressed metre system differed significantly from the English one, and also from the tightly regulated syllabic system of Gaelic Bardic poetry. According to Peter Kennedy:

> Metrically, the songs of the non-bardic tradition belong to a stressed system, and not a syllabic one […] the most common metre is the four line stanza, where the last stressed word of each of the first three lines and a word in the middle of the last line all rhyme, and where the last stressed word in every line should rhyme. [68]

This rhyming of the end-words of the first three lines with a word in the middle of the last, is referred to as *aicill* or in English 'aicill rhyme'. The first verse of the song *Òran Chaluim Sgàire* demonstrates Peter Kennedy's points above:

Òran Chaluim Sgàire [69]	**The Song of Calum Sgàire**
Ged is math a bhith seòladh	Although it is good to be sailing (a sailor)
'S bochd an obair ud dhòmhsa	It is poor work to me;
'S mòr gum b'fhearr leam bhith am Bòstadh	I would much prefer to be in *Bòstadh*
Cur an eòrn' a's a raon	Sowing barley in the field

Rhyme in general was achieved by a type of assonance, where similar or identical vowel sounds were paired. The rhyme in *Òran Chaluim Sgàire* occurs in the first instance between the first syllable of the last word in the first three lines. These three words also rhyme with a word in the middle of the last line. Thus, in *Òran Chaluim Sgàire*, the words, or more accurately the vowels in the first syllables of the words *seòladh, còrdadh, Bòstadh*, and *eòrn'* form the rhyme with the last two forming an *aicill* rhyme. *Aicill* rhyme is not used in English versification and presumably would have had as little meaning to people used to English rhyme only, as common metre would have had to monoglot Gaelic speakers.[70] Lachlan MacBean mentions this rhyming scheme as

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[67] This can also be seen at: https://vimeo.com/20467842

[68] Kennedy, Peter, ed.: *Folksongs of Britain and Ireland* (Oak publications, 1975), 23.

[69] *Eilean Fraoich*-Lewis Gaelic Songs and Melodies, (Acair, 1982), 50. The translation is my own.

[70] Of course, nowadays people in Britain and Ireland as elsewhere will be familiar with many different rhyming systems so the same sense of 'strangeness' may not exist.

being the most common in Gaelic Poetry.[71] As can be seen in *Òran Chalum Sgàire* however, aicill rhyme was not the only type of rhyme employed in Gaelic song, as end rhyme was also used.

Virginia S. Blankenhorn, in her 2010 conference paper, entitled 'Verse Structure and Performance in Scottish Gaelic Vernacular Literature'[72] gives a very detailed account of the nature of non-bardic (i.e. common) Scots Gaelic verse. She categorises Scots Gaelic song under the headings of rhythm, phrase and line length, stanzaic structure, paragraph form, strophic metre, repetition, refrain, and chainlinking. Among other observations, she makes the following comments (here paraphrased and simplified) about the Scots Gaelic verse and song aesthetic. As this is quoted heavily here,[73] I have, where possible, chosen my own verses from Gaelic poetry and song, in addition to the ones that she offers, in order to further, and independently demonstrate her points. Blankenhorn's paraphrased observations below are mainly bullet pointed and have headings in bold print. References to additional information from her in the main non-indented text are ascribed to her when included. My own additions to her comments are in the non-indented text or in footnoted comments. According to Blankenhorn:

- ***Rhythm is mainly in duple or triple time***.[74] Triple time rhythm consists of one strong beat followed by two weak ones repeated throughout the line or verse. [75]. Duple time rhythm is two or four equal beats.[76].

The following example which I have chosen, is from an eighteenth century lament called *Marbhrann do Shir Tormaid MacLeoid* [Lament for Sir Norman MacLeod]. It shows the triple rhythm in action in Scots Gaelic verse. Stressed syllables in the text below are underlined (although Blankenhorn uses a forward slash before the stressed syllable), and auxiliary vowels (vowels that are used in speech to separate consonants but that are unwritten), which are unstressed, are denoted by a hyphen.

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[71] MacBean, 8

[72] Virginia S. Blankenhorn, 'Verse Structure and Performance in Scottish Gaelic Vernacular Literature,' *Rannsachadh Na Gàidhlig 6: Papers Read at Rannsachadh Na Gàidhlig 6*, (2010), 53–92.

[73] Descriptions of Scots Gaelic song verse structure to this level are quite rare.

[74] Although duple and triple time are normally used as descriptions of music rhythm, here there are applied to poetic or verse rhythm

[75] The rhythm of the phrase 'higgledy-piggledy' conveys this.

[76] Quite like the rhythm of the phrase 'black and yellow'.

Marbhrann do Shir Tormaid MacLeoid[77]	**Lament for Sir Norman MacLeod**
Dh'fhal-bh mo shòlas	My solace has left,
Mar-bh mo Leòdach	Dead is my MacLeod,
Cal-ma cròdha	Valiant and brave,
Mean-mach ròghlic'	Courageous and wise

The rhythm of each of the above lines can be heard in the phrases 'life everlasting' or 'when you are walking' with the underlined syllables denoting a long stressed vowel. The rhyme occurs on the last *stressed* syllable of each line, denoted by an accented vowel.

Duple rhythm can be heard in the following example that I have chosen:

Màiri Nighean Dòmhnaill[78]	**Màiri Daughter of Dòmhnaill**
'S chuireamaid an cruaidh shnaoim	We would tie a tough knot,
Nach fhuasgladh na meòirean	That fingers could not untie,
'S chan fhaigheadh Eòghainn Ruadh thu	And Eoghainn Ruadh would not get you,
Ged 's cruaidh air do thòir e	Although he hunts you relentlessly

A spoken audio recording made by myself, reciting the two verses above in order to demonstrate the rhythm can be heard at:

https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigration2/gaelic-song

(go to Ex.1)

Or: USB/Audio/1.2

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[77] *Marbhrann do Shir Tormaid MacLeoid* (Lament for Sir Norman MacLeod) written in 1705 by Màiri Nighean Alasdair Ruadh in William J. Watson, *Bardachd Ghaidhlig*, 3rd edition (reprint) (Inverness: An Comunn Gaidhealach, 1976), 158. Blankenhorn's original example of a triple rhythm is from a song called *Iain Dubh mac Iain 'ic Ailein*, (Blankenhorn, 57)
 'Theid /mathaibh na /Gaidhealtachd glè /shanntach sa /chùis, 'S gur /lionmhor each /seang-mhear a /dhamhsas le /sunnd'... [The Highland noblemen, will keenly join the affair, and many's the slender horse, that will dance with joy].- stressed syllables are preceded by a forward slash
[78] Helen Creighton and Calum MacLeod, *Gaelic Songs in Nova Scotia* (Ottowa: National Museums of Canada, 1979), 220 (from the song *Mairi Nighean Dòmhnaill*).

Blankenhorn mentions that in some cases, a mixture of duple and triple rhythm is used in the same song.[79]

- ***Phrases and lines***. According to Blankenhorn, Scots Gaelic song tends towards short lines, with only one phrase, containing two or at most three stresses and end rhyme; (see *Marbhrann do Shir Tormaid MacLeoid* above), or multi-phrased lines with four or more stresses.

- *'Reduplication and contrast'*: A technique called 'reduplication and contrast' is often used, where, for example a line consisting of four phrases will contain three phrases with the same rhythm while the fourth phrase will contrast with them.

Reduplication and contrast is demonstrated here by two lines from Blankenhorn's example, a poem in duple time called '*Am Bard an Canada*' [The poet in Canada]. The lines are long and therefore each line has been split into two here to allow the translation to sit alongside it. Single syllables in bold type denote an internal rhyming vowel sound. The phrases in italics denote the contrasting rhythm. Stressed syllables are underlined. The highlighted syllables contain the vowels of the internal rhyme.

Am Bard an Canada[80]	The poet in Canada
Chan fhaigh mi m'inntinn leam ann an **òrd**ugh,	I cannot get my mind to concentrate,
ged bha mi **eòl**ach *air dèanamh rann*;	Although I know how to make verse,
Is e mheudaich **bròn** dhomh 'sa lùghdaich **sòl**as	What has heightened sorrow and lowered solace,
gun duine **còmh**la rium *a nì rium cainnt*	Is that there is no-one with me to talk to me'

A spoken audio recording of me, demonstrating the rhythm by reciting the verse above can be heard at:

https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigration2/gaelic-song

(go to Ex.2)

Or: USB/Audio/1.3

In the above, the last phrase breaks the rhythm of the first three, to give the contrast.[81]

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[79] See, for example; *Ruidhle nan Cailleach,* http://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/play/25895
[80] Blankenhorn, 60.

Blankenhorn calls this 3A+B symmetry. An English translation of the words of the Irish song '*Preab san Ól*' [Drink With Gusto] which I include below gives an almost perfect example of this rhythmic technique as well as demonstrating the kind of assonance used in Gaelic verse. As no translation is required here, the lines can be shown at their full length:

Why spend your <u>leis</u>ure, bereft of <u>plea</u>sure, amassing <u>trea</u>sure, why scrape and <u>save</u>?
Why look so <u>can</u>ny, at ev'ry <u>pen</u>ny? You'll take no <u>mon</u>ey, within the <u>grave</u>
Landlords and <u>gen</u>try, with all their <u>plen</u>ty, Must still go <u>emp</u>ty, where e'er they're <u>bound</u>
So to my <u>think</u>ing, we'd best be <u>drink</u>ing, Our glasses <u>clink</u>ing, and round and <u>round</u>.[82]

Reduplication and contrast can also be seen in another song that I have chosen, this time with a triple rhythm: *Òran Na Haoise* [The song of old age], written by a North Uist poet called Iain MacCodrum. The rhyme is in bold print, with the rhythmically contrasting phrases in italics. Stressed syllables are underlined

Òran na Haoise [83]	The Song of Old Age
Cha <u>tog</u> mise **fonn**	I can't sing a song,
Cha'n <u>èi</u>rich e **leam**	I won't suceed,
Tha <u>m'aig</u>ne ro **throm**	my mind is too heavy,
fo <u>eas</u>lain;	and infirm,
Tha'n <u>crì</u> na mo **chom**	The heart in my breast,
Mar <u>chloich</u> 's i na **deann**	is like a stone at speed,
'S i <u>tui</u>team le **gleann,**	falling into the glen,
'S cha'n <u>èi</u>rich	never to rise

William J. Watson describes reduplication and contrast as 'strophic metre':[84]

> In it we have a series of similarly constructed lines (or 'phrases') ended off by a shorter line of different structure. This forms the half-strophe; the other half is constructed to correspond [...] they lend themselves readily to rhythm and were probably the first of the syllabic metres to be adapted to stress.[85]

- ***Stanzaic structure****:* Scots Gaelic stanzas tend to be short, even by comparison

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'Preab San Ol Song Lyrics,' accessed 24 June, 2014, http://martindardis.com/id1696.html. This example is my own and is not from Blankenhorn's text.

[83] John McKenzie, *Sar-Obair Nam Bard Gaelach : Or, The Beauties Of Gaelic Poetry and The Lives of The Highland Bards* (Edinburgh: MacLachlan & Stewart, 1882), 157. -This is my own example, not Blankenhorn's.

[84] Watson, *Bardachd Ghaidhlig*, xivi.

[85] *Ibid.*

with their Irish counterparts. Very often, Scots Gaelic verse is made up of couplets and quatrains.

This is particularly seen in the Scots Gaelic waulking-song genre, but it also exists outside of this genre as can be seen in the fairy lullaby '*A Nighean nan Geug*' [O Slender Young Woman- see page 87 below).

- **Paragraph form**: Scots Gaelic poetry and song tends to use verses that might better be termed paragraphs than stanzas:

  Given the frequent use of uniform end rhyme throughout a poem, one could argue that many poems which appear in print as stanzas may be aurally perceived as paragraphs – that is, of a series of lines presented as a block of indeterminate length.[86]

- **Use of Refrains**: There is a strong tendency towards the use of refrains in Scots Gaelic song, far more so than in their Irish counterparts. [87] Blankenhorn categorises the refrains she quotes into three types.[88]

The use of a particular type of refrain, 'vocables'—nonsense syllables can be heard very frequently in the waulking songs. The following verses that I have chosen from a waulking song called '*Hè Mandù*' from the Isle of Lewis demonstrate this.[89] Each 'verse' or section of the song ends with a string of vocables.

Hè Mandù

*chorus: Hè mandù, **solo**:'Struagh nach tigeadh*
*chorus: Hè mandù , **solo**: siod gam iarraidh*
*chorus: Hè mandù, **solo**: gille 's litir*
chorus :Hí rí óró, each is diallait
Hè mandù hí rí óró hó ró-ó hú ó

*chorus: Hè mandù, **solo**: it's a pity that,*
*chorus: Hè mandù, **solo**:these would not come for me,*
*chorus: Hè mandù, **solo** : a youth with a letter,*
chorus: Hí rí óró a horse and a saddle
Hè mandù hí rí óró hó ró-ó hú ó.

*chorus: Hè mandù, **solo**: nam biodh agam*
chorus: Hè mandù solo: sgiath a'ghlaisein
*chorus: Hè mandù **solo**: íteag nan eón*
chorus: Hí rí óró spòg na lachan
Hè mandù hí rí óróhó ró-ó hú ó

chorus Hè mandù , solo: if I had,
chorus Hè mandù, solo: the wing of the sparrow,
chorus Hè mandù solo: the feather of the birds,
chorus Hí rí óró the foot of the duck,
Hè mandù hí rí óró hó ró hú ó

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[86] Blankenhorn, 64.
[87] *Ibid*., 71
[88] *Ibid*
[89] Various artists, *Music From The Western Isles*, Vinyl LP (Edinburgh, 1971). Track 1

An audio example of *Hè Mandu* can be heard at the following location.[90]

https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigration2/gaelic-song

(go to Ex. 3)

Or: USB/Audio/1.4

The use of choral refrains is found very often in non-waulking songs also. Whereas the above song *Hè Mandù* interchanges solo singer and choral parts quite rapidly, other songs use slightly longer refrains (and fewer or no vocables). I have chosen the following verse, from the song *Cruinneag na Buaille* [The Maiden of The Fold] to demonstrate the use of longer refrains:

Cruinneag na Buaille[91]	**The Maiden of The Fold**
Solo:	**Solo**:
Fhuair mi Litir Di-Dòmhnaich	I received a letter on Sunday,
A thug deòir air mo ghruaidhean	that brought tears to my cheeks;
Iad 'g a m'iarraidh gud' phòsadh	inviting me to your wedding,
Fàth mo leòin thug iad bhuam	the reason for my sorrow is that
thù	they took you away from me.

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[90] *Ibid.*

[91] Words and translation from: Creighton and MacLeod, *Gaelic Songs in Nova Scotia*,152. This again is my own example not Blankenhorn's.

<table>
<tr><td>Chorus:</td><td>Chorus:</td></tr>
<tr><td>O chruinneag, e chruinneag</td><td>Oh maiden, eh maiden,</td></tr>
<tr><td>O chruinneag na buaille</td><td>O, maiden of the fold</td></tr>
<tr><td>Mo cheist cailin mo chridhe</td><td>My love is the young girl of my heart</td></tr>
<tr><td>'Sann leat a ruithinn air fuadach</td><td>I could run away and elope with you.</td></tr>
</table>

Blankenhorn gives a number of variations of the way in which refrains and choruses are used.[92] She notes that the use of refrains and choruses is a big feature in Lowland Scots song (see *Lang Johnnie More* above) and speculates that it may have come into Gaelic verse via this route.

- *Chain linking***:** Blankenhorn observes how some Scots Gaelic songs repeat a line or a couplet before adding another line.[93]

Chain linking can take the form of starting a verse with the last line of the preceding verse or in the case of the waulking song genre by repeating lines in an AB, BC, CD, DE, fashion. With regard to this another writer, Lachlan MacBean says:

> A common device of the Gaelic bards was to make the latter half of each stanza the first of the next stanza [...] Of course that arrangement required the same rhyme to be maintained throughout the whole song,[…]. Indeed it is no unusual thing for eleven out of twelve lines to rhyme and sometimes one rhyme is carried through twenty verses.[94]

For example, the waulking song, '*Hè Mandù'*, quoted above, continues

Hè Mandù (continued)

<table>
<tr><td>Hè Mandù iteag nan eòin</td><td>Hè Mandù The wing of the birds</td></tr>
<tr><td>Hè Mandù spòg na lachainn</td><td>Hè Mandù the foot of the duck</td></tr>
<tr><td>Hè Mandù shnàmhainn na caoil</td><td>Hè Mandù I would swim the minch</td></tr>
<tr><td>Hi ri o ro air an tarsainn</td><td>Hi ri o ro , in an oblique way</td></tr>
<tr><td>Hè Mandù hi ri o ro ho ro hu o</td><td>Hè Mandù hi ri o ro ho ro hu o</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Hè Mandù shnàmhainn na caoil</td><td>Hè Mandù I would swim the minch</td></tr>
<tr><td>Hè Mandù air an tarsainn</td><td>Hè Mandù in an oblique way</td></tr>
<tr><td>Hè Mandù an Cuan Ìleach</td><td>Hè Mandù The Islay minch</td></tr>
<tr><td>Hi ri o ro 's an Caol Arcach</td><td></td></tr>
</table>

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[92] Blankenhorn, 70-73.
[93] *Ibid.*, 74-79.
[94] MacBean, 8.

Hè Mandù hi ri o ro ho ro hu o	Hi ri o ro and the Orkney minch
	Hè Mandù hi ri o ro ho ro hu o
Hè Mandù an Cuan Ìleach	Hè Mandù The Islay minch
Hè Mandù 's an Caol Arcach	Hè Mandù 's and the Orkney
Hè Mandù 's rachainn a-steach	minch
Hi ri o ro chun a' chaisteal	Hè Mandù and I would enter
Hè Mandù hi ri o ro ho ro hu o	Hi ri o ro into the castle
	Hè Mandù hi ri o ro ho ro hu o

This chainlinking is quite common in Scots Gaelic song, being found not just in waulking songs but also in other types of song, as the following three verses, from a fairy lullaby called '*A Nighean Nan Geug*' [O Slender Young Woman],[95] demonstrate.

A Nighean Nan Geug [96]	**O Slender Young Woman**
A nighean nan geug, ò hu ri o	O Slender young woman, o hu ri o,
Tha 'muigh leis a' sprèidh, ò hu ri òthan	who is out with the cattle, o hu ri othan, o hu ri
Ò hu ri ò	o,
Thà 'muigh leis a' sprèidh, ò hu ri ò	who is out with the cattle, o hu ri o
Na gabh eagal nò fiamh, ò hu ri òthan	do not become fearful or trepidant ò hu riòthan
Ò hu ri ò	Ò hu ri ò
Na gabh eagal nò fiamh, ò hu ri ò	'do not become fearful or trepidant'
Thà mis' anseo siar, ò hu ri òthan	'I am over here', ò hu ri òthan
Ò hu ri ò	Ò hu ri ò

It was not however, a strong feature of Lowland song.

Interestingly, from the point of view of this research, there appears to be only one example of the Lowland ballad having crossed into Gaelic, and even then it is the theme alone which has crossed over. 'The ballad of Twa Sisters' (two Sisters) appears in Gaelic as a refrain song called '*A' Bhean Iadach*' (The Jealous Woman).

The kind of narrative ballad that is found in English is rare in Scots Gaelic song. Often, one needs to know the story behind a particular song in order to fully understand the words of the song. It is notable, for instance, that the 'Ballad of the Twa sisters' tells a

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[95] Cathy Ann McPhee, *Cànan Nan Gaidheal*, CD (Greentrax, 1994), track 2.
[96] Transcribed and translated by me from the above recording.

complete story within the song, whereas its Gaelic counterpart *A' Bhean Iadach* (the Jealous Woman) seems incomplete – the story is not contained in full in the words of the song and the singer often tells a short story beforehand to contextualise the song. This sometimes means that the song lyrics are more impressionistic rather than narrative. With regard to narrative song in Gaelic—either Irish or Scots, writer and academic Hugh Shields says:

> Music and song in Gaelic traditions seem to have been concerned with events chiefly as a celebration of them; actual narration was rather the function of recited prose. This would help to explain why the European ballad was foreign to Gaelic cultural habits and so, not imitated.[97]

Songs with longer verses did come into the tradition however, many perhaps being later arrivals.[98]

2.4.3 Gaelic and English verse—summary

The rhyming system of Gaelic verse was very different to its Lowland Scots counterpart. Gaelic rhythm in the non-bardic tradition although based on a system of stressed syllables, expressed its rhythm by such methods as reduplication and contrast. English common metre was not used and most likely would not have been well understood. Rhyme was achieved mainly by assonance and often by use of the *aicill* rhyme. Universal end rhyme was common rather than the ABCB, or ABAB schemes of lowland common metre. Gaelic also used a wide variety of verse forms, with couplets (often chain-linked), as well as quatrains, being used frequently.

While the differences between the versification systems of Scots Gaelic and English will be apparent from the above, there were also musical differences between the two traditions.

2.5 Lowland Scots music and performance aesthetics

Just as there were differences between traditional English and Gaelic aesthetics in terms of verse structure and rhyme, so too were there differences between the accompanying music and performance styles of both cultures. This means that standards of 'familiarity' and 'unfamiliarity' in music differed in each community, and that some of the norms of one would have sounded strange to the other. This section analyses some of these

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[97] Hugh Shields, *Narrative Singing in Ireland* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1993).
[98] One of these, '*Tom an tSearraich',* will be analysed later.

differences. It will begin with a discussion about tonality in Scots music. This is an important issue in the 'clash' between the two systems. It will then proceed to examine features of of some common Scots folk ballads in order to demonstrate the performance style of the Scots common metre ballad tradition, before going on to compare these to Gaelic music and its performance style features.

2.5.1 Music and tonality in the Scots Ballad

Francis Collinson states that a 'gapped scale' is the most commonly found scale in Scottish traditional music.[99] This scale comes in two forms, a five-note or pentatonic scale which has gaps where the fourth and seventh degrees of the major western scale would be, and the six-note or hexatonic scale where the fourth degree has been 'filled in'.[100]

Semitones were only gradually accepted, and the six-note scale ultimately became more common than the five-note. With regard to this, Collinson says that the great bulk of Scottish traditional song uses a hexatonic scale. As this chapter will show, this filling in of the gaps in the western major scale appears to have happened in the Lowland Scots tradition long before it happened in the Scots Gaelic song tradition.

This is an important point in the context of this study. Where people are not used to it, an interval of a semitone can sound 'off' or unstable to their ears. [101] Over time people not previously used to these intervals can gradually acclimatize their ears and their music sensibilities to them.

> […] it (the semitone) still remains an unstable and fluid interval in the music vocabulary of the traditional singer who sings without accompaniment, of whatever nationality, as all students of folk-song know from experience. [102]

The predisposition to a pentatonic scale in many music cultures is caused perhaps because of greater problems associated with vocal stability when moving in intervals of less than a tone. Collinson[103] points out that the pentatonic scale was:

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[99] Francis Collinson, *The Traditional and National Music of Scotland* (Vanderbilt University Press, 1966), 9.
[100] *Ibid.*, 4.
[101] Of course, in singing ornamentation, smaller microtonal intervals are used, but these are fleeting, not held. It is the intervals between the main, held notes that are referred to here.
[102] Collinson (1966), 9.

> […] the only one which the older type of traditional singer can sing in what the academic musician would call 'in tune' with consistency and certainty […] The interval of a semitone in the traditional singer's performance is liable to be either greater or smaller than the 'half-tone' of the true scale [104]

 To demonstrate the Scots ballad, I have chosen three ballads from the Child collection, a collection which contains some of the oldest extant ballads. These three ballads are chosen because they are of Scots rather than English origin, and also because they are in common metre which is the metre that features in the Gaelic psalms. I have also been able to source good audio examples of these three common metre ballads in which Scots singers[105] sing them. I have given the lyrics both of the Child versions and of the singers' renditions for comparison. The singers are chosen as they are all well-known both as singers and as exponents of the Scots ballad.

In the examples that follow, a hexatonic scale predominates. One semitone interval is used as, presumably when these songs were composed or some time thereafter (as newer versions of them came along) people had become used to one or both semitones of the western scale. Lucy Stewart's rendition of 'The Battle O' Harlaw' (see next section) uses a pentatonic scale with the fourth and seventh degrees of the commonly used major western scale missing. Ewan McColl's version of 'Tam Lin' uses a hexatonic scale where the fourth degree is present but the seventh is absent. This is the hexatonic scale described by Collinson. Jean Redpath's rendition of 'Sir Patrick Spens' by contrast uses both the fourth and the seventh degree of the major scale.

2.5.2 The Scots ballad performance style

The Scots ballad is sung using a syllabic style. This means that there is a tendency to use one note for each syllable of the words. However, just as in the ballad version of common metre where extra, unstressed syllables are used between the stressed ones, the singers can very occasionally add extra notes. This will normally be the use of two equal or almost equal length notes, of different pitches on one syllable. Although the strict definition of this is a 'melisma', it is not done often enough to merit calling the

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[103] Francis Collinson and J.L. Campbell, *Hebridean Folksongs*, vol. 1 (Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1969), 205-213.
[104] Collinson and Campbell (1969), 206.
[105] Although one, Ewan McColl, was born in England, his parents were Scottish and he spent many years performing and recording Scots ballads.

overall singing style 'melismatic'. Some singers use a *portamento* technique, sliding the end of one note up or down in pitch to the next note rather than going directly to it. How recognizable the rhythm of common metre is in the singing depends very much on the singer. Some sing relatively slowly, keeping the pulse of common metre at a minimum. Others keep a more brisk pace, emphasizing this rhythmic pulse. In some renditions, a note is briefly held about halfway through each line, on the second stressed syllable, which makes two halves of the line. The last note is always held at the end of the second and fourth lines. This long note covers the duration of the missing 'virtual beat' in the rhythm at the end of these lines. Singers sing impassively; they do not display overt emotion in face or body when singing. Unless there is a chorus, the listener listens silently to the song.

Perhaps a note or two of caution should be sounded here in discussing performance styles from bygone eras either in Gaelic or in English. The first is that most of the recorded performers included in this study lived and sang in the mid- to late twentieth century. Using their style of singing to illustrate the singing style of two hundred years ago has obvious limitations. However, given that there is little indication that these more contemporary styles differ greatly from the styles of the eighteenth or nineteenth century, I will proceed on the understanding that, despite potential differences, they still serve to give, at the very least, an indication of that style.[106] The second note of caution is that even within a particular tradition and at any particular time, there are many differences in *personal* styles. It is almost impossible to allow for all variations. However, some features of performance style appear in the singing of a range of singers, and these will be taken here as being indicative of a common performance style within the culture.

The Battle O' Harlaw

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[106] Accounts of the singing style of ballad singers in the eighteenth and even the nineteenth century do not appear to be very common. Even Francis Child in his introduction to his collection seems to neglect this area. More attention was paid both by himself and Bertrand Harris Bronson (Bronson 2015) to the texts of the ballads and, in Bronson's case, to the associated tunes, than to the singing styles of individual singers.

'The Battle O' Harlaw' sung here by Lucy Stewart,[107] is a song about a battle that took place in 1411, in Harlaw in Aberdeenshire, between a Hebridean leader called 'Donald of the Isles' and the Earl of Mar, in which the Earl's forces were victorious.

An audio version of the song sung by Lucy Stewart can be heard at the following location:

https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigration2/lowland-english-ballad

(go to Ex.1)

Or: USB /Audio /1.5

Below on the right are the words of the first two verses, as sung by Stewart. On the left are the words from the same verses in the Child version.[108] The full (Child) version is twenty-five verses long. The similarity of the words in both versions is noticeable.[109] I have underlined the stressed syllables characteristic of common metre in the first verse by Stewart.

The Battle of Harlaw	**The Battle O'Harlaw**
(Child 163 A)	(Lucy Stewart)

As I cam in by Dunidier,
An doun by netherha,
There was fifty thousand Hielanmen
A-marching to Harlaw.

As I cam' doon the Geerich lan'
An' doon by Netherha',
There were fifty-thousan' hielan'men
A-marchin' tae Harlaw.

Refrain:
Wi a dree dree dradie drumtie dree.

Refrain:
Wi' my durumdoo, my fal the day, my duddy an' my day.

As I cam on, an farther on,
An doun an by Balquhain,
Oh there I met Sir James the Rose,
Wi him Sir John the Gryme.

As I cam' doon an' farther doon,
An' doon by Balaquhain,
It was there I saw Sir James the Rose
An' wi' him Sir John the Graeme.

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[107] Stewart, *Lucy Stewart: Traditional Singer from Aberdeenshire, Scotland,* track 1. Stewart 1901-1982, was a well-known ballad singer from Aberdeenshire from a family of renowned singers, she didn't start singing for others until she was 60. She made many recordings and features strongly in the Tobar an Dualchais/ Kist O' Riches site.

[108] Child, 233 C. Child numbered each ballad. He also however included many different versions of the same ballad. The different versions are denoted by a letter after the number . Therefore while Child, 233 denotes 'The Batttle of Harlaw' in all its versions, 233 C denotes a particular version

[109] In the oral tradition, textual stability is an issue. Texts may change dramatically as they are passed on orally. This can be seen in different versions of texts of the same ballad, in Child's collection. Stewart's rendition of this song shows very little variation from the Child version used here.

This song contains a chorus line or refrain (also called a 'burden') both in the Child version and in Stewart's, although hers is longer. This along with the fact that song has a relatively swift tempo suggests that it might have been a song that allowed for listener or audience participation. Lucy Stewart's rendition of this song is syllabic. Figure 2.4 below, shows the first four lines of the first verse as transcribed in Melodyne. In the yellow boxed parts the note-per-syllable tendency of ballad singing can be seen. At times Stewart uses two notes for one syllable, as can be seen in the word 'doon' in the first line and the word 'There' in the third. She uses a swift *portamento* effect sliding the pitch upwards into the first note of the line in the second line (into the word 'an') and the third (into the word 'there'). Apart from these techniques there is little ornamentation in Stewart's rendition. Her syllabic style is typical of ballad singing in Lowland Scots.
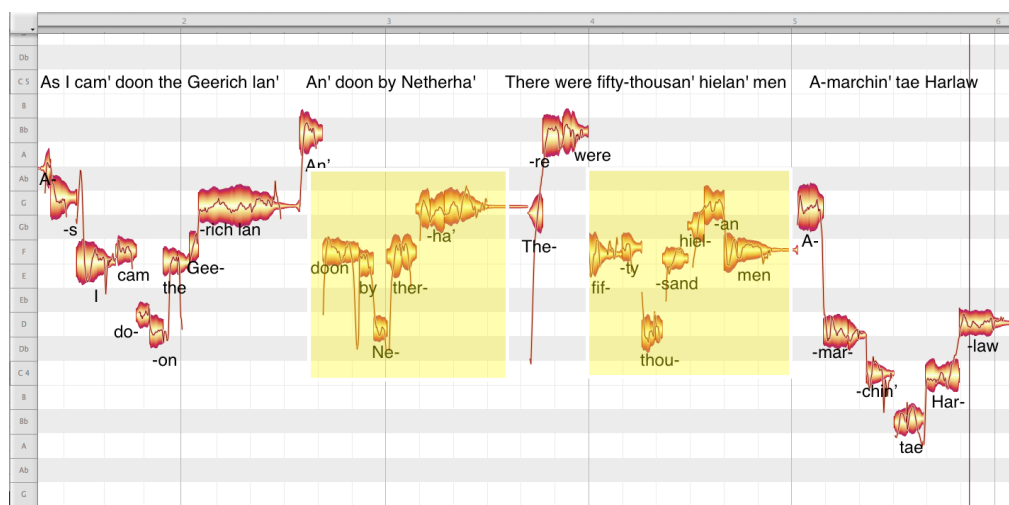
Figure 2.4: The first four lines of The Battle O' Harlaw, as sung by Lucy Stewart, transcribed in Melodyne. The lines are given at the top and the words have been inserted either beside or below the relevant note. See next page for an enlarged copy.
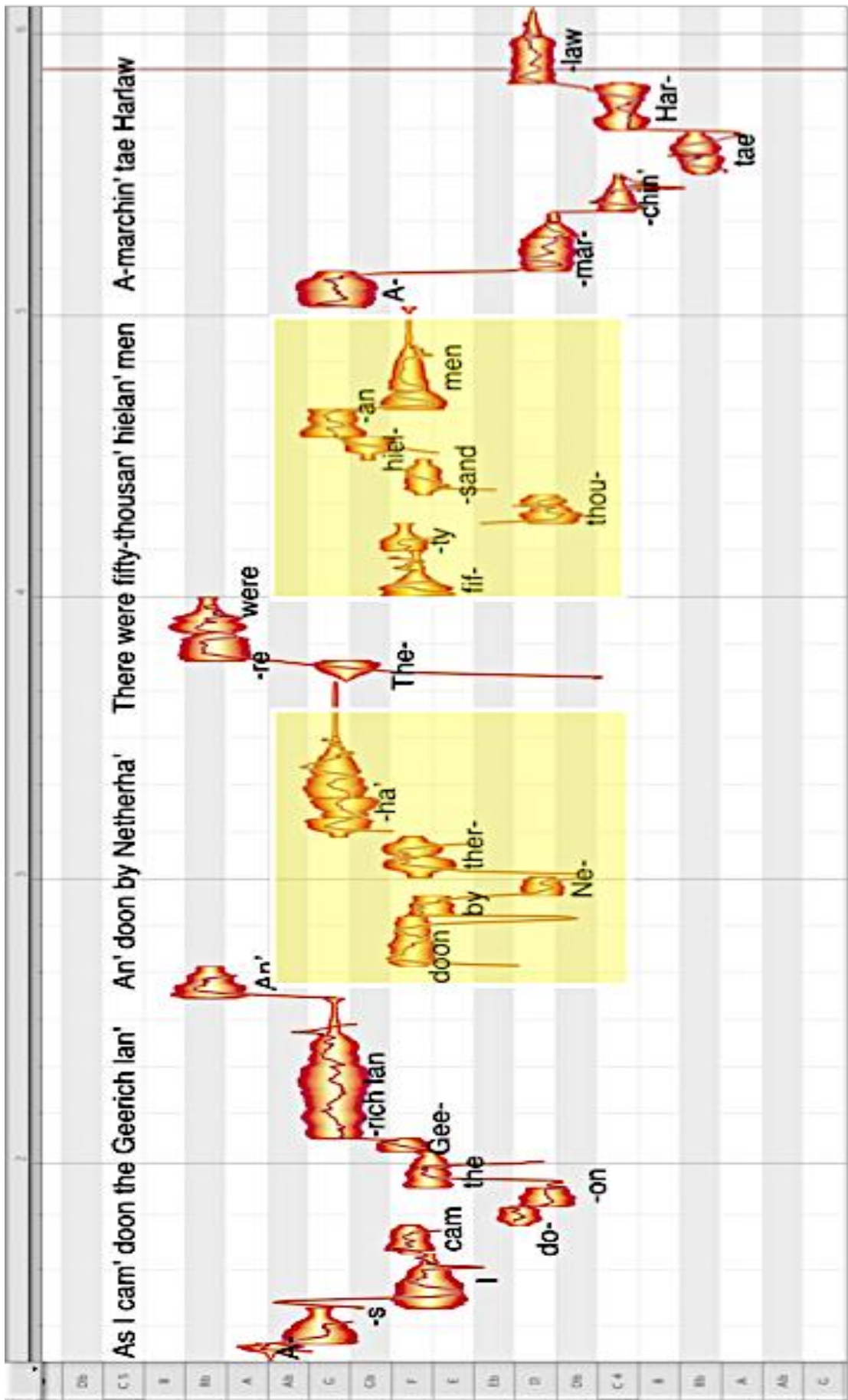
Figure 2.4. enlarged

'Tam Lin'

Similar observations can be made about the ballad 'Tam Lin' (Child Vol.1 39B), as sung by Ewan McColl. The ballad tells the story of Tam Lin, a man who has been captured by a fairy queen and been forced to guard the forest of Carterhaugh, and of Janet, a young maid who goes to Carterhaugh to pick flowers and is challenged by him. The story ends with Janet rescuing Tam Lin from the Fairy queen. The first two verses from Child 39B are given below on the left (there are forty-one verses in the complete ballad), and a version sung by Ewan McColl[110] is on the right

An audio version of Tam Lin sung by Ewan McColl can be heard at the following location:

https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigration2/lowland-english-ballad

(go to Ex. 2)

Or: USB /Audio /1.6

Tam Lin (Child 39B)   **Tam Lin** (Ewan McColl**)**

Oh I forbid you maidens a'   Oh I forbid you maidens a'
That wear goud on your hair   That wear goud on your hair
To come or gae by Carterhaugh   To come or gae by Carterhaugh
For young Tam Line is there   For young Tam Lin is there

There's nane that goes by Carterhaugh   There's nane that gaes tae Carterhaugh
But they leave him a wad   But pays to him their fee
Either their things or green mantles   Either their rings or green mantles
Or else their maidenhead   Or else their maidenhead

But Janet has kilted her green kirtle   Janet has kilted her green kirtle
A little above her knee,   A little abune her knee,
And she has broded her yellow hair   And she has gaen tae Carterhaugh,
A little above her bree,   As fast as she can hie.
And she has gaen for Carterhaugh,
As fast as she can hie.

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[110] Ewan McColl and Peggy Seeger, *Cold Snap*, Vinyl LP (Folkways Records, 1978) Track 5. McColl (1915-1989) a singer, songwriter and political activist whose real name was James Henry Miller, was born in England of Scottish parents. He became very interested in ballad singing in the 1950s and went on to record many albums featuring both English and Scottish ballads.

A noticeable discrepancy in terms of verse length here is the irregularity of verse three in the Child version with its six lines. These six-line verses occur nine times in the complete Child version of the song. The version sung here by Ewan McColl regularises this particular verse by not including two of the lines used in the Child version. However, the full version of McColl's recording (there are thirty-nine verses), contains four six-line verses.

Again, as is the case with Lucy Stewart, Ewan McColl sings the song in a syllabic style and, perhaps even more so than Stewart, he confines himself to one note per syllable. He tends to move swiftly through the notes of the first two lines of the quatrain holding the last note of the second line. This pattern is repeated in the second half of the quatrain. As he approaches these notes, McColl often slows on the word before the one to be held, thus adding extra emphasis to the held note. Sometimes in his singing, words are run together in between these long, held notes, so that he effectively sings two lines as one. This can be heard clearly in the first two lines of the third verse 'Janet has kilted her green kirtle, A little abune the knee'. At times, when holding a note, he allows the pitch to drop a little at the end as can be heard at the word 'briar' in the fourth verse. (audio only). An alternation of fast and slow singing is used throughout the song.

Figure 2.5 below gives some detail of McColl's singing The relative length of the held notes at the end of lines two ('briar') and four ('mair') can be seen, as well as McColl's dropping of the pitch as he holds the note on the word 'briar'. The note-per-syllable tendency can also be seen clearly in the second quatrain.

In keeping with the syllabic style McColl does not use high levels of ornamentation such as *appoggiatura* or melisma.
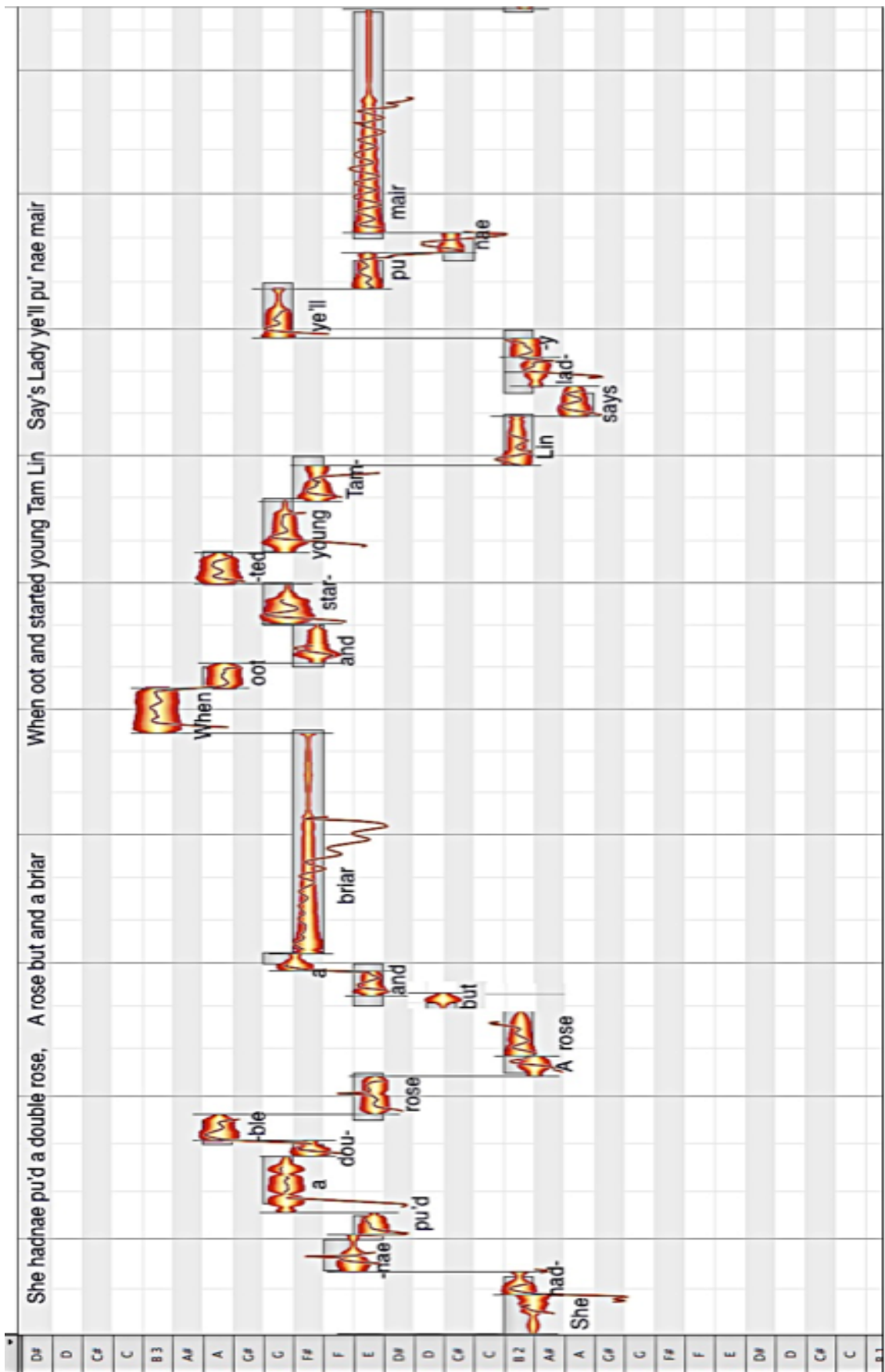
Figure 2.5: A transcription in Melodyne of the fourth verse of *Tam Lin*, as sung by Ewan McColl. The relative length of the held notes at the end of lines two ('briar') and four ('mair') can be seen, as well as McColl's dropping of the pitch as he holds the note on the word 'briar'. The note-per-syllable tendency can also be seen clearly in the second quatrain.

'Sir Patrick Spens'

A third example of a Scots ballad, this time the ballad 'Sir Patrick Spens' (Child number 58), displays most of the features discussed already. The song is about a journey undertaken by a Scottish king and his Lords to seek the hand of the daughter of the king of Norway. The man chosen on account of his seamanship to captain the ship is Sir Patrick Spens. After being rejected by the Norwegians, the party sails home in stormy weather. The ship sinks and all are lost. The verses on the left are taken from Child (version 58 J). I have transcribed the verses on the right, from a recording of a version by Jean Redpath[111] made in 1960. Not all of the Child verses are included here (there are twenty four in Child's complete version). The first two verses are given from both the Child collection (on the left) and Redpath's version. As was the case in the third verse of the preceding song 'Tam Lin', the first verse of the Child version of Sir Patrick Spens included here has six lines rather than four.

An audio version of Jean Redpath singing Sir Patrick Spens can be found at the following location:

https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigration2/lowland-english-ballad

[go to Ex 3]
Or: USB /Audio /1.7

Sir Patrick Spens (Child 58 J)   **Sir Patrick Spens** (Jean Redpath)

Hie sits oor king in Dumfermline,   The King sits in Dumferlane toon
Sits birlin at the wine;   A-drinkin' at the wine
Says, Whare will I get a bonnie boy   And he has called for the best skipper
That will sail the saut seas fine?   In Fife and all the land
That will hie owre to Norraway,
To bring my dear dochter hame?

Up it spak a bonnie boy,   Then oot there spak an old carle
Sat by the king's ain knie: Sat by the King's ain knee
'Sir Patrick Spens is as gude a skipper   Said,'Patrick Spens is the best sailor
 As ever sailed the sea.'   That ever sailed the sea'

No Melodyne transcription is given with this example, as it merely confirms what has already been observed in McColl, and Stewart's transcriptions. Once again, Redpath's

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[111] Jean Redpath, 'Sir Patrick Spens,' *Tobar an Dualchais / Kist O' Riches*, accessed 16 September, 2012, http://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/play/82869.
  Redpath (1937-2014) was a renowned Scottish singer and academic.

singing is syllabic and she appears to hold the notes slightly longer on the stressed syllables. For example in the first line these syllables are 'king', 'in', '-ferm-', and 'toon' and shorter notes are used for the other syllables. On some occasions she does not do this, for example the words 'that ever' in the last line of the second verse should contain a stressed syllable and, in keeping with Redpath's normal practice, this should take the form of longer note on the first syllable of 'ever'. However, she moves swiftly over this. She appears to be compromising between observing the rhythm and not letting the rhythm break up the meaning of the line. At times also she deviates very briefly from the syllabic technique and uses a melismatic ornament on some notes for example the words 'old carle' in the first line of the second verse are both sung with a melisma. However, despite a few deviations like this, the overall style is still syllabic.

2.5.3 Summary of Scots ballad performance style

As stated, these songs and performance styles show tendencies rather than uniformities. However, some features recur regularly in the work of the singers. The singing style associated with the Scots common metre ballad can be summarized as follows: The singers hold notes to emphasise different parts of the song, often in the middle of the lines and at the end of lines, in the latter case to emphasise rhyme, or hold a note for a 'virtual beat', at the end of the second line. After holding a note, the singer always returns to the main rhythm of the song. The Scots ballad is mainly sung in a syllabic style. Sometimes intervallic ornamentation (where a smaller note is introduced between two main notes of differing pitch in order to step up or down to the second note) is used. When melisma is used it tends to be brief and occasional. Most Scots ballads are performed by a solo singer, with the audience listening silently. Occasionally, the listeners join refrains or choruses such as in 'The Battle O' Harlaw' above.

These observations could equally be made in much other singing of the Scots ballads with only some small variation. The Gaelic singing style was somewhat different as will be seen in the next section.

2.6 Scots Gaelic music and performance aesthetics

This section will focus on the issues of tonality and performance style as they pertain to Scots Gaelic music. As in the last section, it will begin by considering the issue of tonality, before moving on to discuss the norms of the performance-style. Although the peculiarities of tonality in Gaelic music also feature the issue of the acceptance of semitones, the timeline is different. Acceptance of newer notes appears to have occurred in the Scots tradition much earlier than in the Gaelic one.

2.6.1 Music and tonality in Scots Gaelic song

As noted by Collinson in relation to Scottish music in general, an anhemitonic pentatonic or hexatonic scale, with either one or both semitones of the western major scale missing, is the most common scale found in Gaelic music.

This is true also of the instrumental music. Commenting on the one hundred and fifty tunes collected by Elizabeth Ross on the island of Raasay in 1812. Cooke, et al., wrote:

> A survey of the tonal content of the tunes (omitting the pibrochs) shows the vast majority to be pentatonic (sixty-one); fifty-eight more are hexatonic of which eighteen are essentially pentatonic with one weak extra note; eight more are basically hexatonic plus one extra weak note. A mere fifteen are heptatonic and of these some are only so because they contain phrases transposed (up or down a tone) in the same section to provide contrasting harmonic frames, as in many pipe reels and pipe jigs).[112]

Both pentatonic and hexatonic scales are found in Gaelic songs, and in some of the more modern songs heptatonic scales are used. Notwithstanding the dominance of the pentatonic scale in the Ross collection, Dr. Chris McLeod, surveying Gaelic printed songs,[113] and in keeping with Collinson's observations, reckons that a hexatonic scale is most often used in Scots Gaelic music, with the pentatonic scale being the next most common. The particular hexatonic scale commonly used in Scots Gaelic music, according to McLeod, has the progression pattern in its intervals of, T T S T T (T+S) – (T= tone; S= semitone), the fourth degree of the diatonic western scale having been filled in, but the seventh still omitted. Francis Collinson points out that:

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[112] Peter Cooke, Morag MacLeod, and Colm Ó Baoill, eds., *The Elizabeth Ross Manuscript: Original Highland Airs Collected at Raasay in 1812 By Elizabeth Jane Ross*, School of Celtic and Scottish Studies on-Line Publications Series (Edinburgh: School of Scottish Studies Archive, 2011), 13.

[113] Chris McLeod, *The Gaelic Music of The Hebrides, Its History and Structure* (Aberdeen, 2004), 59-60.

The five-note or pentatonic scale, though ordinarily not the scale most often found may be said to be the basic scale of Scots music from which the six and seven-note scales have developed.[114]

The difference between the dominance of the pentatonic scale in the Ross collection and the hexatonic scale in the main collection surveyed by MacLeod – *Eilean Fraoich*[115] probably indicates change occurring over time in the music. Elizabeth Ross's manuscript was completed in 1812. *Eilean Fraoich* was originally published in 1938 and republished in a much-expanded version in 1982. It included both traditional and (at the time) newly-composed songs.[116]

The gapped scale, as described above, and as will be seen in the examples below, whether pentatonic or hexatonic, is important in any analysis of the Gaelic psalm tunes as it affected the process of acculturation of the southern tunes into Gaelic society.

2.6.2 Scots Gaelic performance style

As with the Lowland common metre ballad and its associated singing-style, it is best to view Gaelic singing-style as a series of tendencies, rather than a set of rules or conventions to be followed by all.[117] The same note of caution that was sounded in the section on the Lowland Scots ballad applies here. Whereas this section looks at contemporary traditional performance style, there is no certainty as to which features have changed in the more contemporary singing tradition, as compared to the tradition at the time of the introduction of the psalms to Gaelic congregations more than two hundred years ago. Also, the extent to which a single style can be identified from among singers with somewhat different approaches is limited. However, bearing this in mind, I believe that insight can be gained by examining the contemporary tradition. Accounts of Gaelic singing styles over the centuries, as will be seen, have not given any indication that a major change has occurred in singing style.

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[114] *Ibid*.

[115] Comunn Gàidhealach Leòdhais, *Eilean Fraoich- Lewis Gaelic Songs and Melodies*, 2nd ed. (Acair, 1982).

[116] There is some evidence to suggest that many well-known Gaelic songs, often thought to be older, may in fact have been composed in the last 150 years or so (McLeod, 43, 44), possibly making them more likely to use hexatonic or heptatonic scales (most likely from a growing outside influence) and to differ in this regard from earlier songs.

[117] As is the case in relation to the Scots ballad singing style (see 2.5.2), there are a range of personal styles which cannot all be accounted for in any overall description of singing style. However there are enough similarities between singers to allow for some description of tendencies in singing style.

Like many other cultures, Scots Gaelic culture adopts different singing styles to suit different types of song. Although there are fast, rhythmic songs in Gaelic such as *puirt à beul* and moderately-paced songs, such as the waulking songs described above, the singing styles for both of these differ from that used for slow songs. In the waulking song for example, the singers tend to use one syllable per note much as their lowland ballad-singing counterparts do. The rhythm is held fairly constant throughout, aided by the percussive sound of their hands as they bring the material down on the waulking board/table. The song depends on a responding singer or singers, in this case, a choral group, The singing is continuous from beginning to end. There are no pauses; the soloist and choral singers interweave the parts of the song seamlessly.

However, although the rhythm-dominated waulking songs did not allow the space for the development of more complex ornamentation, slow songs, and even moderately paced songs, developed a highly ornate style of delivery. Over the years, many have observed the impact this had on rhythm.

Erin McPhee, for example, surveying early literature on Gaelic singing style, quotes the following from Finlay Dun's *Òrain na hAlbain* (1848):

> The time should not always be observed throughout the same song with rigid uniformity: For the due expression of the words will occasionally require the time to be retarded or accelerated. In some of the airs of the songs the rhythm is irregular; and more so in defect than in excess. When this irregularity appears, (though it is considered by many persons as a beauty in this style of music,) and if pauses upon notes occur in the Air, these should be long-sustained. This will not only greatly contribute to diminish the unsatisfactory impression which a fastidious ear may experience on account of the defective rhythm, but will, at the same time, impart a certain wildness of expression to the effect of the whole passage. [118]

Others also have commented on this freedom in terms not just of rhythm but also in melody. Writing about the melodies of Mingulay (island) singers, the Victorian musician and music collector Marjory Kennedy-Fraser noted that:

> They are indeed but germs, many of them -material with which to work- 'motives' capable of elaboration and re-arrangement [...] and in the singing of the very old people one can still trace an old time bardic freedom in the use of melody which should put an end to all disagreements as to authentic versions of this air or of that.[119]

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[118] Erin K. McPhee, 'Modern Performance Practice and Aesthetics in Traditional Scottish Gaelic Singing' (PhD, University of Edinburgh, 2009), https://www.era.lib.ed.ac.uk/handle/1842/3312. Original quote from: Finlay Dun, *Òrain Na hAlbain* (Glasgow: Wood & Co., 1848), iii.

[119] Marjory Kennedy-Fraser, *Songs of the Hebrides* (London: Boosey & Co, 1909), xxi.

The performance style of many (but not all) Gaelic singers, especially in the Isle of Lewis, the largest and most populous of the Western Isles, can be characterised as a melismatic style, heavy on ornamentation, which in the case of slower songs, adds a poignancy or gravity to the performance. Gaelic singer Margaret Stewart from Lewis attributes at least some fluctuation in rhythm in Gaelic song to the amount of ornamentation used.

> The tempo of a song may also vary according to the degree of ornamentation used. In the Scottish Gaidhealtachd, melismatic singing is much more pronounced in Lewis and in Harris, but nowadays there are fewer singers who ornament naturally and effortlessly in the traditional style.[120]

Stewart is not the only person to comment on this decline in the ability to produce a natural melismatic effect in Gaelic singing.[121]

I have selected the following singers and songs as examples. All are from the Isle of Lewis. Lewis has one of the strongest Gaelic-speaking Presbyterian communities in the Western Isles. In its main town, Stornoway, is the seminary of the Free Church – perhaps the church traditionally most dedicated to Gaelic psalm singing. Lewis has also been the site of numerous recordings of the psalms, including the three collections referenced for this study. Because of this, this section of the study will consider the Gaelic secular singing style of the island, in order to demonstrate its relevance to Gaelic psalm singing. In this next section, the performance style of slow songs will be the main focus of attention. The singers are Angus Kenneth McIvor from Uig in the west of Lewis, Christine Primrose from Càrlabhagh, also in the west, and Donna Murray from Tong in the east of the Island. The singers represent a range in terms of age and era Angus Kenneth McIvor was recorded by the School of Scottish Studies in the 1950s and 1960s. His recording of this song is well known through the *Music From the Western Isles* recordings referenced at the beginning of this chapter. Christine Primrose is a well-

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[120] 'Traditional Gaelic Singing—Margaret Stewart,' accessed 2 July, 2014, http://www.margaretstewart.com/margarets-blog/traditional-gaealic-singing.

[121] Ornamentation among singers may once have been more naturally melismatic than is now the case as commented on by Margaret Stewart above. Facility with melismatic ornamentation may depend however on the singer's voice. The problem of unnatural sounding ornamentation in modern performance was commented on by one of Erin MacPhee's respondents: 'A third singer went even further, saying that not only do her grace-notes 'just happen', but that she can tell the difference between a singer who sings them naturally, 'compared to the person who puts grace- notes in because they think that [they] should – oh, that's awful! I hate it. Because it just seems so false when it's put in there and it shouldn't be there. Whereas if it's in that voice anyway then it's going to be there, and you can't take it out' (McPhee, 60).

known Gaelic singer and possibly one of the finest contemporary exponents of the Lewis singing style. She has recorded numerous albums since the early 1980s. Donna Murray represents a younger generation of Lewis singers. Her singing at *Mod*[122] competitions has been included in the School of Scottish Studies Archive. The three songs that I have chosen are, I think, indicative of the songs of the Island. *Tha Thìde Agam Èirigh* is an old traditional lament probably representative of an older body of Lewis songs. The next two songs *Tom an tSearraich* [The Foal's Hillock] and *Tuireadh nan Hiortach* [Lament of The St. Kildans'] are newer songs. All three songs are commonly sung in Lewis. They are chosen here as they are all slow thus giving an opportunity to demonstrate the singers' styles as used for slow songs.

'Thà Thìde Agam Èirigh'

Thà Thìde Agam Èirìgh [It is time for me to rise] is a lament. A man who goes to his lover's house in a neighbouring townland learns that she has died during the night. Full of grief, he appeals to God to leave him his sanity. An audio version of it sung by Angus Kenneth MacIvor, which can be found on the *Tobar an Dualchais / Kist o' Riches* site[123] can be heard at the following location.

https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigration2/gaelic-song
(go to Ex. 4)
Or: USB /Audio /1.8

A transcription with a translation, of an excerpt of the song is given below[124]

Thà Thìde Agam Èirigh	**It Is Time For Me To Rise**
'S thà thìde agam èirigh ach a lèir dhomh mo bhrogan,	It is time for me to rise, to look for my shoes,
'S gos a lèir dhomh mo bhata 's gun toir e tacan a' ròid mi,	To look for my staff so that it may take me a little part of the way,
'S gos a lèir dhomh mo bhata 'sgun toir e tacan a' ròid mi,	To look for my staff so that it may take me a little part of the way,
'S mi dol a shealltainn air a'	As I go to visit the girl who was in

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[122] The *Mod* as it it is called is a series of regional and national competitions for Gaelic music organised by the Gaelic promotion society *An Comunn Gaidhealach*.

[123] See: Angus Kenneth MacIvor, 'Thà Thìde Agam Èirigh,' *Tobar an Dualchais / Kist O' Riches*, http://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/fullrecord/93825/1.

[124] Transcription and translation by me based on: Various artists, *Music From The Western Isles*. Liner notes .

ghruagaich a bha's a' bhuaile 'na h-ònar,   the cattle-fold alone

'S mi dol a shealltainn air a' ghruagaich a bha's a' bhuaile 'na h-ònar,   As I go to visit the girl who was in the cattle-fold alone,

Ach nuair a ràinig mi am baile cha robh aighear no ceol ann.[125]   But when I reached the townland, there was no lightheartedness or music there.

This song is sung both melodically and lyrically as a series of couplets that are chain-linked. The change of tense is noticeable. The first three lines of the lyrics are in the present but most of the subsequent lines including the fourth line are in the past tense.[126]

Angus Kenneth MacIvor from Uig in Lewis sings the song in a very slow style full of melismatic ornamentation. There is a lack of noticeable beat or pulse in MacIvor's singing by contrast to the Lowland Scots singers. He slows as he comes to the end of each line, holding the final note for a while. He pauses for a moment before beginning the next couplet. In the second line of each couplet MacIvor sings the second half of the line with a flurry of melismas. This can be heard clearly in the audio. It is also to be seen in the Melodyne transcription in Figure 2.6 below as a series of sharp, up-down contours starting from the highest note shown and continuing to the end of the line. Each line is sung from beginning to end without a break or pause. Only at the end of each line does MacIvor pause for a moment before proceeding. This style of melismatic singing is often deemed to be representative of Lewis singing style.

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[125] Angus Kenneth MacIvor, the singer, has an ability to extemporise the words as he sings. In another recording of this song, for example, MacIvor sings this line as '*ach nuair a ràinig mi am baile cha robh an taigh mar am bu chòir dha* [when I reached the townland the house was not as it should be]. Various artists, *Music From The Western Isles*, Vinyl LP (Edinburgh, 1971) side 2, track 4. See: Ex 4A https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigration2/gaelic-song

[126] This may be as a result of parts of two different songs being put together to make this song.

Figure 2.6: The fourth line of *Thà Thìd' agam Èirigh*, as sung by Kenneth MacIvor. The flurry of melismas in the second half of the line as it descends in pitch is noticeable. They form a series of up/down hairpin-like contours in the pitch line. (See enlarged copy on the next page).
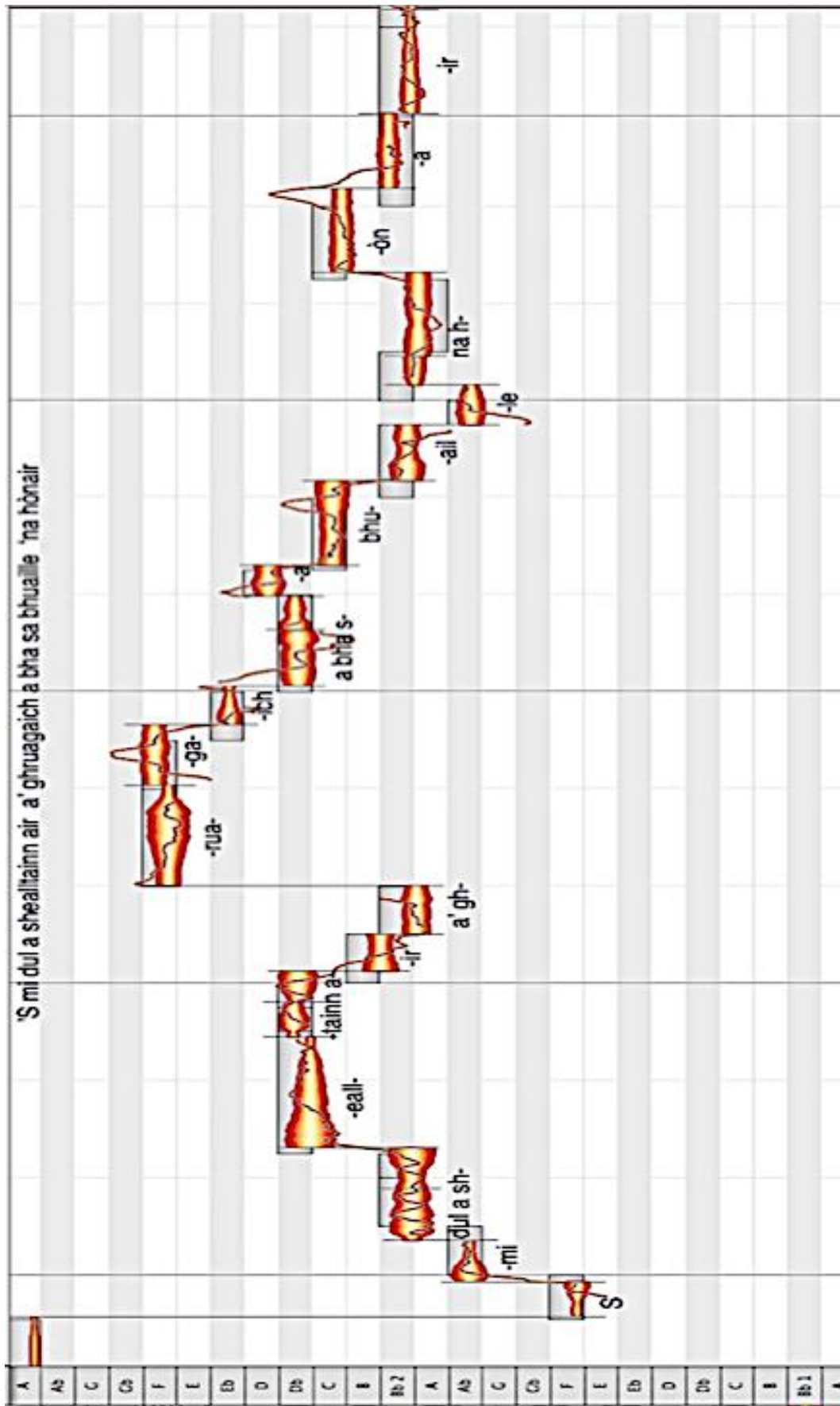
Figure 2.6 (enlarged)

'*Tom an tSearraich*'

A second example of Lewis singing style is given here by singer Christine Primrose from Carloway, singing *Tom an tSearraich* [The Foal's Hillock].[127] The song's story is told from the perspective of a man remembering the place where he grew up. There are many such songs in Scots Gaelic, praising particular localities or islands. The first two verses are transcribed below.[128]

An Audio excerpt of '*Tom an tSearraich*' can be heard at the following location

https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigration2/gaelic-song

(go to Ex. 5)

Or: USB /Audio /1.9

Tom an tSearraich	**The Foal's Hillock**
Bha mi 'n tòir air tìr nam beann, *'S iomadh sòlas fhuair mi ann,* *Nuair a bha mi air fòrladh thall,* *Chaidh mi a dh'ionnsaidh Tom an* *tSearraich.*	I was looking for the land of Mountains, Many's the consolation I found there, When I was on leave over there, I would go to the foal's hillock.
Fhuair mi àirigh gheal mo ghràidh, *Caoraich laigh innte len' àl,* *Chagailt a bha caomh is blàth,* *Bha i bàn fo fheur is barran.*	I found fine pastures my love, Sheep lying there with their young, A hearth that was loving and warm, It was sown with grass and crops,

Primrose's style is melismatic, but not as strongly so as Angus Kenneth McIvor's. She maintains a constant rhythm throughout her singing. She does not appear to hold any notes beyond the time that a consistent rhythm – even using *rubato* – would allow. In Figure 2.7 below, the first two lines of Primrose's singing are transcribed in Melodyne. The first two (blue) circles pinpoint her use of a swiftly-executed melismatic ornament. These are denoted by characteristic up-and-down 'hairpin' shapes in the pitch line. They can be seen where she sings the words *Bha* (carried over three notes), the second syllable of '*S iomadh* (second blue circle) and the word *mi* (yellow circle). At this last point, it is noticeable that she uses a slower melismatic ornament, perhaps because, unlike in the other two examples, there is no downward movement in pitch.

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[127] Primrose, *'S Tu Nam Chuimhne,* track 11.

[128] Text from: Comunn Gàidhealach Leòdhais, *Eilean Fraoich- Lewis Gaelic Songs and Melodies, 198.* Translated by me.
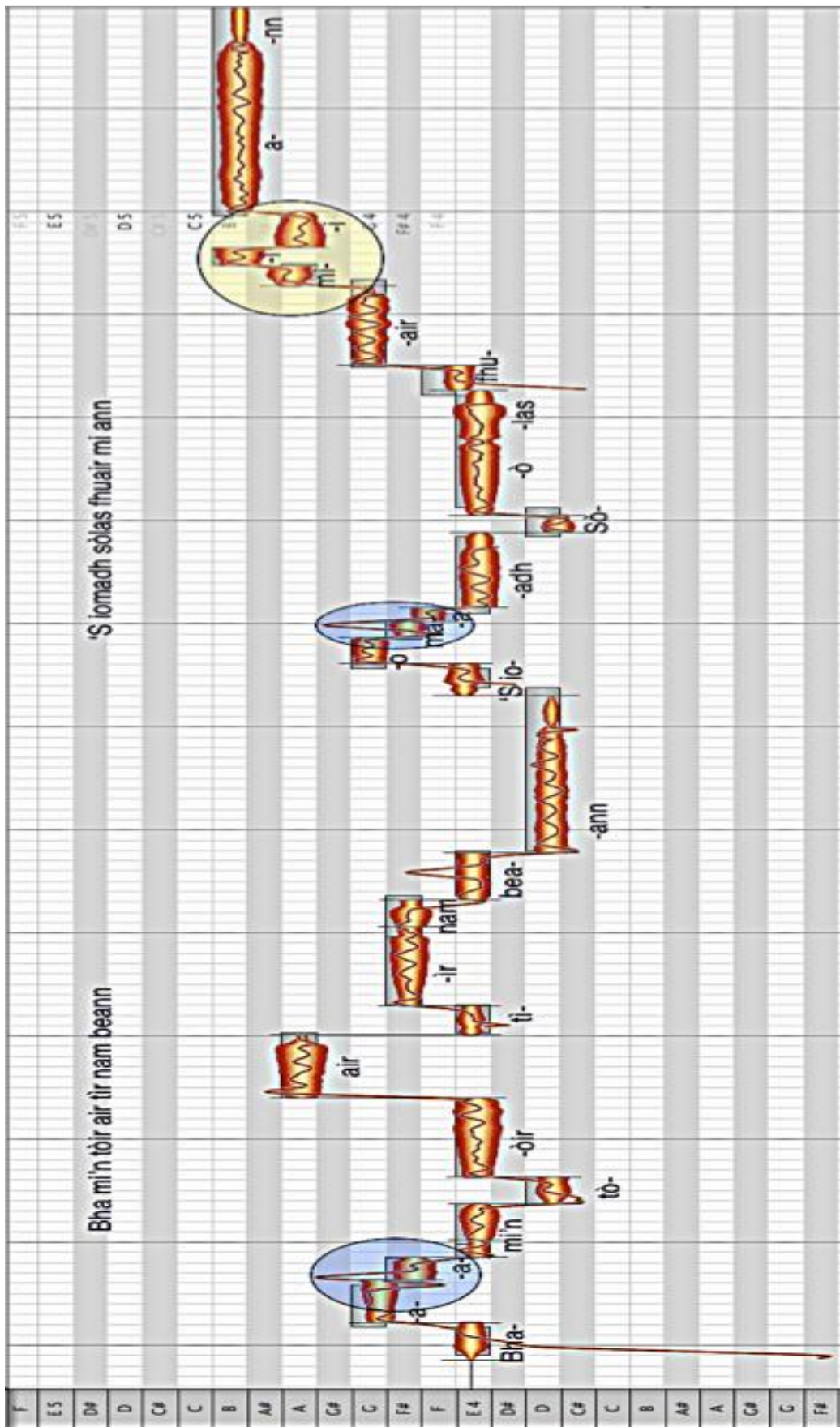
Figure 2.7: The use of melismatic ornamentation (circled) in the first two lines of Tom an tSearraich. The first two are executed swiftly during a downward pitch movement. The last is executed more slowly and occurs where the pitch is moving upwards.

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'*Tuireadh Nan Hiortach*'

The same style of singing that is used by both Primrose and Angus Kenneth McIvor above can be heard in the final example. '*Tuireadh nan Hiortach'* [Lament of the St. Kildans] sung here by Donna Murray[129] is a song told from the perspective of former archipelago of St Kilda residents[130] lamenting their exile from their homes and the island of Hirta – the largest of the archipelago.

An audio recording of the song can be heard at the following location:

https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigration2/gaelic-song

 (go to Ex. 6)

Or: USB /Audio /1.10

Tuireadh Nan Hiortach[131]	**Lament of the St. Kildans**
Tha sinne brònach 's is beag an t-iongnadh, *Is tha sinn cianail an diugh air fògradh;* *Tha 'n cuan an iar le chuid thonnan fiadhaich* *Gar sgaradh cian bho ar n-àite còmhnaidh.*	We are sad and it's little wonder We are homesick today in exile; The western ocean with its wild waves Is parting us far from our dwelling place.
Tha sinn mar chaoraich an seo gun bhuachaill, *'S sinn sgapt' measg sluaigh air nach eil sinn eòlach;* *Ach 's tric ar smuaintean ri snàmh nan cuantan* *Do eilean uaine nan cluaintean bòidheach.*	We are here like sheep without a shepherd, Scattered among people with whom we are not familiar; But often our thoughts swim across the oceans To the green island with the beautiful meadows.

No melodyne transcription is given for this song as it has no extra information to add to the MacIvor and Primrose transcriptions. This example, serves to underline the main observations made about their singing. Murray uses the melismatic style often used by

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[129] Donna Murray, 'Tuireadh Nan Hiortach,' *Tobar an Dualchais / Kist O' Riches*, accessed 16 September, 2016, http://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/play/95760.

[130] St Kilda—known as *Hiort* in Gaelic—lies forty miles to the west of the Western Isles, and roughly one hundred and ten miles from the mainland. Its last residents were evacuated in 1930.

[131] Transcription taken from 'BBC ALBA – Bliadhna Nan Òran – Òrain : Tuireadh Nan Hiortach,' accessed 30 July, 2016, http://www.bbc.co.uk/alba/oran/orain/tuireadh_nan_hiortach/. Translation by me.

Gaelic singers including MacIvor and Primrose. The singer hits a note adjacent to – either above or below – the main note for a split second, always returning to the main note itself, or uses a descending flurry of notes on a vowel in travelling from one note to another. Some examples of this can be heard in the audio recording. They are on the words and syllables in coloured print, in the first verse of the Gaelic transcription above. It gives an intended, 'wavering' effect to the main note. It is often used when going from one main note to the next, thus closing off any silences or glottal stops, and giving the impression that all the notes in any line of the song are joined. Murray seems to use more melismatic ornamentation than Primrose, but less than MacIvor. Like Primrose, but unlike McIvor, she holds a fairly constant rhythm not just within each line but also between the lines.

In summary, it may be said of the main body of slow Gaelic song performance: Timing and rhythm in some songs fluctuate according to the singer. This has long been noted as a strong feature of Gaelic singing-style as observed in the comments of Stewart and Fraser-Kennedy above. However, timing may have been regularised over the years and fluctuation in timing no longer seems to occur as frequently or to the extent described by earlier writers such as Kennedy-Fraser and Dun (see 2.6.2 above). This might be more true of later songs such as '*Tuireadh nan Hiortach'*, or '*Tom an tSearraich'* than older songs such as *'Thà Thìde Agam Èirigh'*. It is also possibly more true in relation to Lewis than in relation to the southern part of the Western Isles. The use of melismatic ornamentation is seen as one of the hallmarks of a good singer in this style. However, as the above examples show, contemporary Lewis singers vary in their use of it.

2.6.3 Gaelic and Scots aesthetic systems: summary

Although Gaelic and Lowland song share many features, for example the use of refrains, end rhyme (albeit of different types), and six-note scales, in the main, both traditions observed somewhat separate aesthetic systems with a level of convergence creeping in over time. Lowland ballad composers borrowed melodically from Highland music from early on, and later compositions in the Highlands and Islands seem to have adopted the six- and seven-note scales, probably due to Lowland influence. Although song themes may have crossed the cultural divide ('The Ballad of Twa Sisters' and '*A' Bhean Iadach'* for example), few, if any, songs made the jump between cultures complete with theme and melody.

The last few sections of this chapter, examined the differing verse aesthetics of English and Gaelic song, the differences in the sense of tonality between the two communities, and between the musical norms of both traditions and more recent composition. It also closely examined performance styles of singing in both traditions. The next sections will look at how these factors influenced both the translations of the psalms, the music to which they were set, and ultimately the Gaelic psalm singing style. It begins with a look at the translated collections of the psalms — the psalters

2.7 The Scottish Psalters

2.7.1 Psalters and Common Metre

Calvin had ensured that only the psalms would be acceptable as music in the Genevan Churches, and this practice extended to all Calvinist churches and congregations. This, along with the principle, mentioned earlier in this chapter, of ensuring that the vernacular language rather than Latin was used, meant that for Lowland Scottish and English reformers the psalms had to be translated into English. As previously stated, a number of attempts were made to do this but it was not until 1548, when the psalter of Thomas Sternhold (1500-1549), Groome of the Robes to Henry VIII and Edward VI, that a popular psalter was produced in English.[132] This psalter contained only nineteen of the one hundred and fifty psalms. In 1549, a clergyman called John Hopkins produced another psalter. This collection contained thirty-seven verse translations of psalms, thirty attributed to Sternhold, and seven to Hopkins (In Sternhold's case with one end rhyme between the second and fourth lines; in the case of Hopkins two end rhymes between the first and third and the second and fourth lines). This psalter became known as 'Sternhold and Hopkins'. It was in use until the early nineteenth century. However, neither Sternhold nor Hopkins provided music for their psalm collections.

The importance of the Sternhold and Hopkins psalter in terms of this research is, firstly, that the verses were written in common metre, and, secondly, that it was the most widely used psalter in English and therefore became a definitive text. To quote Alfred Belden Rice

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[132] This was not the first Psalter to be produced in English as Robert Crowley (1517-1588) had already produced one. His psalter did not have the same popular appeal as Sternhold's.

> Sternhold used one metre in his psalms […] and this selection of metre was far more important than the psalms that he set to it, for either in this form (with two rhymes) or that of Hopkins (with four rhymes) it became the prevailing metre (c.m.) of the old and new versions of England and Scotland and of innumerable metrical psalms and hymns. [133]

Common metre with second and fourth line end rhyme was used for most of the subsequent major psalters. However, it would appear that common metre was not the only feature of English and Lowland Scots psalm singing that was borrowed from the common tradition.

The Genevan reformers, most of whom were French-speaking, composed tunes that suited the rhythms of the French translations of the psalms. Claude Goudimel (1514-1572), a composer, and Louis Bourgeois (1510-1559), a friend of Calvin's, were responsible for many of these. Goudimel and Bourgeois were the main composers of the music for what became known as the *Genevan Psalter*, a French translation of the psalms.

English and Scottish reformers who had lived in exile in Geneva during the reign of Queen Mary initially tried to import many of the French melodies of the Genevan Psalter but ultimately abandoned them, as they proved difficult for English speakers.

> The Genevan tunes are set to wonderfully irregular metres and the tunes themselves have a pronounced rhythmic intensity and modal flavour making them sound more like renaissance madrigals than conventional hymns. Queen Elizabeth I of England is said to have derisively called them 'Genevan jigs' because of their dance-like qualities.[134]

The French rhythms were ultimately discarded, with only a few of the Genevan tunes surviving. Common metre proved to be more far more successful with English people and Lowland Scots and eventually nearly all psalms were sung in this format in Protestant churches.

When it came to versification, translation alone could not overcome the problem of the different verse aesthetics of French and English. The Psalms had to be constructed anew, in most cases with English or Scots metre and tunes.

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[133] Alfred Belden Rice, *A Life of Preparation; Metrical Versions of the Psalms in English and Literary Writings of Alfred Belden Rice : Rice, Alfred Belden* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia, 1919), https://archive.org/details/lifeofpreparatio00rice.

[134] David T. Koyzis, 'Introduction to the Genevan Psalter,' accessed 5 July, 2014, http://genevanpsalter.redeemer.ca/psalter_intro.html.

Some melodies from folk music may have been adopted for this purpose. Nicholas Temperley speculates about this when he says, in relation to the rapid growth in psalm singing in English churches in the mid-sixteenth century.

> We read that the singing spread like wildfire from one London Church to another in the autumn of 1559. It is hard to imagine that such a blaze was set alight by the spiritless tunes of 1556 [Anglo-Genevan psalter], It seems far more likely that the Puritan leaders, following Calvin's example, used popular English Ballad tunes at this critical time as the only sure way to get the congregations singing heartily.[135]

In 1564 Scottish reformers published the first full Scottish Psalter, which was based on 'Sternhold and Hopkins'. Ninety-eight of the one hundred and fifty psalms were in common metre. More than one hundred tunes were supplied with thirty-one of these being imported French tunes. In 1615 printer Andrew Harte's psalter was published in which appeared for the first time psalm tunes such as '*Dundee*', '*The Stilt*', '*Martyrs*', and '*French*', tunes that would ultimately be used in the Highlands and Islands in Gaelic congregations. Finally, in 1650 the Scottish Metrical Psalter was published. This Psalter was to remain in use for the remainder of the period that concerns this study. Common metre gradually became the overwhelming choice for both psalmody (and ultimately hymnody) in both Scotland and England. Common metre tunes could be used for any verse in common metre. If all psalms were in common metre, then any common metre tune known to the congregation could be used.

The verses of the metrical psalter are mainly accentual syllabic, that is, they bear more resemblance to the literary tradition exemplified later by Burns and Yeats than to the folk music tradition with its often seemingly awkward use of common metre. Both the stresses and the number of syllables are tightly regulated. There are eight syllables with four stresses in the first and third lines and six syllables with three stresses in the second and fourth. There is end rhyme between the second and fourth lines and the pause for a virtual beat at the end of the second line. Take, for example, Psalm 10 verses one and two:

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[135] *Ibid*.

Psalm 10, verses 1&2:

Wherefore is it that thou, O Lord,
dost stand from us a**far**?
And wherefore hidest thou thyself,
when times so troublous **are**?

The wicked in his loftiness
doth persecute the **poor**:
In these devices they have framed
let them be taken **sure**.

Or from Psalm 27, verses six and seven: [136]

Psalm 27, verses 6 & 7

Mine hands in innocence, O Lord,
I'll wash and puri**fy**;
So to thine holy altar go,
and compass it will **I**

That I, with voice of thanksgiving,
may publish and dec**lare**,
And tell of all thy mighty works,
that great and wondrous **are.**

Noticeably in view of what Collinson says about Scottish folksong predominantly using a hexatonic scale, many of these melodies including '*Martyrs*' and '*Dundee*' were heptatonic, using all seven notes of the major western scale. This suggests that Lowland Scottish people may have been familiar and at ease with the full major scale by the time the Scottish Psalter was compiled.[137]

The verses of the Scottish Metrical Psalter suggest a desire to stick with simplicity. Both the regular rhyming scheme between the end of the second and fourth lines, and the choice of common metre in accentual syllabic form with its ability to suit any common metre tune, speaks of the reformers desire to make the verses accessible. One thing however, stands out. It was written and printed in standard English and not in Scots. The reason for this is unclear as Scots had a conventional written form[138] and as has

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[136] *Ibid.*

[137] Or, perhaps more correctly, that the middle and upper classes were familiar with it.

[138] There are numerous literary and legal documents written in Scots dating to before the union of the crowns. This attests to its separate linguistic existence at one time. It is thought that Scots and English were diverging (or had diverged) as separate languages before union and increasing cooperation and trade changed this. Scots and English gradually converged to become more alike although they still

been seen, common metre verse in Scots would have been accessible to most Lowlanders. This bypassing of the true vernacular foreshadowed what was to happen later with the Gaelic psalter.

2.7.2 'Lining out' Psalms

Many Lowland Scottish and English reformers had been together in Geneva in the period of exile during the Marian persecution of Protestants (1553-1558) and after their return to Britain they had maintained close contact and cooperation. In 1642, an 'Assembly of Divines' ('Divines' being theologians) was held to try to further uniformity between the two main strands of reformed faith in Britain, Anglican and Puritan. In 1643, they formed the *Solemn League and Covenant* to try to attain a measure of uniformity in approach to liturgy.

One of the results of the Assembly of the Divines was a commitment to providing a common Psalter for both English and Scottish Protestants. Problems of illiteracy in the general population, however, necessitated a new way of prompting the congregation—the 'lining-out' of Psalms, where a member of the community (not necessarily the minister) would stand and call or chant the lines to the congregation. The congregation would then sing the line using a specified tune, stopping at the end of each line to receive the next from the person lining-out.

> For the present, where many in the congregation cannot read, it is convenient that the minister, or some other fit person appointed by him and the other ruling officers, do read the psalm line by line, before the singing thereof.[139]

This practice, which was found all over Britain at one time, is still used in Gaelic-speaking Presbyterian communities and in parts of North America, in both African-American and European-American, Baptist churches. Elsewhere in the English-speaking world, it appears to have died out.

> 'Reading the line' seems to have been a common Lowland Scottish description, as was 'chanting the line'. In Gaelic the phrase is *a'cuir a-mach na loidhne*, literally: 'putting out the line'. In Highland English 'giving out the line' [...] North America, 'lining' or lining out.' [140]

maintain important differences. Some have suggested that John Know the leader of the Calvinist movement in Scotland who had spent much time in the company of English reformers in Geneva during the reign of Queen Mary, and was greatly admired by them, had a distain for Scots and that his influence may have caused a more standard English to be adopted for liturgical materials.

[139] Frost, Thomas: 'Church Music', in Andrews, W. (ed.) Bygone Church Life in Scotland (London, Andrews and Co., 1899), 100.

2.7.3 The Gaelic Psalter

Between 1659 and 1694, the Book of Psalms was translated into Gaelic. This was mainly the work of the Synod of Argyll who produced, at first, a translation of fifty of the Psalms, known in Gaelic to this day as *Na Caogad* [The Fifty] and eventually all one hundred and fifty. A restricted authorisation was given for this by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. However, there were several problems associated with these translations. Firstly, the book of Psalms was translated directly from English into Gaelic, preserving the English metrical system in the verses. Secondly, the Gaelic used for translation was a version of the high-form, classical Gaelic, which had also been used to translate the Bible (see section 2.3.5). This, as has been seen, was the language of the aristocracy and the professional classes and not that of the common person. Finally, Lowland common metre tunes were imported for singing the Psalms in Gaelic. Lining out was used to facilitate singing, as was the case in Lowland and English churches.

This presented Gaelic speaking communities with a number of difficulties, and the attempt to overcome these difficulties and to accommodate the Gaelic aesthetic became a process that would ultimately lead to a creolised music.

A number of aspects of the common metre psalms (albeit in Gaelic), and their Lowland tunes, would have seemed strange to Gaelic communities. The non-native metre was one. The different sense of tonality was another. The scale in use in the Lowland tunes contained intervals between notes that, as has been seen, were not used in the Gaelic music scale of the time which, it would appear, had been pentatonic. Ewan McLean commenting on this said that:[141]

> The Gaelic people had to take the translation and its alien metre, against the same background of lack of education and get on with it. Right from the start it laboured under musical standards and practices foreign to its culture, and seemingly practices not of the best at that.[142]

John Purser emphasises this while also pointing out how (perhaps even unwittingly) 'Calvinist' the results actually were.

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[140] N. Campbell, *Reading the Line* (Stornoway: Campbell, 2005), 3, 4.
[141] As has already been seen Gaelic music nowadays does include six and seven-note scales but this may reflect later additions to Gaelic music and an increasing familiarity with first one and then the other of the semi-tones of the western music scale.
[142] McLean, 1973, 54–62.

[…] the Gaelic language sounded awkward in the straight-jacket of an unfamiliar metrical ballad form in unrelieved quatrains. The freedom to decorate the melody so that each member of the congregation makes an individual act of worship out of his or her own singing fulfils the highest ideals of the Reformation by processes the reformers probably never envisaged.[143]
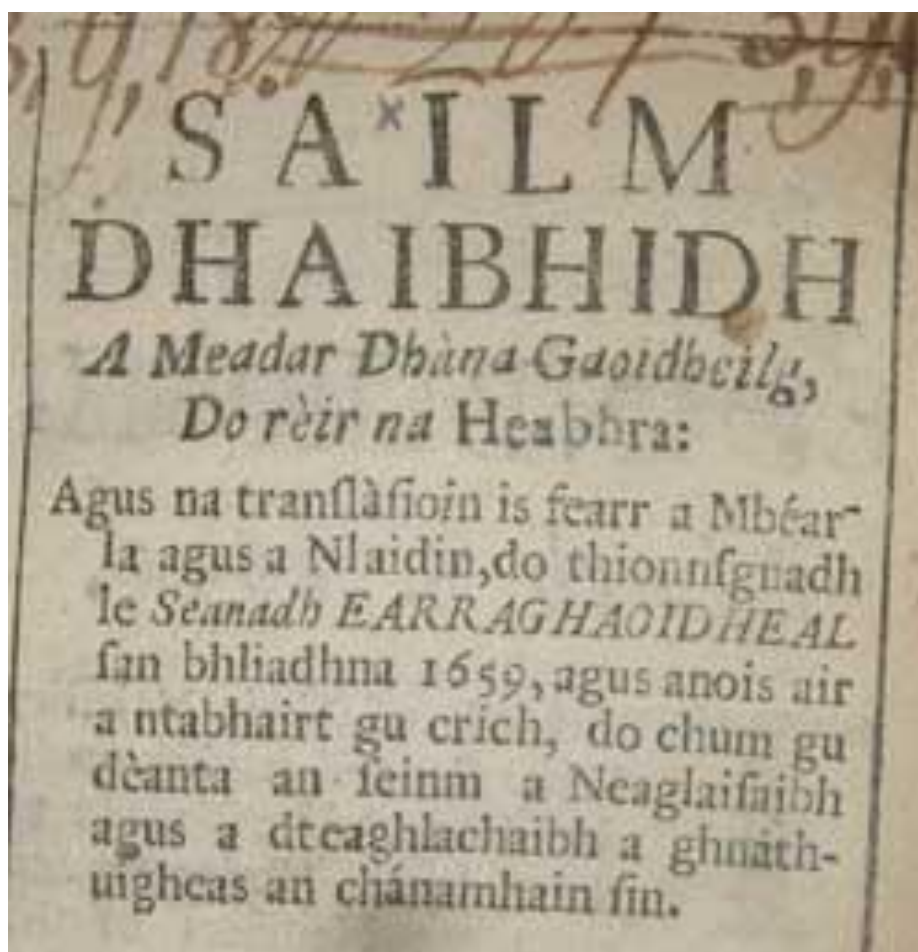
Figure 2.8: The cover of the first Gaelic Psalter published in 1694[144]

It is a subject of some speculation as to why some fundamental tenets of Calvinism—that the vernacular language be used and that the music of worship be accessible to ordinary people—were not observed in relation to the Reformation in Gaelic Scotland. As the Gaelic language had only one written code – the classical form – its use in formal settings, such as religious services, is perhaps understandable. However, given the earlier experiences of English and Lowland reformers with French melodies, it is harder to understand why music and metre that would have been readily accessible to ordinary people was not used.

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[143] Purser, *Scotland's Music,* 147.
[144] Source: National Library of Scotland; http://www.nls.uk/collections/rare-books/collections/bibles

As has been shown, common metre and second and fourth line end rhyme were not a feature of Gaelic verse. However, the translations of the Psalms into Gaelic introduced these features as can be seen from the following verse from Psalm 2. The rhyme is in bold print and the stressed syllables are underlined. The translation is literal and therefore not in common metre.

Psalm 2, verse 9[145]

Ni<u>th</u>ear le <u>slait</u> do'n <u>ia</u>runn <u>chruaidh,</u>	they will with rods of hard iron, swiftly be broken by you,
*gu <u>luath</u> am <u>bri</u>seadh **leat,***	into small pieces they shall be
Nam <u>bloi</u>dibh <u>bea</u>ga <u>pron</u>nar <u>iad,</u>	smashed,
*Mar <u>pho</u>ta <u>cri</u>adh le d' **neart***	like an earthen pot, by your strength

The same features can be seen in the following example from psalm 46.

Psalm 46, verse 2[146]

Mar <u>sin</u> ged <u>ghluaist</u>' an <u>ta</u>lamh <u>trom</u>	Therefore although the heavy
Chan <u>aobh</u>ar <u>eagal</u> **duinn**	ground should move,
Ged <u>thil</u>geadh <u>fòs</u> na <u>slèibh</u>te <u>mòr</u>'	we have no need to fear,
Am <u>builsg</u>ean <u>fairg</u>' is **tuinn**	even if the mountains be hurled, into the midst of the sea

The use of common metre (stresses underlined) and second and fourth line end rhyme (in bold print), both alien to Gaelic verse, can be seen quite clearly in the above.

The importation of the Lowland common metre melodies was an unusual departure, as melodies already known to the congregation and probably easier for them to sing could have been used. It is difficult to ascertain why native song formats were not adapted for the Gaelic translations, as had ultimately happened in the Lowlands and in England. Perhaps the relative simplicity of translating verses that observed the same rhythm and rhyming scheme throughout, rather than trying to create or adapt to, a Gaelic version of the same, may have played a part.[147] Or perhaps the higher status of English among the

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[145] From : John Smith, *Sailm Dhaibhidh ann an Dan Gaidhealach* (Tain: Roderick Douglas, 1833).
[146] *Ibid.*
[147] Carswell had stated in his introduction to *Foirm na n-Urrnuidheadh* that he had waited to see if anyone else would undertake the work of translation before reluctantly taking it on himself. Some have speculated that his reference was to the bardic poets- the trained Gaelic literati. The fact that they appear not to have been involved in the work of translation may be one of the reasons why those who

literate (and wealthy) classes, even among those who also used Gaelic such as the Campbells of Argyll created a wish to conform to the poetic conventions of the former. As has been noted, the principle of using the vernacular had also been broken in the Lowlands, perhaps for this same reason, i.e. the perceived higher status of Southern British English.

The result was that the Gaelic-speaking congregations had to attempt to sing a form of music that must have seemed rhythmically unusual, using scales that contained some note intervals that sounded alien to them, in a form of language that was not their everyday one. Out of all of this, a compromise arose: a creolised music which has survived to this day.

From relatively early on, German music teacher Joseph Mainzer (1801-1851) had noticed a development in the singing of some of the old Psalm-tunes in Gaelic communities as early as 1844 when he published, *The Gaelic Psalm-tunes of Ross-shire and the neighbouring counties.* [148] In this publication, he describes the effect that became known as the 'long tune' or 'long song', a reference to the fact that Gaelic versions of Lowland Psalm-tunes were much longer than their English counterparts and appeared to have extra notes.

2.8 Gaelic psalm singing

2.8.1 The conventions of Gaelic psalm singing

In the congregations of the Church of Scotland, the Free Church of Scotland and the Free Church, three Psalms are usually sung in the course of the service, one each at the beginning, middle, and end. The minister announces which Psalm is to be sung and which verses from it (normally two or three consecutive verses, but not necessarily from the beginning of the Psalm) and will, perhaps, read the first two lines. The person 'lining out' the tune (the 'precentor') decides what tune he will use, normally a plaintive one,

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did translate the psalms turned, for expedience, to the Lowland / English form of meter and rhyme

[148] See: Joseph Mainzer, *The Gaelic Psalm Tunes of Ross-Shire and The Neighbouring Counties*
(Edinburgh: William Oliphant & Sons and John Johnstone, 1844), v-xix.
See also: McLean, 1973, 62.

such as *Coleshill*, *Martyrs* or *Dundee*,[149] for a sorrowful Psalm, and a more joyful one such as *Evan, Kilmarnock*, or *New London,* for a happier Psalm.

The precentor then rises and starts the psalm.[150] As the melody is not usually announced, the first few notes are sung relatively fast to let the congregation know what tune is being used. A note is then held slightly longer to allow the members of the congregation, who have been joining in as they recognise the tune, to fully join and catch up with the precentor. From here on, the tune is sung at a slower tempo. Both precentor and congregation sing the remainder of the first two lines without pause. After the second line, the congregation pauses, and the next line is chanted by the precentor, who, after chanting the words, returns to the start of the line to lead the congregation in singing it

Figure 2.9: The Free Church in Càrlabhagh / Carloway in the west of Lewis, showing the pulpit and immediately below it the area for the precentor(s)[151]

Good precentors are valued, and are rare these days. Traditionally there was no formal training available to become a precentor. Individuals who were known to have good voices were invited to precent. Murdo MacLennan from Grabhar in Lewis described for me in an interview, how he had learned:

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[149] Many Psalm tunes are named after places in the Lowlands or elsewhere in Britain including for example 'Montrose', 'New London', 'Elgin', and 'Bangor'.

[150] Although Scots Gaelic has borrowed 'precenting' as a loan word from English it also uses the phrase '*a' togail an fhuinn'* [raising the tune].

[151] Source: 'About Us | Carloway Free Church,' accessed 31 July, 2016, http://carloway.freechurch.org/about-us/.

Ann an dòigh ioghantach [...].Cha robh mi math a' seinn ariamh [...] Bha sinn aig iasgach aon oidhch', mi fhìn is balach eile as a bhaile....bha tiunaichean aigesan...bha e math a' seinn agus thuirt mise 'b'fhearr leam gu faighinn seinn (a) ionnsachadh'. 'O nach ionnsaich sinn Steòrnabhagh' thuirt e...the tune Stornoway. Thoisich sinn a fiachainn...thoisich e aig ionnsachadh dhomhs' agus sinn aig iasgach, is bha sinn a faighinn iasg aig a cheart am is a' seinn aig a' cheart am a's an eathar amuigh.[152]

[..In a wonderful way […] I was never good at singing […] We were fishing one night myself and another lad from the townland.. he had tunes.. he was good at singing and I said 'I would love to learn how to sing'. 'O why don't we learn *Steòrnabhagh*' he said—the tune Stornoway. We started trying it.. he started teaching it to me while we were fishing, and we were catching fish and singing at the same time out in the boat.]

The period that MacLennan refers to was in the late 1940s. On his return home, he regularly practised the tune outdoors on a hill behind his mother's house. He was eventually invited to precent to two different congregations, and although now ninety years of age, he continues to precent in Grabhar church.

The individual congregation member is allowed quite a lot of latitude in singing his or her lines. Members tend to hold and emphasise different notes at different times and will add some, or many, grace notes of their own. To some extent, each member of the congregation is giving a personal rendition of the tune, unhindered by the requirements of singing in unison. It is perhaps this more than anything else that gives the singing of the Gaelic Psalm-tunes its unique identity.

2.8.2 Gaelic Psalm singing—congregational examples and comparisons
In this section, a breakdown of Gaelic psalm singing will be given, to show the original tunes and their Gaelic equivalents. Audio examples will be used to demonstrate congregational singing in both English (for comparative purposes) and Gaelic, and examples of individual singing from the Gaelic tradition will be demonstrated using audio and Melodyne. The breakdown aims to provide a full description of Gaelic psalm singing in terms of tune, and singing-style. The precentor's lined-out 'chant' will not be dealt with here, although it too, and its variations, along with the techniques of precenting, would make a very interesting subject of study in its own right.

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[152] Murdo MacLennan / Murchadh MacIllfhinnein, interview by Brian Ó hUiginn, Audio recording, 12 August, 2016. (0'10").

To demonstrate fully the background and nature of Gaelic psalm singing, I have selected one tune,'Martyrs', and in this section I will follow it from its original written form to its usual English congregational setting and from there to the Gaelic congregational adaptation of the tune. This will allow the reader to observe the composer's original and then to hear the differences between the two styles of congregational singing as they are usually sung in English language and Gaelic services. An analysis will then be provided of an individual performance of the psalm in Gaelic, which will give an indication of an individual singing style. Finally, I will analyse a performance by two singers in the Gaelic style. This will give an indication of how the singers interact with each other to weave the Gaelic psalm tune sonic 'tapestry'.

'Marytrs'

Although the author of the Psalm-tune 'Martyrs' (referenced earlier) is unknown, the tune has appeared in Scottish Psalters since at least the early seventeenth century. Two printed versions of it, one from the 1635 Scottish Psalter[153] and another from Barton's Psalms, published in Dublin in 1698[154] are shown in Figures 2.10 and 2.11, below.
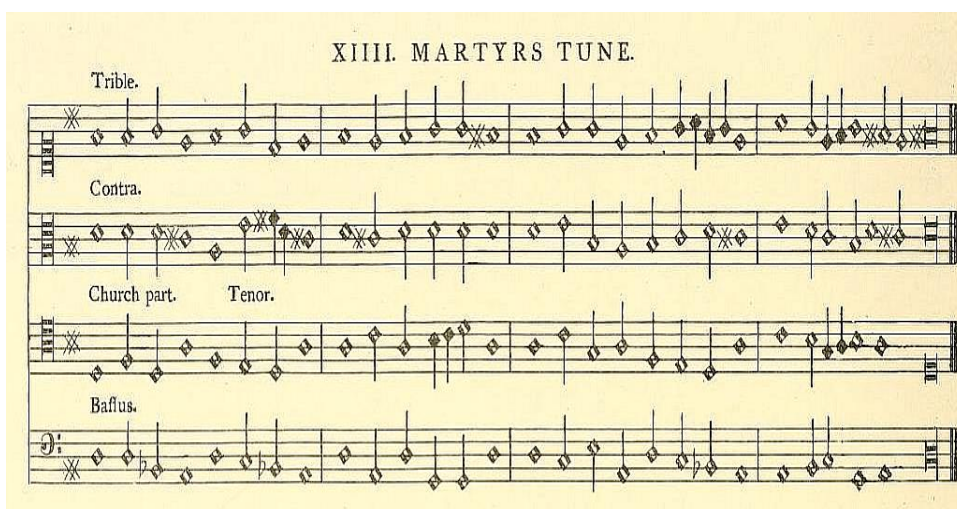
Figure 2.10: An early example of 'Martyrs', from the 1635 Scottish Psalter. The tune is contained in the first (marked 'Trible') line. This version is slightly more complex than Barton's version (see Figure 2.11 below), but still shows an overall tendency to use one note per syllable.

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[153] Rev.Neil Livingston, *The Scottish Metrical Psalter of A.D. 1635. Reprinted in Full from the Original Work* (Glasgow: MacLure & MacDonald, 1864), 95,
https://archive.org/stream/scottishmetrical00livi#page/n91/mode/2up.

[154] William Barton, *The Psalms of David in Metre Newly Translated*, 2nd ed. (Dopson, Servant, Lawrence, 1706).
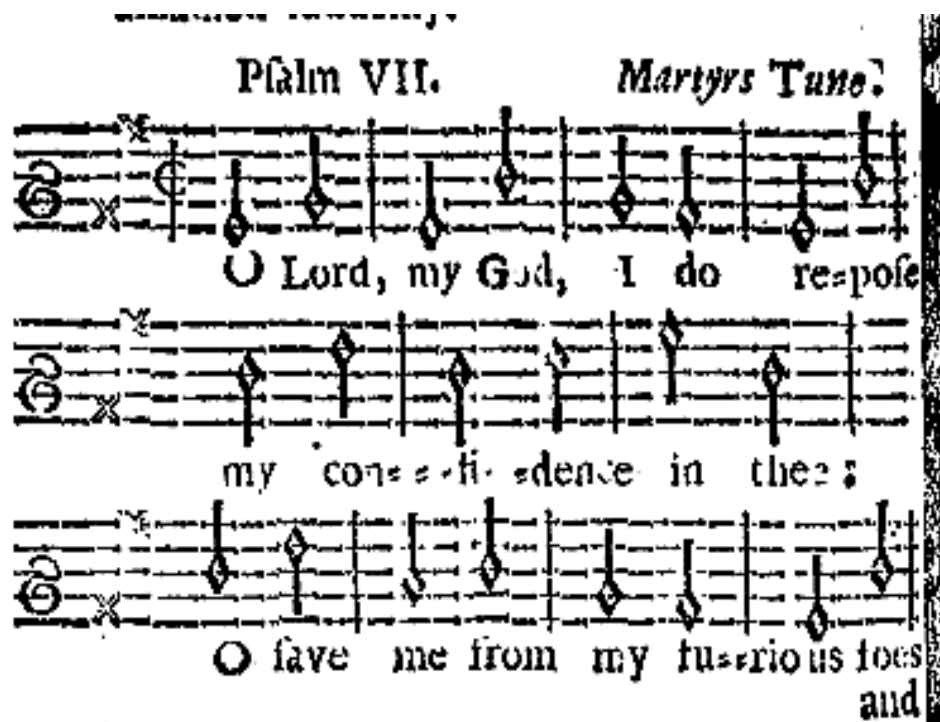
Figure 2.11: Part of 'Martyrs' (fourth line is not included as it is on a separate page in the original) as it appears in Barton's Psalms first published in Dublin in 1698 and reprinted in 1706. This clearly shows the one syllable per note tendency in metrical psalm-tune compositions. (Courtesy of Google Books)[155]

'Martyrs' is a tune designed for common metre and, accordingly, is suited to accentual syllabic verse. In Barton's psalms (see Figure 2.11) the tune has twenty-eight notes – eight for the first and third lines, six for the second and fourth (not shown above), each note carrying either a stressed or unstressed syllable of the words. The Scottish Psalter version includes some variation by using three different note values thereby varying the rhythm. It also included two notes rather than one in bar 3 (where the sixth and seventh syllables would be sung), and also in the last bar where the third syllable would be. The advantage of common metre Psalm tunes, as has already been noted, is that because the amount of notes in the tunes, and syllables in the metrical translations, are so regular, any one of the one-hundred and fifty psalms can be sung to any one of the tunes. Even one common metre tune will suffice for all the psalms.

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[155] See:
https://books.google.ie/books/reader?id=wlJVAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&output=reader&pg=GBS.PA134

To demonstrate how this tune is performed by English-speaking congregations, a recording of Psalm 76 sung to 'Martyrs', as it appears in the Scottish Metrical Psalter of 1650, referred to above, can be heard below. It gives the usual setting for this tune when sung in English.[156]

https://sites.googl e.com/site/melodicmigration2/

go to Ex. 1
Or: USB /Audio /1.11

Psalm 76 verses 1&2

In Judah's land God is well known,
his name's in Isr'el great:
In Salem is his tabernacle,
in Zion is his seat.

There arrows of the bow he brake,
the shield, the sword, the war.
More glorious thou than hills of prey,
more excellent art far .

In this version, the singers follow more closely the 1635 Scottish Psalter version than the Barton's Psalms version, alternating long and short notes. There is a strong tendency to allocate one note per syllable in all but a few points in the singing. The syllable count per line is strictly adhered to. In the word 'tabernacle' in the third line, for example, the second syllable is greatly weakened by the singers (pronounced more like 'tab'nacle') reducing the overall syllable count in the line to the required eight rather than the nine that would have ensued from the complete pronunciation of all syllables. The decision to sing three syllables in 'glorious' in the third line of the second verse causes some singers to drop the second last word in the line 'of', in order to even out the syllable count to eight rather than the nine that would otherwise ensue. The eight syllables could also have been achieved by singing 'glorious' as two syllables rather than three.

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[156] Connor Quigley, 'Psalm 76, Martyrs,' *Soundcloud*, accessed 9 July, 2015,
    https://soundcloud.com/connorq/psalm-76-tune-martyrs-1?in=connorq/sets/the-psalms-sung-1650-version.

By way of comparison, this same tune, performed by Alasdair Graham and a Gaelic congregation on the Isle of Lewis, to a different psalm, is given below.[157] Note that the Gaelic verse is also in common metre, stresses underlined.

https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigration2/

go to Ex 2

Or: USB /Audio /1.12

Psalm 79 verses 1&2

Mu <u>thiom</u>chioll <u>fòs</u> Ie<u>ru</u>sa<u>lem</u>,
dhòirt <u>iad</u> am <u>fuil</u> mar <u>uisg</u>'
Is <u>cha</u> robh <u>neach</u> g'an <u>adhla</u>c<u>adh</u>
'S g'an <u>cur</u> san <u>uaigh</u> an <u>taing</u>

Round about Jerusalem
Their blood have they shed like water;
And there was none to bury them.
158

Ball <u>fan</u>oid <u>agus</u> m<u>as</u>laidh <u>sinn</u>
d'ar <u>coimh</u>ears<u>nach</u>aibh <u>fèin</u>:
cùis <u>spòrs</u>' is <u>mhag</u>aidh <u>do</u> gach <u>neach</u>
an <u>ta</u> m'ar <u>cuairt</u> gu <u>lèir</u>.

We are become a reproach to
Our own neighbours,
a scorn and derision to them
that are round about us[159]

It is notable that the end rhyme in the Gaelic verses is very weak. Only in the second verse is there a rhyme of *fèin* and *lèir*.

Morag MacLeod observes a particular feature of this recording, stating that:

> The Gaelic version differs from those in print in the second phrase, and in this performance there is some uncertainty in the final phrase of the stanza also as those who favour the printed notes clash with those who cling to the traditional form.[160]

Some other observations can be made when comparing the two versions. First, the song is short and rhythmic in the English example; the common metre rhythm can clearly be heard. In the Gaelic version, the rhythm has been obscured and no metre is evident. The Gaelic song appears to be long and slow and, in comparison to its English counterpart, the congregation does not sing in unison. The insertion of the precentor's lines between

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[157] Various, *Gaelic Psalms from Lewis*, L.P., vol. 6, Scottish Tradition (Tangent, 1975), track 4.
[158] *Ibid*., inlay booklet. These three lines are the translation given in the inlay notes of the above recording. In the last two lines in Gaelic the words '*adhlacadh*'[bury] and '*cur san uaig*h' [put in the grave] present something of a tautology, used perhaps only to complete the verse form. These could also be translated as: 'And there was not a person to bury them, and put them in the grave with thanksgiving' (my own translation).
[159] Words and translation from *Gaelic Psalms from Lewis* (inlay booklet).
[160] *Ibid*.

lines of congregational singing, in the Gaelic recording makes the verses much longer. In the English recording, the congregation sings continuously. It takes one minute and six seconds to sing the first two verses in the English version. In the Gaelic version with the same amount of syllables, it takes three minutes and twenty-six seconds. There is what might be called a 'slurred' effect where notes seem to drift from one into the other in the Gaelic version; in the English, the notes sound clear and separate, in a syllabic singing style, rather like their secular ballad counterparts. On the Gaelic recording, the melismatic singing style of the performers can be heard, which reflects the style of Gaelic singing. In general, to a person encountering them for the first time, these two examples of the same Psalm-tune can sound like completely different melodies, not only in the individual notes, but also in the overall 'character' of the tunes, in the feel, tempo, and mood of the piece. On encountering these Psalms in the first half of the nineteenth century, Mainzer observed:

> We find [...] the common psalm-tunes of Scotland but under such transformations and modifications that the most delicate ear or keenest music perception would never have detected their original features or have recognised in such an ornamented form the rigid simplicity and sternness of their primitive style. [161]

The English version follows very precisely the notation given in Figures 2.10 and 2.11 above for *Martyrs*. The Gaelic version, in its 'congregational voice',[162] might be better written like this (Figure 2.12):

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[161] Mainzer,1844, viii.

[162] The 'congregational voice' refers to a description of the overall rendition of the melody as sung by the whole congregation as opposed to any individual singer within it. It is an attempt to standardise the description, as selecting individual renditions in a recording such as this is impossible.

Figure 2.12: A 'congregational voice' rendition of a 1969 recording of 'Martyrs'. The notes of the congregational singing, which are very varied in length, have been reduced to three here, long, medium and short, in order to simplify the congregational melody while still showing some of the additional notes. This transcription is my own.

The notes of the original tune as it appeared in the 1635 Scottish Psalter are marked in red. The clash in the singing mentioned by Morag MacLeod is where some in the congregation sing the notes that are boxed off. Additional interpolated vowels used to ease the flow between two consonants but which are not part of the word, are bracketed in the printed words

In this version, the very clear, note-per-syllable tendency of the original tune is partly dislodged by the addition (by the congregation) of extra notes (not circled). This is before any consideration of the many, fleeting, grace notes and melismas that are to be heard in the audio version. It shows in effect how the melody has been lengthened.

The use of melismatic ornamentation is clearly audible when listening to an individual performance of 'Martyrs'. The following audio recording, a solo performance of 'Martyrs', by Joan MacDonald,[163] from *Baile an Truiseil* in the Isle of Lewis, shows how the notes of the 'congregational voice' are further elaborated on by the addition of

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[163] Joan MacDonald, 'Martyrs, Psalm 116,' *Tobar an Dualchais / Kist O' Riches*, accessed 3 April, 2014, http://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/en/play/66796.

many more short grace notes and how melismatic ornamentation is used both to ornament and to allow a continuous flow of music until the singer has to take a breath.

An audio excerpt of 'Martyrs' as sung solo by Joan MacDonald the following location: https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigration2/
(go to Ex. 3)
Or : USB/Audio/1.13

Joan MacDonald's singing above gives an indication of how psalm singing in the Gaelic tradition, although most often heard from a full congregation, is, in many ways, also an individual endeavour. By convention, the singer is allowed a lot of latitude in his or her personal singing style and expression. When the congregation sings, the aggregate effect of many voices singing, in the style exemplified above, gives Gaelic Psalm singing its most distinguishing feature; the singing is both choral and individual at once. Thus, a listener unfamiliar with the style encounters a type of choral singing which is very different to the more mainstream, western choral style.

'Bangor'

An examination of a second psalm tune, 'Bangor', reveals many of the same features identified in 'Martyrs'. However, an additional feature of Gaelic psalm singing is in evidence here – the traditional tendency of Gaelic singers to avoid notes that are only a semitone apart, i.e. to use an anhemitonic scale and to adjust non-conforming notes accordingly. The original Psalm-tune 'Bangor' written by William Tans'ur in 1734 is given in Figure. 2.13, below. Two examples of the intervals that were to prove problematic for Gaelic congregations are circled in red.

Bangor
William Tans'ur 1734

Figure 2.13: The psalm-tune Bangor as it is commonly sung by English and Scots congregations. [164]

A performance of 'Bangor' as it is usually sung in English can be heard at the following location:[165]

https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigration2/

(go to Ex.4)

Or : USB/Audio/1.14

The Gaelic version of 'Bangor', as is the case with 'Martyrs', sounds quite different:[166]

https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigration2/

go to Ex.5

Or : USB/Audio/1.15

A look at a 'congregational voice' transcription of 'Bangor' (Figure 2.13) reveals some of the changes that have occurred to the original melody. This transcription of the tune as sung by Malcolm MacLeod and congregation from Lewis uses the second verse as the first verse starts with the precentor singing without the congregation for the first few notes, as is always the case. The second verse gives a more complete congregational version. The precentor's lines have been omitted as they are not relevant here :

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[164] This is my own transcription of the main melody line taken from:'BANGOR—Hymnary.org,' accessed 8 July, 2014, http://www.hymnary.org/tune/bangor_tansur.

[165] J Ross, 'Bangor,' *Soundcloud*, accessed 18 September, 2016, https://soundcloud.com/john-ross10/psalm-12-bangor-cm.

[166] Malcolm MacLeod and congregation, Various, *Gaelic Psalmody Recital Vols 1&2*, CD (Inverness, 2008), CD1 track 6.

Figure 2.14: A transcription of the tune 'Bangor' as it is performed by a congregation in the Isle of Lewis. Along with the addition of extra notes, the two sharp notes which were circled in Figure 2.13, (coloured blue above) have been flattened to give an interval of a full tone between them and the preceding and succeeding main notes (coloured red above) This kind of adjustment is common practice in Gaelic psalm singing.

Psalm 77, verse 2

An la mo thrioblaid dh'iarr mi Dia	On the day of my trouble I sought the Lord
Is shruth mo leon gun sgur	My wound streamed without stop
Re fad na hoidhch' is m'anam truagh	Throughout the night, and my wretched soul
Sòlas do dhiùlt gu tur.	Refused all comfort[167]

The piece does not follow a regular time signature. As in 'Martyrs' above, the pace is slow and solemn. This allows space for a lot of individual ornamentation.

Extra notes have been added to the original tune (see Figure 2.14) and even the notes of the original are noticeably longer in duration than in the English version. The main notes are still present. They occur on the first note of each syllable of the words and are long notes. However, some of these main notes have been changed (circled in blue). In terms of the major scale key of the original (d minor) for example the interval of one semitone between the 'a' and the g sharp in bar 3 of the original (circled in red in Figure

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[167] Translation is my own. The King James Bible gives the following translation 'In the day of my trouble I sought the Lord: my sore ran in the night, and ceased not: my soul refused to be comforted'.'PSALMS CHAPTER 77 KJV,' accessed 30 August, 2016, http://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/Psalms-Chapter-77/.

2.13) has been changed by flattening the note 'g sharp' to 'g' on the word '*gun*' in the second line above. Likewise the note 'c sharp' in bar five in fig 2.13 has been flattened to 'c' on the word '*na*' in the third line. Thus the main notes (the notes that are first sounded) carrying the three syllables of '*fad na hoidhch*' (d,c,d) have full tone intervals between them in the Gaelic version as opposed to semitones in the English transcription. This shows how Gaelic congregations changed the intervals between some notes to make the tune more consonant to their ears. In effect, they acculturated the melody. Even today when these semitone intervals have been accepted by Gaelic speakers from an aesthetic point of view, the traditional way of singing the adjusted melody continues.

2.8.3 Home worship and psalmody

Whereas the precenting of psalms in churches was and is, a male preserve, in the home it was different. Often women took the lead in family worship and precented the lines as well as singing the main melody. It is commonly accepted that the MacDonald sisters Peigi-Anna, Murdina, Kate, and Effie, from *Baile an Truiseil* in Lewis were four of the best exponents of Gaelic psalm singing. Murdina, in particular, was valued for her ability both to sing the main melody and to precent. She and her sisters were recorded singing together by Thorkild Knudsen and Morag MacLeod for the School of Scottish Studies on several occasions in the 1960s and 1970s, and feature on commercial recordings from the school.[168] The sisters were also the subject of a two-part radio documentary on BBC *Radio nan Gaidheal* (Scots Gaelic radio station) in March and April 2015.[169]

2.8.4 Individual singing

As with 'Martyrs' above, the most effective way to analyse what is happening in the Gaelic version is to listen to an individual singing it. This gives us a clear view of the use of melismatic ornamentation layered onto the extra notes and the adjustments noted in the congregational version.

In the example in the link below, Murdina MacDonald, sings Psalm 18, verses thirty to thirty two, to the tune 'Bangor'. She also sings the precentor's part. The first line of verse thirty is transcribed in Melodyne (see figure 2.15 below).

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[168] See: Various, *Gaelic Psalms from Lewis*, L.P., vol. 6, Scottish Tradition (Tangent, 1975).
[169] '*Na Peathraichean Dòmhnallach eile*' (BBC *Radio Nan Gaidheal*, 29 March, 2015),
   http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b054xtq9. Accesed 31 May, 2015.

Salm18, rainn 30,31 &32[171]	Psalm18,verses30,31&32[172]
Ach Dia a ta a shlighe ceart	As for God, perfect is his way:
Do dhearbhadh focal Dè,	the Lord his word is try'd;
Don Dream gu huile dh'earbas as,	He is a buckler to all those
D'an dìon is targaid e.	who do in him confide.
Òir cia's Dia ach Iehobhah ann,	Who but the Lord is God? But he
Cia's carraig ach ar triath,	who is a rock and stay?
An neach a nì mo shlighe ceart,	'Tis God that girdeth me with strength,
's a bheir dhomh neart 's e Dia.	and perfect makes my way

Murdina MacDonald's singing is so drawn-out and detailed that it is only possible to show the first line of psalm here, transcribed by Melodyne. The level of ornamentation that she brings to her singing is clearly visible as well as audible. MacDonald uses a lot of melismatic ornamentation (seen here once again as sharp up-and-down hairpin-like movements of the pitch line) as a means of drawing out the vowels (see Figure 2.15). For example, she manages to draw out and join the end of the second word *Dia* and the subsequent vowel '*a'* (the 'a' of *Dia* and the following '*a'* effectively become one long vowel) over eleven notes and numerous melismatic ornamentations, and similarly protracts the word 'ta' and the '*a*' following it. When she stops to take a breath or to clear her throat, she takes up from where she left off. No words or syllables are skipped to catch up with where the beat should be. This can be seen when she resumes singing the second long '*a*' vowel. MacDonald sings at her own pace. It is as if she feels that no syllable should be left without ornamentation. The rhythm of common metre has been completely submerged in her singing. It has been made redundant by the length of the individual notes carrying the words and syllables and by the level of ornamentation.

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[170] MacDonald, Murdina, Psalm 18, verses 30-32, to the tune of 'Bangor' recorded (1964) by Thorkild Knudsen, School of Scottish Studies Collection, SA1964.133.134 Tobar an Dualchais / Kist o Riches, http://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/fullrecord/72434/1, accessed 16/8/2014

[171] Smith, *Sailm Dhaibhidh ann an dan Gaidhealach*. The psalters give verse 30 as a four line verse. Verses 31 & 32 are each given as two line verses. However verses 31 and 32 are normally sung as one four line common metre verse.

[172] Translation from : 'The Scottish Metrical Psalter,' accessed 8, November 2015, http://www.cgmusic.org/workshop/smp_frame.htm.

Figure 2.15: First line of 'Bangor' as sung by Murdina MacDonald. See enlarged copy on the next page.
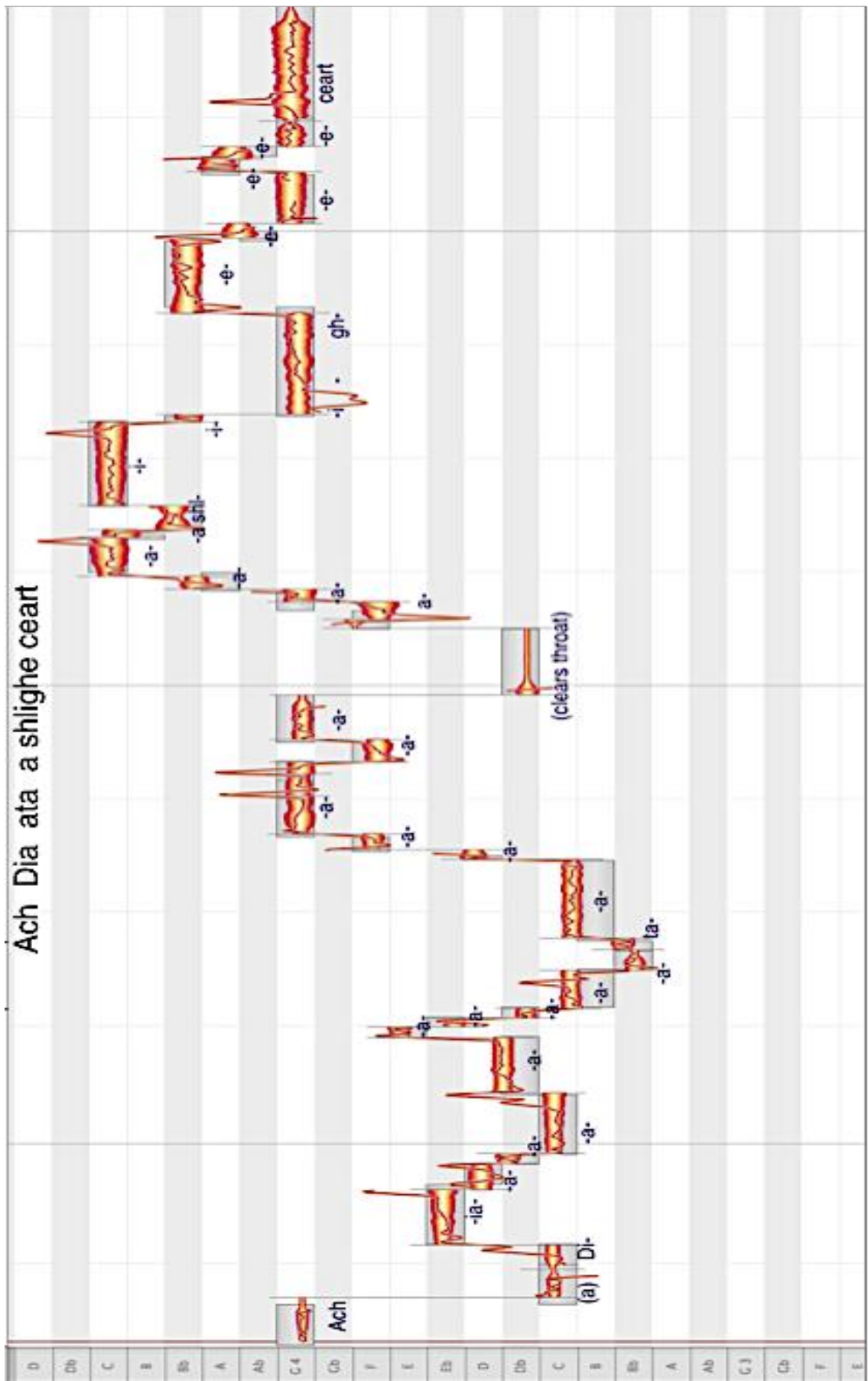
Figure 2.15. enlarged

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2.8.5 Two singers interacting

A final audio example gives an idea of how members of a congregation interact with each other by providing a recording of just two singers. Some further points can be noted here that would not be evident from listening to either the congregation or a solo performance.

In this example, Murdina MacDonald and her sister Kate both sing Psalm 102 to the tune of Bangor. [173]

https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigration2/

(go to Ex. 7)
Or: USB/Audio/1.17

It is noticeable how one keeps singing while the other draws a breath thus filling in any potential silence. In fact, there is never a moment of silence; even though there are only two singers, the psalm is intoned from beginning to end without a break. In a recorded lecture given in the School of Scottish Studies in Edinburgh in 1965 ethnomusicologist, Thorkild Knudsen, refered to this as 'the complete exclusion of silence' and pointed out that this was similar to psalm singing practice in parts of Iceland and Scandinavia[174] The 'exclusion of silence' happens effortlessly in a congregation with many people singing very loosely together, holding notes for varying lengths and arriving at slightly different points in the line at different times. The sisters demonstrate this congregational effect in its most basic form. In congregations, the precentor's chant also helps to prevent silences in the singing when going from one line to the next. The syllabic nature of the singing in the English psalm examples above, means that the syllables are punctuated and separated. In the Gaelic version, the singers seem to move from one syllable to another, without punctuation of any sort. As has already been noted, however, in most instances, the syllables of the words coincide with longer notes. These notes are 'steadied' in the singing, i.e. ornamentation is not used on the notes themselves, but rather between them, when proceeding from one syllable to the next. There is also a short, nasalised preamble, before singing a first note after a silence. This is a feature of

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[173] MacDonald, Murdina and Kate, Psalm 102, verses 25-27 to the tune 'Bangor', recorded (1965) by Thorkild Knudsen, School of Scottish Studies Collection, SA1965.041,Tobar an Dualchais / Kist o Riches,http://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/fullrecord/69270/1, accessed 16/8/2014.

[174] Thorkild Knudsen, *Seminar Lecture on Gaelic Psalm-Singing*, 1965, recording in School of Scottish Studies Archive, Edinburgh University. Ref. SM1965.003.

both Lowland Scottish, and Irish Gaelic singing and, according to Knudsen, is also found in Arabic singing but it is not so common in modern Scots Gaelic singing. [175] There is a similarity in style between the singing of the individual psalm-singers and the secular Gaelic singing style mentioned earlier. Melismatic ornamentation is used in large amounts and *portamento* is also used. The singers also have a nasalised singing style.

The Gaelic psalm singing tradition marks a compromise between what Gaelic congregations were being asked to sing at the time of the introduction of the psalm tunes, and their understanding of the aesthetics of singing. They appear to have applied Gaelic singing norms, insofar as this was possible, to the incoming material, perhaps even subconsciously. The Gaelic style denies expression to the rhythmic pulse of the original common metre, with the precentor's line breaking up this rhythm, much as the use of ornamentation and the slow pace of the singing obscures it.

It is worth noting that the tradition of precenting has continued in the Gaelic Protestant community long after the original need for it, as decreed by the Assembly of the Divines, has expired, and long after it was discarded by English and Lowland congregations. Precenting is very much an English tradition, but in Great Britain, it now exists only in Gaelic speaking areas. Also of interest is the fact that many individuals when singing the Psalm-tunes solo include the precentor's lines, even though these are no longer needed and have long since been dispensed with in Lowland Scotland and in England. For these singers, it appears to have become part of the Gaelic Psalm melody.

The unevenness of the verses and the overall structure of the conventions of Gaelic Psalm singing is another factor that can make the Gaelic psalm-tunes appear strange from an outside perspective. Precentor and congregation sing the first two lines together, giving the impression of one long line. All subsequent lines are each preceded by the precentor's chant. The asymmetrical nature of the verses[176] would not be unusual in Gaelic singing where uneven song construction – three-line refrains, for example – had traditionally been used in worksongs. The call and response nature of precenting might also have been easier to adopt given the familiarity of the waulking-song tradition with its solo singer and chorus. Why Gaelic communities continued this tradition, and in fact

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[175] *Ibid.*
[176] Including the precentors lines the first verse has six lines (although the first two are sung as one), the second verse eight.

show a preference for it, is a matter for conjecture. Several attempts were made to eradicate the practice over two centuries in both the Lowlands and in the Highlands and Islands without (in the Gaelic case) success.[177]

2.9. Analysis and conclusions

2.9.1 Creolisation

The songs and singing style of Gaelic Psalm-tunes reflect, depending on one's point of view, either a compromise between Gaelic and Lowland Scots singing and song aesthetics, or an innovative progression melding differing aspects of Gaelic and Lowland-Scots singing-styles

Returning to the subject of the creolisation process discussed in Chapter One, the question might be asked: is Gaelic psalm singing a creolised music? To a large extent, the answer to that question has to be yes. These are not Gaelic songs as found in the secular tradition. The tunes introduced to Gaelic communities for the purposes of psalm singing and their accompanying texts break most of the patterns observed in Gaelic secular song, as detailed above. The duple or triple rhythms of many Gaelic songs as described by Blankenhorn, are nowhere to be found. Nor are the faster rhythms of the waulking-song. However, the waulking song tradition, with its alternating soloist and chorus, may have predisposed Gaelic singers somewhat to the idea of precenting. The melodies and texts do not follow the traditional Gaelic aesthetic; the use of couplets and quatrains, the aicill rhyme or uniform end rhyme, the chain linking, or reduplication and contrast. These have been replaced with what was intended to be the pulse of common metre, and second and fourth line end rhyme.

However, neither do the melodies follow the English aesthetic, the rhythmic pulse of common metre having being greatly reduced, if not eliminated completely, by the slow drawn-out nature of the singing, the ornamentation, and the interruption of whatever is left of common metre rhythm by the precentor's line. The melodies have become altered to suit a Gaelic melodic aesthetic and have been given a heavy layer of melismatic ornamentation and a style associated with Gaelic secular singing in their performance. The syllabic style of English and Lowland secular singing is not in evidence. Joseph

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[177] See in relation to the distain shown for, and the decline of the practice of, 'lining out': Campbell, (2005), 12.

Mainzer's mid-nineteenth century observation that one who knows the original tunes would barely recognize their Gaelic versions, holds true today. The Gaelic psalm tunes provide a clear but extreme example of the changes a sung melody can undergo in changing cultures. They also leave a heavy evidential footprint. In many cases, as has been demonstrated, there is documentary evidence of the original tune, and often the composer's name is known. Precise instructions for singing the tune survive from old or original music texts and contemporary renditions are available that conform those instructions. It would, however, be difficult to associate contemporary Gaelic performances of the melody with the original if it were not for the fact that this historical traceability exists.

2.9.2 Melodic migration and acculturation

Returning to the first research question, it might be asked what has happened to, for example, the tune 'Bangor', as it migrated from Lowland Scottish congregations into Highland Gaelic ones? After hearing it in both settings it may seem somewhat strange that both tunes, the English and Gaelic, are in fact regarded as one and the same. People in Gaelic congregations who sing Bangor in the Gaelic style also attend English-language services at their local church and sing it in English style.[178] This seems to confirm that in some cases there is an association between language and singing-style, as speculated by Bruno Nettl in Chapter One. It may also suggest that there is an association between bilingualism and bi-musicality in some situations.

Where does this music fall on the creolised music continuum outlined in the first chapter? Are these tunes an English format that has been Gaelicised or has Gaelic singing been anglicised? This is very much up to the individual listener. In large measure, the Gaelic Psalms conform to the musical conventions of neither, sounding perhaps equally strange to those used to the English and Lowland ballad as they do to

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[178] Many people learned to sing the psalm tunes in psalmody classes held on weekday nights often in local schools. In these psalmody classes the psalms were sung in Gaelic but in the English style. A participant in a discussion group recorded by the School of Scottish Studies in 1982 commented how they were taught in these classes 'We were taught to sing them on the notes, we were taught strictly on the notes'. He went on to elaborate 'But once they got to congregation, you see, they pick up all these grace notes.' (School of Scottish Studies Sound Archive SA 1982/2410). Nowadays there are more services in English than in Gaelic throughout the island, Members of the congregations attend services in both languages and change their singing style accordingly.

those who are familiar with Scots Gaelic folksong,[179] In fact, the Psalms can, perhaps, best be characterised as a fully creolised music.

To return to the linguistics analogy, the Psalms may have been, upon their initial introduction to Gaelic communities, a 'pidgin'[180] music – an awkward compromise between two versification and singing systems, at first requiring careful negotiation. Pidgin languages also represent this compromise, initially awkward to all, native to none. The Psalms have, however, over time, become a 'native language': a fully creolised musical language with its own community of people who have been using it since birth. They now have their own conventions for performance which have to be leaned by anyone wishing to authentically reproduce them

In attempting to answer the question of why this creolisation happened, the issue of the relative prestige of the cultures involved must be considered. Scottish Lowland reformers ultimately produced psalters that were in standard English for a population that primarily spoke Lowland Scots although a previous psalter had been produced in Scots.[181] There may have been a deferential attitude to the use of Southern British (standard) English among both Lowland Scots and Gaelic Calvinist reformers. Acculturation theorists in the 1960s when speaking of this phenomenon in Africa or Asia, might have referred to it as an effect of colonialism, but the issue may well be more complex. While the southern reformers used standard English in their psalters, they also used Scottish tunes. The Gaelic reformers had a double problem: neither the form of language used nor the tunes, were from the vernacular. If the reformers had wished to ignore Highland or Gaelic culture on the basis of perceived inferiority, why produce liturgical material in any form of that language? Equally, if Gaelic was to be used in liturgies, why not adopt Gaelic tunes, or write new tunes in the Gaelic style?

To some extent, it must be surmised that the position of Gaelic culture in terms of its low status nationally in Scotland and later in Great Britain, and the bi-cultural aspect of

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[179] Although perhaps not as strange to members of the congregations to whom they are a part of their culture.

[180] In the first chapter, it was pointed out that the difference between linguistic pidgins and creoles is that the former has no native speakers, being just a convenient mixture of languages whereas the latter is natively spoken.

[181] The 'Gude and Godlie Ballatis' or simply 'The Dundee Psalms' which was first published somewhere between 1542 and 1546 by Lutheran reformers James, John and Robert Wedderburn.

its upper class held sway in this respect. The Synod of Argyll produced materials in Gaelic to help to spread the Reformation. As far as is known neither musicians nor bardic poets were involved in the process of compiling the psalters. No music was produced for the first fifty psalms translated into Gaelic in 1659. Nor were any tunes provided for the full psalter in 1694. The writers of the Gaelic Psalter did not see a need for this. It seems obvious from the decision to use common metre verse in Gaelic, and the failure to engage musicians in the work, that the intention was to use the tunes already in use in the Lowlands. No subsequent attempt appears to have been made to change this. The obvious conclusion would appear to be that the people who proselytized – mainly educated ministers – were themselves bi-cultural (the difficulty of finding ministers who could speak Gaelic is well documented). Given the delay (more than one hundred and fifty years) in procuring translations both of the Bible and the psalter, the reformers seemed to be cutting corners in terms of Calvinist principles. Perhaps they perceived a cultural and political process that was leading anyway to the demise of Gaelic culture in general, and reasoned that common metre tunes would in time be as well understood in Gaelic communities as they were in Scots ones.

The significance of the people who initially taught the Psalm singing in Gaelic areas is crucial, but also elusive, in all of this. The Society for the Propagation of Christian knowledge (SPCK) employed people to teach psalm singing in the early nineteenth century. Records of their efforts and the difficulties they encountered are sparse. One family looms large in Lewis folk memory, however, as having been very influential in this regard. The Saunders family who taught psalm singing was reputed to have lived in the townland of Borve in Lewis over two hundred years ago.[182] The fact that they are remembered is perhaps significant in itself.

The strangeness of the Gaelic singing tradition to the untutored ear should not be taken as an indication that this way of singing always sounded strange to English speakers. A slow, drawn-out way of singing was also used by English and Lowland Scots congregations, a way of singing psalms in English that continued up until the end of the seventeenth century, when a gradual change to the part-harmony style of western

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[182] Comments made by Lewis man Donald John MacDonald in taped conversation School of Scottish Studies archive SA 1964/117 item 2.

singing of today's Christian churches was initiated.[183] This would make the Gaelic Psalms an example of marginal survival of an English tradition, albeit with modifications and in a different language. Whatever its origins, the Gaelic psalm singing style went on to adopt specific elements that were not part of the original tunes. Some were modified to make them pentatonic or hexatonic, even after the missing semitones would have become familiar to the congregation, the use of pentatonic or hexatonic scales continued. Other 'Gaelic' factors include, the continued use of a precentor long after his intended function had ceased to be required and the use of Gaelic song-ornamentation and individualised singing-styles long after congregations had become accustomed to singing in unison. Added to this was the freedom with rhythm typical of Gaelic singing mentioned by Finlay Dun and Marjory Kennedy-Fraser.

2.9.3 Simplification or complication?

It is hard, perhaps even counter-intuitive, for anyone from outside that tradition to understand that the Gaelic congregations who first sang and presumably altered these tunes, may in fact have been aiming to simplify a piece of music that appeared unwieldy and somewhat incomprehensible to them. In doing this, they would have been facilitated by the Calvinist preference for the vernacular in singing, as well as in language, notwithstanding the previous official-level lapses in this regard, already outlined.

Looking at it from an outside or 'etic' perspective, it can sometimes appear that the opposite has happened. A simple tune with an easy rhythm has been made unwieldy and complex. To return to the linguistic analogies, these are two different music 'languages' and borrowings from one into the other must be acculturated to make them easier for the native to use. Thorkild Knudsen, observed in relation to, Denmark, the Faroe Islands and the Hebrides that: 'it is not only the texts that were translated into the vernacular, but also the melodies',[184] adding that: 'in each of these three areas the simple melodies were transformed into Danish, Faroese and Celtic folk melodies of a distinct character'.[185] Their existence as tunes in their own right, distinct from the originals, is

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[183] See for example, Sally Drage, 'A Reappraisal of Provincial Church Music,' in *Music in Eighteenth Century Britain*, ed. David Wyn Jones (Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2000), 172-3. Also: Kenneth R Long, *The Music of The English Church* (Hodder and Stoughton, 1971), 210.

[184] Thorkild Knudsen, 'Ornamental Hymn/Psalm Singing in Denmark, the Faroe Islands and the Hebrides' (5th Congress of Nordic Musicologists, Aarhus, Denmark, 1966).

[185] *Ibid.*

attested to by the fact that nearly all members of the Gaelic congregations attend English services and sing the same Psalm-tunes. However, in the English services, they sing them in the English style, while in Gaelic services, they are sung in the Gaelic style.[186]

2.9.4 Compartmentalisation and decline

A final point of interest is that the Gaelic metrical psalm singing tradition is compartmentalised within the broader Gaelic music tradition. The format did not go on to affect Gaelic secular music or influence further compositions in it to any large extent. Unlike common metre in English, it has not influenced hundreds of newer songs right up to the popular music era. There are only between twenty and twenty-five tunes that are used in the Gaelic psalm singing tradition and most congregations use far fewer than this. The Psalms are only performed for family prayer or church services. Only one tune ('Stornoway') was composed in the Islands. They exist both as part of, but also apart from, the broader Gaelic singing tradition, remaining, in some ways, a curiosity to those familiar with that tradition. The tradition in its native communities is now in danger of dying out, as Gaelic services become less common and more poorly attended, with the older congregations and precentors dying off, and with hymn-singing and the use of instruments accepted in almost all churches now.

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[186] Although I have been informed by Calum Martin that in a relatively recent development in the northern part of Lewis and limited at the moment to wakes, the psalm tunes are sung by some people in the Gaelic style but with English words (Calum Martin interview 10/04/2015).

CHAPTER 3

LOUISIANA FRENCH MUSIC

3.1 Introduction and overview

The previous chapter discussed a creolised music that, in many respects, represents a relatively neat example of the creolisation phenomenon. Two musics with strong and distinctive characteristics blend in a way that creates a new music. Characteristics from both 'parent' musics are relatively easily found in the 'child'. The process is not always as neat in other cases, as will be demonstrated in this chapter.

The creolised music, which is the subject of this chapter, is the vocal music of the Louisiana francophone community, both Black Creole[1] and Cajun[2], as it has developed in the twentieth century. The term 'vocal music' has been chosen because it includes both songs sung in French, and dance music which, although primarily instrumental, incorporates vocal lines, many of which are borrowed from the song tradition. The study will focus in particular on the earliest recordings from the 1920s[3] and 1930s with a particular emphasis on recordings made in 1934 for the Library of Congress by collectors John and Alan Lomax. These exemplify the state of the music tradition in the era before 'western swing' or 'texas swing'[4] and other developments in popular music later in the twentieth century went on to exert their own effect on the music.

The chapter will examine how the music and singing styles of three distinct ethnic groups in Louisiana – the Cajuns, the Black Creoles and the Anglo-Americans – mixed

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[1] The name used to describe the Francophone African-American community in Louisiana. The term Creole or 'Black Creole' is used nowadays almost exclusively to describe Louisiana French speakers of either black or mixed-race heritage, and that is how it will be used in this chapter. Of course the use of the word creole in this chapter complicates matters a little bit given that 'creolise' and 'creolisation' are already being used in the thesis. As a noun or adjective the word 'Creole' will be used here in relation to the Black Creole community whereas the words 'creolise' 'creolisation' or 'creolised' will be used as they are throughout the rest of this thesis to denote a musical phenomenon.

[2] South Louisiana's French–speaking population descended from eighteenth century Canadian immigrants.

[3] In fact, only one example from the 1920s will be used.

[4] 'Western'or 'texas' swing was a form of music that developed in Texas in the 1930s and 1940s. It featured a mix of country, folk and jazz music. It mainly featured stringed instruments and often had on musician improvising over the main melody. See: Jean A. Boyd, *The Jazz of the Suthwest: An Oral History of Western Swing*, 1st ed. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998), 16-32.

and influenced each other leading to a broad genre of music known nowadays as Louisiana French Music. It will offer an analysis of the French folksongs of the early Cajuns, the African and European-influenced Black Creole music, and the Anglo-American music of the northern states – elements of all of which are present in Louisiana French singing styles and songs from this era[5] It will also identify significant distinguishing traits of these musics and analyse examples from early electronic recordings.

This look at early, verifiable genre-mixing in the music of Louisiana, presents a snapshot of a time before Louisiana French Music began to branch out in several different directions. It will serve as a point of departure for the study of the subsequent creolisation of Louisiana French Music. Many writers regard the greater part of this music as it has developed over the last one hundred years or more, as a mix or a blend of other musics.[6] This chapter will also consider examples of singing techniques found in that music which may have originated in other cultures.

Geographically speaking, south and south-western Louisiana, the part of the state with the strongest remnants of Louisiana-French culture (see Figure 3.6), is the main area of focus for this chapter.[7] The mix of ethnic groups in the area, in particular the presence of large French-speaking communities of European and African origin has created a general cultural mix, which is unique in the United States. This in turn has affected the music of the region.

The area has produced many mixes of music, which cross the boundaries between several different genres, often acquiring new names in the process. Examples are, cajun, la la, creole, *zydeco,* swamp-pop, and swamp blues.[8] It has also produced music from

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[5] These will be outlined later in the chapter.

[6] See for example: Maud Cuney-Hare, *Six Creole Folk-Songs* (New York: Fischer, 1921), 3; Barry Jean Ancelet, *Cajun Country* (University Press of Mississippi, 1991), 155; Mark Mattern, 'Let The Good Times Unroll–Music and Race Relations in Southwest Louisiana,' *Black Music Research Journal* 17/2 (1997), 159–68, 160, and Ryan Brasseaux, 'Bayou Boogie' (Masters thesis, University of Louisiana at Lafayette, 2004), 6.

[7] This area is sometimes called 'Acadiana' although that term only recognises its Cajun and not its Black Creole character. Acadiana is defined more precisely later in the chapter. In terms of its music, Louisiana is often reduced to New Orleans and the jazz culture associated with that city. It should be emphasised that that particular part of Louisiana's music is not of direct concern to this thesis. In ways New Orleans is a separate case in its own right.

[8] Cajun music is the music traditionally played and sung by the Cajun community, creole music is traditional to Louisiana's Black Creole community. These are discussed at length further on in the chapter. *La la* is an alternative name that was sometimes given to creole music. Swamp pop, swamp blues, and *zydeco* are varieties of Louisiana music that developed in the 1950s drawing on trends in

more contemporary genres for example, rock, country, blues, soul and jazz, layering these with local instrumentation and /or language.

These musics share a number of background traits, such as the use of one or more of the French language variants of Louisiana, i.e. Colonial French, Cajun-French or Louisiana French-Creole. It is for this reason that the term 'Louisiana French music' as a common name to encompass all the variants is used. It is the term that will be used in this chapter. From here on, it will be abbreviated to LFM

In attempting to understand Louisiana's mixed ethnicity and how this has affected its music, it is important, as in all the case studies, to consider the history and the development of its people and society. This study, therefore, will initially detail the historical, cultural, and social background of LFM. Historical events, which influenced the development of the area politically, will be discussed. Social and cultural contact between the main ethnic groups, both in former times and in the contemporary environment, will also be considered. The issues of both the interaction between, and the separation of, people from different ethnic communities, are of particular significance given the backdrop of slavery and racial division. The respective socio-economic positions of these groups in Louisiana society will also be referenced. Each of these factors may have had a bearing on development and change in the French music of Louisiana, and their potential influence will be discussed following a description of the creolisation process in the music.

While it will refer to and take cognisance of developments later in the twentieth century, this chapter will confine itself mainly to the period of the Lomax recordings in the 1930s. It will examine the changes wrought on the musical repertory of Louisiana's francophone population as a result of influences from the three major ethnic groups in the area. Particular consideration will be given to evidence of creolisation in the performance-styles of singers, with examples to illustrate this. The chapter will identify performance-style features that diverge from the performance-styles of the 'parent' music cultures and it will demonstrate how they have blended with the performance-style of the creolised music of Francophone Louisiana.

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mainstream American music.

In June and October 2012, and again in February 2013, I travelled to Louisiana to hear, perform with, and interview a number of Cajun and Creole musicians, and also to complete a short internship in the University of Louisiana at Lafayette under the guidance of Professor Barry-Jean Ancelet who is one of the foremost authorities on Francophone Louisiana. The University houses the Cajun and Creole Music Collection (CCMC) and runs a traditional music undergraduate programme. While there, I also interviewed four well-known LFM performers, to gather their thoughts on the music itself, the influences that fed into it, and the audiences for it. The musicians were: David Greely, a singer and fiddler and a veteran performer of Louisiana French Music with the well-known Cajun band The Mamou Playboys; Mitch Reed, a fiddler and member of the Grammy award winning band Beau Soleil; and Kristi Guillory accordionist and vocalist with the band Bonsoir Catin. Guillory also lectures on the Cajun music course in the University of Louisiana at Lafayette. Finally, I also interviewed Joe Hall, a Creole accordionist, vocalist, and front man for the band Joe Hall and the Cane Cutters. These musicians were suggested to me by Professor Mark DeWitte, chair of traditional music in the University of Louisiana at Lafayette.

Of the three case studies analysed in this thesis, Louisiana is undoubtedly the most complex. It shows different strands and levels of musical creolisation attendant upon a complex social and political history. It is also a very useful member of the three case studies, because it permits the consideration of a creolisation process which has multiple strands, each audible and demonstrable, whereas both the Scottish and Irish case studies consider only two.

The issue of music mixing in Louisiana is very complex, covering many instances of creolisation and re-creolisation. These occurred at different times in the area's history and involve in many cases different strands from different eras in mainstream Anglo-American music culture. It is therefore important to lay out at this stage boundaries around what is included here. This chapter does not set out to show that all LFM is a creolised music. The issue of genre-mixing in Louisiana music has been commented upon frequently enough by others to be deemed adequately supported. [9] The varieties of it have now acquired generally accepted names to distinguish them from other musics. However, for the most part, this chapter will stick to recordings from one era as a useful

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[9] See examples in footnote 6.

'snapshot' of what was happening in LFM at that time (see next section).The chapter will demonstrate aspects of the creolisation process at work in LFM through a close analysis of some of its results.

Although examples of singing from the later twentieth century will be used to illustrate some of the musical points, the study does not intend to look in any depth at later creolisations or re-creolisations such as zydeco, swamp pop, swamp blues or other such mixes of music, beyond commenting on their place in the general phenomenon of music creolisation in LFM. This is because LFM has acquired many variants from the 1950s onwards, and has been influenced by many other genres of music. It is more useful, I think, for the purposes of this chapter to concentrate on one era in the creolisation process, for reasons of clarity. As stated in Chapter One, creolisation can be viewed as a spectrum with many points starting with minute changes in a music culture and continuing up to, and including, the genesis of a new music genre. What they have in common is that the changes are wrought by the influence of another music culture. In LFM more than in the other two case studies, as will be seen, the creolisation process includes many different points along that spectrum. It will also be seen that the 'flow of influence', in terms of music, is multi-directional.

3.1.1 The recordings for each genre and how they have been chosen

Material that will be closely examined here comes from, in the case of cajun and creole music, the recordings made by John and Alan Lomax in 1934. [10] In considering Louisiana French folksongs, the recordings come mainly from what is known as 'women's home music' – recordings made from the 1940s to the present day and recently produced on two different collections [11] – although one example from the Lomax collection referenced above, is also included. These folksongs have been chosen because they give the clearest indication of the singing tradition that would have been carried by the early Acadian / Cajun community into Louisiana.

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[10] Various artists, *Cajun & Creole Music*, CD, vol. 1, 2 vols. (Rounder, 1999). Alan & John A. Lomax, *Cajun & Creole Music 2*, CD, vol. 2, 2 vols., The Classic Louisiana Recordings (Rounder, 1999).

[11] Various artists, *La Musique de La Maison- Women and Home Music in South Louisiana*, CD (Seattle: Origin Records, 2008). The songs sung by Cajun women in the home include many of the early French ballads still sung in Louisiana. This tradition went into relative abeyance among men for whom dance music, popular music and public performance held more attraction or earning potential. Various artists, *Women's Home Music*, CD, Louisiana Folk Masters (Lafayette, La.: Crossroads Records, 2007).

Attempts to examine an 'original' Black Creole music in a similar way can be more difficult, as many of the song-formats that might have been brought from Africa appear to have been lost or to have been themselves creolised in new music mixes.[12] Examples of Black Creole music are often already a 'mix'of European and African elements. However, the influences from the Black Creole community on LFM are generally held to have produced traits similar to those of the African-American English language tradition such as blues. In order to demonstrate African traits in LFM, examples from the best-known and most distinctive early examples of secular African-American song and singing will be included. These are 'field hollers' and 'shouts' from the southern United States, which although they are in English will be included, as they will give an indication of African-American musical creativity in song and singing style. Aspects of these can then be observed in the LFM mix.[13] Two of these recordings were made in Cummins State Farm Penitentiary in Arkansas, by Alan and Ruby Lomax for the Library of Congress Collection.[14] A further example from South Carolina of a funeral 'shout' has been included.[15] This differs radically from the other examples in terms of beat and structure. These have all been chosen because they contain features observable in both Black Creole music and in the music-mix of LFM.

Music from the Anglo-American tradition comes from several collections of field recordings, both audio and video (one), all of which are available either commercially or online. They include both older and younger exponents of the tradition and have been chosen because they show both the continuity in style over time between older and younger singers in this tradition and because they demonstrate several techniques that are indicative of the singing-style. The video field recording is 'Appalachian Journey', a

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[12]See: "African Diaspora Culture | Slavery and Remembrance," accessed June 3, 2017, http://slaveryandremembrance.org/articles/article/?id=A0057. Site run by the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. Although some song formats may have arrived in America with the African slaves it is very difficult to verify any format as having come from Africa. Many authors concentrate on the inclusion of non-European elements in African American music as proof of a connection with Africa. Even this is difficult to prove as will be seen later in the chapter. See also: Mellonee V. Burnim and Portia K. Maultsby, eds., *African American Music: An Introduction*, Second (New York and London: Routledge, 2015) Chapter 1.

[13] Although Gospel singing and Spirituals could have been used more extensively in this study, the association of these with religious services and words in the case of the former, and in the latter case the high degree of late nineteenth and early twentieth century 'codifying' of the singing through public performances and the use of, for example, part harmony, makes both these genres slightly less suitable or reliable. However one spiritual 'shout' from St. John's Island in South Carolina will be used as it retains a lot of features from nineteenth century African-American singing.

[14] 'The John and Ruby Lomax 1939 Southern States Recording Trip | Library of Congress,' accessed 24 August, 2015, http://www.loc.gov/collections/john-and-ruby-lomax/.

[15] Various artists, *Been In The Storm So Long*, L.P. (New York: Smithsonian Folkways, 1967). Track 9

documentary made by Alan Lomax.[16] The audio recordings are from 'Ballads and Songs of The Blue Ridge Mountains',[17] a collection of field recordings published in 1970; 'High Atmosphere',[18] a compilation of songs from the Appalachian areas of Virginia and North Carolina originally released on vinyl in 1975;'Granny Riddle's Songs and Ballads', a collection of songs recorded by the late Arkansas singer Almeda Riddle released in 1977[19] and 'A Lizard in the Spring'[20] a 2007 album of traditional songs by renowned Virginia singer Elizabeth LaPrelle

3.2 Louisiana – Background

Where the issue of Louisiana's historical and constitutional background might be considered in the same section as its ethnic and cultural background, here these issues will be considered separately. The latter will be of more importance in the later discussion of how and, to a certain extent, why, music-mixing occurred in the region and therefore will need careful consideration in its own right.

Louisiana is situated on the Gulf of Mexico in the far South of the United States, bordered by Mississippi to the east, Arkansas to the north and Texas to the west. Today, it is a relatively wealthy state as a result of the major oil reserves on the seabed off its coast. It has a population of four and a half million. It is normally described as having three main geographical divisions, Northern Louisiana, an upland area, Central Louisiana, a mainly flat prairie area, and Southern Louisiana, an alluvial low area containing many waterways, wetland swamps and *bayous*.[21]

The present-day state of Louisiana, which was named after Louis XIV (1638 – 1715) of France, is what remains of the much bigger 'Territory of Louisiana', which, until the early nineteenth century, stretched north all the way up to the border with Canada. This in turn had been part of a much bigger area of North America under French control from 1682 until 1762 when, subsequent to the seven years' war — known in North America

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[16] Alan Lomax, *Appalachian Journey*, Original format: 3/4 inch videotape: U-matic, 1991, Documentary (Media Generation, 1991), accessed 25 July 2014, http://www.folkstreams.net/film,128.

[17] Various artists, *Ballads and Songs of The Blue Ridge Mountains*, Long Playing Record, vol. 1, 1 vols. (ASCH, 1968).

[18] Various artists, *High Atmosphere: Ballads and Banjo Tunes from Virginia and North Carolina*, CD (Rounder, 2015).

[19] Almeda Riddle, *Granny Riddle's Songs and Ballads*, Vinyl LP (Collegium Sound, 1977).

[20] Elizabeth LaPrelle, *A Lizard in the Spring*, CD, vol. 1, 1 vols. (Old 97 records, 2007).

[21] The word *bayou* sometimes thought of as being of French origin is actually a local term of Native American origin for a stream or lake of stagnant or slow-moving water.

as the French and Indian War (1754-1763),[22] — it was ceded to, and divided between, Britain and Spain (see Figures 3.1 and 3.2). Spain controlled its part until 1800 when it gave it back to France in the secretly signed, *Treaty of San Ildefonso*.[23] France had it for less than three years before selling it to the United States in what became known as *The Louisiana Purchase* in 1803 (see Figure 3.3). In 1804, the United States Congress divided the territory into two parts; the Territory of Orleans (present-day Louisiana), and the District of Louisiana (the rest). After much discussion about its boundaries the Territory of Orleans was eventually admitted to the United States as the State of Louisiana, the eighteenth state of the Union, in 1812 (see Figure 3.4).

Figure 3.1: French, British and Spanish territories of North America (present-day U.S. and

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[22] The Seven Years War (1756-1763) principally involved as protagonists Great Britain, Prussia and Portugal on one side, and France, Spain, Russia and Sweden on the other. Most of the conflict was over territorial interests.

[23] The Third Treaty of San Ildefonso (1800), the last of three treaties concluded by Spain with several other countries in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, was a secretly negotiated agreement between France and Spain to return to France the part of Louisiana that had come under Spanish rule following the treaties of Fontainebleau (1762) and Paris (1763).

Canada) in the early 18th century before the seven years' war. Note the extent of the French territories, marked here in blue.[24]
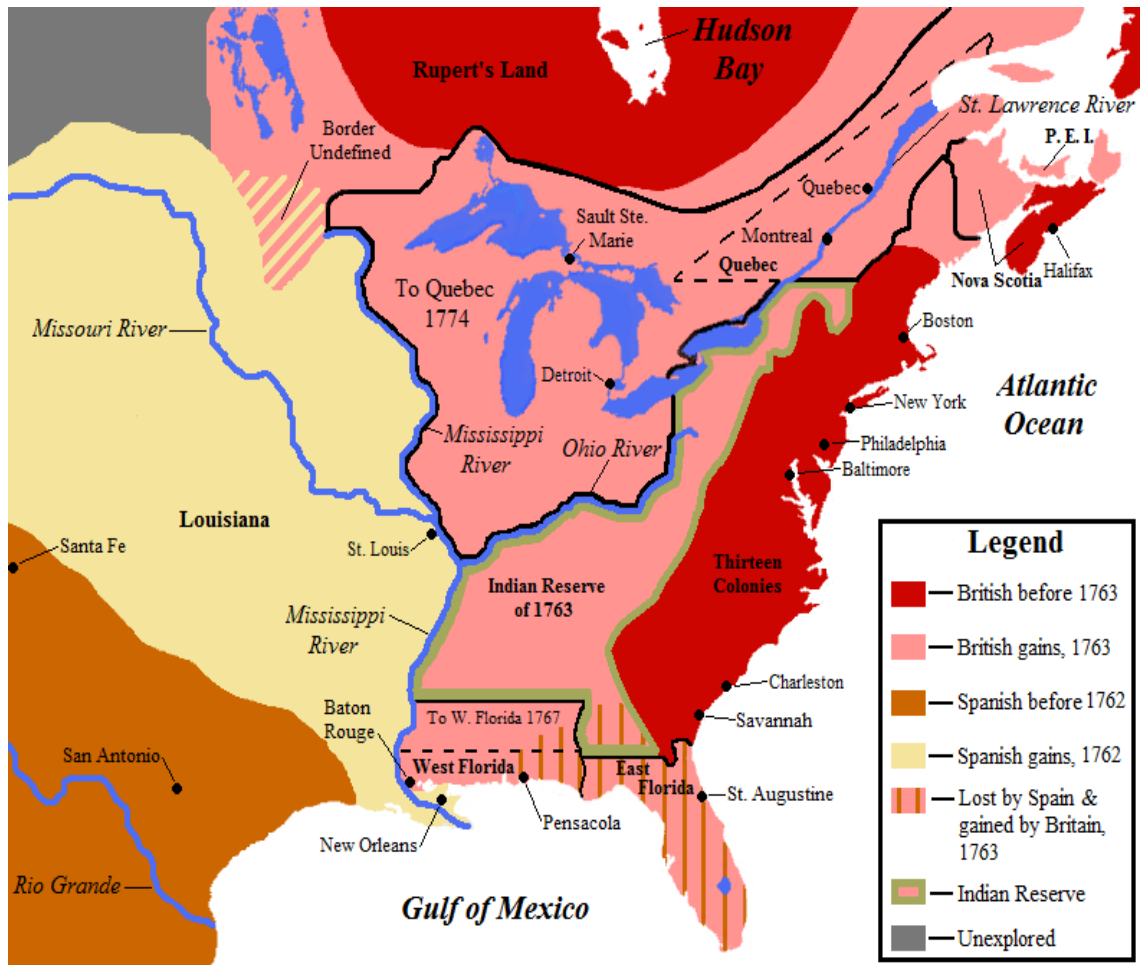
Figure 3.2: Change in American territories 1763, after the Seven Years' War (French and Indian wars). The eastern part of the Mississippi valley was ceded to Great Britain, the western part, to Spain.[25]

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[24] Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Nouvelle-France_map-en.svg, accessed 16 July 2015. See also for another example:
http://gallica.bnf.fr/dossiers/html/dossiers/FranceAmerique/fr/D3/carte-a.jpg

[25] 'British and SpanishTerritorial Gains',
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French_and_Indian_War#/media/File:NorthAmerica1762-83.png.
Accessed 16 October 2010. An alternative map can be found at:
http://www.emersonkent.com/images/treaty_of_paris_1763.jpg
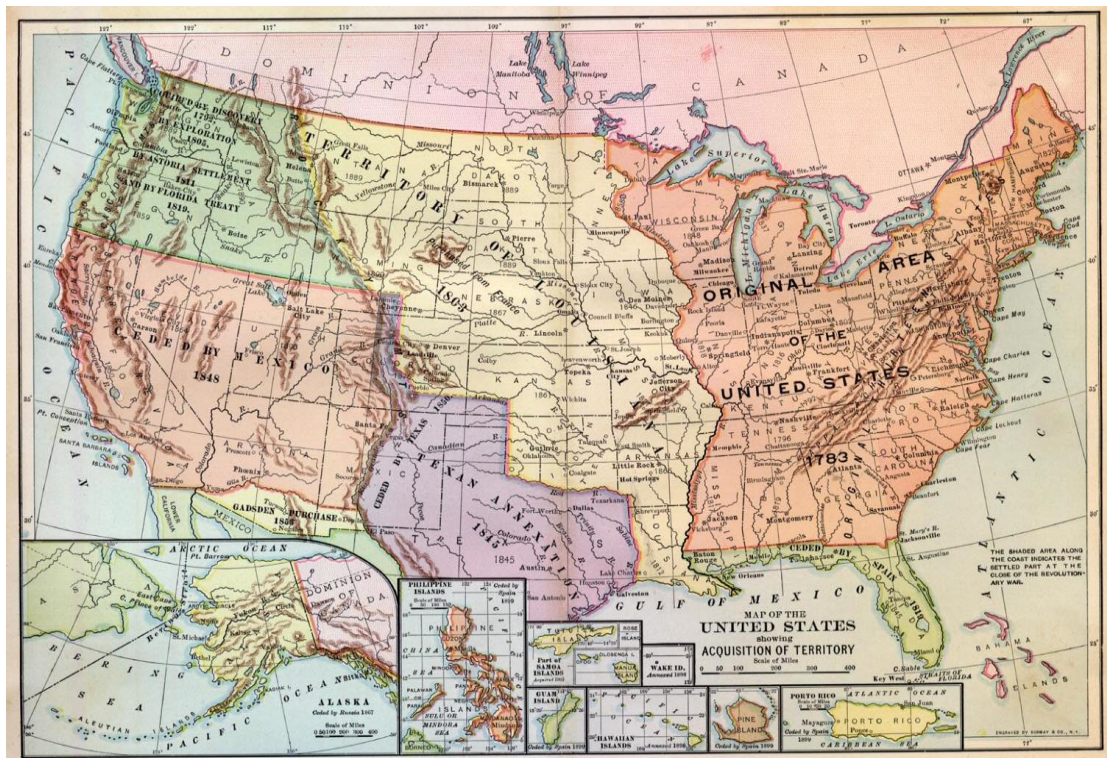
Figure 3.3: Area of the Territory of Louisiana at the time of the Louisiana purchase in 1803. On this map, Louisiana is the tract of land (coloured yellow) running down the centre of the present-day United States.[26]

In the American Civil War (1861-1865), Louisiana seceded from the United States and became part of the Confederate States of America, opposing the freeing of slaves. As a major slave-owning state, Louisiana had a lot to lose, as much of its economy and wealth was heavily based on slave labour. New Orleans, the main port and an important strategic asset for controlling the Mississippi river, was occupied early in the war by the Union. As a result of the war, and in common with the rest of the Confederate states, slaves were freed. Like much of the South, Louisiana's economy had been destroyed both by the war, and, by the freeing of the slaves, as its economy had relied to a large extent on slavery. Louisiana was readmitted to the Union in 1868, three years after the war. However, it went through severe economic hardship in the remaining years of the nineteenth century until the discovery of oil in the early twentieth century.

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[26] 'Western Expansion Map' (Legends of America), http://www.legendsofamerica.com/we-westwardexpansion.html. Accessed 16 October 2016.

Figure 3.4: Modern day Louisiana (in the middle of the red circle). [27]

3.2.1 The social and ethnic mix

In common with the other case studies, an understanding of the contributing ethnic or cultural groups and their respective languages and aesthetics is essential to any full understanding of the processes and results of music-mixing. Aspects of a society's culture which might otherwise be considered non-musical will need to be considered when analysing its music. For that reason, in this section, the circumstances surrounding the arrival of the three main ethnic groups under examination, their cultural distinctiveness and their interactions with the other groups will be examined in turn, before progressing to the music proper.

Louisiana's ethnic mix and the use of identity 'labels', which go with it, can be confusing. As a result of its constitutional vicissitudes, its various colonial administrators, the successive attempts by the French, the Spanish and finally, the United States to populate it, and because of the large number of African and Afro-Caribbean slaves brought to the state, many different ethnic groups came into the territory during the period between 1682 [28] and 1900. Some of these groups survived and prospered, while others died out or moved on.

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[27] Source: http://www.ezilon.com/maps/images/northamerica/us06pol.gif), accessed 16 October 2016. Modified (red circle) by the writer.

[28] In 1682 a French explorer Robert Cavalier de La Salle and his Italian lieutenant Henri de Tonti having travelled down most of the Mississippi river claimed the whole of the Mississippi valley for France and named it *La Louisiane* -Louisiana in honour of King Louis XIV.

The original inhabitants of the area from which present-day Louisiana is derived, the Native American tribes, were, like their counterparts elsewhere in North America, marginalized by European encroachment. Very little of their language or music appears to have been subsumed into mainstream Louisiana francophone culture.[29] The other ethnic groups found in the state are; Black Creoles, Cajuns, and Anglo-Americans.

The Louisiana French community before the arrival of the Cajuns had two subdivisions, the old colonial French, a remnant of the French colony in and around New Orleans and along the Mississippi river, and the Francophone African-American group, which traditionally spoke French creole and many (although not all) of whom were or had been slaves. The latter group is also known nowadays as *Créoles Noirs* or Black Creoles. To complicate matters further: in Louisiana, the term *Créole* originally referred to the sons and daughters of European colonists who were born in Louisiana. (These later became known as *Créoles Français.* The word *Créole was* later used to describe any slaves born in America, *Créoles Noirs* being used to distinguish them from both the *Créoles Français* and also from imported slaves. [30] However, later, the term *Créole*, anglicised as Creole, came to mean anyone of mixed European-African heritage or of solely African heritage in Louisiana's francophone community, and that is the prevalent usage of the term nowadays. Barry-Jean Ancelet points out that:

> In south Louisiana, the French language is an important cultural identity marker. French-speaking blacks called themselves 'Creoles noirs' to distinguish themselves from French-speaking whites, who might be either 'Creoles français' or 'Cadiens,'and from English-speaking blacks who were called 'negres americains.' Black Creoles speak either 'français' or 'creole' [31]

The term Black Creole will be used here to refer to a member of the Louisiana Francophone community of either African or mixed European-African heritage. The three ethnic groups of relevance to this study are considered in turn below.

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[29] George List holds that there is great difficulty in crossing Amerindian and European music but not 'Amereuropean' and African music : George List, 'Acculturation and Musical Tradition,' *Journal of the International Folk Music Council,* 16, (1964), 18–21, 20.

[30] See: Florence Borders, 'Researching Creole and Cajun Musics in New Orleans,' *Black Music Research Journal* 8, no. 1 (1988): 15–31. See also : Barry Jean Ancelet, 'Zydecozarico', *Black Music Research Journal*, 8/1 (1988), 33–49, 33.

[31] Barry Ancelet 'Zydeco/Zarico: The Term and the Tradition' in James H. Dormon, ed., *Creoles of Color*, 1st ed. (Knoxville Tennessee: University of Tennessee Press, 1996), 127.

3.2.2 Black Creoles in Louisiana

Although by the early nineteenth century slavery was coming to an end in most of the countries of the western world, in the United States, it received a boost, particularly in the southern states. The discovery of the cotton gin meant that cotton-growing became commercially viable in areas where this had not previously been possible.[32]

The northern states had gradually outlawed slavery. Slavery was to remain in the South however, until the end of the American Civil War (1861-1865). Slave numbers in the United States dramatically increased between 1790 and 1860.[33] In Louisiana, the status of freed slaves and people of mixed race was generally more complex than elsewhere in the South, possibly due to the difference of approach adopted by the French and Spanish colonisers to that of the British further north. [34]

> Although Spain like France, considered Louisiana an economic burden, the Spanish crown hoped to utilize it as a protective barrier between mineral-rich New Spain and Britain's increasingly aggressive North American colonies. Spain thus actively endeavored to attract settlers and slaves to the region.[35]

Both the northern part of the State, with its large cotton plantations, and southern Louisiana, where sugar cane was the main crop, benefitted greatly from slavery. Slavery as an institution was so prevalent even among people of lower social standing that small farms in the South had small numbers of slaves, and very often ex-slaves themselves had slaves.

Many slaves arrived in Louisiana having already been slaves in the Caribbean Islands, where slavery proliferated far more than even in the southern states of the U.S. Many of these slaves had been traded on into Louisiana, some having been born in the West Indies. However, the failure of many of Louisiana's plantations, and the liberal

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[32] Prior to the invention of the cotton gin, cotton production was hampered by the difficulty of removing the seed from the cotton head—a very labour intensive and slow process. The invention of the cotton gin revolutionised this process and made cotton production lucrative. The southern states were well suited to cotton growing because of their climate. A large number of labourers was however required to pick cotton. The most economical way to do this was by the use of slave labour.

[33] See: *A Century of Population Growth* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1909),132. In 1800 for example there were 893,602 slaves in the U.S. By 1860 the amount of slaves was 3,950,760 despite the fact that the importation of slaves to the U.S. had been banned in 1808.

[34] Kimberly Hanger for example in Dormon, *Creoles of Color*, 5-7, mentions in particular the relatively liberal manumission regime of the Spanish Colonial authorities in New Orleans in the second half of the eighteenth century.

[35] Hanger, in Dormon, *Creoles of Color*, 4.

manumission regime of the Spanish in particular, ensured that the relationship between settlers and slaves became a complex one. Virginia Gould describes how rural settlers and slaves came to depend on each other. Unable to establish economic and political dominance, colonial planters and merchants never fully subjugated their slaves.[36] Barry Ancelet points out that on the sparsely populated and expansive prairie on which many Cajun farmers lived, having someone close by who was a good neighbour was more important than the race or ethnicity of that person.[37]

Many people of mixed African-European race were the sons and daughters of liaisons between slave owners and female slaves. The owners sometimes subsequently freed both these slaves and their children. Regardless of how freedom was attained, the free black and mixed-race population of Louisiana became quite large and in some cases very wealthy. As author Laura Foner notes in an article on three-caste societies:

> Louisiana's free colored community was not only the biggest in the deep South but its members had a social, economic, and legal position far superior to that of free Negroes in most other areas of the South, even those in which the free Negro population was substantial. Travelers were struck by the unusual degree of wealth, education, and social standing of the Louisiana free Negro. They noted 'Negroes in purple and fine linen,' 'pretty and accomplished young women,' and "opulent, intelligent colored planters.'[38]

Francophone Louisiana became a three-tiered society, with the white francophone community at the top, the mixed race Creole community, who had most of the privileges of the white community, in the middle, and the black slaves at the bottom.

After the Civil War, in the period between 1865 and 1876, the position of black people initially improved, although the relatively privileged position of the Creole community disappeared. The coming of 'Jim Crow' legislation,[39] starting in 1877 brought about creeping segregation, dividing Louisiana into a two- rather than three-tiered society, with a worsening situation for blacks (all non-whites being designated black by this stage) in the state.

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[36] Virginia M. Gould in Dorman, *Creoles of Color,* 30.
[37] Barry-Jean Ancelet Interview 1, University of Louisiana, Lafayette La., interview by Brian Ó hUiginn, 29 June 2012.(7'22")
[38] Laura Foner, 'The Free People of Colour in Louisiana and St. Dominge,' *Journal of Social History* 3/4 (1970), 406–30, 407.
[39] 'Jim Crow' refers to a set of laws passed by southern states to segregate black and white people. The federal supreme court in a ruling permitted segregation in states provided the facilities for each group were equal. The name Jim Crow is believed to be a common white reference in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century to a black person.

The period of flux and change was no golden era for the negro in Louisiana. He enjoyed neither social nor political equality with whites and he was subject to violence, discrimination economic coercion and political trickery. Nevertheless he possessed greater political social and civil rights, before 1898 than at any time thereafter until the 1950s. [40]

3.2.3 Acadians/Cajuns

In 1775, The French-Speaking population of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Cape Breton Island and Prince Edward island, in what became Canada, were expelled by the British colonial administration there as part of an ongoing war with France. They were known as 'Acadians' (see Figure 3.5). [41]

Many of these people initially went to France and the French colonies of the time. However, in a second migration, starting over ten years later, many of these Acadians made their way to Louisiana. Louisiana had been a French colony but was, by then, a Spanish possession. Relations between France and Spain were extremely good, and the Spanish welcomed people who would form a bulwark against the Anglo-American states to its north. Florence Borders quoting from another author, Marietta Le Breton, writes that the first group consisted of:

> [...] 193 refugees who had first sought asylum in Santo Domingo. These were joined by hundreds more in 1765 and 1766. They settled chiefly on the wide, fertile, and undeveloped plains of southwest and south central Louisiana. In the next twenty years this group was joined by 3,000 Acadian exiles who left France between 1777 and 1788. They fanned out over southern Louisiana and established the villages of St. Martinville, Lafayette, and Abbeville-the heart of Acadian Louisiana. Later groups moved into the lower Bayou Lafourche area, while still others migrated westward and settled around Texas border. [42]

The Acadians eventually became one of the biggest ethnic groups in Louisiana. Most of the Acadian community became small farmers and were relatively poor by comparison to the big plantation owners of the area. The word 'Acadian' was gradually elided to

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[40] Henry C. Dethloff and Robert R. Jones, 'Race Relations in Louisiana, 1877-98,' *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 9/4 (1968), 301–23, 304.

[41] The area was known in French as *l'Acadie,* or in English, Acadia, and the francophone population as *Acadiennes* (Acadians)*.* Estimates of the amount of Acadian people expelled vary from around 8,000 to 10,000 (see; 'Canada in the Making—Specific Events & Topics,' accessed 19 October, 2013, http://www.canadiana.ca/citm/specifique/deportation_e.html#deportation). This became infamous among Acadians and their descendants as *Le Grand Dérangement* ('The Great Upheaval'). Survival, following this event, became a large part of the cultural, as well as historical narrative of the Acadian people in various parts of North America. There are still Acadian communities in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec, Maine, Michigan, Illinois and Louisiana. These communities maintain contact through an organisation called the World Acadian Congress as well as through various Acadian festivals

[42] Borders, 'Researching Creole and Cajun Musics in New Orleans', 17.

'Cajun'. Their dialect of French (now called Cajun French) continued to be the main language of the Cajun community and the attendant Acadian-French culture including the music became a large part of the cultural make-up of South Louisiana. The area settled by the Acadians which is still the cultural and demographic centre of concentration for them, takes its name from them and is today sometimes known as 'Acadiana' (as opposed to Acadia) Acadiana is still a mainly agricultural rural area, with some big centres of population, mainly the city of Lafayette, its capital. Lafayette is also the centre of Louisiana's major oil industry.
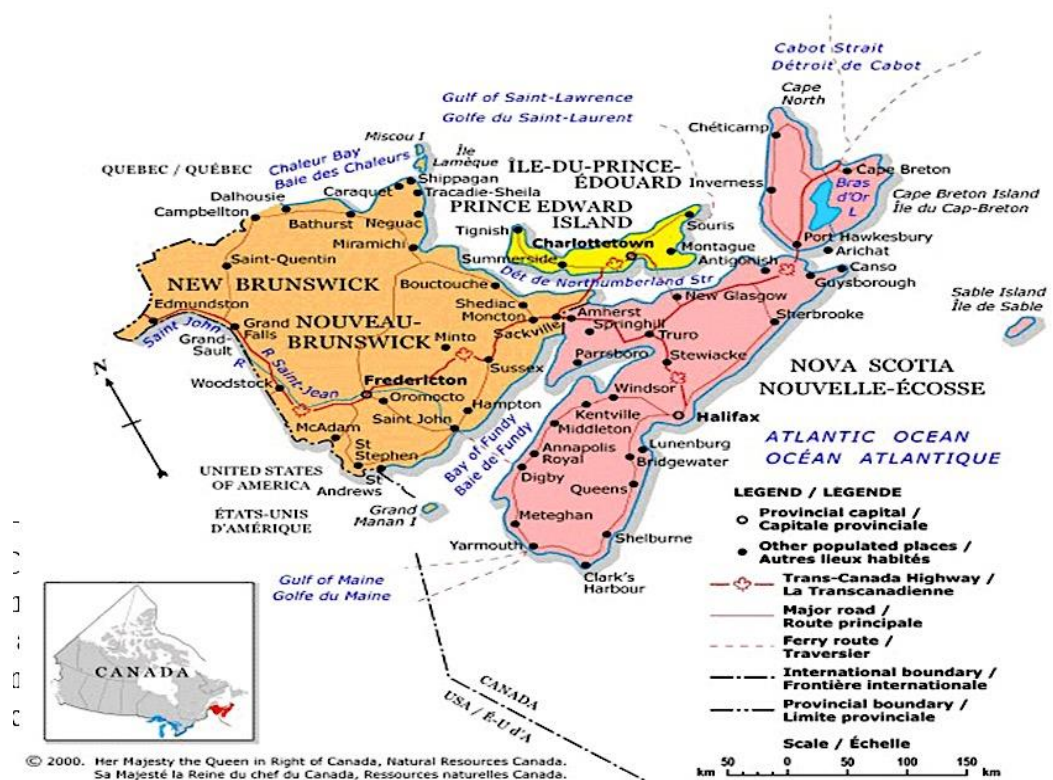
Figure 3.5: Showing the Acadian provinces of Western Canada. [43]

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[43] Source: .://www.acadian-home.org/map-Maritimes.html. Accessed 9 September 2013.

Figure 3.6: Area of South Louisiana –now known as Acadiana-settled by the Acadian (Cajun) people. [44]

3.2.4 Anglo-Americans in Louisiana

Historian Carl Brasseaux describes the arrival of Anglo-Americans into Louisiana as having happened in five main stages or waves. The first wave consisted of merchants and professionals from the North, who arrived in New Orleans after the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, hoping to avail of new opportunities. The second- and third-wave arrivals occurred simultaneously, between 1820 and 1860. These two waves consisted firstly of wealthy people from Virginia and the Carolinas buying up land along the Mississippi and consolidating it into large plantations and, secondly, groups of northerners migrating across the deep south as part of a migration-trail that ended in Texas. A fourth wave consisted of Midwesterners, who settled on the Louisiana prairies and who helped establish the rice industry in the region.

> The northern and central rural regions of Louisiana saw massive Anglo-American settler immigration -especially after Henry Shreve cleared the Red River Raft in the late 1830s, allowing for its navigation. Newly formed parishes such as Winn, Claiborne, and Caldwell had English-speaking populations from their inception: cotton planters along the major rivers and poorer subsistence farmers in the upcountry districts. […] With the rise of the domestic slave trade from Virginia and Maryland, even the state's slave population became more English-speaking and less Catholic. Outside of New Orleans, the lower Mississippi, and the Acadian parishes to the Southeast and southwest, the term Anglo-American ceased to have much

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[44] Source:http://familypedia.wikia.com/wiki/File:Louisiana_regionsmap.svg. Accessed 9 September 2013.

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application in Louisiana by about 1860—it simply described the majority population and culture.[45]

Finally, the establishment of the oil industry in the early twentieth century brought many more Anglo-Americans to work in Louisiana.

Louisiana today is overwhelmingly an English-speaking state and has a majority Protestant population, despite its association with French culture and Catholicism. The upper part of the state i.e. the north and north central area has a high population of Anglo-Americans. Traditionally, it was the cotton-growing region, with the South growing sugar cane. The influence of Anglophone America on Louisiana has been growing rapidly since it joined the Union.

> In the twentieth century, ethnicity was usually associated with minority status. Louisiana's diverse array of colonial-derived ethnic groups began to see their varied identities as sources of cultural pride and clan solidarity. In contrast, the Anglo-American majority became a background against which other groups defined themselves. Most Anglos would have denied that they had an ethnicity at all—preferring the assimilative vision famously expressed by French-American writer J. Hector St. John Crèvecoeur in his 1782 *Letters From An American Farmer*: 'Here individuals of all races are melted into a new race of man, whose labors and posterity will one day cause great changes in the world. Americans are the western pilgrims.[46]

3.2.5 Other ethnic groups in Louisiana

Other groups arrived in smaller numbers, for instance Italians, Germans, Czechs and Irish. However, these groups do not appear to have affected the French music culture of Louisiana to any significant degree. As a result of the various migrations into Louisiana, the area had a mixture of five main ethnic groups: Cajun, African-American, Anglo-American, Native American, and Spanish. Linguistically, two of these groups were dominant, the English-speaking Anglo-American community and the French speakers, who were themselves split into three groups, the old colonial French – centred around New Orleans and the sugar cane plantations of the Mississippi (known as the *Créoles français*); the newer Cajun community, who were settled mainly in the South-western part of Louisiana known as the South-western prairie and the Black Creoles.

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[45] 'Encyclopedia of Louisiana History, Culture and Community—KnowLA,' accessed 14 August, 2013, http://www.knowla.org/. Entry 1003. Published by the Louisiana Endowment for the Humanities (www.leh.org)

[46] *Ibid.*

3.2.6 Religion

As well as being Francophone, both Black Creoles and Cajuns share Catholicism as their main religious denomination whereas the majority of Anglo-American Christians are Protestant. Catholicism is the largest single Christian denomination in Louisiana; however, 60 percent of the population belong to various Protestant denominations. Historically, Protestant communities were found mainly in the northern part of the state, where they farmed rice; along the Mississippi river; and in New Orleans where they had cotton plantations. The southwest of Louisiana is primarily Catholic, as was most of Louisiana, historically. As most of the southern states had a mainly Protestant population and ethos, Louisiana is something of an anomaly in this respect. This religious difference has been one factor that has helped to keep a sense of Cajun and Creole identity.

3.2.7 Language: Creole French, Cajun French and Colonial French

As might be expected, the French population of New Orleans, French colonial administrators and their descendants spoke the aristocratic French of the eighteenth century. This variant has mainly died out, as the people who spoke it became Anglicised relatively early. The newer Cajun arrivals spoke a form of common French, which was originally brought by their forbears from the *Poitou* region of France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Black Creole community traditionally spoke a third variant, called Louisiana French Creole (LFC).[47] This, as its name suggests, is a creole language (see Chapter One), which is significantly different to the other two varieties.[48] A French creole language was also spoken in the Caribbean island of Haiti and some freed slaves may have brought this to Louisiana with them. Both Cajun French and Louisiana French Creole survive in modern Louisiana, although in both cases they are on the brink of extinction as natively spoken languages. Cajun French is, nowadays, the stronger of the two. Overall, Louisiana French, whether Colonial, Cajun, or Creole, thrived in southwest Louisiana for a while but ultimately went into a decline that has continued to the present.[49] The numbers speaking it dropped dramatically throughout

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[47] Creole languages are normally identified by their lexifier i.e. the language providing most of the words. Thus there are French-creole, English-creole, Spanish-creole or/and Portuguese-creole languages, among others.

[48] The word 'variety' is used here as it avoids the debate about whether the three should be considered separate languages, or dialects or *patois*.

[49] The use of Louisiana French Creole is in fact severely threatened, far more so than Cajun French which

the twentieth century and it appears to have undergone a collapse in many parts of Louisiana. The fast decline in the use of French in the state was exacerbated by disapproval of its use in public affairs and schools – legislation for the exclusive use of English in schools was passed in 1921 and remained in force until the late 1960s. Even among French speakers there was an issue of relative prestige, with both Cajun French and Louisiana French Creole being held in low esteem by comparison to colonial and standard French.

All varieties of Louisiana French retreated, to a large extent, into people's homes. In 2000 there were 198,580 speakers of all variants of French (4.79 per cent of the population) of whom 14,365 spoke Cajun French, with a further 4,465 speaking Louisiana French Creole. The relatively high number of standard French speakers, c.180,000, may reflect the amount of people who had learned French at school as opposed to being native speakers. By 2010 the figure had dropped to 142,183 (3.46 per cent) for all variants but with a slight rise in those speaking both Cajun French (20,979) and Louisiana French Creole (6,021).[50]

Overall, the racial, linguistic and social mix in Louisiana was (and is) quite complex. These complexities were simplified over time to leave three main cultural groupings in the Acadian area of Southwest Louisiana: the Anglo-Americans, Cajuns, and Creoles. These groupings are the main contributors to the dominant music traditions of the area. Other groups may have played a part but if so, this is not readily discernible from the music. The relative strength and prestige of each of these groups along with the social and, at times, legal conventions which governed their interactions also plays a part in the musical creolisation process of Louisiana. The complexities of Louisiana's mix of main ethnic groups, their languages and music, are summarised in the following table:

Table 3.1 Main ethnic groups in Louisiana Language and input into Louisiana French music

Ethnic Group	Description	Language and Music
Native American Tribes	The main remaining tribes included: Chitimacha,Coushatta Choctaw,Tunica-Biloxi	Languages of all tribes still spoken by small numbers except Tunica and Biloxi. Musical

is itself under major threat. However Creole culture in the form of its cuisine and its music- in particular 'zydeco'—has become very popular both within Louisiana itself and around the world.

[50] Modern Languages Association of America. 'Data Center Results—Compare,' accessed 21 March, 2015, http://www.mla.org/cgi-shl/docstudio/docs.pl?map_data_results.

Ethnic Group	Description	Language and Music
		influence outside of tribe not significant
Colonial French	Arrived as administrators for the colony. Based mainly in New Orleans and along the Mississippi. Some very small remnants of the language remain. Eclipsed by later arriving Cajuns	Aristocratic French, later standard French. Mainly narrative songs.
Colonial Spanish	Small numbers. Few remnants of language or music. Most Spanish-speakers in modern Louisiana are descended from Texan or Mexican Spanish speakers or are from South American countries, having migrated North for work.	Aristocratic Spanish. Little or no evidence of musical influence on modern LFM
Cajun	Arrived in the late eighteenth century from the Acadian region of Canada following a forced expulsion. Numbered around 8,000. Became the main European group in Louisiana until the late nineteenth or early twentieth century.	Cajun-French. Nowadays threatened by the drop in the use of French in daily life and the introduction of standard French in schools. Music consists of old French narrative songs and newer dance music with occasional lyrics called Cajun music. Later bands mimicked in Louisiana French, Anglo-American music trends such as early rock music and country music
Creoles	(a) Offspring of original French and Spanish colonial administrators and merchants. Also known as *Créoles Françaises*	(a) As with colonial French above
	(b) Historically, a mixed-race group of freedmen coming second in Louisiana's three-tiered social division, below that of European but above African or Afro-Caribbean Slave. This group was economically well-off and educated and were treated much better than the slaves. After the civil war they lost all status and were treated the same as former slaves.	(b) Either Colonial French or Louisiana French-Creole (LFC). This language is under severe threat nowadays. As with the Cajun community, their music was Louisiana French music including narrative songs and instrumental music consisting of polkas, mazourkas, two-steps and waltzes.
	(c) From the late nineteenth century onwards, anyone of either African or mixed European/African heritage who uses French or creole-French. Also called *Créoles Noires* Nowadays the word creole is nearly always used in reference to (c) above	(c) Mainly Cajun-French and LFC. Music was also originally Louisiana French music including ballads, mazourkas, polkas and waltzes often performed in a different style to their Cajun counterparts. Gospel, and blues also influenced them. Later their music developed into 'zydeco'.
Anglo-Americans	Arrived mainly after the	English. Music of the Anglophone

Ethnic Group	Description	Language and Music
	Louisiana purchase 1801 and the discovery of oil off the coast in the early twentieth century. Also, migrants travelling south from northern states throughout the nineteenth century. Originally centred in the northern part of the state New Orleans and the Mississippi valley. Both African-American and European backgrounds. Now found throughout the state	states including old-time, hillbilly, country, and rock music

3.2.8 Summary

The dominance of any group in the Louisiana Territory and later the State of Louisiana did not become clear until late in the state's history. Efforts by the French and the Spanish to populate it with Europeans were unsuccessful. The Spanish in particular tried to populate the colony with a loyal community through efforts such as liberal manumission of slaves, and attracting settlers such as the Cajuns but its grip and its influence on the colony appear to have been quite tenuous. France fared little better with the colony on two different occasions, between 1682 and 1762 and again between 1801 and 1803. The lack of a stable population may have made mixing between races and/or greater tolerance between them, a necessity. The presence even in the nineteenth century of a large number of free people of either mixed race or African heritage, many of whom were quite wealthy, attests to this fact and it led ultimately to the development of a three-tiered society in Louisiana with white at the top, black creoles in the middle, and slaves at the bottom. French in its three variants Colonial, Cajun, and Creole was the main language of the people living in the Acadiana region. Throughout the course of the nineteenth century, it became increasingly clear that the main division of Louisiana society was between the francophone and anglophone communities. However, after the introduction of segregation, Louisiana became a two-tiered society with the division between black and white becoming the most important distinguishing mark.

3.3 Musical overview—the music of Louisiana

This section examines the musical input of the three main ethnic groups described above, i.e. Black Creole, Cajun and Anglo-American to LFM. Louisiana French song and singing styles in the early and mid-twentieth century, as manifested in the 1934 Lomax recordings, will receive particular attention. Each of these musics traditionally had a separate and unique identity, and elements of all of them are found in LFM. In

some cases the contribution is stylistic, a particular inclination in tonality or singing style, as was seen previously in the Gaelic Psalms. In others it is the contribution of a musical format or a particular melody. A third type of contribution is the choice of language for a particular song. Each music culture was traditionally associated with a particular language variety – Louisiana French Creole, Cajun French and English respectively, and any breaking of the linguistic conventions may therefore be an indicator of music mixing.

Performance style in all three music cultures will be considered in this chapter using Melodyne to examine at least one recording in each case. Examples of creolised song will then be analysed, again through the use of melodyne. Creolisation in Louisiana French music is an ongoing process and some examples of creolisation post-1934 will be included in order to demonstrate how the 'snapshots' from the 1934 recordings are just part of a bigger picture.

To contextualise some of what follows, an overview of the specific conditions pertaining to music and music-making in Louisiana society is necessary before discussing each of the musics in turn. This may help to give some indication of how and why the musical creolisation process happened.

Over the more than two hundred and fifty years since the territory was claimed for France, a complex series of relationships had developed between southern Louisiana's ethnic communities. This had an influence not just on language and social class, as has been seen, but also on the music of the area. As a result, an outsider hearing LFM for the first time may experience some confusion between music categories such as 'Cajun' and 'Creole', and their similarities and differences.

3.3.1 Ethnicity and music in Louisiana

Race relations are a major factor in the discussion of Louisiana's music culture(s). The labels applied to Louisiana French Music's subgenres are deeply connected to the ethnic background of the performers and their audiences, all of whom share the common heritage of coming from one of the Louisiana French-speaking peoples but may also have additional heritages of African, or European ethnicity. However, while bearing this 'racial' labeling of music in mind, there are also differences in the music styles of these ethnic groups.

3.3.2 Cajun and Creole Music

Although the terms 'Cajun' and 'Creole' have been applied to two subgenres of LFM, the differences between Creole and Cajun music, pre-1960, are sometimes hard to discern. Sara Le Menestrel states that:

> Until the 1960s, southwest Louisianans did not categorize their music as Cajun, Creole, or zydeco. Instead, they referred to it as *musique française,* or French music, without systematically assigning it to a specific ethnic group or music subgenre. The French versus American musical distinction was the significant factor.[51]

This common musical background is emphasised in another article by Mark Mattern

> Historically, musicians in both traditions sang almost entirely in French, and both traditions emphasized waltz and two-step dance forms derived primarily from Europe. Today, many musicians continue to compose and sing in French, and the waltz and two-step remain popular among both groups.[52]

That these similarities in the music of Black Creoles and Cajuns existed is not surprising. There is ample evidence that black and white musicians did perform together throughout the twentieth century and, as indicated by Mattern and Le Menestrel above, that the music they performed was quite similar if not, at times, identical.

The relationship between two musicians, Amédé, Ardoin who was Creole, and Dennis McGee, who was Cajun, is often cited as an example of a shared tradition.[53]

> Throughout the twentieth century, Cajuns and Creoles have unarguably shared common music traditions. Historically, two musicians embody this shared heritage: Creole accordion player Amédé Ardoin (1896–1941) and Cajun fiddler Dennis McGee (1893–1989), both sharecroppers who recorded together in 1929. They were tremendously successful for twenty years, playing in local dancehalls and house dances, and most local musicians, no matter which subcategory of music they identify with, now consider Ardoin the father of French music.[54]

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[51] Sara Le Menestrel, 'The Color of Music: Social Boundaries and Stereotypes in Southwest Louisiana French Music,' *Southern Cultures* 13/3 (2007), 87–105, 88.

[52] Mattern, 'Let The Good Times Unroll—Music and Race Relations in Southwest Louisiana.', 160.

[53] However, the manner of Ardoin's death demonstrates the other side of this coin. While playing at a dance for a white audience one night he was thrown a handkerchief by a woman to wipe the sweat from his brow. This was seen as a serious breach of contact etiquette for black and white people, in particular because it involved a white woman. After the dance, Ardoin was run over several times by a number of men in a car and was very badly injured. He never recovered from his injuries and died a number of months later.

[54] Le Menestrel, 'The Color of Music', 87.

Louisiana's musicians and singers have been mixing genres since at least the 1920s and most likely for a long time before that. According to musician and academic Ryan Brasseaux:

> Cajun musicians freely interpreted and incorporated outside elements of African American musical traditions like blues and jazz and Anglo-American techniques and compositions from the hillbilly and western swing genres. [55]

According to John Broven, 'Cajun Music was nurtured on early Acadian, French, Creole, Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Folksong'.[56] Barry Ancelet perhaps best sums up the main elements of the mix when he says of the early recordings of Louisiana music:

> Even in this venerable unaccompanied tradition, there is already evidence of the cultural blending process. The tunes of many unaccompanied French ballads recorded in Louisiana are clearly influenced by the blues. There are also new elements in the repertoire that obviously come from places other than France. In Louisiana, the English folk song, 'The Old Drunk and His Wife', is called 'Mon bon vieux mari' 'A Paper {or packet} of Pins' is called 'Un papier d'épingles', and the Louisiana French version of 'Billy Boy' is called 'Charmant Billy'.[57]

Whatever the differences or similarities in the music however, labels had been applied since at least the 1920s and distinctions were made between Cajun and Creole music. Maude Cuney-Hare, for example, in her 1921 collection *Six Creole Folksongs*, distinguished Creole music from other forms of Louisiana music.[58] Irène Whitfield, in her 1932 book, *Louisiana French Folk Songs,* split the French repertory of Louisiana into three parts; Louisiana-French folk songs; Cajun songs; and Creole songs.[59] Alan Lomax divided his 1934 recordings, released in two volumes, into Creole and Cajun categories However, given the periods in question for the three collections above (1920s and 1930s), this categorisation, in all cases may have had more to do with segregation of peoples than of musics.

3.3.3 Reading the music texts

As stated above, in demonstrating the creolisation process it should be expected that traits mainly or previously associated with one particular music genre will be found in

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[55] Brasseaux, 'Bayou Boogie', 6.

[56] John Broven, *South to Louisiana: The Music of the Cajun Bayous* (Pelican Publishing, 1987).

[57] Ancelet, *Cajun Country, 155.*

[58] Maud Cuney-Hare, *Six Creole Folk-Songs* (New York: Fischer, 1921).

[59] Irène), *Louisiana French Folk Songs* (New York: Dover Publications 1968), Originally published by Louisiana State University, (1939). She deals with each in separate sections of the book under their own headings preceding them with an introduction in each case giving a general description and contextualising the music.

another. That is not to say that these traits or indicators will have retained their original semiological meaning in their new contexts. In what follows, I will try to identify (a) what these elements are and (b) why it might be assumed that these elements come from an outside influence. In all instances, both of these factors are important in identifying the creolisation phenomenon, whatever stage it is at. In Chapter One, it was suggested that creolisation could be described as a continuum, starting with minor almost imperceptible changes at one end continuing to the genesis of a new genre of music at the other.

The main areas of investigation into the music itself will look at performance styles and singing strategies among singers and groups of singers. The formats of the songs themselves will also be analysed, where relevant, to demonstrate how these have changed. This is in keeping with the first research question – what process of change does a sung melody go through when changing cultures?

Examples of the three music genres are initially examined separately to identify the indicative traits of the genre, before proceeding to examples of musical creolisation in LFM. The aspects or traits examined, however, will be confined to those found in the creolised musics, and thus of direct relevance to this study.

3.4 The musical strands of Louisiana French Music

This section will demonstrate and analyse singing and songs from the three main contributing cultures to LFM. These are; Cajun songs carried by the Cajun immigrants which were passed down and added to over the years since their arrival in Louisiana; Creole songs which incorporate elements of blues singing style and rhythm but are sung in Louisiana French; and Anglo- American songs, mainly Appalachian songs and singing styles.

3.4.1 French folk song and singing style

The Cajun music that will be discussed in this section consists of French folksongs that were brought by the Cajun settlers who came to Louisiana in the late eighteenth century. Although Cajun music also contains much instrumental dance music, this will only be referenced in relation to these folksongs.

Narrative songs – *Ballades*[60] and *Complaintes*[61]– found in Louisiana were the mainstay of much French traditional song, and many variants of the same songs are found in Francophone Canada, as well as in Louisiana. They tell tales of love, tragedy and adventure. Examples of these songs, as they are found in Louisiana, are well-represented in several collections.[62] As these were brought by the Cajuns, most date back to the mid-eighteenth century and, quite probably, given that the Cajuns had spent over one hundred years in Canada, to at least the early seventeenth century. Remarkably, in the intervening centuries, the various versions of these French folksongs have often maintained a large amount of similarity, which in turn seems to demonstrate a measure of stability, despite the fact that, for example, the dance music and song of present day France do not seem to resemble their Cajun and Creole counterparts.

Many of the traditional French *Complaintes* and *Ballades*, as well as other French folk-music formats, are still to be found in Louisiana in the early twenty-first century. However, by the latter half of the twentieth century they were sung mainly by women in their homes. [63] From the 1930s onwards public forums for this kind of music were dwindling. It was slow and sombre, and not suitable for dancing, at a time when the local dance hall was fast becoming the main forum for music. [64] The dance music and popular songs that were taking hold in the early and mid-twentieth century, eclipsed these songs, driving them into the relative privacy of the home. Examples of these songs are included here, as they illustrate a French song genre and singing-style that partly fuelled the creolisation process that led to LFM. These are old songs and cannot be dated with complete accuracy, but in most cases they originated in France before the nineteenth century, travelling from there to Canada and ultimately on to Louisiana with the Cajun immigrants. They serve as a contrast to the later Cajun and Creole musics of

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[60] The medieval *ballade* was a form of song which accompanied a dance. The form was regulated. In France it was one of three *formes fixés* (fixed forms). It consisted of three stanzas of eight lines followed by a half stanza called the *envoi*. The last line of the first stanza was used for all subsequent stanzas. There was a fixed number of syllables in all the lines of a particular *ballade*. Later on the word *ballade* came to be associated with narrative songs in many European countries.

[61] A *Complainte* is a traditional French song consisting of a (varying) number of rhyming couplets where the narrative most often relates a tragic or sombre story. It dates from medieval times.

[62] See for example: Whitfield, 1928; *Cajun & Creole music* vol.1, (1999). *Women's Home Music* (2007), *La Musique de la Maison* (2008)

[63] Although as will be seen, men also sang these songs at one time in Louisiana.

[64] The 1930s saw a move from music being performed in the home among groups of neighbours to a more formalized arrangement in dance halls around Louisiana. Although dance halls had existed prior to this, the 1930s marked a major shift in entertainment from the home to the dance hall.

Louisiana. Some of the lyrics and sometimes even the themes of these old ballads would later be 'recycled' into the creolised music.

A close examination also indicates how these songs were (and are still) performed. In keeping with the theme of melodic migration in this thesis, the first example offered shows how a particular song has maintained a large amount of stability in both theme and performance-style as it migrates down through the generations from the ancestors of the present day Cajuns, as they travelled between France, *Nouvelle France* (mainly Acadia), and ultimately, Louisiana. The style of performance of the French folksong will be the main area of focus, and will be shown to stand in contrast to later LFM performance styles.

'La Belle et les Trois Capitaines'—three versions

The song, '*La Belle et les Trois Capitaines'* (The Maiden and The Three Captains), also known as '*La Belle et le Capitaine'* (The Maiden and The Captain) or '*La Belle qui Fait la Morte'* (The Maiden who Feigned Death), is an example of a song that is well known both in Louisiana and in France.[65] A number of variations in both melody and lyrics exist, but the theme is always the same. A woman feigns death in order to preserve her honour from a marauding group of soldiers or sailors. An example of the song, from France is given here. This is followed by two examples from Louisiana, which demonstrate how French ballads such as these were, and still are, traditionally performed there. Although these three versions have some differences in melody and in lyrics, these differences will not be dealt with here as an example of creolisation In contrast to later changes in LFM as will be seen, the similarities of these versions of the same song are of more interest here than their disparities.

'*La Belle et les Trois Capitaines*'[66] like the English and Scottish ballads, is a narrative song and again, like its English counterparts in the Child collection, there are several versions both in the country of origin – in this case France – and where they are found across the Atlantic – in this case Canada and Louisiana. The use of a French example

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[65] It is difficult if not impossible to date with precision many songs like this. As this song is known to the Cajun, French Canadian and French people, it can reasonably be assumed that the song dates from at least the time of the colonisation of Canada by the French in the seventeenth century and more than likely was well-known in France before that time.

[66] I have opted to use the name of one version of this song sung by Alma Berthelemy as a generic title for all three versions. Berthelemy's version is included later in this section.

here (the first example) serves to indicate the level of stability in the style of performance of these folksongs, despite a gap of at least two hundred years and a distance of three thousand miles.

An audio excerpt of one variant '*La Belle Qui Fait La Morte*' recorded by French singer Jean-Francois Dutertre[67] in 2008 can be heard at the following location. (The first two verses are transcribed immediately below the links)

https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigrationcasestudies/louisiana-french-music-1

(go to Ex 1)

Or: USB/Audio/2.1

La Belle Qui Fait La Morte	**The Maid who Feigned Death**
Dessous le rosier blanc	Under the white rosebushes,
La belle s'y promène (bis)	The maid walks (repeat)
Blanche comme la neige	White as the snow,
Belle comme le jour	Beautiful as the day,
Ce sont trois jeun's capitaines	There are three young captains,
Tous trois lui font la cour (bis)	All three court her (repeat*)*
Le plus jeune des trois	The youngest of the three
La prend dans sa main blanche (bis)	He took her by her white hand (repeat)
- montez, montez la belle	Get up get up maiden
Sur mon grand cheval gris	Onto my grey horse
A la vill' j'vous emmène	I will take you to the town
Dans une hôtellerie (bis)	Into a hostelry (repeat)

Noticeable here in terms of performance-style, is that the delivery is sombre. The singer alternates between a faster and a slower delivery, in particular at the end of the repeated lines. The song, is sung in a syllabic style tending towards one note per syllable rather than carrying one syllable over many notes as in melismatic styles. Vocal dynamic is used a lot by the singer as is vibrato in his voice, and an alternation of faster and slower singing. He sings clearly. The delivery is impassive; there is no sign in the audio of his emotional involvement in the story of the song.

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[67] Various, *Anthologie de La Chanson Francaise- Ballades et Complaintes* (EPM, 2008). Dutertre is a musician who specialises in the traditional songs of France in particular those of the Normandy.

Obviously, it is important to be careful when saying that a particular style of singing is emotional or not. Emotional expression itself can to some extent be culture-specific (and subjective) and reading it or finding it in the performance may depend on the listener's ability to decode the performance, which in turn, may be a skill learned from his or her cultural background. However, it is fair to say that some emotional displays are universal, such as shouting to show anger or pain, or to denote danger; crying to show sorrow or distress; smiling to show friendliness, happiness or satisfaction; or wincing to show empathy with another's predicament. These are the signs of heightened emotions that may or may not be observed in the vocal performance and that are referred to here, rather than more subtle culture-specific indicators.[68]

'La Belle et le Capitaine'—Julien Hoffpauir

A version of the same song called '*La Belle et le Capitaine'* sung by Julien Hoffpauir, from Iberia parish in Louisiana, was recorded by Alan and John Lomax during their visit to Louisiana in 1934.[69] It gives an idea of the song as it is found there. The lyrics of the first two verses are given below. Part of this song is also transcribed in Melodyne further down in order to closely examine Hoffpauir's singing style.

https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigrationcasestudies/louisiana-french-music-1

(go to Ex 2)

Or: USB/Audio/2.2

La Belle et le Capitaine	**The Maiden and the Captain**
Le plus jeune des trois	The youngest of the three
L'a pris par sa main blanche	Took her by the white hand
Montez montez , la belle	Mount up mount up fair maiden
Dessous mon cheval gris	Onto my grey horse
Au logis chez mon Père	Straight to my fathers house
Je vous emmènerai	Shall I bring you
Quand La belle-z-entend,	Upon hearing this

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[68] This is, I think, an important point in light of the fact that, as will be seen, two people I interviewed in Louisiana found the French folksongs to lack emotion in comparison to what they see as the high emotional content in LFM singing style. For a fuller description of the ability of people of different cultures to read emotion in another culture from acoustic cues in music or speech see: L-L Balkwill, L.L. Cuddy, and W.F. Thompson, 'Acoustic Cues in Emotive Music and Speech Across Cultures,' in *Proceedings of the 8th International Conference on Music Perception and Cognition* (Evanston, Illinois, 2004). The authors found that when Japanese and western audiences were tested with music containing cues that were intended to convey emotion, each 'side' often correctly read the cues of the other culture although with significant differences in ability to read the intensity of the emotion.

[69] Various artists, *Cajun & Creole Music, vol 1*.

Elle s'est mis-t-à pleurer	The fair Maid began to weep
Soupez, soupez, la belle	Eat, eat, fair maiden
Prenez, oui-z-appetit	Satisfy your appetite
Auprès du capitaine	Beside the captain
Vous passerez la nuit	You will spend the night

Several characteristics can be noted in Julien Hoffpauir's singing: the rhythm, although he sings more slowly than Dutertre (above), is held steady; there is no delay in the rhythmic progression of the melody. The notes are relatively cleanly separated. He moves from note to note without any major embellishment. Where pitch-line is shown between the notes in Melodyne (see Figure 3.7) it is relatively steep, showing a quick movement; the transition is not a lingering one as in *portamento* style, and there is very little use of *rubato*. Both the word *de* and the word *trois* for example are sung using two notes in each case. Movement between the two notes is swift as can be seen in Figure 3.7. One of the main ways in which Hoffpauir embellishes as he moves from note to note, is to sometimes add intervallic ornamentation, a passing note or notes, bridging the interval between two notes of the melody. There is no emotion in the voice and very little use of vocal dynamic. The main function of the singer appears to be to tell the story without any dramatic addition in his performance. The story is held within the lyrics of the song (Hoffpauir seems to be missing at least one verse, but this should be seen as exceptional).[70] The song is very much a song for a solo singer; there is no apparent place for a choral line. The singer does not hold very long vowel or consonant sounds. As will be seen when it comes to Anglo-American and African-American singing examples below, long vowels are normal within those traditions. Although the timbre of his voice is different and he does not have accompaniment, Hoffpauir's singing style is not unlike that of Dutertre. The style has maintained a similarity to the singing style of France.[71]

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[70] Barry Ancelet says of this 'The first couplet of this recording is not the beginning of the song. It refers to the 'youngest of the three' without explaining who the three are'. *Cajun & Creole Music vol 1*. Inlay notes, track 6.

[71] Although always with the proviso that it is difficult to know with any precision what the singing style of France in the seventeenth century was like. However the fact that over two hundred years later, the contemporary styles(both Dutertre and Hauffpauir's in this case) show this much similarity, would seem to suggest that a certain amount of stability and continuity has been maintained over the years. This will also be seen in Alma Barthélemy's singing later in this chapter.
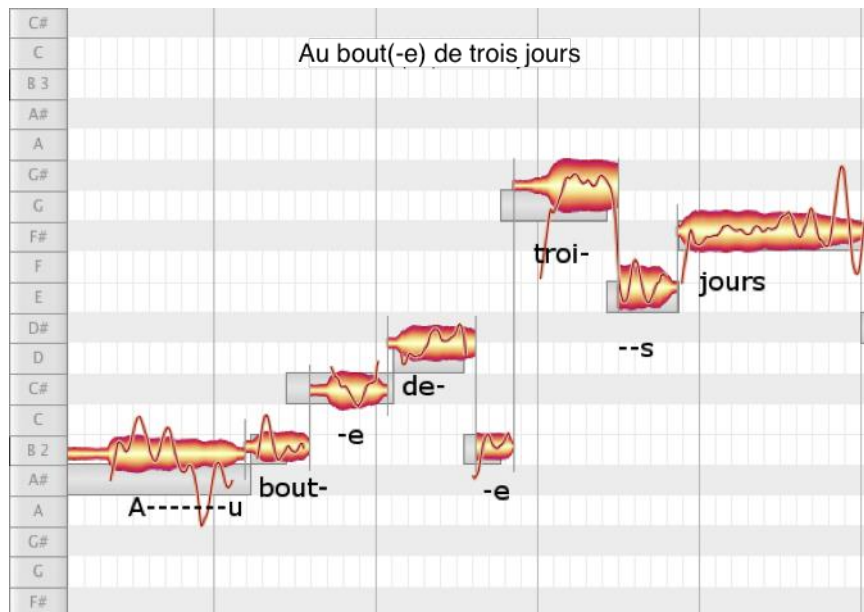
Figure 3.7: Showing how Julien Hoffpauir sings the words,' *au bout(e) de trois jour*s' –'after three days',-(the vowel sound 'e' is added to the word *bout* in the song although it is not part of the word. It is added to separate the consonants). Note how the notes are clearly separated and do not slide from one into another in a continuous pitch-line movement. The notes carrying the words *bout(e)*, *de*, and *trois* each involve two notes but they are relatively equal in time

Hoffpauir's singing of this line can be heard at the following location:

https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigrationcasestudies/louisiana-french-music-1

(go to Ex.3)

Or USB/Audio/2.2A

'La Belle et Les Trois Capitaines' -Alma Barthélemy

To give an example of the similarities in the Louisiana singing of these old French songs, a third version, again from Louisiana, is given here, sung by Alma Barthélemy, from Diamond – a small town just south of New Orleans. It was recorded in 1957.[72] The first line of the first verse appears to be missing from this recording. In all subsequent verses the first line is repeated.

https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigrationcasestudies/louisiana-french-music-1

(go to Ex.4)

Or: USB/Audio/2.3

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[72] *Women's Home Music* (2008)

La Belle et Les Trois Capitaines	The Maid and the Three Captains
Dessous le laurier blanc	Under the white Laurel
La belle elle se promene	The Maid walks
Blanche comme la neige,	White as the snow
jolie comme le jour	Pretty as the day
Trois jeunes capitaines	Three young captains
venaient la faire la cour	Come to court her
De sur ce propos la,	Upon hearing these remarks
la belle elle se promene (bis)	The Maid walks (repeat)
Montez montez la belle	'Get up, get up, young maid
de sur ce cheval gris	Onto my grey horse
Et moi par derriere a croupe,	And with me sitting behind you
nous verrons les pays	We will see the country

Alma Barthélemy's version has a different melody to Julien Hoffpauir's. Otherwise, however, there are strong similarities in style, both between Bartheélemy and Hoffpauir, and between both of them and French singer Dutertre. The singing (and the song) is regular in terms of lines and verses. The song has a steady slow pulse. The singer's ornamentation tends to concentrate on one or two techniques, an *appoggiatura*, in which the note being arrived at, is delayed by splitting the timing between a note, which is a tone or half-tone below or above, and the target note itself, and a downward *portamento* effect when holding a note at the end of a phrase or line. The song is delivered in a refined way, to the extent that there is no major display of emotion in the voice, as is this the case with Hoffpauir and Dutertre. Though the mood is serious throughout, the vocal delivery does not make strong use of dynamics. Any drama is left to the words and the melody of the song. The emphasis is on the story of the song and the story is told in its entirety within the song. No extra features are required to convey it. The singing is very much a solo endeavour

By comparison to what will later be seen in the Anglo-American, and, in particular, the African-American style, the lack of ornamentation is notable. The style of singing in these French songs resembles some of the Lowland Scottish singing of the previous chapter, tending heavily towards a syllabic style. Steady rhythm or pulse is very

important. There appears to be no time to hold and embellish a note to the same degree as some Anglo-American or African-American singers do, as will be seen.

The two Louisiana versions are similar both to each other and to the French version, despite differences in the arrangements. The words show a remarkable similarity, despite the passage of time and the very different locations.

'Au Pont de Nantes' —Odile Falcon

The song '*Au Pont de Nantes'* [At The Bridge of Nantes] is also known in France as '*Sur le Pont du Nord'* [On the Northern Bridge]. It is a song about a girl who defies her mother to go to a dance on a bridge in the Breton town of Nantes. The bridge collapses drowning the dancers including the girl. Odile Falcon from Vermillion parish sings the Louisiana version given here.[73] For the purpose of comparison a version from France is also given here sung by French singer Tonio Gémème.[74] Only five lines from the much longer song by Odile Falcon are included here as they provide enough material to demonstrate the main features of the singing style. More even than was the case with *La Belle Qui Fait La Morte* the two versions from France and Louisiana show similarity in melody, rhythm and lyrics.

https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigrationcasestudies/louisiana-french-music-1

(go to Ex 5 and Ex 6)

Or: USB/Audio/2.4

And : USB/Audio 2.5

Au Pont de Nantes	**On The Bridge of Nantes**
Au pont de Nantes, gros bal fut annoncé.	On the bridge of Nantes a big dance was announced.
Hélène demande à sa mère pour aller.	Hélène asks her mother to be allowed to go.
O non, ma fille, tu n'irais pas au	Oh no, my daughter, you won't go

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[73] *La Musique de la Maison* (2007), track 22
[74] *Anthologie De La Chanson Francaise* vol.15 *'La Tradition'* (EPM 2008), track 3.

bal.	to the dance.
J'ai fait un rêve que vous étiez noyé.	I had a dream that you were drowned.
Votre frère arrive dans un joli bateau.	You brother is arriving in a pretty boat.

(each line is repeated)

Despite the use of instrumentation by Gémème for this version from France, the similarity of the two melodies, his and Falcon's can clearly be heard. The rhythm is also the same, albeit at a faster tempo in the Gémème version. Most of the same features mentioned in relation to Julien Hoffpauir and Alma Berthelemy's singing above can be heard in Odile Falcon's singing here. There is no discernible display of emotion in the vocal recording. The singing is mainly in syllabic style and there is little use of ornamentation. The main ornamentation used by Falcon appears to be a downward portamento as can be seen in Figure 3.8 below, and heard in the audio excerpt. The *portamento* technique can be seen in the pitch line between certain notes marked here with green boxes. Falcon does not separate her notes as clearly as Julien Hoffpauir (see Figure 3.7). However, despite the *portamento* technique shown here this is still by and large a syllabic singing style
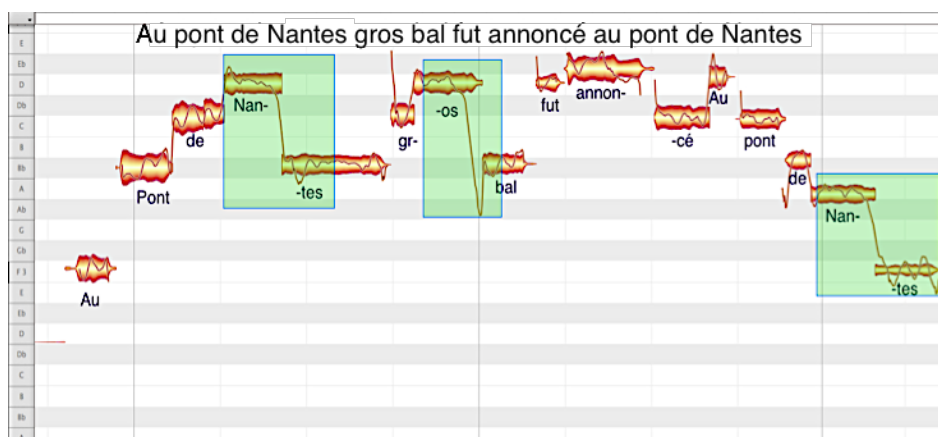
Figure3.8: First line of Odile Falcon's singing of 'Au Pont de Nantes' as transcribed in Melodyne showing her ornamentation using a *portamento* technique. This can be seen in the pitch line between the notes highlighted here with green boxes. See enlarged version on the next page.
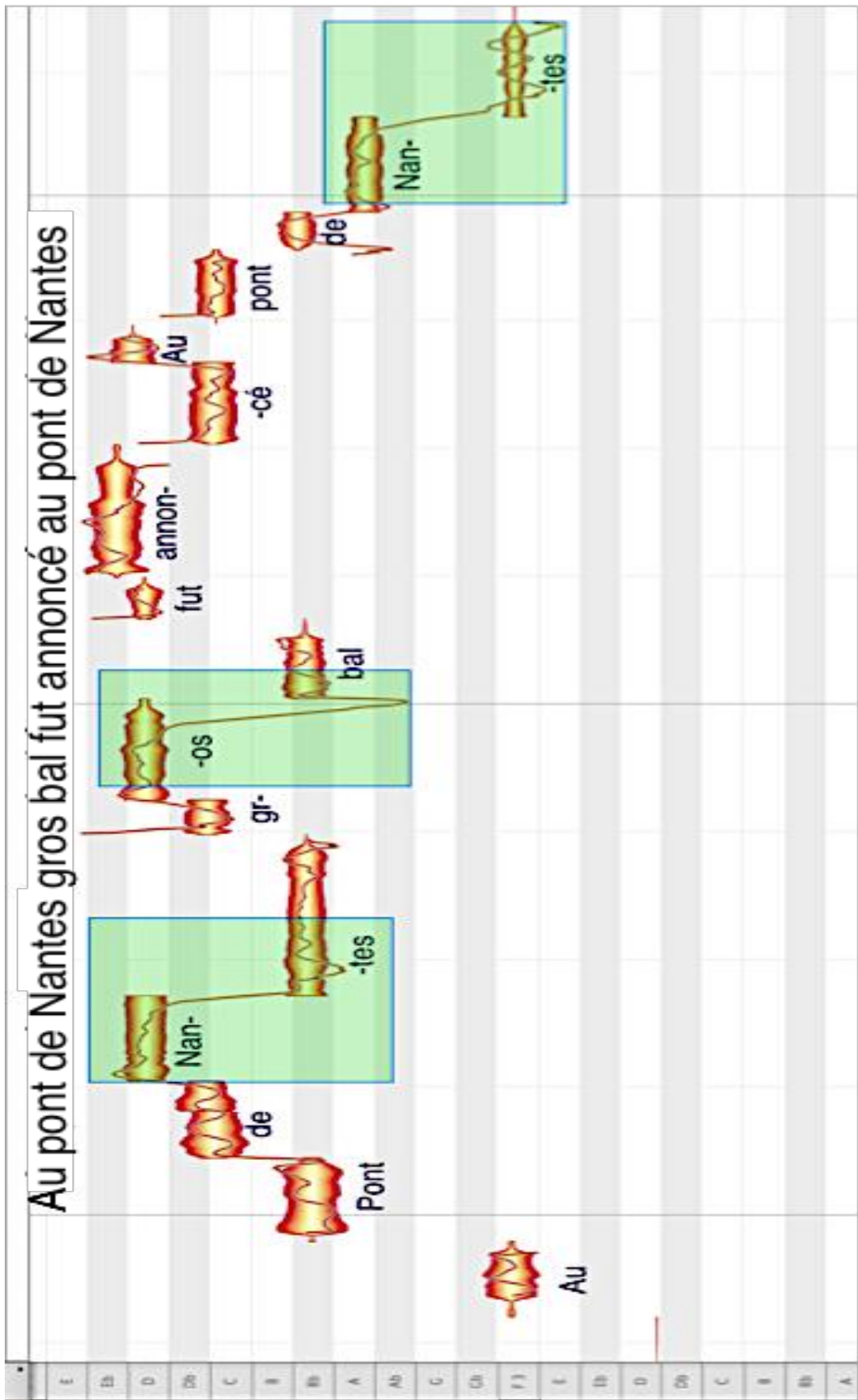
Figure 3.8. enlarged

There are many other examples of French narrative songs as well as children's songs in Louisiana that came from France.

Irene Whitfield identifies rhythm as one of the most stable characteristics of Louisiana-French folk songs 'Many […] were brought to Louisiana by ancestors of the present generation and now vary somewhat from the originals in music and words but very little in rhythm'.[75] Referring in an interview with me, to Alma Barthelemy's rendition of another song '*Par Derrière Chez Mon Père*', [By the Back of My Father's House] Barry Ancelet commented on how the singing was *not* cajunised, drawing a clear distinction between her singing style and that of Cajun singing in contemporary LFM, .[76]

Although it was mainly the Cajun immigrants who carried these songs to Louisiana, they were and are also performed in the same style by people (primarily women) from a Black Creole background. [77]

The French ballad tradition was only one of the elements contributing to musical development in south and southwest Louisiana. Other factors affecting it included Anglo-American folk music and its own creolised offspring, country music, as well as African-American music, elements of which were introduced via the Black Creole community. The next two sections describe, in some measure, how these musics contributed to Louisiana French music, starting with the music of the Black Creole community.

3.4.2 Black Creole song and singing style

According to Mattern and le Menestrel (quoted earlier in this chapter), the music performed by the Black Creole community in Louisiana was very similar in material to the music of the Cajun community. This includes both instrumental music and song. However, the Black Creole community typically did not have song-formats such as the *Ballade* or *Complainte* of the French folksong. Neither Cuney-Hare nor Whitfield mention a particular format of song that was associated with Black Creoles, both writers

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[75] Irène Whitfield, *Louisiana French Folk Songs* (New York: Dover Publications, (originally published by Louisiana State University, 1969), 24.

[76] Brian Ó hUiginn, Barry Jean Ancelet Interview 2, University of Louisiana, Lafayette, La., 2 uly, 2012.

[77] One of the singers on 'La Musique de La Maison' is Inez Catalon a creole singer.

concentrating on other aspects of the music. Cuney-Hare emphasizes the fact that the music of slaves in Louisiana was linked to dancing, referencing early accounts of dancing by slaves in Congo Square in New Orleans to support this[78], and of particular interest to this chapter, she comments about how the songs in Congo square were performed. 'There was a group of 30 or more singers, the leader of whom often practised his gift of improvisation and took the part of soloist.'[79] Whitfield emphasizes the subject matter of the songs. She says they lack a religious element and are often short.[80]

While the songs of the Black Creoles may not always have differed in format to those of the Cajuns, the performance style among its singers may have been somewhat different to that of the Cajun community. The repertoire of the Black Creole community in 1934 also included blues songs in French, and a rather unique category of song called '*Juré*', which will be discussed in greater detail later. Neither the blues nor the *Juré* songs were strophic in structure and *Juré* songs in particular included a lot of percussive effects from hands and feet as well as syncopation.

The music of the Black Creole community was itself influenced not just by Cajuns and European francophones or Anglo-Americans but also, as will be seen, by developments within the wider African-American community throughout the South and perhaps also by influences from the Caribbean islands.

This section considers African-American [81] music traits in general before moving on to consider these traits as they are found in Black Creole music. For this reason a close examination of three examples of African-American music – two examples of what are known as 'field hollers' and an example of a funeral 'shout'[82],- is given to illustrate some of these traits. Black Creole music's contribution to LFM in many (although not

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[78] Cuney Hare, 3.
[79] *Ibid*.
[80] Whitfield, 126
[81] Some commentators (including Alan Lomax) refer at times to the African influence on Louisiana as 'Afro-Caribbean' as opposed to 'African' or African-American'. This appears to be mainly because of the arrival of freed slaves from San Domingue (Haiti) following the slaves revolt there in the first years of the nineteenth century. However Afro-Caribbean as a separate musical influence is very rarely discussed or demonstrated in the music. Most of the interviewees I spoke to referred to this influence simply as 'African'. For that reason all references here to African or African-American music and influence in Louisiana includes Afro-Caribbean unless otherwise stated.
[82] These are all described more fully below.

all) instances, involved the channeling of these traits into pre-existing music and song to give them a Black Creole feel, often in terms of tonality and rhythm, or alternatively the reworking of old material, formats and styles from the African-American, Anglo American and Cajun communities into new material. This section will conclude by looking at two examples of a creolised music from the Black Creole community in the form of Louisiana French blues.

The African influence on LFM is widely perceived as significant. Almost everyone I interviewed from both the Cajun and Black Creole communities referenced it and its importance (see interviews below). However, quantifying, or accurately and adequately describing that influence, is not so easily achieved. This section therefore starts by looking at aspects of African-American music in the American South in general, to try to discern its characteristic features, before looking at examples specific to Louisiana Black Creole music. The examples come from Arkansas and South Carolina, the former because they exemplify the individual African-American singing that precedes such modern African-American music as the blues, and the latter because it provides an example of group singing. Both are relevant to an analysis of Black Creole music in Louisiana.

African-American Music

Most listeners can discern a difference between African-American music and European-American music. Different musics from different eras, such as spirituals, soul, blues, rhythm and blues, or hip-hop, are almost universally identified as being of the African-American community. However, the origins of the elements that define these musics as African-American is a subject of much discussion that has rarely led to satisfactory answers.[83]

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[83] See for example Paul Oliver, *The Story of the Blues*, 2nd ed. (London and New Hamshire: Northeastern University Press and Random House (UK edition), 1997), 20. Oliver discusses several speculative descriptions for traits of African American singing that might have come from Africa but indicates that the origins none of these can be affirmed with any certainty. See also Gerhard Kubik, 'The African Matrix in Jazz Harmonic Practices,' *Black Music Research Journal* 25, no. 1/2 (Spring—Fall 2005): 167–222. Kubik makes, in my view, a well-researched argument showing similarities between elements of African music and elements of jazz and blues. When it comes to establishing a causal link between them however, he appears to rely on the idea of what he calls 'silent codification'—a hidden communal 'passing on' as a means of explaining why some of these African musical elements or traits appear among later generations of African American musicians despite their absence for several generations. This, although interesting, is almost impossible to verify.

Some possible explanations are: firstly, that the elements of performance-style in African-American music come directly from the performance-styles of the West African music of two or three hundred years ago; secondly, that these elements developed within the African-American communities subsequent to their arrival in America and independent of direct African influence i.e. that this was a totally new music; or, thirdly, that these performance styles developed in America, initially using many influences such as, for example, singing style and tonality preferences from the performance styles of West African music as it was two hundred years ago but going on to develop independently through the subsequent centuries. The third speculation seems to offer the most satisfactory explanation for a music performance-style that differs so dramatically in some respects from European-American music and modern West-African music.

The starting-point of this study, however, posits that a unique or particular musical style or styles developed within the African-American community, and disregards possible African origins as not being of primary relevance to the research, that is, to concentrate on African-American music rather than African music. Indeed, it has been argued that to do otherwise would deny the African-American community (as well as European-Americans) recognition of their own historically separate creativity as a community.

> Putting the stress on heritage or filiation, irrespective of whether that heritage is traced from Europe or Africa, amounts to denying black people transplanted in the Americas the ability to cope with a new environment, to adapt to it-that is, to create a new but truly black culture and, consequently, to transform their new environment.[84]

The task here is to identify elements of the associated performance-style or other elements of that music, whatever their provenance, as markers or identifiers of African-American music and to seek evidence of them in Louisiana French music, as components of the music creolisation process.

A number of terms were applied early on to describe African-American singing, the terms 'African-Gospel' or 'Negro Spiritual' to the religious songs and singing, and 'blues' to the secular songs and singing. Blues, as a musical term, can refer to several different stylistic items. Nowadays, it often means a style of guitar playing involving a particular

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[84] Denis-Constant Martin, 'Afro-American Music's Origins.,' *Black Music Research Journal* 11/1 (1991), 19–38.

series of chord progressions. It also refers to a genre of contemporary popular music. However, here, the term 'blues singing-style' will be used as shorthand for a collection of African-American musical traits, as outlined below.

Louisiana Black Creole and African-American music has long been recognized for its unique traits. Sandmel states for example:

> [...] Louisiana retained a greater measure of the African musical and cultural ideas that were partially suppressed in the other slave states. Among these characteristics were **polyrhythm**: the simultaneous use of several different, yet-related rhythms, unified by a dominant rhythm known as the time line; **syncopation**; **improvization**: the **spontaneous creation of lyrics and/or instrumental parts**; **call-and-response**: an interactive dialogue between a leader and a group of vocalists and/or instrumentalists; **emotional intensity**; the use of the **human voice as a solo instrument**, rather than to simply tell a story with lyrics; and the use **of bent, slurred, or deliberately-distorted notes**.[85] (Emphasis is mine)

One of the most recognisable styles for African-American singing—'blues'— is generally reckoned to have its roots in earlier forms of secular African-American song such as 'field hollers' and 'shouts'. Gerhard Kubic, in his book *Africa and the Blues,*[86] recognises that blues, like other forms of music, and like language, diverged into slightly different styles in different areas but also converged in certain ways. In this book, he describes the main traits of guitar-accompanied blues in twentieth century America. These traits could equally be applied to the vocal tradition. He draws attention to the use of a 'binary aesthetic terminology', used both in African singing and in the blues. He documents the use of 'wavy intonation' in many forms of blues with plenty of 'melisma, slurs, gliss tones, and timbre-melodic sequences'. Some of these are region-specific. There is a tendency to use slow triple or swing tempos in many forms of blues. The relationship between the voice and any instrument used is guided by the principle of heterophony or unison, in terms of melody, with the instrument often providing a simple drone effect in the background. In some cases, the instrument drops out or plays just an occasional note while lines are being sung but then comes back strongly; once the sung part is dropped. Melodic lines in blues songs tends to be pentatonic but there is a greater margin of pitch variation on some notes. There is an absence of polyrhythm and polymetre. [87]

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[85] Ben Sandmel, 'The Treasured Traditions of Louisiana Music,' accessed 2 August, 2013, http://www.louisianafolklife.org/LT/Articles_Essays/treas_trad_la_music.html.

[86] Gerhard Kubik, *Africa and the Blues* (University Press of Mississippi, 1999). 82-95

[87] Kubik, 85-92.

With regard to this last trait, Kubik is referring to individual, as opposed to group performance. Sandmel (above) states that polyrhythm is a distinguishing feature of Louisiana Creole music.

In general, the African-American items that follow can be divided into slower songs and faster, more rhythmic songs. The recordings provide examples of the traits ascribed to the blues singing-style. They are taken from recordings made in the mid-twentieth century by Alan and Ruby Lomax, and constitute some of the earliest recordings of what became known as 'field hollers' (see description below). Not all examples here come from Louisiana as, firstly, recorded examples of field hollers are rare and from Louisiana rarer still, and, secondly, the traits of blues-singing should, with only minor modifications, be observable throughout African-American singing. A third song from South Carolina gives an example of a 'shout'. Shouts are non-strophic songs featuring short melodic phrases that are repeated. A solo singer sings one melodic line and a chorus of singers using a different melodic line responds. Hand-clapping and foot-stomping accompany this.

Field Hollers

The field hollers 'Cap'n Keep on Hollerin', sung by Lonnie Stegall and 'Hip up Joe Green',[88] sung by Abraham Powell, were both recorded in 1939 by John A. Lomax and Ruby Lomax, in Cummins State Farm, a prison in Arkansas. Hollers were a mixture of spoken and sung lines. They are sometimes associated solely with the African-American community. [89] This may be because many of the recorded examples in existence are from African-Americans. However, Ray B. Browne describes examples of white people using the 'Holler' in a 1954 article in the *Journal of American Folklore*. [90] In the same article, Browne mentions that hollering was looked down upon by most

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[88] There is actually no name given in the Lomaxes field notes for this field Holler. I am calling it by its first line, 'Hip up, Joe Green' for convenience.

[89] A style of mixing spoken and sung parts of a narrative, referred to as *Chantefable* was also used in European folksong.

[90] Ray B. Browne, 'Some Notes on the Southern 'Holler' ', *The Journal of American Folklore* , 263 (March 1954), 73–77.
An informant, Mr. Richard Sullivan who was known for his ability to 'Holler' told him in 1952 that up to fifteen or twenty years every morning and afternoon, the countryside would reverberate with 'hollers' [...] he could usually hear as many as half a dozen persons in fields around him 'hollering' [..] to one another. According to Mr. Sullivan all, or nearly all of these persons would be white', 73-74.

white people, sometimes being referred to as 'niggerish', or the 'nigger holler'. [91] For this reason he believes it likely that the tradition did originate with African-Americans. He ascribes two purposes to the hollers. Firstly, it is a method of communication for field workers working in isolation from others. Secondly, it is a form of self-expression. Along with spirituals and work songs, field hollers are sometimes cited as one of the main origins of blues music. [92]

They are sometimes described as forebears of modern blues singing.[93] According to some, blues music from east Texas was based on the field hollers, whereas blues in Mississippi and further North were based on work song.[94]

Writer and academic Steven Carl Tracy says that 'the field hollers recorded in this century [twentieth], if they accurately reflect those of the late nineteenth century, do seem to have influenced the style of the blues singer'[95] He points out that:

> Experts like the Lomaxes, Midleton, Charters, Oster, Oliver, and Evans, agreed the field hollers were a major influence on the development of the blues style and some have maintained that worksongs too were contributors, though much less so'. [96]

According to Dena Epstein and Rosita Sands, field hollers served multiple purposes. They could 'convey a request or communicate a need'.[97] They could be used as emotional expressions to communicate 'sadness, loneliness, fatigue, or any other of myriad human emotions'.[98] The following field hollers will demonstrate the traits described by both Sandmel and Kubik above.

'Cap'n Keep On Hollerin' –Lonnie Stegall

'Cap'n Keep On Hollerin' is a field Holler that was recorded on Cummins state Farm Prison in Arkansas, the state adjoining northern Louisiana. It was recorded on 21 May

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[91] *Ibid*.

[92] See for example: Oliver, *The Story of the Blues*, in particular Chapter 2 Cottonfield Hollers, 16-28.

[93] *Ibid.*

[94] Jeffrey Callen, 'What is the blues? / blues history (Part #2 – Regional Styles) | Deciphering Culture,' accessed 28 September, 2013, http://decipheringculture.com/services-portfolio/educator/the-neglected-history-of-the-west-coast-blues/class-2-what-is-the-blues-blues-history-part-1/class-2-what-is-the-blues-blues-history-part-2/.

[95] Steven Carl Tracy, *Langston Hughes and the Blues*, First paperback edition (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 70.

[96] *Ibid*., 69

[97] Dena Epstein and Rosita Sands in Burnim and Maultsby, *African American Music: An Introduction, 45*.

[98] *Ibid.*

1939 by Alan A. Lomax and Ruby Lomax. [99] The singer Lonnie Stegall alternates between spoken lines and sung lines. The spoken lines include shouting. An audio recording can be heard at the following location.[100]

https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigrationcasestudies/louisiana-french-music-1/black-creole-music

(go to Ex 1)

Or: USB/Audio/2.6

'Cap'n Keep On Hollerin''

Oh, Oh, Captin keep on hollerin', Hurry Oh Lordy Yeah,
Goin' take my time. Spoken: (God amighty, yonder he comes? Where? Right there.)
Captin say, Hurry, Boss say, Run. Got two or three notions can't do nary one.
Oh, if you see Vandella, tell her this for me,
Got a long holdover and never go free.
Spoken: (Old Two-spot gone away from here now. We got to go, pardner) Jes' rock the baby, rock him on yo' knee,
Ev'y time he cries, Good God amighty, won't you think o' me
Don't nobody has trouble like a convict-man
Trouble when I lays down, trouble when I rise, Oh pardner.[101]

The description that follows is accompanied by a transcription in Melodyne of part of the song in order to illustrate some of the blues-style techniques in the singing. In terms of lyrics and theme, the piece does not tell a story. It is, rather, impressionistic. It concerns prison life and the misery that it entails. However, there is no coherent storyline. The verbal structure of the piece is not regular or stanzaic, nor is it musically strophic. There are four continuous sung lines at the end, for example, as opposed to two elsewhere. It is in the form of a dialogue, one of the traits mentioned by Ben Sandmel above, although, in this case, the same singer sings both parts. Melodically,

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[99] Most field holler recordings were made relatively late into the twentieth century, thus the late date of these recordings. Field hollers are also held by many to have influenced the blues. It is therefore ironic that recordings of the blues, many of which were made in the 1920s precede recordings of field hollers. However, there is no reason to presume that field hollers changed significantly from the early descriptions of the nineteenth century.

[100] Taken from: Lonnie Stegall, *Cap'n Keep On Hollerin'*, sound disc : analog, 78 rpm ; 12 in., John and Ruby Lomax 1939 Southern States Recording Trip (AFC 1939/001) (Arkansas: American Folklife Center, Library of Congress, 1939), AFC 1939/001: AFS 02603a03, accessed 29 September, 2013, http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.afc/afcss39.2603a3.

[101] Words from: Alan Lomax and Ruby Lomax, '1939 Southern Recording Trip Fieldnotes Section 14: Cummins State Farm, near Varner, Arkansas; May 20-21,' accessed 29 September, 2013, http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/lomax:@field(DOCID+@lit(fn0015)).

this is a series of seemingly autonomous couplets (with the exception of the last four), each moving either in a downward direction in pitch from the first note to the last, or rising from the first note to a higher pitch mid-line before moving downwards to the final note. There is no sense of the melody flowing from each couplet to the next. The end of each couplet is like the completion of a verse, and the singer pauses before moving to the next one. The song starts out with a long note carrying a vowel sound, with a lot of vibrato and bending of the note, which is held and emphasised before moving into a faster succession of notes. This held note can be seen in Figure 3.9 below taken from Melodyne.
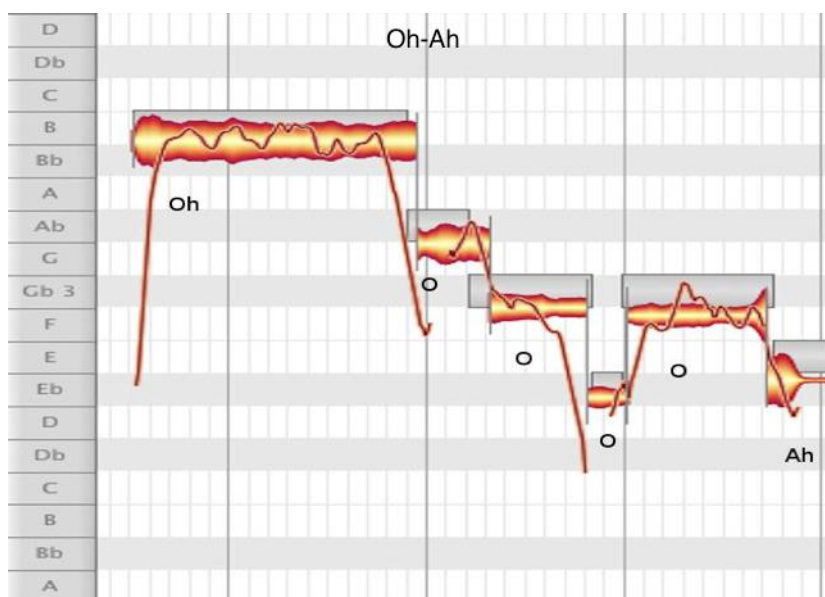
Figure 3.9 The first line of 'Cap'n Keep On Hollerin' starts with long held vowel 'Oh' ending with 'ah' sung over several notes with a lot of vibrato and note bending. The pitch line oscillates quite dramatically, dropping and rising and not settling on the pitch centre for long (see the next figure for the full first line).

The singing moves from notes held and emphasised as above, to a succession of faster notes (shown in Figure 3.10 below), leading to the next held vowel or consonant. In the first sung section, the long, held words, sung over several notes are 'Oh' at the beginning, 'Hurry'; 'Lordy'; 'Yeah' (the -y of 'Lordy' and the 'yeah' being sung almost as one vowel); and 'Time'. These sounds are carried over several notes, often with a wide variety of pitch. This is in keeping with Kubik's 'wavy intonation' or Sandmels 'bent, slurred, deliberately distorted notes'. In general, the first and last notes in the lines are held long and are highly embellished. Embellishment or ornamentation is done by pitch variation, vibrato, and holding of notes. Both vowels and consonants (the latter often

like a hummed sound –are held and embellished, using vibrato and nasalisation (see Figure 3.11).
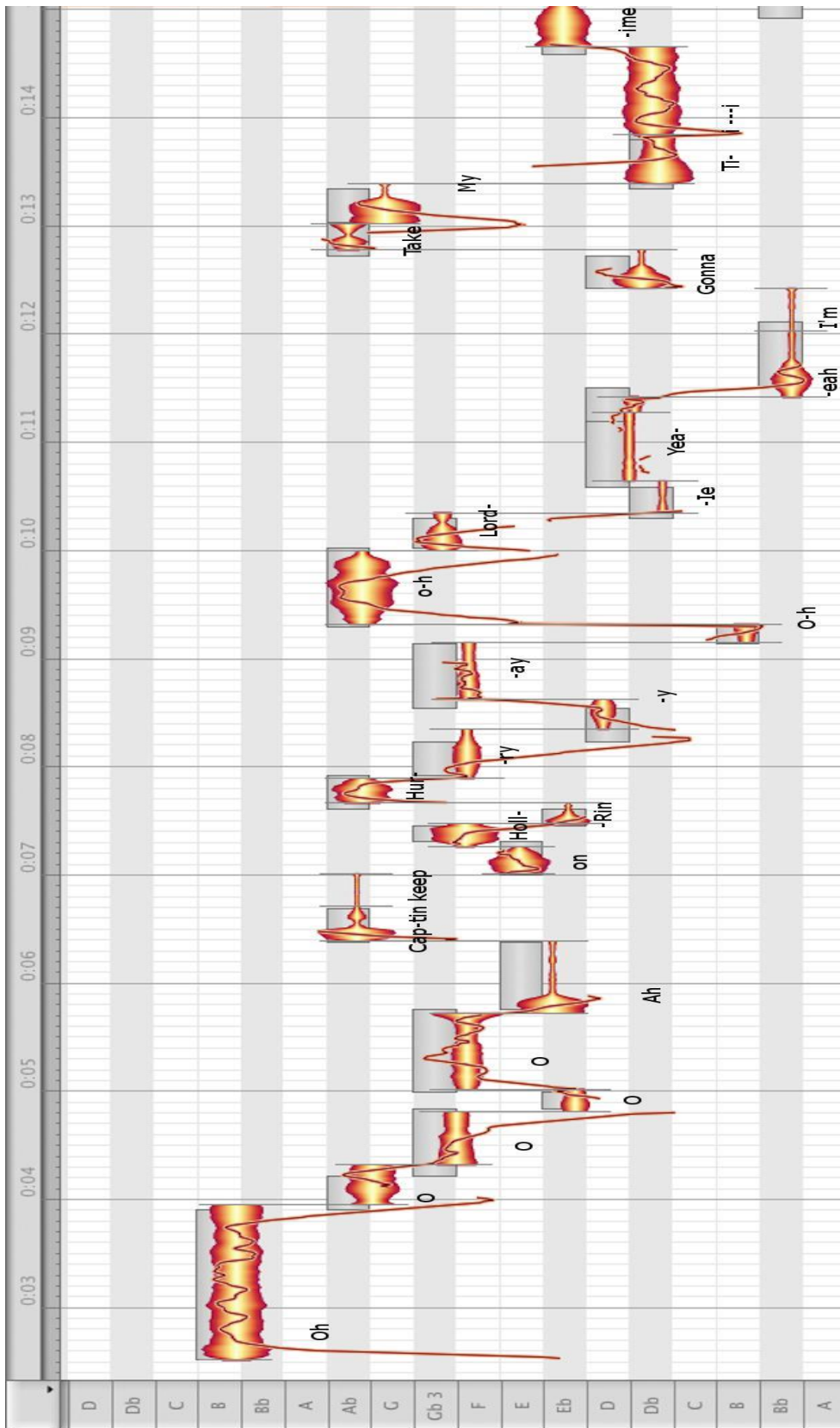
Figure 3. 10: First line of Cap'n Keep On Hollerin' as transcribed by Melodyne. Lines in this song generally begin with long held vowel followed by a series of faster notes, before pausing on the next held consonant or vowel.
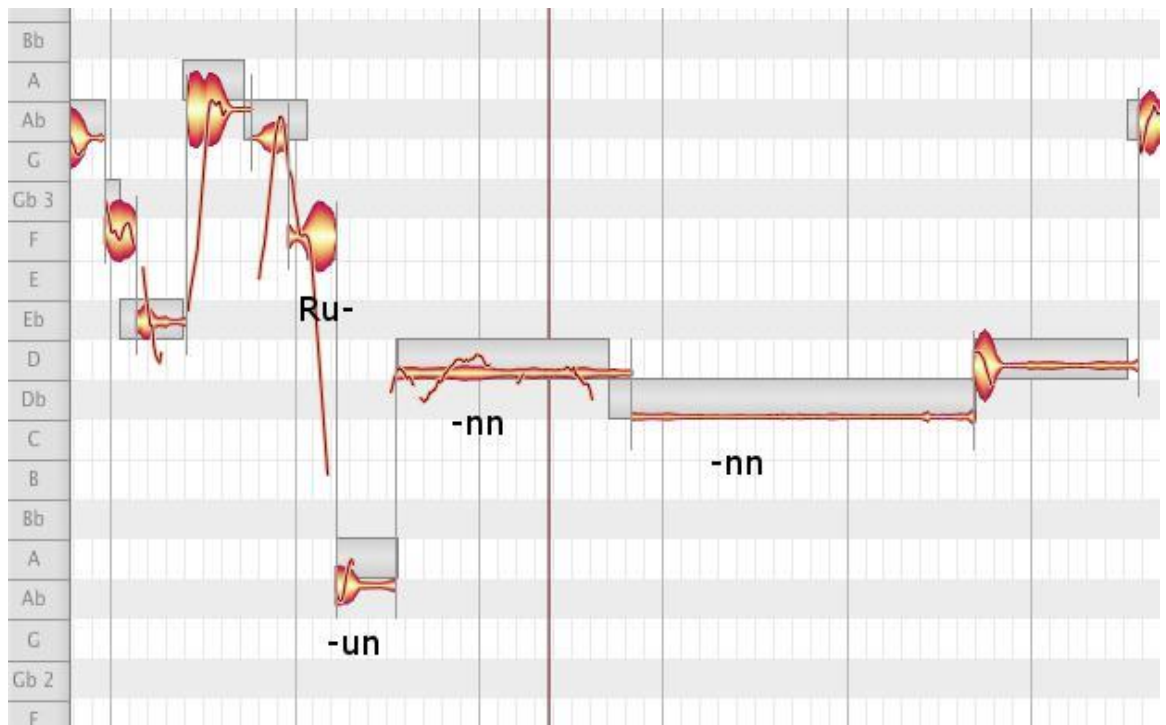
Figure 3.11: Vowels and consonants are held long -in this case the 'n' in the word 'run' from the third line of the lyrics.

The piece appears to be highly emotional, using sung, spoken or shouted words and notes that are held, emphasised, and delivered with a lot of vibrato and bending, at times almost like human crying.

'Hip Up Joe Green' – Roosevelt Hudson

Another field holler recorded on the same field trip in 1939 from the singing of an inmate called Roosevelt Hudson is nameless in the Lomaxes' field notes but, for convenience here, will be called after its first line 'Hip up, Joe Green'. It displays many of the same traits as 'Cap'n Keep On Hollerin'. The field notes give the following fragment of the text, which they state is 'very incomplete'.[102] In fact, it can be very difficult to hear any of the words below distinctly with perhaps the exception of 'travel out west'. It is however, a particularly interesting example of blues singing and for that reason it is included here.

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[102] http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/lomax:@field%28DOCID+@lit%28fn0015%29%29, accessed 24 August 2015.

The audio can be heard at the following location:

https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigrationcasestudies/louisiana-french-music-1/black-creole-music

(go to Ex.2)

Or: USB/Audio/2.7

Hip Up Joe Green

Hip (?) up, Joe Green, I'm waitin' on you
Oh Lordy—
Oh, Lordy, at night I try to take my rest
I take a notion to travel out West
If I had it I would eat it raw
Wouldn't have to cook it, I take it all so.

The sung piece moves by interchanging long held notes with a series of shorter notes as was the case with 'Cap'n Keep On Hollerin'. The singer comes to a note and holds and embellishes it. In a particular motif or strategy employed by him, the held notes are initially articulated by pitch bending. The note is sounded; it drifts upwards – often by more than a tone, before descending again to be held at the original pitch. The words on the recording are unclear, particularly in the first bending note, but the three syllables can clearly be heard and the 'bending note' can be seen (see Figure 3.12), with the vowel sound at 'xxxx' marking the 'bend'. At the second bending note in Figure 3.12 the singer appears to sing 'worry off my mind' the bending at yyy being the 'o' in 'worry'. As in 'Cap'n keep on Hollerin', the song moves from one long note through a series of shorter notes to the next long note in a rhythmic fashion. These are rather more elaborate pitch-bends than those executed in 'Cap'n Keep On Hollerin'. The tendency among African-American singers to be ambiguous in terms of the pitch centre of certain notes has led to these notes being referred to by some commentators as 'blue notes'. [103] Hudson embellishes the held notes.

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[103] The 'Blue note' is a note in blues music that when initially sounded is flatter than would be expected. It can be up to a semitone but more often it will be microtonally flatter. This is often followed by a glide up to or just below the standard expected pitch
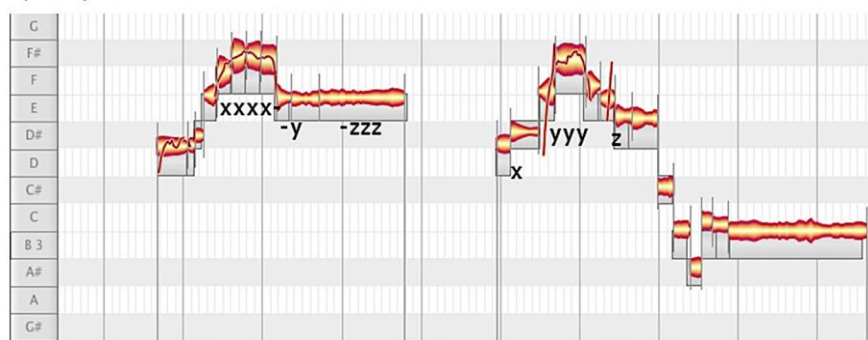
Figure 3.12: Bending notes in a slow arching fashion are shown here as transcribed by Melodyne. The words on the recording are unclear, particularly in the first bending note, but one can hear the three syllables with the vowel sound at xxxx marking the 'bend'. The second appears to say 'worry off my mind' the bending at yyy being the 'o' in 'worry'

Field hollers were a solo endeavour and the spoken parts may have helped to counter this by providing, in a dialogue, a second, imagined person, interacting with the singer.

'Lay Down Body'—Bertha Smith & the Moving Star Hall Singers

A third example of blues-style singing may be observed in the Spiritual[104] 'Lay Down Body' from John's Island in South Carolina sung here by Bertha Smith & the Moving Star Hall Singers from a recording made in the early 1960s. [105] The spiritual takes the form of a 'shout'. [106] Shouts were performed by a circle of singers, with one singer calling a line to which the others responded. This response from the group was also known as 'basing' the main singer. Traditionally the singing would often continue with

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[104] Unlike field hollers, spirituals were Christian religious songs sung originally by slaves. A common theme of spirituals was the hardship of life. Although this song is described as a Spiritual on the CD sleeve notes there appears to be no religious references throughout the text.

[105] Various artists, *'Been In The Storm So Long'—A Collection of Spirituals, Folk Tales and Children's Games from Johns Island, SC*, CD, vol. 1, 1 vols. (Washington: Smithsonian Folkways, 1990), track 9.

[106] 'Lay Down Body' which was recorded in the early 1960s is, according to John M. Picker an example of the type of 'shout' described by Thomas Wentworth Higginson in 1867 in an Article in the *Atlantic Monthly* magazine where the latter wrote: Often in the starlit evening I have returned from some lonely ride by the swift river, or on the plover-haunted barrens, and, entering the camp, have silently approached some glimmering Ore, round which the dusky figures moved in the rhythmical barbaric dance the negroes call a 'shout,' chanting, often harshly, but always in the most perfect time, some monotonous refrain. Writing down in the darkness, as I best could-perhaps with my hand in the safe covert of my pocket, -the words of the song, I have afterwards carried it to my tent, like some captured bird or insect, and then, after examination, put it by. Or, summoning one of the men at some period of leisure,—Corporal Robert Sutton, for instance, whose iron memory held all the details of a song as if it were a ford or a forest,-I have completed the new specimen by supplying the absent parts. The music I could only retain by ear, and though the more common strains were repeated often enough to fix their impression, there were others that occurred only once or twice. Picker says the words are similar to a spiritual called 'I Know Moon Rise' from the Higginson collection. See: 'Negro Spirituals,' accessed 9, October 2013, http://xroads.virginia.edu/~hyper/twh/higg.html.

hand clapping, stomping of feet and movement of the body and could last for up to fifteen minutes. [107]

An audio excerpt of 'Lay Down Body' can be heard at the following location.[108]

https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigrationcasestudies/louisiana-french-music-1/black-creole-music

(go to Ex.3)

Or: USB/Audio/2.8

An excerpt from the words is included below.

'Lay Down Body'

Lay down body, Lay down a little while,
Lay down body, Lay down a little while.
Oh my body now, Lay down a little while,
Oh body, Lay down a little while.
Lay down in the graveyard, Lay down a little while,
Lay down in the graveyard, Lay down a little while.
Just keep a rolling, Lay down a little while....
Body to the graveyard, Lay down a little while....
Lay down body, Lay down a little while,
Oh body,Lay down a little while.
Oh this body body now, Lay down a little while,
Oh body, Lay down a little while.
Ain't you had a hard time.Lay down a little while...
Last December.Lay down a little while.(x2)
Ain't you got somebody gone Lay down a little while (x2)
o body now. Oh body .. .
Oh my body...
Just keep a rolling.Lay down a little while.. .
Body to the graveyard.Lay down a little while.. .
Took my body....
March on behind me... .
Body, ain't you tired... .
Lay down body....
Body to the graveyard....
Lay down body... .
Body, body... . Lay down body,
Oh body,
Lay down a little while, Lay down a little while.

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[107] See in relation to this 'The Negro Spiritual Inc.,' accessed 10 January , 2016, http://www.thenegrospiritualinc.com/article_the_shout.htm.

[108] Various artists, *Been In The Storm So Long*. Liner notes side 1 track 5. (Words are not available on the CD liner notes but were included in the notes of the original vinyl recording of the same album in 1967 See: Various artists, *'Been In The Storm So Long'—A Collection of Spirituals, Folk Tales and Children's Games from Johns Island, SC*.).

The song starts off relatively slowly, with the main singer singing the first line and the chorus taking up a responding line. This is the 'call-and-response' style mentioned by Sandmel above. The singer sings the solo line three times almost identically (with a variation in the words). The fourth line includes a variation in melody. In the first line, the word 'down' is carried in a slow *portamento*-style ornament upwards through a series of pitches over a tone-and-a-half before coming to rest. The last note is held until the choral singers have fully taken up the response. This bringing of the solo melody line to a *crescendo* before coming down to rest continues throughout the song. The singing is emotional and a *portamento* technique is used at various stages throughout. The song is accompanied by foot-stomping for the first section, followed by handclapping in the next section, which is in turn followed by both, performed simultaneously (though in different but complementary time), giving a polyrhythmic effect at the end. The song depends on the response, as well as the call. The choral singers are not just joining the main singer in her melody line. They are singing their own melodic lines, a melodic couplet following a line from the soloist every time. The chorus appears to finish off a melodic line started by the main singer. The chorus is therefore essential to the performance, insofar as it would be hard to imagine this song being done as a totally solo performance. As Sandmel (see above) mentions, this as an 'interactive dialogue between a leader and a group of vocalists and/or instrumentalists' .
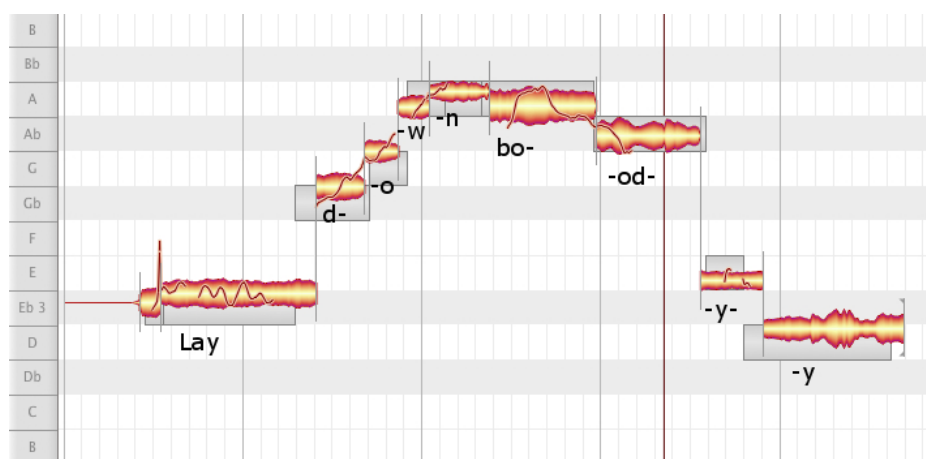
Figure 3.13: First three words of 'Lay Down Body' showing once again the bending of notes in a slow arching fashion. The singer shares the first syllable of the word 'body' over two notes a quarter tone apart. Even within each note the pitch can be dramatically bent. It can be observed in the pitch-line here in the first syllable of the word 'body'.

The traits of African-American singing observed above, were found also in the music of Louisiana's Black Creole community. Black Creoles also sang blues songs, more than likely influenced by music from the wider African-American community, perhaps

through exposure to popular music in music halls and phonograph recordings, or through the (then relatively new) radio music programmes. An example of what Barry Ancelet refers to as a 'blues lament'[109] is considered below.

'Blues de la Prison'—Joseph Jones

The Lomaxes recorded a blues song called *'Blues de la Prison'* in Jennings, Louisiana in August 1934.[110] Joseph Jones, a Creole singer, sings it. Thematically, it bears a resemblance to the words of a waltz recorded a few years earlier in 1929, by Creole musician, Douglas Bellard.[111] The singer takes on a common blues theme—that of the convict who has just been condemned to a long prison sentence, asking his mother not to weep for him.

An audio recording of the song can be heard at the following location:

https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigrationcasestudies/louisiana-french-music-1/black-creole-music

(go to Ex.4)

Or: USB/Audio/2.9

The first eleven lines of the song, given below, demonstrate the theme:

Blues De La Prison	**Prison Blues**
Tu vas souffert, petite fille,	You will suffer little girl,
Pour ça t'après me faire,	For all you've done to me,
T'auras jamais de bonheur	You will have no happiness,
Dans ta vie.	In your life,
Oui, jour aujourd'hui	Yes today,
Ma chère vieille maman	My dear old mother,
Dans la porte de la prison	At the prison door,
Les deux mains sur la tète, chère,	With both hands on her head,
Pleurant pour moi	dear,
Oh J'ai dit ma maman	Weeping for me,
Pleure pas pour moi	Oh! I said 'my mother,
	Weep not for me'

Alan Lomax wrote of this singer's style:

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[109] Lomax, *Cajun & Creole Music 2 Liner notes.* Lomax refereed to this as being in the style of a holler.
[110] *Ibid.*, track 17.
[111] See video at: DiverseRecords, *Douglas Bellard & Kirby Riley: Valse De La Prison*, 2011, accessed 24 July 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m96pLjtJOZo.

Blues de la prison […] is a creole song sung in the style of a holler—the free-rhythmed, two phrased, rubato-parlando highly decorated and melismatic style common among the black agricultural laborers, mule skinners and prisoners of the Mississippi valley. The voice is used playfully; the text is repetitious and slurred, and the rhythm is syncopated and free [112]

In this song, the singer alternates between faster passages and long, held notes similar to the style of the field hollers noted above. He uses a fast melismatic ornament of three short notes when holding a syllable at the end of a phrase (see Figure 3.14). The wavy, bending pitches and notes, described by both Kubik and Sandmel are in evidence. Figure 3.15 below, shows a detail from his singing. The main note – 'A flat' in this case – is sounded but immediately the singer slides down to the 'F' below before sliding immediately back to the 'A flat'. This is done in one swift vocal movement. The singer does this on the last note of many of the lines as can be seen in the previous Figure 3.14, and heard in the audio. At regular intervals, he uses a cadence consisting of a long, vowel-sound progressively dropping to a very low pitch where he momentarily rests before taking up the next section of the song (Figure 3.14). However, he does not use the slow upward pitch bend observed in both the hollers and the shout examples in English blues, above.

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[112] *Cajun and Creole Music*, *vol 2,* liner notes.
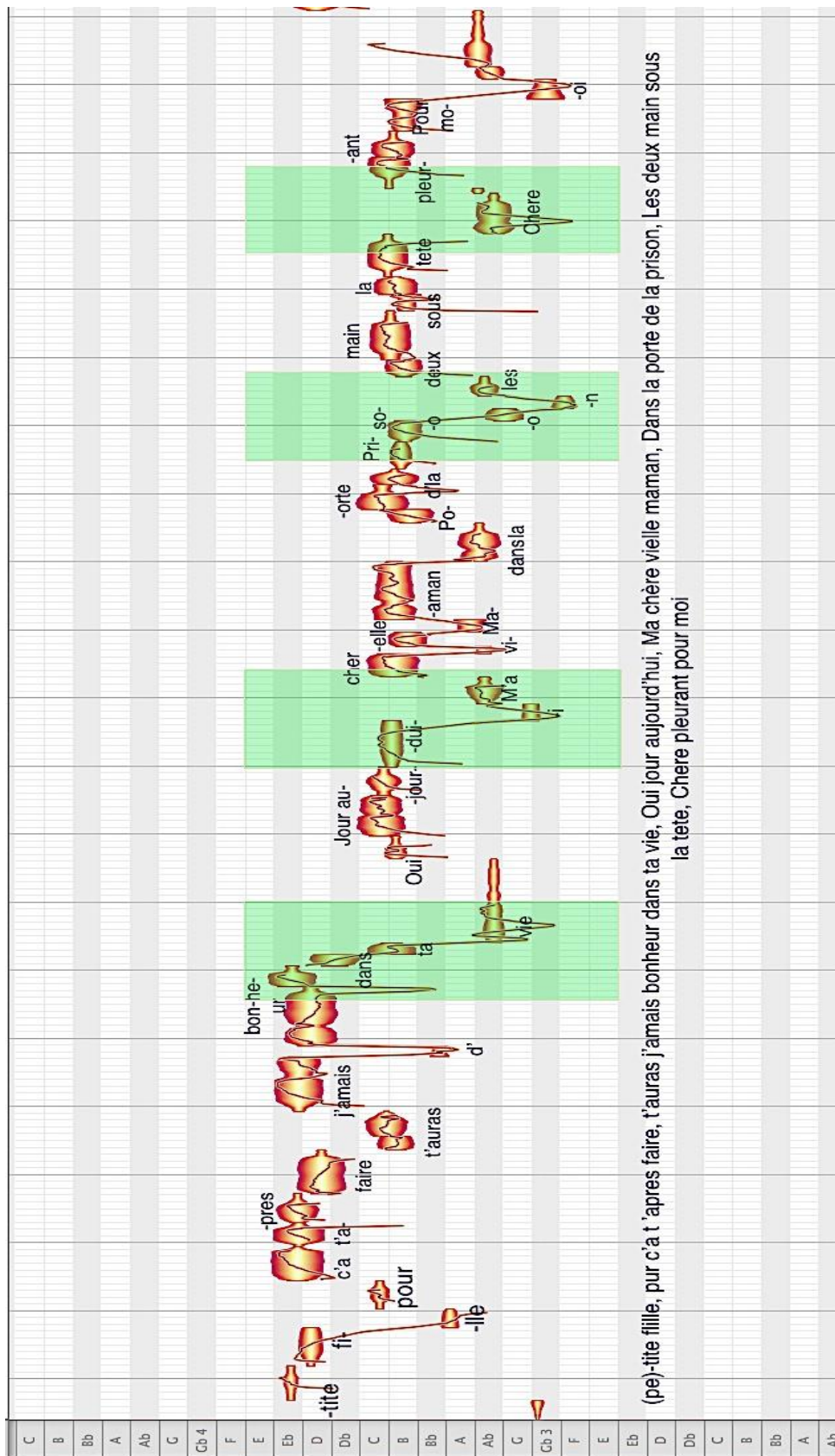
Figure 3.14: Transcription of first eleven lines of *Blues de la prison* showing use of a melodic melismatic ornament at the end of four of the lines – (marked in green).
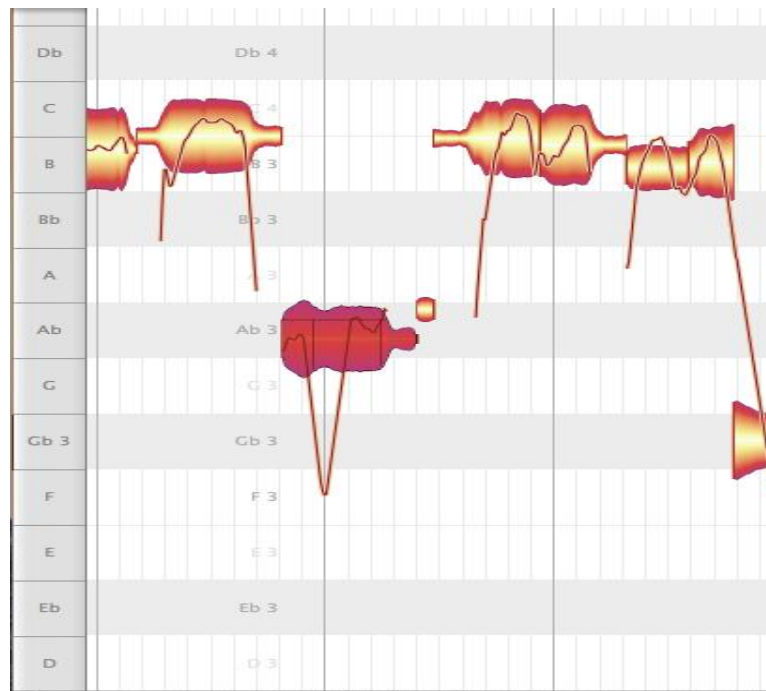
Figure 3.15: Detail from line eight of *Blues De La Prison* (red note) showing a particular ornamenting technique used by the singer on the word *chère*. The main note – A flat in this case – is sounded but immediately the singer slides down to the F below before sliding immediately back to the A flat. This is done in one swift vocal movement and can be seen by following the pitch line. The singer does this on the last note of many of the lines as can be seen in Figure 3.14 and heard in the audio.

'Là-bas Chez Moreau'—Cleveland Benoit and Darby Hicks

Another song, '*Là-bas Chez Moreau'* [Over at Moreau's] sung by Cleveland Benoit and Darby Hicks,[113]was recorded by the Lomaxes in Jennings, Louisiana on the same 1934 field trip as the '*Blues de La Prison'* recording. The song tells of *Chez Moreau* (Moreau's or Moreau's place – reckoned to be a café), where good things may be purchased.[114]

An audio recording of the song can be heard at the following location

https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigrationcasestudies/louisiana-french-music-1/black-creole-music

(go to Ex. 5)

Or: USB/Audio/2.10

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[113] Lomax, *Cajun & Creole Music 2,* track 18.

[114] Barry Ancelet mentions that in blues songs the word 'candy' is often used as a euphemism for sex or drugs. (*Cajun & Creole Music 2,* liner notes). Noticeably *Chez Moreau* is mentioned in another song on this collection '*S'en Aller Chez Moreau',* track 15.

Là-Bas Chez Moreau[115]	Over at Moreau's
Oh là-bas chez Moreau,	Oh over at Moreau's,
O cherche ton candi,	Oh search for your candy
Oh là-bas chez Moreau,	Oh over at Moreau's,
O malheureux nègre,	Oh poor man,
O malheureux nègre,	Oh poor man
O c'est malheureux	Oh it's so sad,
O J'ai pas venu ici pour tracas	Oh I didn't come here for trouble
O J'ai venu après mon linge	Oh I came for my clothes
Cher ami nègre	My dear friend,
Mmm cher ami nègre	Mmm my dear friend
Pas vini ici pour faire toi misére	Didn't come here to cause you pain
Mmm juste vini ici pour,	
Cherchez mon linge,	Mmm just came
O soleil après couchez,	To get my clothes
O la lune après lever,	Oh the sun is setting,
Mmm ma nègre est pas arrivé,	Oh the moon is rising,
Mmm, malheureux, nègre,	Mmm my man is not at home,
	Mmm my poor man

In this song the two singers alternate the singing. The format does not have the verse structure of the French ballad. One singer sings either three (normally) or four lines before the other takes over for the next section. This alternation continues throughout the song. The song does not use a four or eight line verse structure. Melodically the lines start with a very high note and move downwards to a low pitch before the next section, which repeats the pattern.

Some other features here include: the dialogue between two people (mentioned by Sandmel); the long vowels and long consonants performed with vibrato and nasalisation which can also be heard in the first song example in this chapter, Lonnie Stegall's rendition of *'Cap'n Keep On Hollerin'*. The structure is quite irregular throughout. It also has a descending melodic motif or cadence, with each line starting relatively high and moving downwards as the line progresses.

Once again, this song is not a complete narrative. It leaves the listener with an impression rather than a story. Nothing more about *Chez Moreau* is revealed other than what is in the lyrics. Unlike for example the ballads discussed in Chapter Two the songs

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[115] Lyrics and translation from *Cajun & Creole Music vol.2,* liner notes

do not tell a complete story Nor is any context or explanation given for other comments made in the song such as for example, 'I didn't come here for trouble, I came here for my clothes'. This, once again, is in keeping with the descriptions of blues singing.

Creole and African-American songs— a comparison

In general, it can be said that the five examples above, three from the anglophone African-American community: Cap'n Keep on Hollerin' 'Hip up Joe Green' and 'Lay Down Body', and two from the Black Creole community: *'Là-bas Chez Moreau'* and *'Blues De La Prison'*, show many similarities, for example the irregular, non-stanzaic structure of the lyrics and accompanying music; the use of nearly all of the characteristics of blues music described by Kubik and Sandmel, including *glissando* and pitch-bending; the dialogue between two people within the song; the holding and embellishing of notes; the use of vowel sounds and, in one case *('Lay Down Body')* the variation of rhythm and use of polyrhythm. They also all have the descending melodic structure within the lines or couplets.

The two songs '*Blues de la Prison*' and '*Chez Moreau',* as well as being Creole songs, may be said to be examples of creolised music. In relation to the African-American blues tradition and the Louisiana French folksong tradition, the question is, where do these two francophone songs and other songs like them fit in in terms of genre? Which are they closer to, and what if anything have they taken from each? As previously stated, Ancelet refers to '*Blues de la Prison'* as a 'blues lament' while Lomax refers to it as a song in 'holler style'. These two statements are not contradictory; they simply indicate how different features of the same song can be perceived as more or less prominent depending on the individual listener. However, neither Ancelet nor Lomax seems to detect the French folksong in '*Blues de la Prison'.*

If a song takes part of its identity from its language, then both '*Là-bas Chez Moreau'* and '*Blues de la Prison'* might be expected to belong to the French folksong tradition. However, in this case, neither can be said to resemble, either in format or performance style, the old French ballads. They sit outside that tradition.

These two songs also defy another linguistic convention. As Barry Ancelet observed when speaking to me about LFM's adoption of long vowel sounds, 'French culture abhors long vowels, but we (Louisiana Cajuns and Creoles) love them.'[116] Both of these songs (and others in both Creole and Cajun French) contain long vowel sounds, something found in English but not in the French ballads. A bilingual, French-first[117] community used to hearing songs from the Anglo-American tradition may have picked up this feature over time or perhaps it could be an African-American influence. The use of pitch bending and melisma again are features not found in the French ballads but are a feature of blues singing.

The above examples of Black Creole singing, therefore, defy most of the conventions of standard French folksong. Yet the blues tradition with which they might more readily be associated is primarily an anglophone tradition. Gerhard Kubik, in his book *Africa and the Blues* (1999) says: 'for certain, blues singers' first language is English whatever variant may be',[118] and so these songs also break one of the norms of blues songs by being sung in Louisiana French. The examples of Louisiana French blues that have been analysed here also lack the slow upwards pitch bend found in the English field hollers and shout examples. In considering the kind of creolisation continuum outlined in the first chapter – in this case placing French folksong at one end of the continuum and blues at the other – when compared to the blues singing of the field hollers or shout, it would seem more appropriate to place these two, *Chez Moreau*, and *Blues de la Prison* closer to the blues end of that continuum. The level of creolisation in both appears to be quite small.

'Belle'—Monsieur Bornu

Different points along that continuum but perhaps closer to the French ballad are demonstrated by other songs. Alan Lomax for example refers to the song *Belle*[119] recorded in 1934 from a man now only known as Monsieur Bornu,[120] as 'Cajun blues

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[116] Barry-Jean Ancelet Interview 1, University of Louisiana, Lafayette La. (1.04'.32').
[117] 'Bilingual, French first' refers to bilingual speakers for whom French is their first language. In this case English is the second language.
[118] Gerhard Kubik, *Africa and the Blues* (University Press of Mississippi, 1999), 83-4.
[119] *Cajun & Creole Music vol. 2*, track 1.
[120] *Ibid.*, sleeve notes.

from near Morse, Louisiana '.[121] An audio recording of it can be heard at the following location:

https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigrationcasestudies/louisiana-french-music-1/black-creole-music

(go to Ex.6)

Or: USB/Audio/2.11

The first two verses are given below

Belle[122]	**Belle**
Si j'ai une belle ici, belle	If I have a sweetheart here
C'est par rapport à toi, belle	sweetheart
Mais si j'ai une belle, ici, belle,	It's because of you sweetheart
C'est par rapport à toi, belle.	But if I have a sweetheart here
	sweetheart
	It's because of you sweetheart
J'ai pris ce char ici, belle,	I took this very train sweetheart
Pour m'en aller au Texas, belle.	To go to Texas sweetheart
J'ai pris ce char ici, belle,	I took this very train sweetheart
Pour m'en aller au Texas, belle.	To go to Texas sweetheart

This song clearly does not fit the conventions of blues as described by Sandmel and Kubik above. The format of the verses here is quite regular and the melody is strophic. There is no use of long vowel sounds or melismatic ornamentation. The song keeps a regular pulse in its rhythm. For these reasons, it bears little resemblance to either the blues songs described above or many of the blues characteristics described by Kubik and Sandmel. The story is, however, told in the first person, which is a characteristic of blues songs and the melancholic theme of the blues is present, as is the incomplete story within the lyrics. The rhythm is also syncopated – unlike the examples of Louisiana French folksong featured above. Lomax points out what he considers to be the European components of the song. It is delivered in a 'rapid, precisely-enunciated, narrow-voiced, moderately accented, metrically regular manner'. [123] The African elements present, according to him, are that: '50 percent of the text is repeated; the

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[121] Whitfield, 96.
[122] Words and translation from *Cajun & Creole Music vol.2*, liner notes.
[123] *Ibid.,*

isometrically designed two-phrased melody runs in descending cadances, and it is punctuated by blue notes and handled in a highly syncopated and raggy rhythmic style.'[124]

Author Ryan Brasseaux describes this same recording of '*Belle'* as having 'blues-inflected jazzy structures'.[125] This may have been the result of the influence of songs from contemporary popular music culture which had become pervasive due to phonograph recordings and, particularly at that time, the influence of radio music programmes. Brasseaux also believes that '*Belle'* bears some resemblance to the Cajun French songs:

> Mr. Bornu's original composition suggests the influence of Louisiana's French ballad traditions, though distinctly American influences pervade the arrangement. The singer blends both European and African musical ideas, a technique exploited by popular Depression-era musicians like Jimmie Rodgers, Milton Brown, and Bob Wills. [126]

If this song, and M. Bornu's singing-style can be said to have a blues influence, then on the continuum between French folksong and Blues, it is in my opinion probably closer to the French folksong end of it, demonstrated in '*La Belle Qui Fait La Morte'* than to '*Blues de la Prison'*, or '*Là-bas Chez Moreau'*.

'Goodbye Ma Chère Amie'—Marie Lange

A singing style that might be placed at a similar point on the continuum as '*Belle'* although recorded more than twenty years later is '*Goodbye Ma Chère Amie'* as sung by a young girl called Marie Lange, from Kaplan, Louisiana.[127] It shows that the blues / French folksong mix continued into the 1950s. The liner notes for the CD describe the song as follows:

> This song is similar to many of European origin that move back and forth between the perspective of two people, one making suggestions, the other refusing. The lyrics in this recording are spotty, but basically say: I've come to say goodbye, my dear lady friend, though I'm sure today is not the day of your death. Give your horse some hay to eat. My horse is not hungry, he's eaten stacks of hay, and my feet are in the stirrups.[128]

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[124] *Ibid*.

[125] Ryan Brasseauxx, *Cajun Breakdown: The Emergence of an American-Made Music*, 1st ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 98.

[126] Ryan Brasseaux, 'Bayou Boogie', 64.

[127] Various, *La Musique de La Maison- Women and Home Music in South Louisiana,* track 23.

[128] *Ibid*., liner notes. The CD was produced by ethnomusicologist Lisa Richardson, notes are by Lisa Richardson, Marce Lacouture, and Carolyn Dural.

An audio excerpt of the song can be heard at the following location:[129]

https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigrationcasestudies/louisiana-french-music-1/black-creole-music

(go to Ex. 7)

Or: USB/Audio/2.12

The first two verses are given below although the meaning of some lines is obscure. This does not affect the singing style and the structure of the song.

Goodbye Ma Chère Amie[130]	**Goodbye My Dear Friend**
Goodbye ma chère amie	Goodbye my dear friend
Je s'us venu te dire adieu	I've come to say goodbye
Je s'us sur aujourd'hui(?)	I'm sure that today(?)
C'est pas la mort de toi(?) Bis	Is not the death of you(?) (Repeat)
Dieu sait que ton cheval	God knows that your horse
Aimait les autres gars(?)	(?)
Donne-lui du foin à manger	Give him some hay to eat
A soir de faire de moi(?)	(?)

The 'bluesy' notes mentioned by Lomax and Brasseaux are very much in evidence here and can be heard on the second syllable of the first word: 'Goodbye'. Lisa Richardson, a folk music researcher and producer of the album 'Women's Home Music', also mentioned to me the use of blues-type notes in Lange's singing.[131]Also in evidence is the repetition of lines and the descending melodic cadences mentioned by Lomax as indicative of an African influence. However, it is not a blues song as such, and the lyrics, as is pointed out in the sleeve notes, suggest European origins.

From the examples of '*Là-Bas Chez Moreau', 'Blues De La Prison', 'Belle*' and '*Goodbye Ma Chère Amie'* therefore, it becomes apparent that the spectrum of songs

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[129] *Ibid.*, track 23.

[130] According to the producers of the album some lyrics are unclear. Lyrics that are uncertain are denoted by a question mark. This however, does not affect observations of the singing and the song itself.

[131] Telephone conversation with Lisa Richardson 15 February, 2013. This was not an interview, the call was made for clarification and further information.

and singing styles lying between the blues and the French folksong tradition is quite varied, even before considering other, possibly co-existent influences from other music cultures.

Although this study mainly concentrates on the music of the Lomax collection from 1934, later developments show how the music of that era continued on a particular trajectory. The Lomax blues songs '*Là-Bas Chez Moreau'*, and '*Blues de la Prison'* above show a Black Creole music that is being influenced from the general music of the African-American community as well as from the French tradition. This influence has continued and grown in recent times in *zydeco* music, which now includes influences from such contemporary Afro-Carribean, and African-American musics as reggae, soul, and hip-hop.

The following section will look at the last, of the main influences associated with Louisiana-French music that will be highlighted in this study – Anglo-American music and song.

3.4.3 Anglo-American song and singing style

This section will look at some elements of the performance-style of the traditional Anglo-American ballads. Many of these ballads are among the earliest songs associated with the Anglo-American tradition and were undoubtedly brought to America by early colonists. A substantial amount of them are found in the Child collection, which was discussed in Chapter Two. These songs went on to influence later musical developments within Anglo-American music, such as hillbilly and country music, as well as playing a substantial part in the development of rock music. In this study they represent the purest example available of early Anglo-American singing and, as such, they enable the tracing of a path of influence that eventually flowed into LFM. Those influences may have come directly into LFM from this ballad tradition or they may have been mediated through later developments in Anglo-American music such as the aforementioned hillbilly music, or country music, or even (at a later stage) rock and roll. It is of course important to keep in mind that other influences may have come to bear on Anglo-American music, the most substantial of these being likely an African-American one. This section will concentrate on the Appalachian Mountain singing-style as it represents one of the main repositeries of the ballad tradition in America.[132] It will also include a

[132] See for example "Ballads | Encyclopedia of Appalachia," accessed May 23, 2017,

section about the possible origins of a vocal technique that was found in LFM in the 1934 recordings. This will demonstrate a possible route of influence between two musics for one element of performance style. All the examples examined here are from the ballad tradition. Structurally, they consist of either four- or eight-line verses and are strophic.

Although geologically, the Appalachian Mountains run down through the east coast of the United States and part of Canada, stretching 1,500 miles from Newfoundland to central Alabama, culturally, the area most often referred to as the Appalachian region consists of the central and southern parts of the range starting just outside New York. English and Scots-Irish immigrants settled this area in the eighteenth century. The Appalachian mountain area is viewed as one of the main repositories of the English and Lowland Scots traditions in America. A similar culture is also found in the Ozark mountains, further south between the Appalachian and Rocky mountains, taking in parts of Missouri, Oklahoma, and Arkansas. The songs include traditional ballads of English and Scots origin, and newer ballads composed in America. These would have had major appeal, not just in the Appalachian region but also throughout rural Anglophone America. This section will also include a brief consideration of some of the popular music of twentieth-century America, starting with what is now called country music but which in the early twentieth century would have been called 'hillbilly'. It is sometimes considered to be a later development of the English ballad tradition found among the original Anglophone settlers. Appalachian music also contributed to the later genre called 'bluegrass'.

All of these music strands come under the broad title of 'Anglo-American music' and, in many respects, might be seen as the quintessence of Anglo-American traditional song. The section will start by identifying and describing traits that are associated with the first sub-genre of these musics, mentioned above – the Appalachian ballads – and show how these traits differ from those of Louisiana-French folk ballads and Black Creole music. This will be done in order to subsequently demonstrate the possible influence of one on the other(s). The ballads and ballad singing characterised by the Appalachian

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http://encyclopediaofappalachia.com/entry.php?rec=31. This site is published by the University of Tennessee Press. Whereas the Appalachian area is often considered the biggest repository of this music, it existed in many parts of Anglophone rural America, including the Ozarks, a Highland area stretching from south Missouri into Arkansas.

and Ozark mountain areas are chosen because they are one of the earliest English language song traditions in the U.S. They are also held, as has already been said to have influenced later Anglo-American genres, for example hillbilly, country music, and early rock music. The identification here of a possible point of origin for a particular vocal ornamental stylistic characteristic that may have influenced a few music genres including LFM may be somewhat speculative but it is, I think, a useful exercise in considering possible diffusion at work in LFM and examining the entry of external influence into that music.
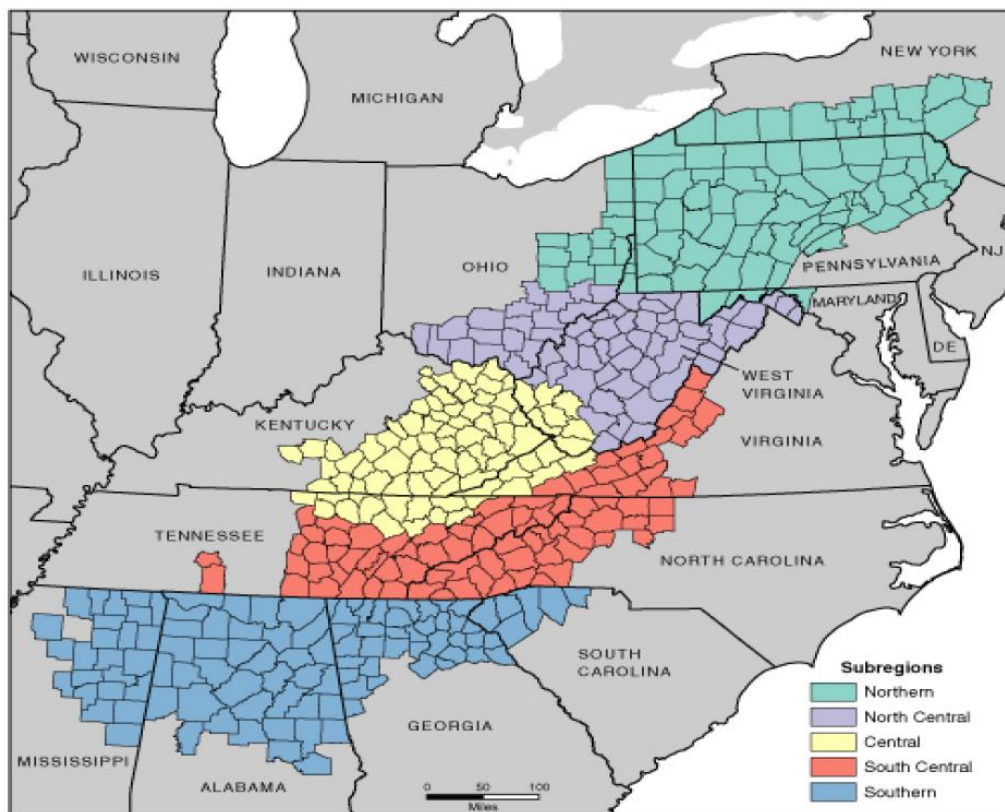
Figure 3.16: Map showing the Appalachian area of the United States[133]

Anglo-America to the north, northeast and (ultimately) to the south and west of Louisiana played a big part in the development of contemporary Louisiana French music, initially, as Carl Brasseaux pointed out earlier in this chapter, through migration and commercial contact. Influence was exerted also by American mass media, which was heavily dominated by Anglophones. The desire to conform to Anglo-American

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[133] Source: https://www.arc.gov/research/mapsofappalachia.asp?MAP_ID=31. Accessed 16 September 2014.

norms and the low status of Louisiana French *vis-à-vis* English which caused people to move towards using the latter, also played a part.

Anglo-American music contains a number of different strands, some dating back to the music carried by immigrants from Britain and Ireland to the original thirteen British colonies of North America. It is also certain, however, that other cultures influenced the music of the Anglo-American world. The yodeling tradition of the cowboys, blues music, jazz, rock, and country music all give a broad idea of how other music has influenced the music brought by the original English, Scots and Scots-Irish settlers, or, viewed alternatively, how that music has developed and branched out into several new genres. In this study, the main focus is the influence of Anglo-American song on LFM. This influence may have come from several subgenres of this music. Sometimes it can be difficult to ascertain whether a particular characteristic in LFM singing-styles has come from the Anglo-American tradition, or the African-American tradition, or whether other genres or subgenres created by these – country music, for example – in turn passed on that characteristic, in a process of diffusion. Along with these considerations is the possibility that the influence comes from somewhere else entirely, from one of the smaller ethnic groups for example.

The Appalachian instrumental and singing styles together were to be given many different names over the years, starting with the name 'hillbilly', a name that is now viewed as being derogatory. Later, the term 'old-time' was used.

> Old-time music refers mainly to the varieties of Appalachian music recorded in the 1920s and 1930s and sold under the general label 'hillbilly music.' Added to this basic repertoire was the music sought out by various 'revivalists' during (mainly) the 1960s, who saw traditional music as a possible antidote to anxieties about modernity. 'Hillbilly music' evolved into today's country music and also became one of the roots of bluegrass.[134]

Nowadays, in folk and traditional music circles, the term 'Appalachian music' seems to be the label most often applied to this genre of music. 'Old-time' is also used as a term, encompassing both the traditional singing and instrumental music. Mike Seeger says:

> Old-time music was the old-time name for real mountain-type folk music. Old-time music is the main foundation for bluegrass music [...] It is the old unaccompanied English ballads like Barbara Allen, new American songs like Wild Bill Jones, old fiddle tunes like Devil's Dream, and newer banjo tunes like Cumberland Gap [...] It was played throughout rural America but was

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[134] Joe Hall interview, at his home in Arnaudville, Louisiana, interview by Brian Ó hUiginn, audio recording, 14 February, 2013.

extra strong and distinctive in the Southeast, especially in the mountains. It is sung and played on a variety of acoustic instruments including the guitar and mandolin, which were newcomers to it in the early twentieth century. It used to be played by African-Americans as well as Anglo, French & Scotch-Irish, etc Americans. It nearly died out in mid-century but has found new life and is being played, mostly informally, by people all over the country. [135]

The old-time traditional singing style is a major part of the Anglo-American singing tradition, with which Louisiana would have been in contact since at least the beginning of the nineteenth century, if not before.

One of the more interesting features of Appalachian and Ozark song is that many ballads that are found there are still found in England, Scotland, and Ireland. Often the versions differ, but many show remarkable similarities to their European counterparts, thus demonstrating how relatively stable the transmission of these has been, even in the era before electronic media. The phenomenon of stability over time was also observed in the Cajun French folksong tradition in relation to traditional French ballads, but differences are discernible too. Some of the ballads written in America were written in the first person, which was not the norm in British ballads,[136] and there were numerous murder ballads, a few of which had come from Britain, but many more of which were American compositions. The Boston academic, Francis Child, collected many folksongs in the area, which became part of his highly-regarded work *'The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*' (see Chapter Two). This Anglo-American tradition of folksong has a particular style which although often thought peculiar to the Appalachian area is found in other old English or Scots-Irish parts of the east coast, for example the Ozark mountain area in Arkansas.[137]

Looking at some examples provides an indication of the style used by singers in this area. The following section examines three examples of Appalachian singing to demonstrate some of its features. The songs that will be considered are called *'Black is The Colour of My True Love's Hair'*, *'A Pretty Fair Maid Out in Her Garden'* and *'Awake Awake'*.

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[135] 'Mike Seeger, What Is Old-Time Music?' accessed 28 July, 2014, http://mikeseeger.info/music.html.
[136] The Child ballads, mentioned in Chapter Two for example only use the first person when a protagonist is being quoted within the song.
[137] The Ozarks is a highland area that covers parts of Missouri, Arkansas and a smaller part of Oklahoma

'Black is The Colour of My True Love's Hair'—Sheila Barnhill

The song *'Black is The Colour of My True Love's Hair'* is a well-known ballad in both Britain and America. The norms of ballad-singing in the British tradition were outlined in Chapter Two. The differences between the British and Appalachian ballad-singing style are quite audible when examples are compared. An excerpt of the song as sung by Sheila Barnhill[138] in the late 1970s or early 1980s for Alan Lomax[139] can be heard at the following location:

https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigrationcasestudies/anglo-american

(go to Ex.1)
Or: USB/Audio/2.13

Black is the Colour of My True Love's Hair

Black is the colour of my true love's hair
His face is like some rosie fair
With the prettiest face and the neatest hands
I love the ground whereon he stands

So fare thee well my own true love
Our time is past but I wish you well
Still I hope the day will come
When you and I shall be as one[140]

The song verses are regular and strophic; the singer does not alter the fundamental melody or the length of the lines at any stage. She does however, hold some notes for emphasis. The singing of the word 'some' in the second line, for example, is used as an opportunity for emphasis and for the demonstration of ornamentation. The singer holds the word but sings it slowly over two notes of unequal length, *appoggiatura* style. This technique appears to be mainly used on vowels in the middle of a line.[141] Notably, the singing is delivered throughout in a loud, declamatory style. This is a strong feature in

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[138] Sheila Kay Adams (née: Barnhill) is a very well-known Appalachian singer who has performed and recorded Appalachian songs extensively. More information on her is available at; http://www.www.encyclopediaofappalachia.com/entry.php?rec=2

[139] Lomax, *Appalachian Journey*. (3'50') Although the movie was not released until 1991, information on the site states that the footage was shot between 1978 and 1985.

[140] Words transcribed by me from the streamed video recording. Lyrics of this song transcribed from the same singer but in a fuller version are given at the following location: http://mudcat.org/detail_pf.cfm?messages_Message_ID=760907

[141] The lines of many ballad verses are often marked in singing by a long note in the middle of the line effectively making two halves of the line. This is also the case among singers in Britain and Ireland.

Appalachian singing and possibly gives rise to a few of the most distinctive ornamentation features in this genre's singing style.

The singer uses *falsetto* style ornamentation in her singing. This mainly takes two forms, (a) the 'falsetto upswing' and (b) the 'falsetto cut'. [142] In the case of the falsetto upswing the singer uses a sharp, sudden upswing in the pitch on the last note of every line ending the line with a sudden and extremely short falsetto note. This brings the line to a sudden end. It is followed by a momentary silence in the song. It can be seen in Figures 3.18 and 3.19. Writing about another singer who uses this technique – Almeda Riddle – author Patricia Laster says:

> At the end of a phrase was a yodel-like rise, a slight vocal flick resembling a built-in sob or catch in her voice, effectively conveying anguish in the lyrics of old songs.[143]

This technique is described by singer Cary Fridley as a natural phenomenon that occurs when a singer has pushed a note to almost the last part of their breath and then stops suddenly.[144]

In the 'falsetto cut' the singer splits the note for a fraction of a second on certain syllables, by inserting a fleeting falsetto 'cutting note' or indent within a note or between two notes. It can be seen in Figure 3.17. Both these ornamental techniques inject an emotional quality into the singing, as Laster observed.

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[142] This technique is sometimes called 'feathering' in Arkansas. I am calling it 'falsetto upswing' as it will be compared with another technique which I am calling a 'falsetto cut'. I have not been able to locate a commonly accepted term for this ornamentation. These techniques are part of a wider phenomenon of what are technically known as 'vocal breaks'.

[143] Nancy Williams and Jeannie M. Whayne, eds., *Arkansas Biography- A Collection of Notable Lives* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 2000), 241.

[144] https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigrationcasestudies/anglo-american (Ex.2).
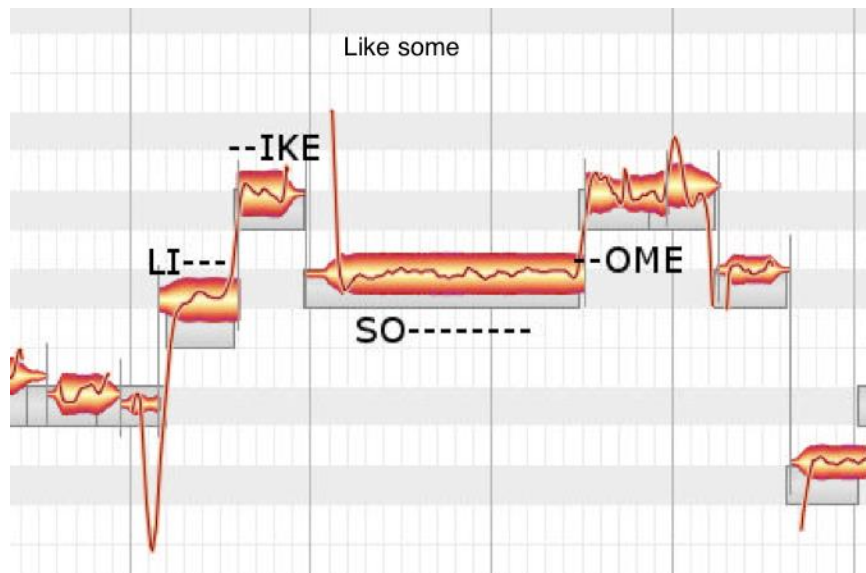
Figure 3.17: Close-up of the notes carrying the words 'like' and 'some' from the second line of 'Black is the colour' (see previous illustration) as transcribed by Melodyne from the singing of Sheila Barnhill. The pitch line shows very little use of vibrato on the held syllables, for example the 'so-' of the the word 'some' as shown here.
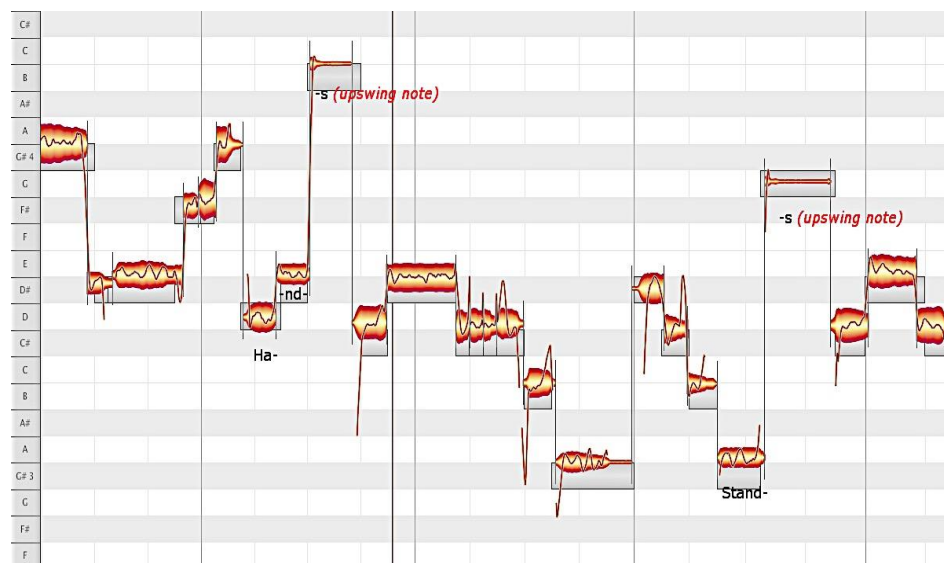
Figure 3.18: Showing 'falsetto upswing' note at the end of line three on the word 'hands' and at the end of line four on the word 'stands'. The sharp nature of the sudden jump in pitch (an interval of a sixth for 'hands' and a seventh for 'stands') can be clearly seen by following the pitch line on the notes carrying those words. There is no downward pitch line as the melodic line comes to a sudden but momentary stop at the end of the word.
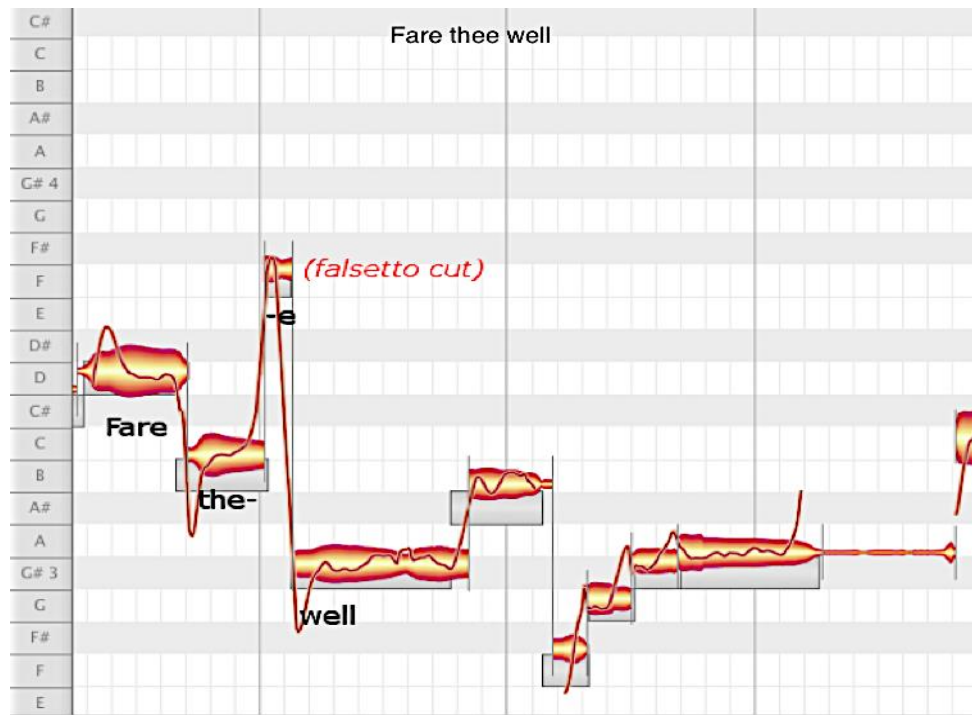
Figure 3.19: The words 'Fare thee well' from the first line of the second verse showing the 'falsetto cut'—between the end of the note carrying the word 'thee' and the beginning of the note carrying well'—a momentary insertion of a very short note several steps, in this case by an interval of a fourth, above the main note before dropping to the next main note. This has the effect of ornamenting the song as a grace note (much as a musician might 'cut' a note with another when playing) and giving an emotional injection to the melody. It differs from the upswing in that it is joined both to a preceding and succeeding note something that can be clearly seen here by following the pitch line. The upswing note by contrast comes to a sudden end
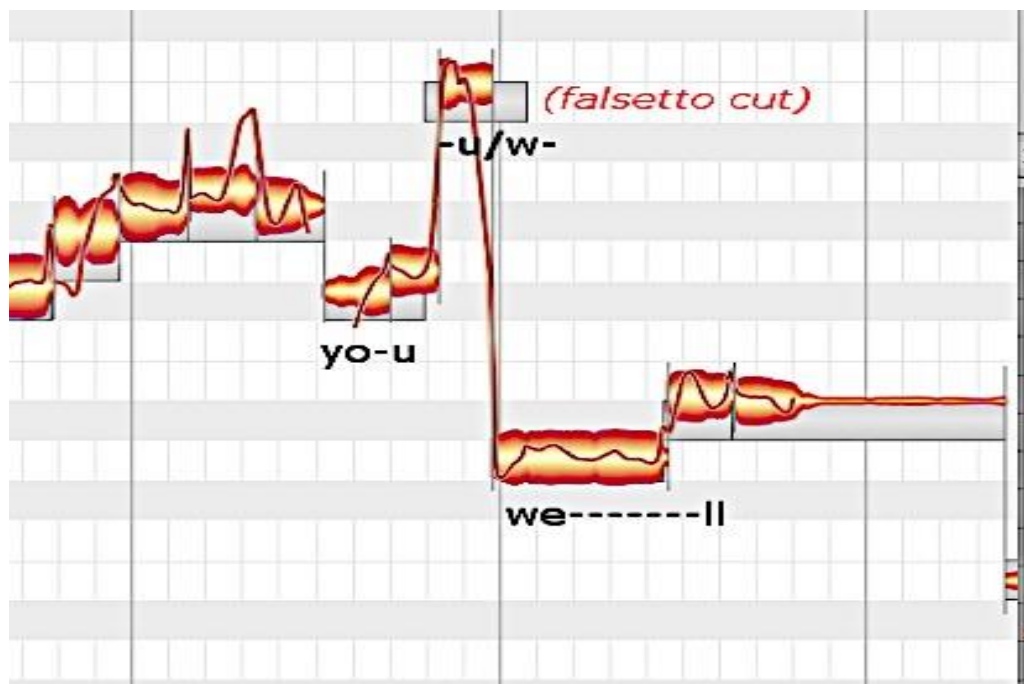
Figure 3.20: The 'falsetto cut' on the second line of the second verse on the words '..(but I wish) you well' between the end of the note carrying 'you' and the beginning of the note carrying 'well'. The main note is cut by a higher note which is sounded momentarily, and appears to be out of sequence with the general downward motion of the melodic line

The two *falsetto* ornamentation techniques are particularly interesting in that they are not normally found in folksongs in English in Ireland, England or Scotland. The songs are delivered at times in a very full, strong and loud voice, with little use of vocal dynamic. This style of singing has been described by Ted Olsen, of East Tennessee State University, as angular 'The high-pitched vocals employed in bluegrass singing—often described as 'high lonesome'—invoke the angular vocal style within Appalachian balladry and shape-note singing'.[145]

'Returning Sweetheart' or *'A Pretty Fair Maid Down in the Garden'*-– Sarah Hawkes
Another example of Appalachian singing, this time from a different area of the Appalachian Mountains, is the song, 'Retuning Sweetheart' also known as 'A Pretty Fair Maid Down in the Garden', sung here by Sarah Hawkes from an album released in 1968.[146] An audio excerpt of the song can be heard at the following location:

https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigrationcasestudies/anglo-american

(go to Ex. 3)

Or: USB/Audio/2.14

Returning Sweetheart[147]

A pretty fair miss out in her garden
A brave young <u>soldier</u> came riding by
Saying pretty fair Miss will you marry a soldier
Who has come so far to marry you?

Oh no kind sir, a man of honor
A man of honor you may be
But how can you impose on a lady
When she's not <u>worthy</u> your bride to be.

Although this singer is older, and cannot give the same power to her singing as Sheila Barnhill did in the preceding example, the 'falsetto cut' can still be heard in her singing,

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[145] 'Encyclopedia of Appalachia, Music,' accessed 5 November, 2013, http://encyclopediaofappalachia.com/category.php?rec=53.

[146] Various artists, *Ballads and Songs of The Blue Ridge Mountains*., Side 1, track 2. Although these recordings were released in 1968, they may have been recorded earlier in the decade or in the 1950s See: Norm Cohen, *Traditional Anglo-American Folk Music- An Annotated Discography of Published Sound Recordings* (New York: Routledge, 1994)., entry 213. The liner notes say the following about Sarah Hawkes: 'Sarah Hawkes was born and raised near Baywood, Virginia, in Blue Ridge country close to theVirginia-North Carolina state line. At the time the selections on this record were recorded she was an elderly woman living near Nottingham, Pa. Unfortunately, she has since died.

[147] *Ibid*., liner notes (lyrics).

at the points underlined in the words above. Noticeably, this is always in the middle of lines, where she holds the note for a moment before progressing. In other ways also, the singing here accords with the style of Sheila Barnhill. It is delivered without vocal dynamic. The singer sings probably as strongly as she can, given her age. She does not, however, use the falsetto 'upswing' that Sheila Barnhill uses at the ends of lines.

'Awake Awake' –Elizabeth LaPrelle

Singer Elizabeth LaPrelle from Virginia, who sings in a somewhat softer style than that described by Ted Olsen above, offers as a description of her style of singing:

> It doesn't have a lot of rhythm; it's free with meter; it has long, drawn-out phrases and lots of ornaments. So the ornaments are like the *yip* or trilling around the note—sliding up into the note instead of just stepping on it.[148]

LaPrelle uses the 'falsetto cut' very liberally throughout her singing, as can be heard in the song 'Awake, Awake',[149] recorded in 2007. An audio excerpt from the song can be heard at the following location:

https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigrationcasestudies/anglo-american

(go to Ex. 4)

Or: USB/Audio/2.15

Awake, Awake[150]

Awake, awake, you drowsy sleeper.
Awake, awake, it is almost day.
How can you sleep, you cruel creature.
Since you have stolen my heart away?

Oh hush, hush, hush, don't you wake my mother.
No songs of love will she let me hear.
If you sing songs, go, pray court some other,
Or whisper lowly in my ear.

As is the case with Sara Hawke the 'upswing' is not very pronounced in LaPrelle's style. Other examples of the use of this 'falsetto ornamentation can be heard in the following audio examples by singers, Almeda Riddle from Arkansas, and Lloyd Chandler from

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[148] 'Elizabeth LaPrelle: Carrying On The Appalachian Tradition : NPR,' accessed 9 November 2013, http://www.npr.org/2012/12/02/166251119/elizabeth-laprelle-carrying-on-the-appalachian-tradition.

[149] LaPrelle, *A Lizard in the Spring,* Track 1.

[150] 'Awake, Awake,' accessed 20 August, 2015, http://www.old97wrecords.com/elizabeth-laprelle/songs/awake-awake.htm.

North Carolina. No words are provided as these are just intended to further the points already made. Chandler in a 1965 recording[151] sings *'A Conversation With Death'*. The use of both the falsetto cut and upswing can be clearly heard in the audio at the following location:

https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigrationcasestudies/anglo-american/
(go to Ex.5)
Or: USB/Audio/2.16

Almeda Riddle, like Sarah Hawkes above, is from an older generation of singers and comes from the Ozarks in Arkansas. In her singing of the song *Barbara Allen* recorded in 1977, the falsetto cut can be heard quite frequently, and to a lesser extent the 'upswing'

https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigrationcasestudies/anglo-american/
(go to Ex.6)
Or: USB/Audio/2.17

Both Hawkes's and Riddle's singing show that the tradition carried on by younger performers such as Fridley, LaPrelle and Barnhill, is to a large extent a continuous one and that the breaks or cuts and upswings described above have been a feature of this singing from, at the very least, the early twentieth century and, more than likely, much further back than that.

Appalachian singing style—summary
Exponents of Appalachian singing style tend to be women, but this is not exclusively the case. The style involves a strong vocal delivery, holding and emphasising certain syllables and words. By way of ornamentation, at times it reaches for a momentary extra falsetto-sounding note above the main pitches of the melody. In the examples above, this occurs as a technique both within a line to ornament a word and also at the end of a line to bring the singing to an abrupt end for a moment before continuing to the next line. The singing is performed either solo or by a number of singers singing in

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[151] Various artists, *High Atmosphere: Ballads and Banjo Tunes from Virginia and North Carolina,* track 23.

unison. Harmony is not normally used. The songs are performed for a listening audience and the primary function of both singer and song is to tell a story. As in English and Scottish folksong, the story is contained within the song; no extra information is normally needed to explain it.

The Appalachian ballads went on to influence what became known as hillbilly music and eventually became a big contributor to country music. The advent and growth of both hillbilly and country music coincided with the spread of radio in the United States., The style of Appalachian singing may have influenced the singing of some people in the LFM community, either through direct contact or through a mediating music such as hillbilly or country music, which in turn had been heavily influenced by Appalachian music.

Although Appalachian singing had been around for many years prior to the advent of the phonograph or radio, there is no doubt that the development of what would go on to become country music, and its popularity in those media in the 1920s and 1930s, helped to spread elements of this singing further afield than rural anglophone America.
The next section attempts to trace a possible influence from Appalachian singing on LFM in relation to one performance technique.

3.4.4 Possible influence from Appalachian singing style on Louisiana French music

As was seen in Chapter One, ethnomusicologist John Blacking was of the opinion that to have 'heuristic value', any theory of change in music must look for change in the music itself and not just in its societal or cultural function. Innovation in singing style provides evidence of such change, and I think that this can be found in a few of the 1934 Lomax recordings.

In these recordings, the singing of three sisters, Elita, Mary, and Ella Hoffpauir, shows a marked difference from the singing of others on the collection and even from that of their father, Julien, whose singing of '*La Belle et Le Capitaine*' was considered earlier in this chapter. Their singing does not conform to the norms of French ballad singing, in some respects. Two songs in particular, sung by the three sisters together, demonstrate the use of a small amount of falsetto-style ornamentation. Ellita, singing another song on her own, uses it far more liberally. The first of these recordings by the Hoffpauir

girls, the song '*Six Ans Sur Mer'*,[152] recorded in 1934 is, according to Barry Ancelet, an example of an old French ballad still to be found in Louisiana.

An excerpt of the audio recorded by the Hoffpauirs can be heard at the following location

https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigrationcasestudies/louisiana-french-music-1

(go to Ex. 9)

Or: USB/Audio/2.18

Six Ans sur Mer	**Six Years on the Sea**
On a reste six ans sur mer *Sans pouvoir border la terre.*	On stormy seas we six years sailed, And never once green land we hailed.
Au bout de la septième annee *On a manque de provisions?*	The bitter seventh year came on, We found our stores at last were gone.
On a mange souris et rats *Jusque le touvre du navire.*	We ate the mice, we ate the rats, And through the hold we ran like cats.
On a tire la courte paille *Pour voir lequel qui serait mangé*	And then at lots we took a try To see which one of us would die.

In the singing, falsetto ornamentation very similar to the 'falsetto cut' found in the Appalachian ballads above, can be heard on some of the notes, specifically the notes carrying the words *pouvoir* (1st couplet), and *vois* (7th couplet, audio only). This is not the normal style of singing that was used for French folksong. It shows a considerable divergence from the singing-style of their father Julien, as heard in '*La Belle et Le Capitaine'*.

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[152] Artists, *Cajun & Creole Music*. Track 1

A far more pronounced example of falsetto technique can be heard when Ellita Hoffpauir sings '*Les Clefs De La Prison'.* In terms of its theme, this song is very like '*Blues de La Prison'*, detailed above. An excerpt of '*Les Clefs De La Prison'* can be heard at the following location:

https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigrationcasestudies/louisiana-french-music-1

(go to Ex.10)

Or: USB/Audio/2.19

Les Clefs De La Prison	**The Keys of the Prison**
Chère mam Oh, viens	Dear Mother O come
me donner les clefs	Give me the keys
Les clefs de la prison	The keys of the prison
Les clefs de la prison	The keys of the prison
Baptiste Comment tu veux je	Baptiste how shall I give you
te donne	The keys of the prison
Les clefs de la prison	When the officers
Quand les officiers	Hang them around their neck
Les ont accrochés dans le cou	Hang them around their neck
Les ont accrochés dans le cou	
Chère mam Ils vont venir me chercher	Dear mother they are coming for me
Mais, à neuf heures à ce soir	At nine o' clock this evening
Mais oui, c'est pour me pendre	Yes to hang me
Mais, à dix heures en nuit	At ten o'clock at night
Mais, à dix heures en nuit	At ten o'clock at night
Chère mam C'est ça qui me fait plus de peine	Dear mother what hurts me most
C'est de savoir ma mort	Is to know of my death
Aussi longtemps d'avance	So far in advance
Aussi longtemps d'avance	So far in advance

These falsetto cuts are not as pronounced in either case as in the Appalachian music examples, but they are obviously being deployed by the girls, probably to inject an emotional feeling into their singing and, quite possibly, because this technique had become fashionable. It is important to note that this is not normally a feature of French folksong. In the two collections of recordings of women's home music, included in this study, featuring over twenty female singers of Louisiana French ballads, this type of

ornamentation technique does not appear at all. [153] Neither does this type of ornamentation appear to exist in the kind of classic blues-singing exemplified by the hollers and shouts studied earlier in this chapter. As a feature it is, however, found among country music singers. In country singing it is often referred to nowadays as 'twang'[154] or a 'cry-break'. Author Aaron Fox describes cry-breaks in country music as:

> [...] sudden constrictions of the vocal articulatory mechanism that 'pinch' a note in midstream, producing either momentary silence, or grace-note movements into falsetto registers (the same effect as yodeling but done once, briefly rather than over a sustained period of time)[155]

Fox cites country singer Hank Williams singing 'I'm So Lonesome I Could Cry' as an example of the country cry break.[156] Williams' rendition of *I'm So Lonesome I Could Cr*y (1949) can be heard at the following location:

https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigrationcasestudies/anglo-american

(go to Ex.7)

Or: USB/Audio/ 2.HW[157]

It is not just the Hoffpauir sisters who used this technique in French-Louisiana. It was also used by other Creole and Cajun dance music players, (although it does not appear to feature much in modern Cajun singing). It can be heard here for example in the singing of Amadé Ardoin in this 1929 recording of a two-step, five years before the Hoffpauirs were recorded.[158]

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[153] Singer's voices may sometimes break due to being pushed or strained. This is not the same as purposely deploying the phenomenon regularly within the singing of a song as a technique.

[153] One account of twang says: 'Country twang in singing can also refer to an abrupt register shift, either from belt to falsetto or vice versa–a sound reminiscent of a vibrating bow string after an arrow is released.'—'Molly's Music Blog | What Is Twang in Singing,' accessed 13 September, 2015, http://mollysmusic.com/blog/what-is-twang-in-singing/.

[154] Aaron A. Fox, *Real Country: Music and Language in Working-Class Culture* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2004), 281.

[156] *Ibid*.

[157] This is provided for convenience only. It is not essential to the text.

[158] Another possibility is that the dancehall performance environment may have caused this breaking of the voice. In the era before amplification, singers had to sing at a high pitch for their voices to carry through the hall, and often sang loudly as well. Both these factors can keep the voice very close to the upper limit of its register, beyond which it breaks, and accidental breaking under these conditions is to be expected. The difference is whether it breaks accidently, as a by-product of straining the voice, or is purposely broken by the singer as a technique. It may have started accidently and gone on to be adopted as a technique. Whatever its origins in Louisiana singing it is certainly used as a singing technique by the Hoffpauirs, Ardoin and others.

Intercultural influence on singing style

It cannot be said that the presence of a technique in two neighbouring traditions proves a causal link between them. Nor can it be said with certainty, in a case where at least three traditions, in this case Louisiana French, African-American and Anglo-American music, sit side by side, which of the three influenced the other(s). As this falsetto technique does not appear to feature in the old French ballads of Louisiana, a few other possibilities might be considered. The falsetto ornamentation technique could have come into the performances of the young Cajun girls directly from the singing of Black Creoles. David Greely is convinced that this is in fact what happened. In relation to Elita's singing of another song '*J'ai Vu Lucille*'[I Saw Lucille],[159] he commented that the song 'didn't come from the radio, it came from the other side of the tracks'.[160] Elita Hoffpauir's singing of a blues-themed song '*Les Clefs De La Prison*' might also indicate an influence from Black Creole music. If this is true, then it would be a case of acculturation (direct contact). If on the other hand they picked it up from singers on the radio, it would be an example of diffusion.[161] The question is not so much whether their singing is being creolised but rather where the influence is coming from.

It must be considered a strong possibility, if not a probability, that the influence may have come from Appalachian music, possibly mediated through country music or hillbilly music and even then probably coming into Louisiana through phonograph recordings or, more likely given the era, radio. The Black Creole community may have adopted it first, or the Cajun community, or both simultaneously. The timeline is important here. The 1920s marked the rise of both hillbilly and country music; two genres that, as has been already stated, owe a considerable amount to the influence of Appalachian singing. It also marked the growth of radio. Radio and radio-set ownership

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[159] Various artists, *Cajun & Creole Music,* track 3.
[160] Greely interview 1 (30' 51')
[161] Always bearing in mind Alfred Kroeber's rule that only complete cultures are 'acculturated'. If it is only one aspect, then according to him the proper term is diffusion. As stated in the Chapter One however, the term accultuarion went on to acquire a broader meaning than Kroeber would have allowed.

were relatively new in 1934. During the period of the Great Depression in America, radio-set ownership among Americans had undergone a remarkable increase. In 1929 for example, a radio set would have cost around $139 – a very considerable sum at the time. About one third of American households had one. Four years later in 1933 – the year before the Lomax recordings – the price had dropped to around $47 and about sixty percent of American households had one.[162] Bearing in mind that this occurred during the Great Depression, it shows the lengths to which people would go to acquire a radio set and the popularity and, by extension, the influence, of the new medium.

The Hoffpauir sisters may just have been performing in a style picked up from radio or phonograph. However, it is the application of that style by Cajun singers in a Louisiana French song that appears unusual. The provenance of this technique in Louisiana French singing cannot be declared with absolute certainty. It may be directly from Appalachian singing or may have come from country or hillbilly music; it may have come from the music of Black Creoles or from the wider African-American community. It could have come indirectly via phonograph or radio. It might in fact never be possible to prove conclusively which of these was the access route. [163]

However, for the purposes of this thesis, I do not think that it is necessary to be absolutely certain where the technique comes from. If a technique is extraneous to the music culture then a change has occurred due to the influence of something new, and that influence, as George Peter Murdock pointed out (Chapter One) is most likely to have been from outside the culture. The apparent 'foreignness' of falsetto-style ornamentation to Louisiana-French folksong would suggest a provenance from elsewhere, most likely, I think, the African-American community or the Anglophone community. However, it does not seem to feature in the Blues music of Louisiana, ballads like *Blues De La Prison* or *Là-Bas Chez Moreau*. Nor does it feature in the Louisiana French ballad folksong tradition. Although the technique is found among later performers, it did not become ubiquitous in Louisiana-French music by any means.

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[162] Figures from 'Radio in the 1930s,' accessed 14, July 2013, http://www.radiostratosphere.com/zsite/behind-the-dial/radio-in-1930.html.

[163] Other possibilities to be considered are that Black Creole musicians picked up the technique directly or indirectly from radio, or from the Appalachian community. Given its strangeness in terms of British or Irish ballad singing however there is always the possibility that Appalachian singers originally picked this technique up from African-Americans. It is also possible that it comes from the church singing of either or both the African American or Anglo-American communities or even from other ethnic groups such as Germans.

It has been, and still is, used by singers of LFM, but it would appear that the majority of the singers do not use it.

LFM has shown itself to be particularly open to assimilating other types of music into its canon, much of it from the Anglophone tradition, and that might suggest that this vocal ornamentation technique is a borrowing into the culture from outside, and that it is probably of Anglophone provenance. However, this would require further research to prove conclusively, if indeed that could ever be done.

The introduction of a relatively small change in LFM in terms of vocal ornamentation has been outlined above, and earlier in the chapter, other relatively minor changes such as the singing of blues in French, and French songs with blues inflections were demonstrated. However, the creolisation process in LFM as it was in 1934 probably has its apogee in some of the songs from a unique branch of Black Creole singing that were recorded by the Lomaxes. One of these will be detailed in the next section.

3.4.5 Melodic migration—'*J'ai Fait Tout le Tour du Pays*'

In seeking an example from Louisiana of the melodic migration which features in this thesis, one song from the 1934 recordings stands out. Alan Lomax makes reference to a body of songs found among the Black Creole community called '*juré'*. The *juré* was performed as a 'shout' often before or after a religious service. It involved a lead singer and a chorus. The lead singer sang the lines of the song. The chorus responded to the lines, or provided percussion and vocal sound-effects, or did both. The result can sound somewhat like the later and faster parts of the shout *'Lay down Body'* from South Carolina referenced earlier in this chapter. Strangely enough, given the occasions on which they were performed, most (although not all, as will be seen) *juré* songs were secular in theme. Below is an example of a macaronic *juré* called 'Feel like Dying in his Arm*y'* sung by Austin Coleman, Washington Brown, and Samson Brown, and recorded by the Lomaxes in 1934.

An audio excerpt can be heard at the following location. An excerpt of the song lyrics is included below it:

https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigrationcasestudies/louisiana-french-music-1/black-creole-music
(go to Ex. 9)
Or: USB/Audio/2.21

Feel Like Dying in His Army	**Feel Like Dying in His Army**
O Lord,Lord,Lord, my God	Oh Lord,Lord,Lord, my God
O oui mon cher ami, *O Quoi tu va faire?*	Oh Yes my dear friend Oh what will you do?
O Quoi tu va faire, comment? *Hein petit mande?*	Oh what will you do? Eh, little girl
O oui ma petit si toi pries pas	Oh yes my little one if you do not pray
O si toi pries pas tu va bruler *Dans l'enfer*	Oh if you do not pray you will burn In hell
O Lord,Lord,Lord, my God	O Lord,Lord,Lord, my God
O oui ma petit si toi pries pas	Oh yes my little one if you do not pray
O ma voyé aprés o mon docteur	Oh I sent for my doctor
O ma docteur il vini la	Oh my doctor came
O il dit 'mon petit tu va pas vi'	Oh he said, my little one you will not live
O Lord Lord Lord What you goin' do	O Lord Lord Lord What you goin' do
O sinner woman you better pray	O sinner woman you better pray
O sinner woman you better pray	O sinner woman you better pray

These songs were danced to, therefore rhythm and percussion, supplied by hands and feet, are extremely important. The chorus and the interaction between main singer and chorus are also important. Only twelve *Jur*é songs have been recorded; they are presumed to be remnants of a larger body of songs, now almost extinct.

The *Juré* called '*J'ai fait Tout le Tour du Pays*' [I Went All Around the Land],[164] recorded by the Lomaxes, was sung by Jimmy Peters and an accompanying group of singers. This song shows strong evidence of a meeting of all three traditions: Anglo-American, Cajun French, and Black Creole. The Anglo-American tradition contributes the (migrating) melody, which is in 2/4 time. The Cajun French tradition provides some floating lyrics,[165] as does the Black Creole tradition. The singing style is unmistakably Black Creole.

An audio excerpt of the song can be heard at the following location:

https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigrationcasestudies/louisiana-french-music-1/black-creole-music

(go to Ex. 10)

Or: USB/Audio/2.22

J'ai Fait Tout Le Tour Du Pays[166]	I Went All Around The Land
J'ai fait tout le tour du pays *Avec ma jogue sur ma plombeau* *Et j'ai demandé a ton pere* *pour dix-huit piastres,cherie.* *Ilm'a donne que cinq piastres.*	I went all round the land With my bottle on the pommel And I asked your father for eighteen dollars,dear. He gave me only five dollars.
O Mam,mais donnez-moi les haricots. *Mais o cheri les haricots sont pas salés.* *O Mam mais donnez-moi les haricots.* *Mais o ye yaie, les haricots sont pas salés.*	O Mother,well give me the beans. Well, o dear,the beans aren't salted. O Mother, well give me the beans. Well, o ye yaie, the beans aren't salted.
Toi, comment tu veux jete vas voir *Mais quand mon chapeau rouge est fini?* *Toi,comment tu veux jete vas voir* *Mais quand mon suit est tout dechire?*	You, how do you expect me to visit you When my red hat is worn? You, how do you expect me to visit you When my suit is all torn?

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[164] *Cajun & Creole Music vol.2*, track 14.

[165] Floating lyrics are lyrics that could be adapted from one song into another almost as 'stock phrases'. They enable improvisation and composition minimising the amount of new lines that need to be composed. It is especially useful when doing extemporary composition while singing.

[166] Words and translation from *Cajun & Creole Music vol. 2*, liner notes

O Mam, mais donnez-moi les haricots.	O Mother,give me the beans.
Mais o ye yaie, les haricots sont pas salés.	Well, o ye yaie, the beans aren't salted.
J'ai fait tout le tour du pays	I went all round the land
Avec ma jogue sur le plombeau.	With my bottle on the pommel.
J'ai demande a ton pere pour dix piastres.	I askedYour father for ten dollars.
I1m'a donne que cinq.	He only gave me five

The first contributing influence to be considered here is the Anglo-American one. In this case it provides part of the melody of '*J'ai Fait Tout Le Tour Du Pays'*. The song 'Cindy' is reckoned by John Lomax to have been composed around the 1840s, in North Carolina, in the Anglophone community. Theodore Ralph dates it earlier, to the beginning of the nineteenth century.[167] It is in 2/4 time. The song appears to have been adapted extensively, attracting additional verses and floating lyrics; in fact, it seemed to lend itself to this:

> 'Cindy' is one prime example of a song that has undergone countless iterations. First, the title: 'Cindy, Cindy' and 'Get Along Home, Cindy' and 'Cindy in the Summertime' and 'Cindy in the Meadows' and 'Whoop 'em Up Cindy' are only a few of the titles that have been assigned to an even deeper pool of disparate sets of lyrics. Long before the era of standardized national radio or even records, songs varied from community to community based on oral tradition. Depending on what community you lived in, or what singer you heard play it, you might know and favor a completely different version of the song somebody else does.
>
> Plus, each singer was basically encouraged to add his or her own lyrics to the song. In a group setting, multiple singers would trade off verses, often trying to outdo the others in terms of witty original verses on a common theme. The format of 'Cindy' lends itself to this particularly well; the verses are short, consisting of one or two rhyming couplets, followed immediately by the chorus.[168]

An audio excerpt of Cindy, known in this case as 'Get Along Home Cindy', sung by Bob Wills[169] can be heard at the following location. The words of the first verse and chorus are given below.

https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigrationcasestudies/anglo-american

[go to Ex.8]

Or: USB/Audio/2.23

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[167] Theodore Ralph, *The American Song Treasury: 100 Favorites* (New York: Dover, 2012), 145.

[168] "Lemon Squeezings: Led Zeppelin News: Cindy, I'll Marry You Someday (Band of Joy Song of the Week, No. 2 of 12)," accessed 22 July, 2014, http://www.ledzeppelinnews.com/2010/07/cindy-ill-marry-you-someday-band-of-joy.html.

[169] https://youtu.be/y--Fc6nB6jw

Get Along Home Cindy

You ought to See my Cindy
She lives away down south
She's so sweet the honey bees
Swarm around her mouth

Oh Get along home now Cindy
Get along home I say
Get along home now Cindy
Get along home I say

The music of the verses of '*J'ai Fait Tout le Tour du Pays'* appears, according to Barry Ancelet, to be based on *'Cindy'*,[170] and given the observation above, it is probably not surprising that the melody should have been recycled in this way. It *is* somewhat surprising, however, that it should lend itself to a song in Louisiana French (or to put it another way, that the LFM community should adopt an 'outside' melody for this purpose). It is an indication of early borrowing of melody from the Anglo-American tradition and of melodic migration. The fact that this melody had also been recycled in the Anglo-American tradition perhaps shows the Louisiana French community adapting to the norms of Anglo-American society, drawing on contemporary trends from within that society. Melodically however, there is another part to '*J'ai Fait Tout le Tour du Pays'*, which starts with the line '*Oh Mam mais donnez-moi les haricots*.' The singer returns to it throughout the song in chorus-like fashion. This is not part of the melody of '*Cindy'* and seems to be from another (unknown) source indicating perhaps that different melodies were also being mixed in this *juré*.

The rhythm of '*J'ai Fait Tout le Tour du Pays'* is also very different to that of *'Cindy'*. Whereas the rhythm of *'Cindy'* is very regular, '*J'ai Fait Tout Le Tour du Pay's* stretches the melody to accommodate the words. Extra rhythm is added by the inclusion of the percussive sounds provided by the hands and feet of the choral singers, a typical feature of *Juré* singing. Ancelet maintains that this elongation of the melody, making it irregular, was done to accommodate dancers[171].

The first two lines of the *Juré* song, *J'ai fait Tout le Tour du Pays, avec ma Jogue sur ma Plombeau*, are, in terms of lyrics, almost identical to the opening lyrics of a song

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[170] *Cajun & Creole Music vol 2*, liner notes
[171] See notes on track 16 *Cajun & Creole Music vol 2,* liner notes.

with a different melody found in the Canadian region of Acadia,[172] as well as in Louisiana.[173] The song starts; *J'ai fait tout le tour du Grande Bois, avec ma jogue au plombeau* [*I travelled all around the big forest with my beaker on my saddlehorn*]. This floating line appears to have been modified and used in composing '*J'ai fait Tout le Tour du Pays'*. A different line in the chorus – *Les haricots sont pas salés* [the snap beans are not salted] is another floating lyric, one referred to earlier when talking about the origin of the word '*zydeco*'. It appears again in another song in the same collection called *Dégo*[174] the last verse of which is:

Pas mis de la viande pas mis à rien
Juste les haricots dans le chaudiere
Les haricots sont pas salés
O! o negre
Les haricots sont pas salés

[Don't put meat, don't put anything/ except the snapbeans in the pot/ The snap beans aren't salted/ Oh oh man/ The snap beans aren't salted]

In a single song, '*J'ai Fait Tout le Tours Du Pays'*, there is a mix of early Cajun-French lyrics, an anglophone melody blended with another melody of unknown origin, and African-American rhythm and percussion, providing a good example of a three-way musical creolisation process evident in early Louisiana French music recordings.

The same singer (Jimmy Peters) sang another *juré* – '*Je Veux Me Marier'* [I Want to Marry][175] –for the Lomaxes on the same occasion, and this song again makes use of a melody from the French Acadian tradition, a song by the same name '*Je Veux Me Marier'*. In this case the rhythm has been changed to suit the Black Creole style of the *juré*. The Cajun version of '*Je Veux me Marier'* is included in Irène Whitfield's book,[176] thus showing that the melody had migrated from Canada to Louisiana with the Cajun people and from there into Black Creole tradition.

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[172] See: Édith Butler, *Je Vous Aime, Ma Vie Recommence*, CD (SPPS, 2014), Track 3.A rendition of this Canadian version sung by Butler can also be seen at: www.youtube.com/watch?v=Re9leORueDE
[173] See: Whitfield, 96-97.
[174] *Cajun & Creole Music* vol. 2, track 13.
[175] *Ibid.*, track 16.
[176] Whitfield, 87.

3.5 Later creolisation in LFM

In the 1934 recordings, the results of the creolisation process are evident in the existence of Louisiana French blues (*Là-Bas Chez Moreau*) as well in a style of singing that shows some influence from the blues singing style, but with song- formats rooted in European traditions (*Belle*). This mixing of European format and Black Creole performance stylistic elements is also seen later in songs such as '*Goodbye Ma Chère Amie*'. The music mixing which is discernable from these recordings continued to develop long after the Lomax's recordings. Alan Lomax, writing in 1987 about the 1934 field recordings, identified what he saw as a watershed between an older and a newer French music.

> The jukeboxes in the beer joints and the local radio shows were pounding out a newly-minted sound called *fais-do-do* which strongly resembled the old-timey music coming out of Nashville. Since this newfangled Cajun good-time music was being commercially recorded and broadcast, we concentrated our recording efforts on the earlier unaccompanied Louisiana styles, which we feared were being smothered by the urbanized orchestrated sound. Time has proved us right for the lovely things you hear on these recordings [...] have now virtually disappeared. [177]

Irene Whitfield, who accompanied Lomax on some of his trips in Louisiana in 1934 also distinguished between French folksong in Louisiana, and Cajun music, which she referred to as being 'probably indigenous to Louisiana'.[178] She described Cajun folk music as consisting of the following characteristics:

> The music of the Cajun folk song is generally characterised by a flexibility of form manifested in its impure tones, some quarter-tone intervals, the portamento style of singing, irregular location of pulse and irregular number of lines to the stanzas to songs. With the accordion to fill in gaps a fifth line may be added to any ordinary four-line stanza; and any number of 'mais', 'oh', 'chère' and 'la Belle' may be diffused throughout the stanzas by an extra push-pull of the same instrument [179]

She mentions the tendency to vary rhythm or to change the length of verses to suit additional words. In relation to the Cajun song, *'Un Pauvre Hobo',* she says: 'Another feature of this song which is quite characteristically Cajun is the apparent uneven rhythm'.[180] With regard to another song, '*Jolie Blonde*', she says:

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[177] *Cajun & Creole Music* vol 1 inlay notes
[178] Whitfield, 68.
[179] *Ibid*
[180] *Ibid.*, 81

The second and third verses illustrate the freedom which Cajuns assume in singing additional words and lines in different verses. Different phrases of the music are repeated to supply the beats necessary for the rhythm. [181]

Many of these characteristics can be heard as has been shown in Creole music as well, for example '*J'ai Fait Tout le Tours Du Pays'*. It can therefore be reasonably concluded that at some stage before 1934, the music of the Cajun community and quite probably that of the Black Creole community had either undergone substantial change, had been replaced with newer music, or was in the process of undergoing change, ultimately (until recently) relegating the older French folksongs described above to the privacy of the home. Ryan Brasseaux claims that the most innovative time in the life of Cajun music was what he calls the 'Cajun swing' period (a subgenre of a music otherwise known as 'Texas' 'western' or 'country' swing) of the mid 1930s and 1940s – the period immediately subsequent to the Lomax recordings. [182] Later in the 1950s, proof of this mixing of genres, lyrics and styles was still evident among Cajun musicians. Doris Leon (D.L.) Menard, a Cajun singer from Erath, Louisiana, sang covers of Hank Williams' country songs. He sang songs mainly in English and played in a dance music band called 'The Aces'. After hearing Williams' 1952 hit 'Honky Tonk Blues' he wrote a song – '*La Porte d'en Arriere'* (The Back Door) that he admits is based on Williams' song, claiming: 'The words just came to me. I based the tune on Hank Williams' Honky Tonk Blues'. I changed the tune some and made up words in French'.[183] This is very apparent when both recordings are listened to, in turn.

Excerpts of 'Honky Tonk Blues' and '*La Porte d'en Arriere'* can be heard back to back at the following location:

https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigrationcasestudies/louisiana-french-music-1

(go to ex.11) [184]

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[181] *Ibid.*, 83.

[182] Brasseaux, *Cajun Breakdown: The Emergence of an American-Made Music*, 24.

[183] Barry Jean Ancelet, Morgan Elemore, and Rinzler, *Cajun and Creole Music Makers* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1999), 51.

[184] The theme of Honky Tonk Blues, the young man going out to the dance hall and staying out late much to the disapproval of his father, is very loosely replicated in Menard's song. The song however is played as a two-step -closer to 2/4 rhythm than to the 4/4 rhythm of Honky Tonk Blues—and the instrumentation features an accordion as the lead instrument instead of steel guitar as in Honky Tonk Blues.

Or: USB/Audio/2.24

An indication of how awkward these musical 'marriages' could be is indicated by the fact that Menard's band was not initially enthralled by the song.

> 'The band didn't want to record 'La Porte d'en Arriere' at first. They said the music didn't fit […] My uncle Edwin who played with us said 'D.L., it sounds all right, just you and the guitar, but when the whole band plays, it doesn't sound right'.[185]

However, the song was recorded with the whole band, and went on to be a big success for them within the Cajun community.

3.6 Change in the flow of influence

Ironically, given the overwhelming dominance of Anglo-American culture in the United States in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, the flow of influence has, since the mid-1960s, after the Cajun and Creole cultural revivals, become somewhat more of a two-way process. Both Cajun and Creole music (the latter under the newer name of '*zydeco*') became very popular, initially in the Anglo-American world, but ultimately in many other parts of the world as well. Cajun and zydeco music, once localised minority-interest musics, are now well known and are imitated much further afield in the world than South Louisiana. It is of course probably too early to say what long-lasting influence this will have on other genres of music.

3.7 Interviews with cajun musicians and researchers

What do the performers and researchers of LFM think of the journey it has taken and the changes it has undergone? As part of my research in Louisiana in 2012 and 2013, I interviewed several musicians to get their perspectives. Two of the interviewees, musician David Greely and academic and writer Barry Ancelet, were each recorded over two different sessions. In the case of Ancelet both interviews were in the University of Louisiana at Lafeyette. Greely was interviewed once in a café in downtown Lafayette and again at his home in Breaux bridge, about twenty miles from Lafayette. Musicians Kristi Guillory, Mitch Reed and Joe Hall were all interviewed in their homes. I started by seeking their views on the Louisiana French Ballads.

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[185] Ancelet, Elemore & Rinzler, 1995, 53.

There is a perception among some of the musicians and researchers I interviewed that the French ballads, or rather the singing of these ballads, lacks emotion when compared to contemporary Louisiana French music. Emotion is often seen as one of the main traits of Cajun and Creole music. Both Barry Ancelet and musician David Greely mentioned this point. David Greely says of the old French ballads for example that 'There is definitely a different form of emotional release [….] it's not as released (as in Cajun or creole music), it's a little bit more controlled.'[186] Ancelet when referring to Louisiana's 'Classic singing style…that really high-pitched, emotionally-charged singing style', contrasts it to ballad singer Odile Falcon's style of singing in the song '*Au Pont de Nantes*', Ancelet says 'We were looking for something with more emotion. It's way too sing-song, way too predictable'.[187]

David Greely also mentioned a rhythmic difference between the two styles of singing to me. In referring to French traditional song, Greely says that he has never been very interested in French music adding that, 'music from Poitou[188] is something you can take a walk to…there's hardly any syncopation in it.[189]

Barry Ancelet and others however, argue that the creation of indigenous Cajun music did not mark a complete break with the older French songs,

> As many have pointed out, Cajun music is the result of a remarkable cultural evolution. An important part of this process of creolization involved the compression and condensation of ballads into tight, impressionistic dance music lyrics.[190]

From this it would appear that the advent of contemporary Louisiana French dance-music in particular, marked a substantial shift in the music-making of Louisiana's French-speaking communities.

Musician and researcher Kristi Guillory agrees that the old ballad tradition went on to influence Cajun dance music although she views the two as being different.

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[186] David Greely Interview 1, Carpe Diem cafe, Lafayette, Louisiana, interview by Brian Ó hUiginn, Audio recording, 2 November, 2012. (7'52").
[187] Barry Ancelet Interview 1, (29'20").
[188] *Poitou* is the region in France from which most of the emigrants to the Canadian region of Acadia came. Thus this region holds a particular interest for Cajuns.
[189] David Greely interview 1, (5'20")
[190] Various artists, *Women's Home Music*. Sleeve notes.

> In some ways the dance tradition has sort of come from the ballad tradition. It's almost like it's kind of branched out. People used to, experiment and add. They put instrumentation to some of these old ballads and turned them into a dance tune. Then there's an instrumental tradition a fiddle tradition–some of these old fiddle tunes, people added words to them–you have a whole grouping of songs that come from that.[191]

This was reinforced by a comment from David Greely: 'You can take any tune and make a two-step out of it and call it something else'.[192] When I interviewed him, Ancelet referenced, as an example of this, the song '*J'ai Fait Faire un Bateau sur Mer'*,[193] a medieval French song which tells the story of a man who wants to marry a girl who is too young. She asks him to come back in a few years when she is older. An example of the song recorded in 2005 by French singer Michel Benhaim is given here

https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigrationcasestudies/louisiana-french-music-1

(go to Ex 12)

Or: USB/Audio/2.25

Ancelet says that he has never been able to find a traditional ballad version of this song in Louisiana but that it must have been there at some stage because a waltz with lyrics (*Valse De La Belle*) that tell the same story, is sung by Cajun musicians.[194] An example of '*Valse De La Belle'*, sung by Cajun musician Shirley Bergeron,[195] and originally recorded sometime in the 1950s, is given below.

https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigrationcasestudies/louisiana-french-music-1

(go to Ex 8)

Or: USB/Audio/2.26

Ancelet feels that the lyrics of the old ballads were recycled into the new music. In relation to the similarities between '*J'ai Fait Faire Un Bateau Sur Mer'* and '*Valse De La Belle'*, he feels that the lyrics of '*Valse De La Belle'* may have been borrowed 'It's

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[191] Kristi Guillory Interview, at her home in Lafayette, Louisiana, interview by Brian Ó hUiginn, Audio recording, 14 February, 2013.

[192] Greeley Interview 2, (53'51")

[193] Ancelet Interview 1, (57'40"),

[194] Ancelet Interview 1, (58'05").

[195] Various artists, *Ultimate Cajun*, CD (Metairie, Louisiana: Mardi Gras Records, 2002), track 17.

virtually the same storyline but the lyrics are not exactly the same, and one of the reasons is that it got pressed into service'.[196]

All the musicians and researchers I interviewed in Louisiana stated that the culture of the Black Creole community strongly affected Louisiana French music. This was in almost all cases expressed as being an African influence. Musician and singer Kristi Guillory, for example, contrasts the dance music of Louisiana with the singing tradition. The latter has links with France but the former, she points out, is purely a Louisiana tradition. When asked to speculate why that might be, she responded that it was due to the 'African influence'.[197] She points out that while the music of singing and the music of dance was separated in French tradition, it was:

> [...] really the African tradition, that when you look at what they were doing, they were mixing dance and singing and music all at the same time, and it didn't just happen here in Louisiana [...] that happened all over the United States, in Appalachian tradition as well [198]

Fiddler Mitch Reed says 'I think the biggest influence in Cajun, Creole, Zydeco ... of the music that's made here in this region is the African influence'.[199] Creole singer and accordion player Joe Hall also espouses the idea of African influence as a strong ingredient in the Louisiana mix, while also emphasising the European component. 'You have African influence, you definitely have European influence'.[200] Barry Ancelet instances many African influences in Cajun music including blues notes (see quotation about mixing music above) and the previously mentioned elongated vowels [201]while David Greely attributes the presence of polyrhythm in Cajun music to an African influence. [202]

David Greely mentioned the introduction of new material by various bands he worked with over the last forty years. He mentions how this had to be handled with care as audiences might often reject innovative or new pieces. They had a preference for hearing what they already knew and would regularly ask for particular tunes to be

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[196] Ancelet interview 1, (59'03").
[197] Guillory interview, (5' 09").
[198] *Ibid*., (5' 33").
[199] Reed Interview (5' 26").
[200] Joe Hall interview, at his home in Arnaudville, Louisiana, interview by Brian Ó hUiginn, audio recording, 14 February, 2013.(5'40").
[201] Ancelet interview 1, (1. 05'. 41").
[202] Greeley interview 1, (40'48").

played. He mentioned that trying to push new material on country audiences might be perceived as insulting them. Speaking about the audiences he said:

> We had these conflicts of musical taste with them and it was on negotiation every night. I had a really strong sense that I was expected to be a function of their society. I wasn't a star' [203]

Greely was keen to emphasise that he was glad that the audiences had that tendency to change only very slowly, as he felt that it kept the tradition alive. He played the fiddle with the band 'Steve Riley and the Mamou Playboys'. He referred to how new music would be introduced for the first time at a country dance and often nobody would dance to it. 'We could clear a dance floor'.[204] Gradually at subsequent dances, a few people would dance and the new item would gradually come to be accepted. On the other hand, when they played at folk festivals all over the world they had audiences dancing who did not even know the Cajun dances.[205] In this latter scenario it was easier to perform new material, and so, this was often where innovation was introduced. This made for two types of performances, one for the Louisiana country audience and another one for national or international audiences.

3.8 Louisiana French Music summary

I started this chapter by pointing out that the relative neatness and simplicity of the creolisation process in Gaelic psalm singing is not always the case in other creolised musics. Louisiana French Music proves the point. A creolisation process has been at work, the results of which might sometimes seem minor, such as the blues-tinged songs '*Belle*', and '*Goodbye Ma Chère Ami*'. At other times it can seem as though the influence from a neighbouring singing style is much more pronounced, as is the case with the Hoffpauir sisters' rendition of '*Six Ans Sur Mer*' or Elita Hoffpauir's singing of '*Les Clefs De La Prison*'. There are instances where the mix is quite complex, as has been seen in '*J'ai fait Tout le Tours du Pays*', where the three music cultures appear to influence each other considerably, and '*Dégo*', where at least two of the three relevant musics – Black Creole and Cajun –have contributed to the mix. As might be expected, the blues influence is strongest in Black Creole music. In 1934, that music, even when

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[203] Greely interview 2 (23'54").
[204] *Ibid.,* (25'13").
[205] *Ibid.,*(25'49").

sung in Louisiana French Creole, seems to have been extremely close to English language blues, as seen in *'La-bas Chez Moreau'* and *'Blues de La Prison'*.

Later examples of creolisation in LFM appear to show attempts to imitate Anglo-American music trends. Some people may have viewed these as falling uncomfortably and awkwardly short of the mark, as was the case with *'La Porte d'en Arriere'* (given the complaints from Menard's band), but ultimately many of these new songs found a receptive audience among a bilingual community used to hearing new and what might have appeared to them to be exciting material in English. Perhaps they welcomed the attempts to provide a version of Anglo-American music that was localised to some extent and took account of their cultural difference. Taking the 1934 recordings and subsequent developments in LFM together, Louisiana appears to conform to Bruno Nettl's idea, outlined in Chapter One, of a society and a music culture that is more open to and welcoming of, outside influences However, the comments by David Greely detailing the slow acceptance of change among country audiences seem to suggest a tendency that may have countered this, an attitude that was somewhat less than welcoming, in the immediate term at least, of innovation in LFM.[206] Given the pressure of the overwhelmingly larger Anglo-American culture around it and the much bigger African-American subgroup within this culture, substantial and frequent change in LFM may have been a necessity rather than a virtue. This is a point that will be examined further in Chapter Five.

Although commentators, such as Sara le Menestrel, state that the differences between Cajun and Creole music were not widely recognised prior to the 1950s, that division (recognised by both Lomax and Whitfield) has given rise to the two different subgenres of modern Louisiana French music: 'zydeco' (Black Creole) and 'Cajun'. Developments within, and greater identification with, the music of the general African-American community on the one hand by the Creole community (*zydeco*), and the conventions of European-American folk music on the other (Cajun) are perhaps pulling the two in separate directions. [207] As a creolised music, LFM became a very broad church

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[206] A similar community 'gatekeeping' role around new music will also be seen in the next chapter.

[207] There are in fact several groups opposed to what is seen as the 'Cajun-isation' of Black Creole culture, and even some who oppose the idea of Black Creole culture being viewed separately to African-American culture in general. The pressure groups 'Un-Cajun Committee' and 'Creole Inc. ' have long objected to Louisiana French society being referred to solely as 'Cajun' and have fought hard to have the Creole experience recognized as something different.. See: 'On Bayou, Non-Cajuns Fight for

involving, in the eighty years or more since the Lomax recordings, such genres as Western swing instrumental music, country music, soul, blues and rock and roll, but all with a distinctively Louisiana-French flavour.

LFM is a music that has undergone, in the twentieth century, a process of 'Americanisation' to use Ryan Brasseaux's term[208], but in undergoing this process it has wrought changes of its own on the mainstream music of Anglophone America as that music is played in South Louisiana.

Recognition—NYTimes.com,' accessed 15 February, 2016, http://www.nytimes.com/1997/11/23/us/on-bayou-non-cajuns-fight-for-recognition.html. See also: Bernard, *The Cajuns: Americanisation of a People* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2003), 142.

[208] Brasseaux, *Cajun Breakdown: The Emergence of an American-Made Music*.

CHAPTER 4

THE CONTEMPORARY IRISH LANGUAGE SONG GENRE OF SOUTH CONNEMARA

4.1 Introduction

The previous two chapters dealt with two very different instances of creolisation. The relatively narrow musical focus in the case of creolisation in Gaelic psalm singing, contrasts with the very wide musical focus in the case of Louisiana French Music. The former creolisation might be termed focused and intense, the latter widespread and perhaps lighter. This chapter details a case study which, in many ways, encompasses elements from both of the previous studies, albeit in a different setting. Historically speaking, this is the most recent of the three case studies.

The events leading to this particular case of creolisation in music occurred in the region of south Connemara, an Irish-speaking part of rural west County Galway in Ireland in the 1980s. In this chapter I will demonstrate a musical creolisation process that saw two separate genres of music, one a traditional form of singing, the other a more contemporary music genre, being mixed to form a third and new genre. The traditional form of singing in question is often called *sean-nós* (old-style) singing, the contemporary genre is known since the late 1960s or early 1970s as 'country and Irish'. Examples of the new genre will be analysed, to show evidence of the creolisation process and to see which elements of the 'parent' musics can be found in the creolised music. The type of performance occasion and the attitudes of both singer and listener to the creolised music will also be discussed. Separately, this chapter will look at possible reasons for this musical mix having occurred where and when it did.

As the genre is small in terms of performers and audience, two performers and their songs will feature more prominently than others in this chapter. One, John Beag Ó Flatharta is often credited as being the originator of the genre, the other, Beairtle Ó Domhnaill, was one of the earliest to adopt the style and is one of its best known performers. In August 2014, I travelled to Foirnis in Connemara to interview Ó Domhnaill, to get his perspective on the music and his part in its development. Parts of that interview will be included here with translations by me. Other exponents of the

style will also be discussed. Consideration will also be given to the songwriters who produce material that is used in the genre. As will be seen, their role in its development is reckoned by many to have been pivotal.

In the 1980s, an Irish-language singing style emerged in the bilingual community of South Connemara that marked a departure from the local traditional singing style. This local singing style, known as *sean-nós*,[1] was used for songs in the Irish language and had been the main singing style in that community for as far back as is remembered. Many young people in the area also had an interest (in common with people in other rural parts of Ireland) in a more mainstream English language music called 'country and Irish', a style of music whose main exponents sang a mix of sentimental ballads with themes of rural life in Ireland, alongside some American country songs. It could be said that the two styles – *sean-nós* and 'country and Irish'– were compartmentalised. Until that time, members of the community would listen to, and in some cases sing, in both styles, but on different occasions and generally never together. *Sean-nós* singing suited the intimacy of the home and was generally sung solo, as were the ballads of Lowland Scotland and Louisiana, for an audience of intent listeners. In the twentieth century it had also come into performance halls, but for competitions[2] rather than parties or dances. Country and Irish music, on the other hand, was the preserve of major dancehalls and big public houses in rural Ireland. Its main social function was for dancing. As well as being in different languages, the singing styles of the two were very different. This will be shown later in the chapter.

Sometime in the early 1980s, a breakdown of this compartmentalisation occurred, leading to what many would consider a new style of music which demonstrated elements of both the old singing style and the more contemporary style. To those familiar with 'country and Irish' music, the rhythms and the structure of the new songs would have been familiar, but the delivery, particularly in terms of ornamentation, would have sounded quite strange. To those familiar with Connemara *sean-nós* style,

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[1] The term *sean-nós* meaning 'old style' is sometimes used to describe any unaccompanied solo singing of an old song, which is sung in the Irish language. This is problematic as there are in fact at least three quite distinct styles of singing in the three main dialect areas, making the term somewhat awkward or even redundant in terms of precision.

[2] A national competition for sean-nós singing has featured in the Irish language cultural festival known as the *Oireachtas* for many years. The competition involves sean-nós singers from around the country competing for the Ó Riada cup *Corn Uí Riada*. Competitions are held locally, the winners moving on to the national competition.

the language, the timbre of the singers' voices, some of the themes, and the vocal ornamentation would be familiar, but the rhythms, the instrumentation and the performance delivery would have sounded and looked very strange.

It was recognised from the beginning that this was a new genre of music. Writer and publisher, Micheál Ó Conghaíle, talking about the first group to sing in this style, in an interview in the Irish-language online journal, *Beo* states:

> […] *nuair a thosaigh John Beag agus na hAncairí ag ceol, rinne siad rud áitiúil den cheol tíre.*[…]. *Rinne siad nasc an-nádúrtha idir na hamhráin traidisiúnta agus an ceol tíre.*[3]

> […] when John Beag and *na hAncairí* started playing, they made a local thing of country music. […]. They made a very natural connection between the traditional songs and country music.[4]

A local newspaper, the *Mayo News*, describing the music of John Beag Ó Flatharta, the main singer with *Na hAncairí*, said:

> With his band, 'Na hAncairí', he developed a unique style of singing. He blends English ballads with the Connemara sean-nós and tints songs composed in the Irish language with a rich dollop of the rhythm found in American country music straight from the sidewalks of Nashville.[5]

In describing an album by another exponent of this music mix, Beairtle Ó Domhnaill, record production company and publication house, *Cló Iar-Chonnachta*, states on its website:

> *Is stíl Ghaelcheol tíre atá sna hamhráin ar an albam seo, stíl ar chuir Beairtle agus John Beag Ó Flatharta tús léi, atá le cloisteáil go forleathan anois i gConamara.*[6]

> The songs on this album are in Gaelic Country music style, a style started by Beairtle and John Beag Ó Flatharta and now to be heard widely in Connemara.

Writer and producer Donncha Ó hÉallaithe, who produced a landmark recording of this music[7] says:

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[3] Breandán Delap, 'Mícheál Ó Conghaile,' *Beo!*, accessed 19 February, 2015, http://www.beo.ie/alt-micheal-o-conghaile.aspx.

[4] The translations in all cases are my own

[5] Willie McHugh, 'John Beag Ó Flatharta's Simple Forumula,' *Mayo News*, 7 May, 2012, sec. Comment and Opinion-South of The Border.??

[6] 'Nancy Bhán (CD) | CIC,' accessed 19 February, 2015, http://www.cic.ie/music/non-digital/nancy-bhan-cd.

Is stíl í ina bhfuil an nasc déanta idir ornáidíocht an tsean-nóis, stíl na mBailéad Éireannacha a chruthaíodh sna seascaidí agus ceol tíre Mheiriceá. Anois is stíl Chonamara atá ann

It's a style where a link has been made between the ornamentation of *sean-nós,* the style of the Irish ballads that was created in the sixties, and American country music. Now it's the style of Connemara[8]

This new genre of music still does not have a dedicated name that is commonly accepted, although a few attempts have been made. Writer and critic, Barra Ó Séaghdha, describes it as 'Country and Gaeltacht'[9] and, as quoted above, *Cló Iar-Chonnacht* refer to it as *Gaelcheol Tíre* [Gaelic Country Music]. For the remainder of this chapter I have decided to use the name 'Connemara country music' as a term of convenience to describe it.

The new genre of music has been performed by many players/singers and bands in the south Connemara region since the early to mid-1980s. It is strongly associated with the local dialect of the Irish language and sometimes displays a sentimental and emotional attachment to an older way of life in the region, now gone. Given its association with the local language, and given various prognoses for the future of Irish as a natively-spoken community language being quite bleak, [10] it seems reasonable to presume that it probably will not survive the death of the natively-spoken language in the area in the not too distant future.

4.1.1 Texts and recordings used in this case study

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[7] Various artists, *Gaelcheol Tíre- Pléaráca Chonamara*, CD, vol. 1, 1 vols. (Indreabhán: Cló Iar-Chonnacht, 1994).
[8] *Ibid.*, sleeve notes.
[9] 'Live Reviews: Seán Ó hÉanaigh' | *The Journal of Music,* (1/5/2008), accessed 14 February, 2015, http://journalofmusic.com/criticism/live-reviews-sean-o-heanaigh.
[10] See: Conchúr Ó Giollagáin et al., 'Comprehensive Linguistic Study of the Use of Irish in the Gaeltacht: Principle Findings And Recommendations—A Research Report Prepared for the Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs' (Acadamh na hOlscolaíochta NUIG/ National Institute for Regional and Spatial Analysis NUI Maynooth, 2007). This report stated on the evidence available at the time, that within fifteen to twenty years Irish would have ceased to be the predominant community and family language in all Gaeltacht areas (p.27). A subsequent report commissioned by *Údarás na Gaeltachta* (The Gaeltacht authority) and published in 2015 states that this prognosis was overly optimistic and that it would be hard to envisage the language having a further ten years as a community language in any Gaeltacht area. See: Conchúr Ó Giollagáin and Martin Charlton, 'Nuashonrú ar an Staidéar Cuimsitheach Teangeolaíoch Ar Úsáid na Gaeilge sa Ghaeltacht: 2006–2011',(Údarás na Gaeltachta, 2015), 6.

The recordings featured in this chapter come from Country and Irish music, *sean-nós* singing and Connemara country music. For *sean-nós* singing I have used a song taken from the National University of Ireland's Joe Heaney Archives based in Carna, Connemara; [11] one from a commercially available collection,[12] and one from an RTÉ television programme.[13] The singers are Joe Éinniú, Nan Ghriallais, and Dara Bán MacDonnchadh. These have been chosen as they are I think representative of the singers who would have been singing publicly and on the airwaves in the years leading up to the birth of connemara country music. All three were mentioned for example by Beairtle Ó Domhnaill in the interview I did with him. For Country and Irish examples I have used commercially available examples from duo Foster and Allen,[14] singer Big Tom McBride,[15] and the late Bridie Gallagher.[16] I have chosen these because they represent three strands of country and Irish music, in Bridie Gallagher's case, an early minifestation of the genre. Foster and Allen are used as a later example of the sentimental ballad sung with country music instrumentation in waltz time. Big Tom, often thought of as the 'king' of country and Irish music, and certainly one of its earliest and best known exponents, sings an example of a song in 'jive' time, which was important for audiences who wanted a faster alternative to the waltz. As regards Connemara country music, many early recordings of the singers and bands were made on cassette tapes and are now out of print and not readily available. A few songs from these cassettes are still to be found on YouTube although the standard of the audio varies. For this study I have included some of these songs from YouTube.[17] In addition, I have used a song from Beairtle Ó Domhnaill's album *Nancy Bhán*, [18] a more recent YouTube recording from a TG4 (Irish language television) series [19] and an item from a commercially available collection of the new music on CD. [20] The singers I have chosen include John Beag Ó Flatharta – originator of the genre, Beairtle Ó Domhnaill, one of the earliest singers in the genre and well-known to south conamara audiences. Finally Anne Marie Nic Dhonncha, Patrick Connolly and *Fóidín Meara* represent a newer

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[11] See: 'Joe Éinniú' accessed 17 February, 2015, http://www.joeheaney.org/default.asp?contentID=1002.
[12] Various artists, *Corn Uí Riada- Buaiteoirí 1972-2007*, CD (Cló Iar-Chonnacht, 2009).
[13] 'Dara Bán Mac Donnchadha,Róisín Dubh, 1987, Come West along the Road, RTE, Amhrán Seannós Song—YouTube,' accessed 13 September, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZabcrT12NR4.
[14] Mick Foster and Tony Allen, *Foster and Allen- The Ultimate Collection*, CD (Demon, 2012).
[15] Big Tom, *Big Tom-The Ultimate Collection*, CD, vol. 1 (EMI Blackwood Music Inc, 2014).
[16] Bridie Gallagher, *The Very Best of Bridie Gallagher*, CD -3 CD set (K-Tel, 2009).
[17] Details of individual items will be given as they are mentioned.
[18] Beairtle Ó Domhnaill, *Nancy Bhán*, CD (Cló Iar-Chonnacht, 2010).
[19] *Peigín Audley*, Abair Amhrán (TG4, 2007), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U8dVY9hRaIA.
[20] Various artists, *Gaelcheol Tíre- Pléaráca Chonamara*.

generation who have taken to singing in this genre, which in my opinion is an important step in a music moving from being a pidgin to being a creolised music.

Other recorded material I have used apart from my own interview with Beairtle Ó Domhnaill, includes an interview from RTÉ Radio na Gaeltachta (Irish language radio station),[21] a programme from TG4 featuring one of the main songwriters writing for the new genre of music[22] and from an RTÉ (Irish national television service) documentary on country and Irish music.[23]

The sources, which are varied, help to build a picture of how music and song in the local dialect of Irish developed in South Connemara in the 1980s in the way it did.

As with the other case studies, this chapter does not set out to provide a full description of all the variants of either Connemara *sean-nós* style or country and Irish music. In the latter in particular, the variations within the genre are quite large. It should suffice to demonstrate elements from each 'parent' that are normally not found in the other, but that are found in the mix. A particular subdivision of country and Irish, the Irish country ballad—songs set in or about Ireland with a sentimental theme—will be the main focus of attention when dealing with the Country and Irish music canon. The next section will give an idea of the geographical area under consideration.

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[21] *'Liza mo Stór agus Scéálta Eile'*, Radio documentary series, episode 3 (Radió na Gaeltachta, 25 January, 2016).

[22] Peter Carr, *Tomás na n-Amhrán*, Documentary (TG4, 2003), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hOCuqEXh5Fw.

[23] Karen McGrath, *A Little Bit Country—Big Tom*, Documentary (RTE, 2006), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z4epWGB2pYA&feature=youtu.be.

4.1.2 South Connemara
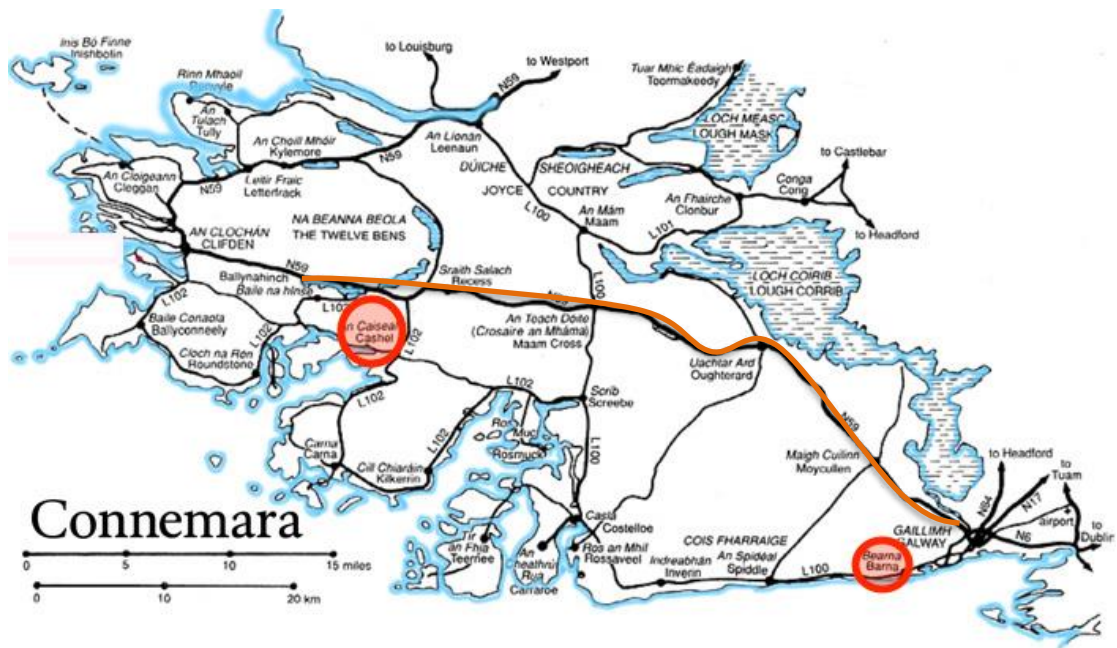
Figure 4.1: Connemara. The main Irish language area runs roughly westwards along the coast from Bearna to Caiseal (marked with red circles) and northwards from the coast to the road marked in red here. This area is known as south Connemara. The area above this line is known as North Connemara. The area of North Connemara also extends into South Mayo. North Connemara also has a native Irish-speaking population, but this is much smaller than that of the south.[24]

Connemara is located in the western part of Ireland and the west of County Galway. As cartographer and author Tim Robinson points out, it has no official boundary[25] and therefore descriptions of its extent can vary. It is sometimes taken to be the whole rural area west and north-west of Galway city, spreading into parts of south-west Mayo. It is an area known for its rugged scenic beauty in the north and in the south for its cultural distinctiveness, having the largest native Irish-speaking population in Ireland.[26] South Connemara is the area of interest to this study. The South Connemara Irish-speaking or *Gaeltacht*[27] region covers an area, starting about eight miles west of Galway city and stretching about twenty to thirty miles west of there. To the south and west, it is bounded by the Atlantic, to the north by the Twelve Bens mountain range. Beyond the

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[24] Source: http://www.housesaleireland.com/location.htm (modified by me).

[25] Tim Robinson, *Connemara Part 1* (Galway: Folding Landscapes, 1990). 5.

[26] It is one of three areas left with substantial numbers of native speakers the others being in north-west Donegal and in West Kerry. These communities each speak one of the main dialect variations of modern Irish. There are native-speaking Irish communities in other areas but these are generally much smaller..

[27] The word *Gaeltacht* in Irish is borrowed from Scots Gaelic. In the latter, as seen in the previous chapter it is used for the whole Highland area whereas in Irish it refers only to an Irish-speaking area.

Twelve Bens, lies North Connemara, which stretches from there into parts of South Mayo (see Figure 4.1).

The northern part is mountainous, containing Connemara National Park, a wildlife and hillwalking reserve. It also has the towns of Cleggan, Renvyle, Clifden and Oughterard. It is predominantly English-speaking, although a small section of the population is Irish-speaking. South Connemara consists of lower-lying, stonier and boggier landscapes. Here, the population is mainly Irish-speaking.[28] Traditionally, many of the people living in the South Connemara area subsisted on fishing and small levels of farming. Emigration to parts of Britain and to America has been a major part of the migration patterns of the people. The major waves of emigration from Connemara started some time after the Great Famine.(1845-1849). [29] This pattern of emigration has continued sporadically right up to the present, although the main waves in the twentieth century occurred in the 1920s and 1930s, and then again in the 1950s and 1980s. Although some people from later waves of emigration returned after a number of years abroad to rear children in their home place, most stayed overseas.

During the recent past, the area has suffered a lot from unemployment, despite government efforts to promote industrial development through a local authority *Údarás na Gaeltachta* [The Gaeltacht Authority]. To get a better understanding of how and why this decline occurred, it is necessary to briefly consider Irish Gaelic society between 1600 and 1900.

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[28] The situation is complicated by the fact that the 'official *Gaeltacht*' —areas recognized by the Irish government as *Gaeltacht* areas —is much larger in size than many experts would accept as being truly *Gaeltacht*. In many of these areas, Irish has long ceased to be a community, or even a family language. This leads to some strange anomalies. The expansion of Galway city into outlying areas that the government counts as *Gaeltacht* for example has led to a situation where 'There are now more people in the city of Galway technically living in the *Gaeltacht* than there are in the Connemara *Gaeltacht*'— Raymond Hickey, *The Dialects of Irish: Study of a Changing Landscape* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011). 7.

[29] According to historian Dr. Gerard Moran, Connemara did not experience major emigration even after the famine until a subsistence crisis due to congestion, which occurred between the years 1879-1882. Subsequent schemes for assisted emigration, with both private and government funds enabled many to leave 'Over 6,000 people had their passage paid to North America in the early 1880s representing about 12% of Connemara's population. Families were mainly assisted with at least one member having English and a high number of breadwinners in each group'. Assisted emigration ended in 1884 due to the opposition of the Irish Party and its leader, Charles Stuart Parnell and the Catholic bishops. However it started a trend, which continued into the twentieth century. Dr. Gerard Moran, 'Emigration from Connemara' (Uncovering Our Connemara Roots, a genealogical conference, Clifden: Clifden and Connemara Heritage Society, 2012), http://clifdenheritage.org/emigration-from-Connemara-by-gerard-moran-paper-delivered-by-dr-gerard-moran-lecturer-in-the-dept-of-history-nui-maynooth-at-uncovering-our-Connemara-roots-a-genealogical-conference-held-in-clifde/.

4.2 Historical and cultural background 1600—1900

As was the case in Scotland, Irish Gaelic high society went into decline from late medieval times, although the decline was initially much slower than the Scottish one. However, unlike Scotland, events in Ireland mainly in the first half of the seventeenth century, decimated the native Irish aristocracy and by extension the culture it had led and patronised. Religious wars in Britain and Ireland, culminating in the Battle of Kinsale (1601) followed by the the flight into exile of many of the Gaelic aristocracy of Ulster (1607), known as 'The Flight of the Earls', together with the Plantation of Ulster (1609), caused a fundamental change to society (beginning in Ulster), in terms of population, language and religion. The Cromwellian conquest of 1649 (following a rebellion in 1641 by Irish Catholic nobility) expanded on this, as did the Cromwellian settlement of 1652 when estates owned by local lords were confiscated and granted to members of Cromwell's army and merchants in Britain, in settlement of debts. These events changed forever the composition of the Irish upper class, and ended the days of a separate Irish Gaelic aristocracy. Unlike in Scotland where the local aristocracy was gradually anglicised, and where patronage of Gaelic arts continued until well into the eighteenth century, the native aristocracy in Ireland was largely replaced by a landowning class – one for whom the Gaelic high arts (mainly poetry, storytelling, genealogy and harp music) were irrelevant and therefore unrequired. The impact was relatively sudden and severe at the top of society. The classical form of Irish (used by the upper classes and literati) came to an end. Landowners were now mainly English-speaking. Patronage of the Gaelic arts was severely curtailed and eventually led to the demise of the literati.. Classical Irish [30] verse, part of the same bardic tradition that was found in Scotland, was replaced by Irish stressed metre verse which was already in use among the lower classes. English became firmly established as the language of the upper class, merchants, professionals, and the aspiring.

However much this affected the *status* of the language, it did not initially affect the number of Irish speakers in an adverse way. Since social advancement was difficult for the peasantry anyway, given the social boundaries of the time, and as in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there were penal laws discriminating against Catholics and Protestant dissenters in Ireland, for the bulk of the population there was no advantage in

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[30] Classical, or Early Modern Irish was a literary language used by the Irish aristocracy and professional classes between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries. This is the same language that is referred to as classical Gaelic in Scotland.

being able to speak English. Among the Catholic population, it was mainly the merchant class in towns and cities who spoke English, and in country towns and rural areas even these were often bilingual. However, by 1840, as a result of population growth, and despite the low status of the language,[31] there were, based on the population figures[32] probably more Irish speakers in Ireland than there had ever been.

Two events in the nineteenth century changed this. The first was itself a two-fold development. Catholic Emancipation in 1829, allied to the growth of public service opportunities in the civil administration meant that social and economic advancement was now possible for much of the population, provided a person spoke English, the language of public administration. The second event was the Famine of 1846-9, which decimated the population, hitting the poorer Irish speaking areas disproportionately. In addition, the boom in economic growth in America in the nineteenth century meant that emigration offered some hope of a better life. However, a knowledge of English was also required in order to prosper there. Although a shift to English among the Irish speaking population had been underway for quite some time before the Famine, this became steady and rapid in its aftermath.

By the end of the nineteenth century, Irish had mainly retreated to rural areas of the south, west, and north-west and was rapidly declining even in these areas. This decline continued throughout the twentieth century

> The 19th century is when the Irish language experienced its greatest decline. A number of factors contributed to this. The Industrial Revolution spread across the country. In the 1840s, the Irish potato famine took its toll on the rural population of Ireland, who were the bulk of the Irish speakers. During this time there was widespread death and emigration, especially among Irish speakers. Emigration was primarily to English-speaking places like Canada, the United States, and Australia, so a whole generation of Irish speakers was lost.[33]

4.2.1 Cultural change and language shift in Connemara 1900-1980

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[31] In 1841, there were around four million Irish speakers in Ireland. By 1891 due to famine and emigration, among other factors, the figure had fallen dramatically to around 680,000 see: Ian Kennedy, 'The Decline of the Irish Language in the Nineteenth Century.' (Drew University Transatlantic Connections Conference, Atlantic Apartotel Bundoran, 2015), http://www.yeatssociety.com/news/2015/03/09/the-decline-of-the-irish-language-in-the-nineteenth-century/.

[32] See: Cormac Ó Gráda, 'The Population of Ireland 1700-1900', *Annales de Démographie Historique* Volume 1979, issue 1 (1979). 283

[33] Andrew Carnie, 'Modern Irish: A Case Study in Language Revival Failure,' *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics*, no. 28 (1996): 99–144, 102.

The process of language shift that took place in other parts of Ireland in the mid- to late nineteenth century had occurred more slowly in some southern, western and north-western parts of the country. The Gaelic League[34] from 1893, and later the government of the Irish Free State, attempted to bolster the status of the Irish language, both in Irish-speaking areas and nationally, but economic decline and the accompanying population decline, as well as the development of mass media film, radio and T.V. saw a continued deterioration in status and usage of the language in *Gaeltacht* areas throughout the twentieth century.

In the 1960s, a greater self-awareness within the Connemara *Gaeltacht* community led to efforts to organise politically and culturally. In 1969, a group called *Gluaiseacht Chearta Sibhialta na Gaeltachta* [The Gaeltacht Civil Rights Movement] was founded and campaigned for better language rights and economic development for Irish-speaking regions.. A pirate radio station called *Saor-raidió Chonamara* [Connemara Free Radio] was established in 1970. Ultimately, the government stepped in and established *Raidió na Gaeltachta* [Gaeltacht Radio, abbreviated to RnG] in 1972. [35] In 1979, *Údarás na Gaeltachta* [The Gaeltacht Authority] was established. It was a council for the industrial development of Irish-speaking regions and included elected representatives from *Gaeltacht* communities. These local efforts and government measures led to a certain amount of empowerment for those communities and in particular for people in Connemara, from which much of the agitation for measures such as these had come. However, they did not halt the decline of *Gaeltacht* areas either in terms of emigration or of linguistic retreat in the remaining communities.

4.2.2 *Gael Linn*, *Raidió na Gaeltachta*, and popular music in Irish

For many years, even before the advent of RnG, where new popular music in Irish was being produced, it was mainly in urban areas, often among people who had acquired Irish as a second language. The company, *Gael-Linn*, founded in the 1950s, established a subsidiary recording company which produced contemporary music in Irish (as well as more traditional music items). One of these one song *Báidín Fheidhlimidh* went to

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[34] The Gaelic League or *Conradh na Gaeilge* was founded in 1893 to promote and teach the Irish language. It was established in an attempt to revive the language following the serious decline in the number of Irish speakers that had occurred since the Famine in 1846-9.
[35] Now known as 'RTÉ Radió na Gaeltachta'.

number six in the Irish charts in 1968.[36] At a time when the urban-rural divide was deep in matters cultural, and where attempts were being made to increase the levels of Irish in use in urban areas, a lot of effort was made to produce and promote new contemporary music in Irish.[37] In south Connemara, however, all of this had little effect. With the exception of some humorous songs in Irish by bands such as *Na Cloigne Folamha*[38], new material sung by non-native speakers made little impact. It was not just that the local dialect was not used in the songs, it was possibly also that the type of music did not have widespread appeal. With regard to dialect, John Beag Ó Flatharta observes:

> *Rud eile a bhí ag dul i bhfeidhm orm go mór ná canúint na Gaeilge agus go háirithe canúint [..] Gaeilge Chonnachtach, an Ghaeilge ar tógadh mé féin léithe..... rud nach raibh le cloisteáil ar na meáin, agus chuir mé an-suim ansin. Dúirt mé [...]dá mbeinn ag casadh i nGaeilge [...] gur mhaith liom gaeilge m'áit dhúchais féin a chuir ar na meáin. Cheap mé go raibh sé sin uafásach tábhachtach.*[39]

> Another thing that influenced me greatly was the dialect of Irish and particularly the Connacht Irish […] dialect, the Irish that I was reared with…which was not to be heard on the media, and I was very interested in that. I said that if I was singing in Irish,[…] that I would like to put the Irish of my own native place in the media. I thought that that was very important.

Ó Flatharta's comments place the use of connemara dialect Irish, as one of the central points to his music. If his own feelings were mirrored by his later audiences it would explain why even songs in Irish sung by people from outside the community did not necessarily resonate as well in places like South Connemara. Bands like *Na Fíréin*, a Dublin-based Irish language popular music group who attracted young Irish-speaking audiences elsewhere in the country, did not have as much affect on South Connemara audiences as Connemara country music would later have. However, it was not solely the use of Irish, or the local dialect of Irish, that mattered. Native Irish speaking singers from the area who sang pop or rock music in the local dialect also did not have the same level of demand for their music that Connemara country would later have.. People like P.J. Ó Flatharta (also known by his stage name Barry Ronan) from the Aran island of

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[36] "The Irish Charts - All There Is to Know," accessed May 24, 2017, http://irishcharts.ie/.

[37]. One of songs that epitomised the attempt to provide more contemporary material in Irish was *Cóilín* a love song sung by the band 'We 4' and released in 1967.The music was composed by Roger Whittaker and lyrics by actor Niall Tóibín. See: 'An Siopa Gaeilge—Liosta Ceoil/Music C.D.s. Báidín Fheidhlimíy,' accessed 15 March, 2015, http://www.siopagaeilge.ie/products/Liosta%20Ceol/Amhr%E1in%20Songs/Gaeilge%20Irish/product26d-35.htm.

[38] A band from *An Cheathrú Rua,* a townland in Connemara, who grew out of an amateur drama group in the early seventies.

[39] *Liza Mo Stór agus Scéalta Eile* (46'20" – 46'55")

Inis Mór,[40] sang newly composed disco songs in the local dialect in the early 1980s.[41] Another local musician, Seán Ó hÉanaigh, also produced some rock songs in Irish. The music in all cases was of a high standard, was very much innovative in terms of music in Irish, and won national notice from Irish-speaking audiences, but locally it did not meet with the same level of success that Connemara country music later would. Although language and dialect were important, the issue of music genre appears to have been equally important.

Raidió na Gaeltachta (RnG) provided local programming for *Gaeltacht* regions. In this regard it was successful, particularly in its early days. However, from the outset, RnG also had several problems. Firstly, it broadcast mainly to three non-contiguous Irish-speaking regions using three different dialects. Although the differences between dialects in Irish are not any more severe than the differences between many dialects of English, many people in any one of those areas were not familiar with other dialects and found them difficult.[42] Secondly, material that was of interest in one region was not necessarily of interest to another: for example, local events and death notices. Finally, RnG also had a policy of not broadcasting material in English (this policy lasted for more than thirty years and included song lyrics), thus locking out a major amount of the music that would have been heard on other stations or in dance halls. In practice, this policy was often interpreted as playing only Irish traditional music and song, music that was not necessarily of any interest, or of exclusive interest, to people in *Gaeltacht* communities. The revival in traditional and folk music which had been underway in the United States and in Britain since the early 1960s was also making headway in Ireland by the early seventies and perhaps this revival, coinciding with the establishment of RnG, also contributed to the policy. English language popular music, played elsewhere on the airwaves in Ireland, found no outlet on RnG. The policy affected young people in particular as, in the general population, they formed the bulk of popular music audiences .[43] In south Connemara, two genres of music held sway with many, if not most people. One was sean-nós; the other, Country and Irish.

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[40] The Aran Islands, about twelve miles from the western coast of south Connemara, are linguistically seen mainly as part of the Connemara dialect.

[41] Barry Ronan, *Tráth*, Vinyl LP (Gael-Linn, 1983). CEF 098

[42] In the intervening years RnG may ultimately have helped to alleviate this lack of familiarity with dialects among native speakers. See: Rosemary Day, 'The Irish Language and Radio: A Response,' in *Minority Language Broadcasting: Breton and Irish*, ed. H Kelly-Homes, (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd., 2001), 73–82, 78.

[43] Niamh Hourigan, 'Audience Identification and Radió Na Gaeltachta,' *Irish Communications Review* 6

The community in which these two genres coexisted musically eventually managed to find a way of combining and integrating elements of the two into their popular entertainment. It was an achievement unparalleled before or since in other *Gaeltacht* regions. As was the case in previous chapters, to observe what happened in that process from a musical point of view, each of these genres will be analysed separately, before any analysis and discussion of the creolised music. The next section will take a closer look at Connemara *sean-nós* singing

4.3 South Connemara sean-nós performance style

As previously stated, the term *sean-nós* is used as a single term to cover what is in fact several discrete regional styles of singing. Author and musician, Julie Hennigan in contrasting two of these styles says, for example that:

> [...] the kind of pronounced melismatic ornamentation and attenuation of phrases often found in Connemara sean-nós is not characteristic of the Donegal tradition, where rhythm tends to be more regular and melodic ornamentation more restrained. [44]

Writer, Tomás Ó Canainn, describing *sean-nós* singing in general, made the following observations about it:[45] Ornamentation tends to be either melismatic (a main note of the melody is decorated by a series of adjacent auxiliary notes) or intervallic (an interval between two notes is replaced by a different interval or a note or series of step-wise notes).[46] He states the singers are inclined to lengthen important notes in the song and that these notes are generally associated with important words. [47] Writer and broadcaster Liam Mac Con Iomaire says of *sean-nós* singing in general:

> The style is deeply rooted in the rhythms of the Gaelic language and the metres and rhythms of Gaelic Poetry [...] It is at its most vibrant in the Connemara Gaeltacht. [48]

(1996), 1–6, 6.

[44] Julie Hennigan 'Sean-nós singing', in Fintan Vallely, ed., *The Companion to Irish Traditional Music* (NYU Press, 1999), 336. Singer and ethnomusicologist Lillis Ó Laoire has written elsewhere about the tendency in competitions for adjudicators to hold the connemara style of singing in higher regard than the singing styles of other regions, leading to the fetishization of ornamentation, in particular the melisma. See: Brian A. Roberts, ed., 'Traditional Singing in Ireland: Living Fossil or Dynamic Resource?', in *Sharing The Voices:The Phenomenon of Singing*, vol. 1 (Memorial University, Newfoundland, 1997), 161–70, 164.

[45] His comments are paraphrased in what follows.

[46] Tomás Ó Canainn, *Traditional Music in Ireland* (Ossian, 1978), 17.

[47] *Ibid,,* 75.

[48] *Ibid.*

He also states that for both audience and singer there is 'a communal sense of place and a shared sense of social history'. [49] The singer uses 'subtle embellishment of the airs with delicate forms of ornamentation'.[50]

In a 1962 series of series of radio programmes for RTÉ published in book format twenty years later, Seán Ó Riada described what he saw as the most important aspect of *sean-nós* singing, the 'variation principle':

> It is not permissible for a sean-nós singer to sing any two verses of a song in the same way. There must be a variation of the actual notes in each verse, as well as a variation of rhythm. What makes one sean-nós singer better than another, more than anything else, is his ability to do this better.[51]

Julie Hennigan, however, describes *sean-nós* singing as being a set of tendencies rather than rules. Among these, she mentions: tone quality, or timbre (nasalisation, constricted, or open tone); registration, (from chest or head); intervallic variation and melodic ornamentation. The latter, she states to be of particular importance in Connemara.[52] According to her, it consists of the following: *melismatic ornamentatio*n; a single syllable being sung to several notes, the main note is alternated with adjacent notes above or below it; s*hakes or mordents,* the main note is interrupted by a grace note a step or half-step above or below it, and *appoggiatura,* the use of one or more grace notes to lead into a melody note.

As Hennigan observes, the traditional singing-style of south Connemara *sean-nós* is notable for its high use of ornamentation. As in other *Gaeltacht* areas, the words of the song are accorded reverence. A syllabic style of delivery, with a strong rhythm and even beat, is not suited to a style of singing based on the kind of emphasising, holding, embellishing and ornamentation lavished on the words of songs in Connemara

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[49] *Ibid.*, 337.

[50] *Ibid.*

[51] Seán Ó Riada, *Our Musical Heritage*, ed. Thomas Kinsella and Tomás Ó Canainn (Dolmen Press, 1982).

[52] Fintan Vallely, ed., *The Companion to Irish Traditional Music* (NYU Press, 1999), 338.

Ethnomusicologist Sean Williams, who was a student of famed Connemara *sean-nós* singer Seosamh Ó hÉanaí [also known as Joe Heaney or Joe Éinniú],[53] describes the style as being marked by 'free rhythm, relative lack of vibrato or dynamic change, and especially by the use of rapid melismatic ornamentation'.[54]

Commenting on an interview given by Éinniú to researcher Esther Warkov, in which Éinniú mentions singing certain lines in songs more slowly than others, anthropologist and musician, Steve Coleman, says:

> What emerges from Joe Heaney's account is a view of singing as a kind of ritual. The central act of singing what Joe called 'laments' is the act of visualisation and empathy that leads the singer to 'hold on to' lines. [55]

Coleman points out that Éinniú would not use formal terms like 'grace-notes', referring instead to the 'drawing-out' of lines in songs,[56] Éinniú held that the words of a song or a line of a song would affect the way in which a song was sung, including how much ornamentation would be used. 'Ornamentation is a question of *time,* coming from the desire to 'hold on' to lines'.[57]

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[53] For consistency the name Joe Éinniú will be used for the rest of the thesis except when quoting others who have used an alternative. Joe Éinniú also known as Seosamh Ó hEanaí or Joe Heney (1919 – 1984), is generally reckoned to have been one of the finest exponents of the Connemara *sean-nós* singing style. He was born in An Aird Thoir near Carna on the Iorras Aithneach peninsula in Connemara in 1919 into a family of singers and storytellers. He acquired a large repertory of traditional songs in both Irish and English and went on to win the main *sean-nós* singing competition the *Oireachtas* on several occasions, winning for the first time in 1942. He lived in Dublin and London where he worked and performed at folk music gatherings. Both Radio Éireann and the BBC recorded him in the late fifties. In July 1965 he was invited to the Newport Folk Festival in Rhode Island in the United States. Éinniú subsequently emigrated to the U.S. in 1966 and found work as a doorman in a Central Park West apartment block where he worked for ten years, living in Brooklyn. In 1976 he took up a post teaching Irish oral culture in Wesleyan University in Middletown, Connecticut, He performed for composer John Cage in Cage's *Roratorio* (1980) His commercial recordings include 'Seosamh O hEanai' (Gael Linn, 1971), 'O mo Dhúchas/from my tradition' (Gael Linn 1976),), 'Joe and the Gabe' (Green Linnet, 1979), and the posthumous releases,'Come all you gallant Irish men' (Clo Iar Chonnachta ,1989 and 'The road from Conemara' (Topic/Clo Iar Chonnachta 2000).He died in 1984. A full biography by teacher, broadcaster and writer Liam Mac Con Iomaire was published in 2007. See: Liam Mac Con Iomaire, *Nár Fhágha Mé Bás Choíche* (Cló Iar-Chonnacht, 2007).

[54] Sean Williams, 'Sean WIlliams—Irish Singing,' accessed 22 August, 2014, http://academic.evergreen.edu/w/williams/seannos.htm.

[55] Steve Coleman, 'Joe Heaney and Style in Sean-Nós Song,' in *Blas*, ed. Thérèse Smith and Mícheál Ó Súilleabháin (The Local Accent in Irish Traditional Music, The Folk Music Society of Ireland and the Irish World Music Centre, University of Limerick, 1997), 37.

[56] *Ibid.*, 34.

[57] *Ibid.*

Exponents of this singing style who are well known in the community and further afield include, among others, Joe Éinniú, Dara Bán Mac Donncha (also from *An Aird Thoir* in Carna) and Sarah, Nan, and Nóra Ghriallais from the townland of *Muiceanach*.[58]

Singers traditionally performed their songs in intimate gatherings, often at home or in a neighbour's house or at social gatherings in pubs or halls.[59] This has changed in more recent times. Singer and ethnomusicologist Lillis Ó Laoire point out that:

> Although singing still occurs in people's houses at informal gatherings, nowhere is evening visiting the institution it formerly was, so that more organized gatherings have become a more usual forum for the performance of unaccompanied song in Irish in traditional style[60]

The audience listens in silence and is expected to know the stories of the songs. Often a story contextualising the song is told by the singer before the song is sung as, unlike the English ballad tradition, the words of the songs often do not contain a complete narrative. In many if not most cases they are not narrative songs, rather commentaries on particular situations (see *Amhrán Pheter Mhicil Báille*, and *Róisín Dubh* below).[61] This was previously pointed out by Hugh Shields (see: 2.4.2) with regard to both the Irish and Scots Gaelic singing traditions. However, some aspects of the performance of *sean-nós* songs bear a relationship to both the English and French ballads described in the previous two chapters. Singing is delivered in a serious manner, for example, and the singer does not make dramatic gestures nor greatly use vocal dynamics.[62] Some other aspects however, are more idiosyncratic. On occasion, in particular in times gone by at informal performance in an intimate setting, the singer's hand was held by a listener and moved around in a winding gesture. Although the audience will listen attentively to the song they will interrupt occasionally to say aloud a word or phrase of

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[58] There are many more younger singers of *sean-nós* in connemara who are not referenced here as most, if not all of them, would not have influenced the singers of the creolised Connemara country music style

[59] Nowadays however sean-nós is also performed on radio and television, as well as at numerous competitions.

[60] Lillis Ó Laoire, 'Territories of Desire: Words and Music in the Irish Language,' in *A New View of The Irish Language (proof Copy)*, ed. C. Nic Pháidín and S. Ó Cearnaigh (Dublin: Cois Life, 2008), https://www.academia.edu/30003434/. (accessed 30/4/2017)

[61] Although the third song *Púcán Mhicil Pháidín* has the narrative of a boat race.

[62] Donegal *sean-nós* singer and academic Lillis Ó Laoire mentions that some vocal dynamics are used by Joe Éinniú in his singing of the song *Caoineadh na dTrí Muire*. See 'A Reply to Bob Quinn & Jean-Yves Bériou | The Journal of Music,' accessed 18 October, 2014, http://journalofmusic.com/focus/reply-bob-quinn-jean-yves-beriou. However, the use of strong vocal dynamics appears to be infrequent enough, and could not be said to be typical of the genre.

support for the singer, often at the end of a verse.[63] The relationship between singer and listener is important. Although listeners may often know well the story of a particular song they will often listen to the singer retell it before the song is sung. The audience, by encouraging the singer verbally, and 'winding' his or her hand, participates in the performance. The relationship between performer and audience is not as intertwined as in African-American 'shouts' where the audience becomes a central part of the performance, but it is not as uninvolved as in the performance of English or French ballads where apart from singing a refrain in some songs its role is solely that of a quiet listener.

In this section three songs will be examined in some detail. The lyrics have been provided, but these are not as important for the purposes of this study as the performance-style of the singers. The audio examples provided should be sufficient to hear the features that are described in the text below the songs. A Melodyne transcription of a section of each song will be provided in order to demonstrate ornamentation or other singing style features. The songs I have chosen typify what are often known in Connemara as *amhráin mhóra* [big songs], songs that deal with themes that are considered important and that are sung slowly and are accorded reverence. They are differentiated from *amhráin bheaga* [small songs] mainly childrens songs and lullabies or songs with a more steady, consistent rhythm. Most *sean-nós* songs fall into the *amhráin mhóra* category. The singers featured in this section; Joe Éinniú singing '*Contae Mhaigh Eo'*, Nan Ghriallais singing '*Amhrán Pheter Mhicil Báille*', and Dara Bán MacDonnacha singing '*Róisín Dubh*', are chosen because they are well-known singers in the south Connemara area and at least two, Ghriallais and Éinniú are award-winning *sean-nós* singers.

'Contae Mhaigh Eo'- Joe Éinniú

The song *Contae Mhaigh Eo,*[64] is well known in South Connemara and is sung by many of the area's *sean-nós* singers. It tells the story of a man who has enlisted in the army or

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[63] For example, '*Ná laga Dia thú'*, '*Fair play dhuit'*, '*Dia leat'* [May God not weaken you, 'Fair play to you', 'God be with you.'

[64] *'Contae Mhaigh Eo'* has many variants, both in terms of melody and lyrics. Some versions tell the story of a young man who decides to enlist in the army instead of staying in Mayo and who later gets caught deserting. Others claim the song follows the adventures of a seafaring captain Mícheál Ó Bruadair. See: Mícheál Ó Máille and Tomás Ó Máille, *Amhráin Chlainne Gaedheal—Mícheál Ó Máille Agus Tomás Ó*

navy and now finds himself on a ship far from home, missing his home place and his people.

An audio file of Joe Éinniú singing *Contae Mhaigh Eo* can be heard at the following location:

https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigration3/

(go to Ex.1)

Or: USB/Audio/3.1

Co. Mhaigh Eo	County Mayo
Ar an loing seo Phaidí Loinsigh bím ag déanamh bróin, *Ag osnaíl ins an oíche 's bím ag síorghol sa ló,* *Anois ó dalladh m'intinn 's mé i bhfad ó mo mhuintir,* *Dar m'fhocal is maith a Chaoinimse Contae Mhaigh Eo*	On board Paddy Lynch's boat I have nothing but sorrow, sighing by night and constantly weeping by day. Since my mind has been darkened and me far from my people, by God, how I pine for you, County Mayo.
Gus liostáil mé le sáirsint ar shráid bhaile mhóir *Shíl mé gur bhreá an rud dom é nuair a bhí mé bocht óg.* *Thug sé gloine is cárt dom* *Is gunna le mé a ghardáil,* *'S gur shíl mé féin go mb'fhearr liom é ná i gContae Mhaigh Eo.*	I enlisted with a sergeant in town – I thought it would be a great thing for me as a poor youth; he gave me a glass [of whiskey] and a pint, and a gun to guard me, and I thought this was better than being in County Mayo.

The singing (see Figure 4.3 below) demonstrates much of what has already been said in regard to South Connemara *sean-nós* singing style. The timbre of the voice is loud, and

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Máille (Dublin: Conradh na Gaeilge, 1905), 156. Tomás Ó Concheanainn, *Nua-Dhunaire 3* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1971), 25-6, 83-4) discusses folklore related to the song and the complication that there appears to be at least two songs amalgamated into one in some published versions, such as 'Caiptín Bruadar' (cf. Micheál Ó Bruadair above). Twelve verses of the song are published, along with folkloric and bibliographic notes, in Ríonach Uí Ógáin, *Faoi Rothaí Na Gréine* (Dublin: Coiscéim, 1999), 11. (the above is paraphrased from: 'Liostáil Mé Le Sergeant—Tomás Ó Dubhthaigh | The Doegen Records Web Project,' accessed 27 February, 2015, http://doegen.ie/doegen/LA_1145g2.).

resonant and quite nasal and there is very little, if any, use of dynamic. There is a lot of melismatic ornamentation. The pace of the song is quite slow. Certain words are held, disrupting any sense of evenly-distributed beat in the line.
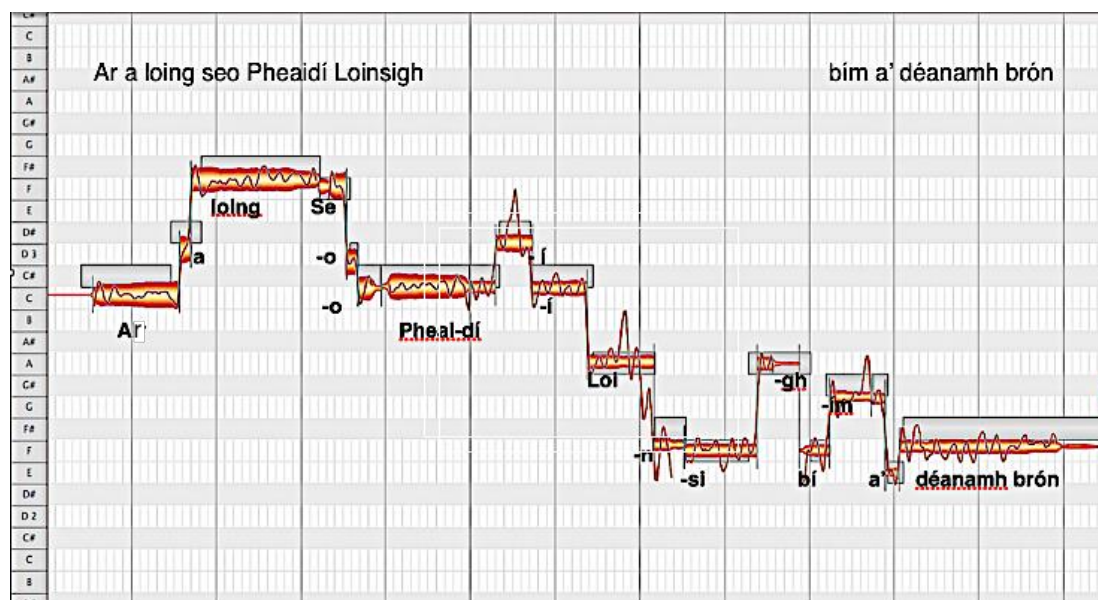
Figure 4.3: First Line of *'Contae Mhaigh Eo'* as sung by Éinniú showing both intervallic ornamentation – a single syllable sung to several swiftly executed notes (e.g. the word 'seo' and both syllables of the word 'Loinsigh') as well as pitch contours denoting the type of melismatic ornamentation typical of many Connemara traditional singers. By contrast to 'seo' and 'Loinsigh', the words 'déanamh brón' are carried on one long note by Einniú showing how singing the words moves at faster and slower paces at different points in the song.

Noticeable in this rendition, are the cascading melismas (denoted by the upright 'hairpin' pitch-line patterns), from the end of the word *Pheaidí* to the end of the word *Loingsigh,* which itself is split into four main sections. This style of ornamentation was previously observed in the Scots Gaelic singing tradition. As in that tradition, the singer does not restrict himself to one note for each syllable or word. However, by way of contrast, Éinniú delivers the last two words in this line almost as one long note. It will be noticed also that Éinniú does not follow a definite beat throughout the song, deciding rather to hold certain notes for longer than a consistent beat should allow. This is not just *rubato*, as there is no attempt to compensate on other notes in a way that would demonstrate a regular and consistent underlying rhythm. Einniú works rather to his own sense of rhythm, based on the words of the song. In the final line of the song, which is *Ní scarfaidh mo chúl go deo leat a Chontae Mhaigh Eo* [I -lit: 'my back'-shall never again part from you, Co. Mayo], Einniú holds the word *chúl* before moving to the end of the

song. This is in keeping with what Ó Canainn (above) says about holding certain words and Éinniú's own comments about 'drawing out the line' as noted by Coleman.
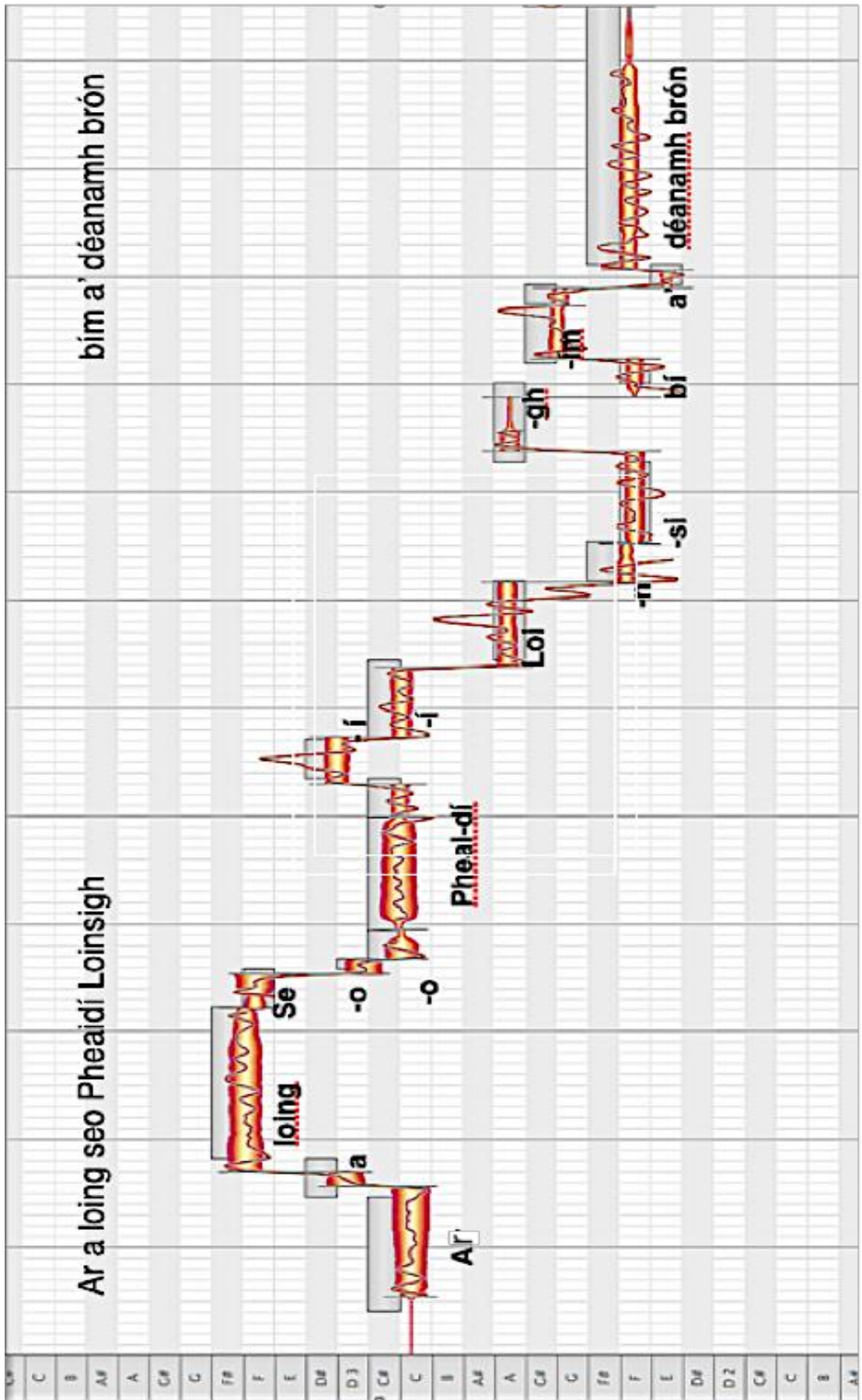
Figure 4.3. (enlarged)
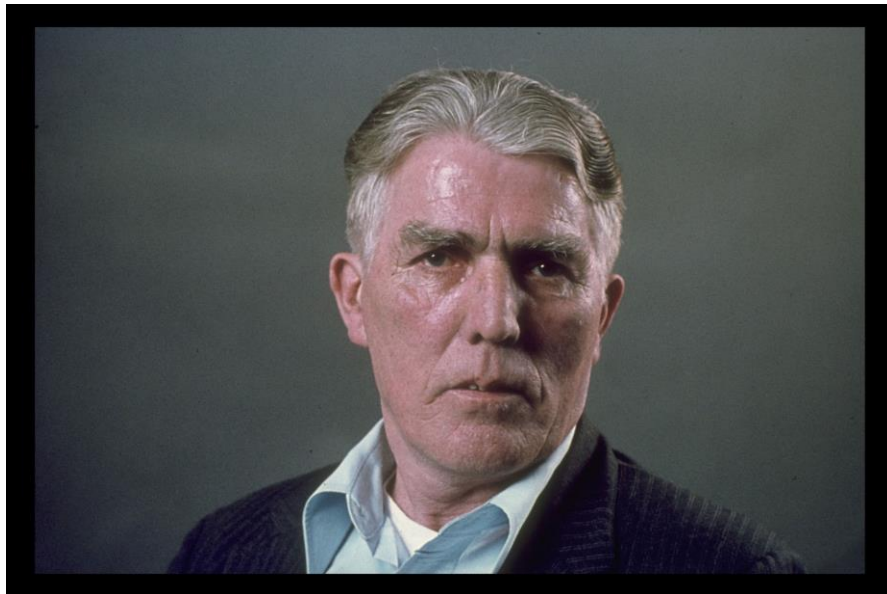
Figure 4.2: Joe Éinniú also known as Seasamh Ó hÉanaí or Joe Heaney (courtesy of RTÉ stills library).[65]

'Amhrán Pheter Mhicil Báille'—Nan Ghriallais

Another singer from south Connemara, this time a woman, Nan Ghriallais, from the townland of *Muiceanach Idir Dhá Sháile*, reveals many of the same characteristics in performance style as Éinniú. Here, she sings *Amhrán Pheter Mhicil Báille* (Peter Micil Báille's song), a song written from the perspective of an old fisherman who describes losing his wife at a young age: it recounts the hardships of his life, and predicts the end of time when the second millenium draws to a close. An audio excerpt of the song as sung by Nan Ghriallais can be heard in the following location.

https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigration3/

(go to Ex.2)

Or: USB/Audio/3.2

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[65] Source: http://presspack.rte.ie/2013/04/01/an-chraobh-ar-an-bhfal-14/, accessed 15 April 2016 ,

Amhrán Pheter Mhicil Báille[66]   Peter Mhicil Báille's Song

Mo chúig chéad slán le mo bháidín
atá go fánach i Rosamhíl.
Nár dheas í ag gabháil go hÁrainn
lá breá nó gaoithe aniar!
Ní bheadh deifir leis an am agam
's an ghrian ag titim siar,
Bheadh airgead chuile lá agam,
Is thabharfainn iasc go Rosamhíl.

Farewell five hundred times over
to my boat that lies idle in
Rosamhíl,
Wasn't she lovely going to Inish
Mór
on a fine day or with westerly
winds,
I would not be in a hurry with the
sun setting in the west,
I would have money every day,and
would bring fish into Rosamhíl.

'S tá mo theachaín i lár an
ghabháltais
is bóithrín go tóin an tí,
Shíl mé go mbainfinn sólás as
Ach ní mar sin féin a bhí,
Mar bhuail an bás go hóg mé
Is bhain sé mo bhean phósta díom,
's d'fhág sin ar bheagán sóláis mé
go deo nó go dté mé i gcill.

My small house is in the middle of
the holding
with a laneway to the lower end of
the house,
I thought I would get joy from it
but that's not the way it was,
Death struck while I was young,
and took my wife from me
That left me with little joy for ever
till the day I die

The words underlined in the lyrics above are lengthened and the notes are held by Ghriallais. She appears to hold a note in the middle of each line but also at the beginning. For example, the first word in the first line '*Mo*,' which although it is monosyllabic, is sung to three notes, and the first word of the last line of the first verse '*Bheadh*'. The melismatic ornamentation in Ghriallais's singing mainly takes the form of holding a note and as she transits to the next important note, momentarily hitting a note about two or three steps above the one she is singing. This can be heard in the audio but also seen in a Melodyne transcription as a sudden 'up and down' hairpin shape in the pitch contour line. It will be noticed here (as in the Éinniú Melodyne transcription in Figure 4.3), occurring at the end of long or held notes, before the transition to the next 'main' note. This sort of melismatic shape appears to occur most often when the singer is stepping down (or about to step down) in pitch. Ghriallais emphasises certain notes by lengthening by holding on to and thus emphasising them when she might have moved to the next note. This can be seen in the fifth word in the first line '*bháidín*,' for example, which, as she sings it here, and as can be seen in Figure 4.4 starts in E flat, continues upwards through E natural to F, before dropping back through E down to C

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[66] These words are transcribed from the singing of Nan Ghriallais. The translation is my own.

and ending the word on A flat/A. In particular, the second syllable of the word –*dín*- is held onto. This kind of intervallic ornamentation is also seen in Éinniú's performance above.

In addition, Ghriallais has a way of slowing down, on a word and bending the pitch of the note upwards, a *portamento* technique that again allows her to hold a syllable or word for longer while still maintaining motion in the pitch. It is almost as if she is compromising the flow of the words in order to emphasise or highlight this technique in her singing. It can be heard clearly in the first verse in her singing of the fifth word in the second line –'*gabháil*' – and also in the fourth word in the third line –'*leis*'.

Figure 4.4: The First Line of 'Amhrán Pheter Mhicil Bháille' as sung by Nan Ghriallais. The melismatic ornamentation which is a feature of her's and other south Connemara sean-nós singers' style is denoted by the sharp up/down'hairpin' contours in the pitch line.

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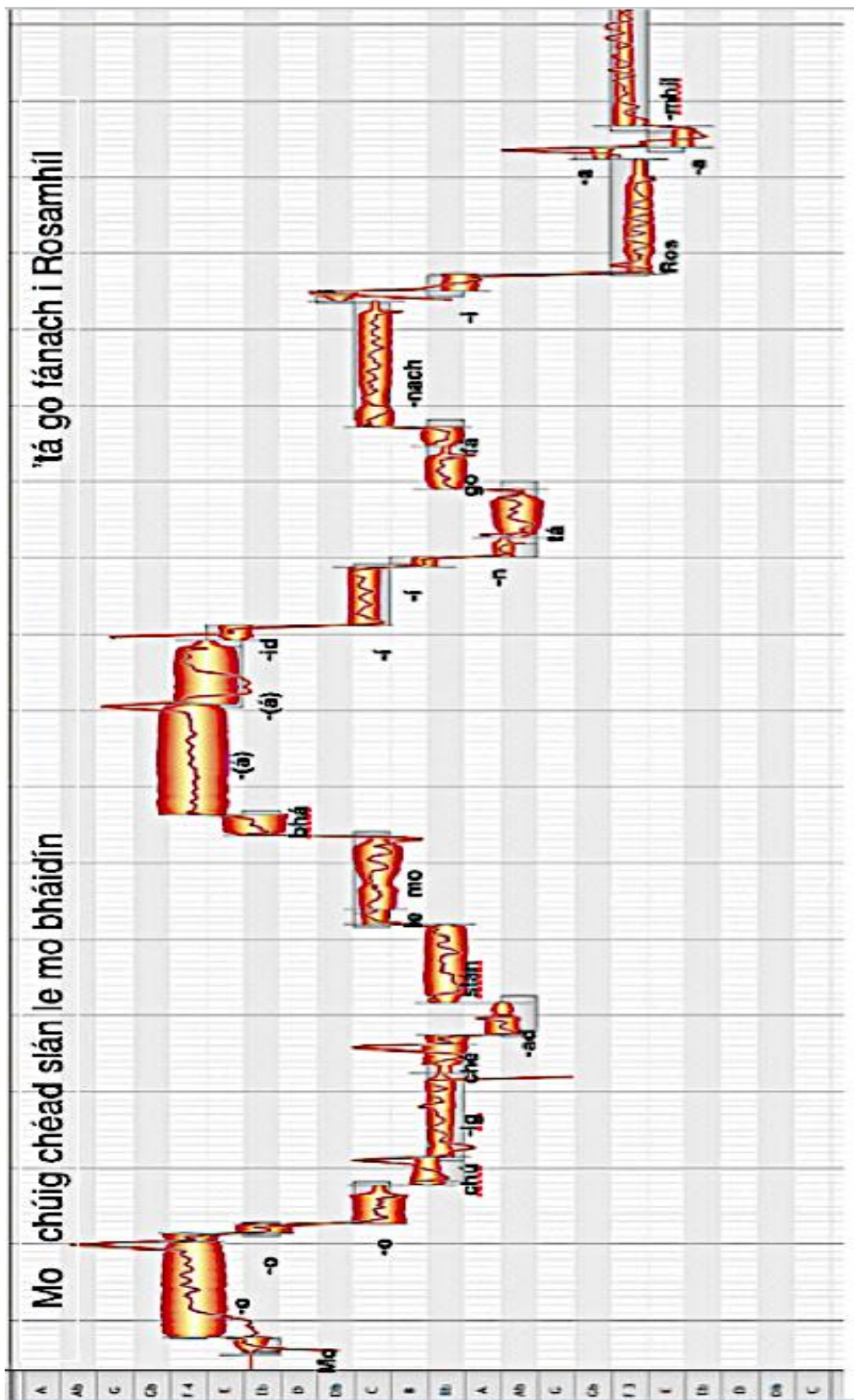
Figure 4.4 (enlarged)

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Both Éinniú and Ghriallais sing with little dynamic in their voices. The songs are sung with a full voice from beginning to end.

Figure 4.5: Nan Ghriallais from Muiceanach, Connemara (courtesey of RTÉ stills library)[67]

'Róisín Dubh'—Dara Bán Mac Donnchadha

A final example, this time by Iorras Aithneach singer Dara Bán Mac Donnchadha reiterates what was observed in the singing of the previous two examples. This song, which MacDonnchadh sang for RTÉ television, is called *Róisín Dubh*. Although the song, which is a political allegory, is well-known in many parts of Ireland, the version sung here by MacDonnchadh is not the most common version either in terms of words or music. It is however, I think, a particularly good example of MacDonnchadh's singing and of the South Connemara style. A Melodyne transcription is not provided in this case as it does not help to provide any extra information about the style. All observations below can be heard in the audio. The excerpt of Dara Bán MacDonnchadha singing *Róisín Dubh* can be heard at the following location:

[67] Source: 'Nan Ghriallais (1984),' *Flickr—Photo Sharing!*, accessed 14 March, 2016, https://www.flickr.com/photos/rteradioofficial/6880239438/.(Copyright RTÉ)

Róisín Dubh

Nach fada an réim a thug mé liom ó inné go inniu,
Trasna sléibhe 'mo chadhan aonraic – ní raibh aon neach liom
Loch Éirne, chaith mé de léim í,
' is nach mb' ard a bhíos a shruth
Is, tá m'anam gléigeal ligthe de léig a'm,
le mo Róisín Dubh.

Ó, a Róisín, ná bíodh brón ort faoin ar tharla duit,
Mar tá do dhearthair ins an Ghearmáin is tá a thriall ar muir,
Tá do phardún ón bpápa 's ón Róimh uilig   ,
Is ná spáráil fíon Spáinneach ar mo Róisín Dubh.

Dark-haired Róisín

It's a long course I've followed from yesterday until today,
Across a mountain all alone, there was no-one with me
I leapt Lough Erne in a single bound,
although it runs high;
And I've let my pure soul fall into Neglect,
On account of my Dark-haired Róisín.

Róisín, don't be sorrowful over what has happened to you
Your brother is in Germany and is heading to sea,
Your pardon is coming from the Pope and from all of Rome,
And don't stint on Spanish wine for my Dark-haired Róisín

First verse (with interpolated vowels)

Nach-a- fada an réim a thug-a- mé liom ó inné go inniu,
a-Trasna sléibhe 'n –a-mo chadhain aonraic –a- ní raibh aon neach-a- liom,
a-Loch Éirne, chaith mé de léim í
' is nach mb' ard a bhíos a shruth,
Is,-a- tá m'anam gléigeal ligthe de léig a'm- a- le mo Róisín Dubh

MacDonnchadha uses the same kind of holding and embellishing of certain notes that was heard in the singing of both Nan Ghriallais and Joe Éinniú, above. He uses a much slower melismatic technique however, the melismas are not as sharp and fast as with either Ghriallais or Éinniú. MacDonnchadha seems to linger more over them. This can be heard in the word '*réim*' in the first line and also on the word '*ard*' (part of '*mb'ard*') in the third line. He uses elaborate intervallic ornamentation also. Some of this can be heard on the word '*aon*' in the second line He also uses a technique of interpolating additional vowels between the words of the song. These are shown in a copy of the first verse in the lyrics above. These can be longer as in the vowel between the first two words: '*Nach fada*' or much shorter as in the vowel between the first two words of the last line: '*Is tá*'. Adding interpolated vowels like this has the effect of lengthening the lines thus slowing the pace of the song. The overall, combined effect of slow melismatic ornamentation and interpolated vowels is to intensely slow down the progress of the song. This gives the effect described by Joe Éinniú above of the singer 'holding on' to the lines.

Figure 4.6: Dara Bán MacDonnchadha[68] (courtesy Irish Traditional Music Archive)

Sean-nós singing in Connemara, therefore, is a slow and sombre art form for an audience whose involvement apart from listening, is mainly one of showing support for the singer. It is an art form for intimate gatherings from an era before dancehalls and large public houses and lounges took hold. It is perhaps stating the obvious to say that *sean-nós* singing was not used for dancing. In the areas where sean-nós was found, there was, like elsewhere in Ireland, dedicated instrumental dance-music. Often in Connemara a melodeon or button-accordion was the instrument of choice for this. Just as dance-music did not impinge upon the songs, singing did not, by and large, impinge on dancing activity. This was the case also for most traditional songs and ballads sung in English, in Ireland. The situation was to change however, in many parts of the country with the growth of Country and Irish music. The style of singing used for *sean-nós* in Connemara, the occasions on which it was performed, and the relationship between audience and performer was very far removed from those same features in Country and Irish music.

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[68] Source: http://www.itma.ie/gd/digitallibrary/image/dara_ban_mac_donnchadha, accessed 18 July 2016. (copyright: Irish Traditional Music Archive)

4.4 The development of 'Country and Irish' Music 1955-1990

In most parts of Ireland, by the mid 1950s, Irish popular music was dominated by orchestral bands (called 'Orchestras') and *Céilí* Bands. In both cases, they played mainly for dances throughout the country, the former in urban areas and to younger audiences, the latter for Irish dancing and cultural enthusiasts. The orchestras read music on stage and dressed formally and their instrumentation was far from what would become the staple orchestration of rock and popular music in the 1960s:

> The instrumentation for the orchestras was fairly standard, two or more saxophones, two or more trumpets, a couple of trombones, a piano, drums and a double bass. For the most part, no guitars were to be seen, and they would become, in time, the nemesis of the orchestra and would help hasten their downfall. [69]

As the main function of the 'orchestras' was to play for dances, their music consisted mainly of waltzes and jives—the main dances in Irish Ballrooms, with songs from guest artists from time to time. The orchestras eventually gave way to, or morphed into 'showbands'.

Figure 4.7: The Maurice Mulcahy Orchestra, late 1950s (courtesey of Liam O'Reilly / Irish Showbands.com).[70]

The groups reduced in size and instrumentation, and came to consist mainly of keyboards, rhythm guitars, drums and bass guitars, replacing the preponderance of brass

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[69] 'History of the Showbands,' accessed 29 October, 2014, http://www.irish-showbands.com/history.htm.
[70] Source: http://www.irish-showbands.com/images/liamo/lrxmauricem.htm (copyright Liam O'Reilly)

in the orchestras. The members of the showbands stood rather than sat, on stage, moved in time with the music, and wore more casual attire:

> In contrast to the staid big-band-style dance orchestras that preceded them, showband musicians stood when performing, did not use music stands and incorporated light choreographies into their stage routine.[71]

Another new development at the time was the idea of having a lead singer fronting each band. Popular music in Ireland began to mirror changes in music that were happening in the UK and the US in the 1960s. These changes in Britain and America gave rise to three very different music styles that the showbands tried to emulate: Rock music, which had started in the 1950s and had become very popular among the urban young; Folk music, especially songs originating from the American folk music revival of the 1960s, which had in turn led to a renewed interest in Irish folksongs, ballads in particular; and American country and western music which was beginning to make inroads with Irish audiences. Although the bands tried to cater for all of these tastes in order to maximise their appeal, popular music was given priority. A few country songs began to be interspersed with the popular music. According to Big Tom McBride, 'Even in them bands [..] there'd be a couple of singers in the band would maybe sing a couple of country songs during the night'.[72]

As the 1960s came to an end, the Irish popular music scene became increasingly divided between two paths. One followed the showbands, catering more for pop music. Bands like The Royal Showband and The Capital Showband, The Indians, and the Miami Showband, and individual stars like Brendan Bowyer and Dickie Rock not only performed chart music from the UK and US but also wrote original material in that style. Another strand followed a different route where Country and Western music was performed alongside Irish ballads often with a nostalgic theme performed mainly in waltz or jive time:

> Dances such as the twist seemed to be symbolic of a new sense of modernity in Ireland […] In rural areas however, […] there was still a demand for old-time waltzes, foxtrots, quicksteps and jiving.[73]

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[71] Rebecca S. Miller 'Showbands' in: Harry White and Barra Boydell, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Music in Ireland*, vol. 2,(Dublin: UCD Press, 2013), 933.
[72] McGrath, *A Little Bit Country—Big Tom*. (RTE, 2006), 5'36"
[73] Paul Maguire 'Country and Irish' *The Encyclopedia of Music in Ireland*, vol.1, 256.

One of the earliest Irish country stars was Larry Cunningham, who, with his band The Mighty Avons, did many covers of songs by American Country star Jim Reeves. His 1964 album, *A Tribute to Jim Reeves,* became a bestselling album not only in Ireland but also in the UK. Along with the Jim Reeves songs, Cunningham performed songs with themes that were more Irish, many celebrating a sense of place, the most famous of which, 'Lovely Leitrim', became a number one chart hit in 1965. Also in the 1960s, Big Tom McBride, previously referred to, from Castleblayney in County Monaghan had a big hit with the song 'Gentle Mother'. These singers were two of the earliest exponents of what would later become known as Country and Irish music.

Country music started to emerge from the showband era as a separate genre in the late 1960s with the success of bands like The Smokey Mountain Ramblers, Cotton Mill Boys, and others. At the same time, a split was also occurring in the country genre itself as a uniquely Irish version of country music was created, combining American country instrumentation and rhythms of Irish folk tunes and even a little céilí music influence. The result was 'country and Irish', a home-grown version of country music personified by people like Larry Cunningham, Margo[74] and Big Tom. Bands like the Hillbillies and Buckshot stuck to the more traditional American country roots, but suffered in popularity as country and Irish dominated the ballrooms.[75]

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[74] 'Margo'— Margaret O'Donnell (1951-) is a well-known country music singer from county Donegal. She started singing in 1964 and had many Irish chart hits in the 1960s and 1970s including 'Road by the River'(1969). Her career to date has spanned five decades.
[75] http://www.irish-showbands.com/bands.htm

Figure 4.8: 'Big' Tom MacBride [76]

At least two of the bands backing country and Irish stars, The Mainliners (Big Tom's original band) and Country Flavour, Philomena Begley's (see below) band, started life under different names, as *céilí* bands, showing how performers could change radically to suit changing tastes in the population. The name 'country and Irish' appears to have first been used in the title of Big Tom's 1969 album *A Little Bit Of Country And Irish*.[77] Apart from American Country music themes, the high volume of songs about, or relating to, a particular place in Ireland (as with 'Lovely Leitrim' above), was and is one of the most salient features in the musical canon of country and Irish music.[78] In many ways country and Irish music is itself a creolised music, incorporating elements of American country music, rhythms, instrumentation and vocal style with Irish nostalgic

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[76] https://myspace.com/bigtomandthemainliners (copyright Big Tom)

[77] Big Tom, *A Little Bit of Country And Irish*, Vinyl (Emerald, 1969).

[78] Big Tom for example recorded *My Donegal Shore; Connemara Shore; Back To Castleblayney;5000 Miles From Sligo; Tubbercurry; My Old Own Derry Town; Little Hills Of Monaghan; Four Country Roads (To Glenamaddy);Pretty Little Girl From Omagh; My Old Home In Mayo; Streets Of Dublin City; and Connemara Country Boy*, amongst other songs. See: 'K-Mac Records—Store—Big Tom,' accessed 31 October, 2014, http://www.k-macrecords.com/store-cd-bigtom.html. Margo (Margaret O' Donnell) recorded: *Shanagolden; Tipperary Town; Dear Old Killarney; Deep Sheephaven Bay; The Streams of Bunclody; Walking Tall in Donegal; Come With Me to Clare; and Lovely Derry On the Banks of the Foyle. See* Margo (O'Donnell), *Two Sides of*, CD (Wren Records, 2006).

ballads and often a softer singing style at times closer to 'crooning'.[79] The Irish ballads lent themselves well to waltz time, being easily adaptable to that rhythm. However, for jiving, either covers of songs originally sung by American Country stars, or newly written material was required. The mixture of affection for the old (in terms of themes) through the prism of the new (instrumentation and style) may have been what made the genre popular with a generation of people from an Irish rural background both in Ireland and in Britain.

Many country and Irish songs appealed not only to Irish audiences, but also to audiences in parts of England and Scotland, where there were large communities of Irish emigrants in the main urban centres. Many of these were people working in the UK, travelling back and forth between Ireland and Britain for work and family visits, or people who, despite having lived in Britain for many years, had remained culturally Irish. Others in rural parts of Great Britain were also attracted to the music.[80] Musicians such as Big Tom, Margo, Larry Cunningham, and Philomena Begley often played venues in, or close to, areas with a high concentration of Irish emigrants.

4.4.1 Country and Irish music venues

The performance venues for country and Irish music were the dancehalls or ballrooms that had proliferated around the country since the early 1930s. Many of these were in country towns. There were also some major venues in places like Dublin such as The Ierne Ballroom in Parnell Square and The TV Club, on Harcourt Street catering for huge country and Irish audiences. Irish society in the 1960s and 1970s was predominantly rural. Many people living in the cities or large provincial towns were originally from rural areas, working and living in urban areas but returning home at weekends. Major concert-going audiences were also found among the Irish diaspora in the UK, in major cities like London, Manchester and Glasgow. Many who had emigrated there between the 1950s and 1970s clustered in particular districts in those cities, such as Camden Town, Cricklewood, and Kilburn (London), Sparkbrook and Sparkhill (Birmingham), or Levenshulme (Manchester). Many of these emigrants

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[79] By 'crooning' I mean singing in a soft voice.
[80] I have come across quite a number of people in the Scottish Western Isles, for example, who were and are, fans of Big Tom, despite their having no Irish connections.

tended to socialise in the same public houses and dance venues making it viable for Country and Irish bands from Ireland to perform regularly in Britain.

4.4.2 Decline of 'first generation' Country and Irish music

From the mid-1970s onwards, however, with increasing urbanisation, the growth of disco and nightclubs and particularly in the 1980s, with a more educated and confident generation of emigrants, who were less likely than the generation before them to limit themselves to certain districts of England, country and Irish music as played and listened to by its early exponents – its 'first generation'[81] – began to wane, going into relative abeyance from around the mid-1980s. This situation changed again however, in the early twenty-first century, with a new and younger generation of country and Irish stars such as Michael English and Nathan Carter, performing with more established artists such as Daniel O'Donnell and Mick Flavin. These later performers, or 'second generation' will not be included in this chapter, as the major influence on the development of Connemara country came from the earlier generation of country and Irish singers.

4.4.3 Country and Irish music forms, themes and style

Country and Irish songs, as mentioned above, are almost invariably in waltz- or jive-time, waltz for the slower songs, jive for the faster. Country singers, like their rock counterparts, often tried to give an 'authentic' American sound to the country music they were singing. Larry Cunningham in particular sang Jim Reeves' songs in the style of that singer.[82] The instrumentation was mainly of a contemporary popular music or country variety too, with drums, bass, rhythm guitars, and keyboards, but with the addition of slide guitars which became a signature sound for many Country songs both in America and in Ireland. At times, fiddle or accordion was added. In the case of performers, such as Foster and Allen, Dermot O'Brien and even among younger contemporary performers, such as Michael English and Nathan Carter, these latter

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[81] This is a term I will use to distinguish between the older and younger generations of country and Irish singers such as Nathan Carter, Michael English and Declan Nerney.

[82] Larry Cunningham, *Larry Cunningham and the Country Boys—Remembers Jim Reeves* (Release Records, 1974). Cunningham was particularly suited to doing Jim Reeves' covers as both had very low-pitched voices.

instruments were, and are, a central part of the instrumentation. These instruments give a more localised Irish flavour to the music.

Country and Irish music songs, as has been stated, are normally performed in waltz or jive time, as these are suitable for dancing. The music often, but not always, has a chorus, with notes held either mid-line, at the end of a line, or both. Whether the songs are intended to be sung slowly or fast, they nearly always have a strong rhythmic quality. Country and Irish music ballads are mostly delivered with very clear voice and enunciation. The singing manner is mainly syllabic although at times a short or small melisma, or a vocal break (like the 'falsetto cut' described in chapter two), might be used. The songs are almost never sung without accompaniment; therefore soft drumming and guitar, as well as voice, have become part of this style. The next section will demonstrate specific examples of country and Irish songs and performance style.

4.5 Country and Irish performance-style

Three examples of country and Irish songs are considered in this section, and their themes and the performance styles of the singers examined: *'The Old Rustic Bridge By The Mill'*, *'Noreen Bawn'*, and *'Four Country Roads'*. These songs have been selected specifically because they have the nostalgic themes mentioned above. In two of them, *'Noreen Bawn'*, and *'Four Country Roads'*, there is also a reference to a particular place. *'Four Country Roads'* has been chosen as it is more representative of American country music in terms of both style and instrumentation, although the theme is Irish. It is also representative of newer songs written specially for the country and Irish genre. As these songs are sung with accompaniment, the vocal lines cannot be adequately transcribed in Melodyne. However, since the audio is very clear, this alone will be sufficient for verifying the observations that will be made. The singers are Tony Allen of the duo Foster and Allen; Bridie Gallagher, a singer who specialised in Irish ballads with a nostalgic theme, and Big Tom McBride. The three have been chosen because of their central role in both developing and defining country and Irish music. Between them, the three also represent both the Irish Ballad and the Country music components of the country and Irish genre. Although Gallagher's rendition of '*Noreen Bawn'* was recorded in 1959, it represents one of the musical currents that were eventually to be brought together under the name of country and Irish music. The three songs chosen represent a mix of rhythms, two in waltz- and one in jive-time.

'The Old Rustic Bridge by The Mill' –Tony Allen

As stated, nostalgia or references to times past, older generations and family members, or past life styles, as well as local landmarks and romances that are long since over, or are fondly remembered, are recurring themes in country and Irish music. *'The Old Rustic Bridge By The Mill'*, written, it is claimed, by Thomas P. Keenan,[83] and recorded by numerous country and Irish bands,[84] provides a near perfect example of this.

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[83] Thomas Peter Keenan (1866–1927), from Castletownroche, County Cork, Ireland, composed many songs including 'The Boys From The County Armagh', and 'A Mother's Love's A Blessing'. Many country and Irish artists have recorded his songs. Some artists including Foster and Allen attribute 'The Old Rustic Bridge' to him and a plaque has been erected in his native town to commemorate both him and the song (see: 'Castletownroche to Unveil Mural for 'Old Rustic Bridge on the Mill,'' accessed 25 September, 2015, http://avondhupress.ie/20130622/news/castletownroche-to-unveil-mural-for-old-rustic-bridge-on-the-mill-S26763.html.). 'The Old Rustic Bridge', however, is also attributed and copyrighted in the Library of Congress in Washington to a J.P. Skelly. See: 'The Old Rustic Bridge by the Mill | Library of Congress,' accessed 23 September, 2015, http://www.loc.gov/item/sm1884.04056/.

[84] For example, Louise Morrisey, Foster and Allen, Big Tom, and Johnny Carroll among others.

Figure 4.9: *'The Old Rustic Bridge by the Mill'* **– by J.P. Skelly, dated 1881, from a copy in the Library of Congress, Washington D.C.[85]**

An audio excerpt of the song sung by the duo Foster and Allen[86] can be heard at the following location. The lyrics are given below.

https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigration3/

(Go to Ex.4)

Or: USB/Audio/3.4

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[85] 'The Old Rustic Bridge by the Mill | Library of Congress.'
[86] Foster and Allen, *Foster and Allen- The Ultimate Collection,* track 32.

The Old Rustic Bridge By The Mill[87]

I'm thinking tonight of the old rustic bridge
That bends o'er the murmuring stream.
It was there Maggie dear, with our hearts full of cheer,
We strayed 'neath the moon's gentle beam.
'Twas there I first met you, the light in your eyes,
Awoke in my heart a sweet thrill.
Though now far away, still my thoughts fondly stray,
To the old rustic bridge by the mill.

Chorus
Beneath it a stream gently rippled.
Around it the birds loved to thrill
though now <u>far</u> away still my thoughts fondly stray
to the old rustic bridge by the mill.

I keep in my mem'ry our love of the past,
with me it's as bright as of old;
for deep in <u>my heart</u> it was planted to last,
In absence it never grows cold.
I think of you darling, when lonely at night,
And when all is peaceful and still;
<u>My heart</u> wanders back in a dream of delight,
To the old rustic bridge by the mill.

This song is sung in a vocal style that is clear and syllabic. The main vocalist, Tony Allen uses a soft 'vocal break'[88] as an ornamental technique in at least two points in the song. This is not unlike the *falsetto* cut described in the last chapter. It can be heard in the audio when he goes from the word 'my' to the word 'heart' underlined above. It also is heard in the word 'far' when the chorus is sung for the second time around. He also uses a form of *rubato* and a certain amount of dynamic in his singing. A third technique is a melisma carrying a single syllable over two notes which can be heard, for example,

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[87] 'The Old Rustic Bridge By The Mill Lyrics—Foster & Allen,' accessed 23 September, 2015, http://www.lyricsfreak.com/f/foster+allen/the+old+rustic+bridge+by+the+mill_21016430.html.

[88] Vocal breaking can be either intentional or unintentional. The break often occurs when moving between vocal modes where a neutral note or a flageolet is momentarily introduced. Many singers use it as an ornamental technique to inject an emotional quality into the singing. The 'falsetto cut' described in Chapter Two when discussing Appalachian singing, is a form of vocal breaking. The technique is not ubiquitous in country and Irish music singing by any means but is used in moderation by some singers. There is a strong probability (although not completely verifiable) that this technique in country and Irish is adopted from American country music since it is not a technique that was used extensively in traditional song. A full description of vocal breaking can be found at: 'Description and Sound of Breaks » Complete Vocal Institute,' accessed 24 September, 2015, http://completevocalinstitute.com/research/vocal-breaks/.

on the words *murmuring,* in the second line, and the word *moon,* in the fourth line.[89] The use of melisma in country and Irish music singing is quite sparse in the singing, making it a more syllabic singing-style.

'Noreen Bawn'—Bridie Gallagher

'Noreen Bawn' was composed around 1910 by Neil McBride of Feymore, Creeslough, Co. Donegal. The song was written to discourage emigration, warning of tuberculosis and scarlet fever, one of which ultimately kills the eponymous Noreen Bawn. An audio recording of an excerpt of the song sung by Bridie Gallagher,[90] can be heard at the following location.

https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigration3/

 (go to Ex 5)

Or: USB/Audio/3.5

Noreen Bawn [91]

There's a glen in old T̲i̲r̲ Connaill, there's a cottage in that glen,
Where there dwelt an Irish colleen, who inspired the hearts of men.
She was h̲a̲n̲d̲s̲o̲m̲e̲ h̲a̲l̲e̲ and h̲e̲a̲r̲t̲y̲, shy and graceful as a fawn,
And they loved the widow's daughter, handsome laughing Noreen Bawn.

Then one day there c̲a̲m̲e̲ a letter, with her passage paid to go,
To the land w̲h̲e̲r̲e̲ the Missouri, and the Mississippi flow.
So she said good-bye t̲o̲ Erin, and next morning with the dawn,
This poor widow b̲r̲o̲ken h̲e̲a̲r̲ted, parted with h̲e̲r̲ Nor̲e̲e̲n̲ Bawn.

The emotional attachment between mother and daughter is central to the story, as is emigration and parting. Words such as 'Bawn' [fair-haired],'Tir Connaill' [Donegal], 'Erin' [Ireland], or 'Colleen' [girl]—transcriptions of the Irish words *Bán, Tír Chonaill, Éirinn,* and *Cailín,* respectively, which would have held meaning solely for Irish listeners, convey a sense of home, while by contrast 'the land where the Missouri, and

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[89] Although the singer uses melismatic ornamentation at times, the style of singing is still predominantly syllabic
[90] Gallagher, *The Very Best of Bridie Gallagher*. CD3, track 6.
[91] Words transcribed from audio recording in previous footnote.

the Mississippi flow' would seem unfamiliar and far away. Unlike the previous song, in addition to its nostalgic theme, this song seems to have a moral to its story –emigration leads to misery!

The song has a regular rhythmic pulse in waltz-time. Bridie Gallagher sings the song using a lot of vocal breaking; it can be heard in her singing of the words underlined in the first and second verses above, but it continues throughout the song. As is the case with Tony Allen above, this technique injects an emotional feel into the singing that complements the emotional quality of the lyrics. She also uses dynamics in her singing to soften certain parts; for example in the last two lines of the third verse she softens her voice a little when singing the words that Noreen Bawn says to her mother. Her singing is, like Tony Allen's, quite syllabic. She uses a lot of *portamento* technique sliding up into a note from a note below it. Again, clear singing and enunciation is demonstrated throughout in this song. Although the use of orchestral music in a song such as this would not be the norm in country and Irish music, in almost every other respect Noreen Bawn has all the features of the singing of the sentimental ballad in waltz time that figures prominently in country and Irish music.

'Four Country Roads'—Big Tom McBride

The song *'Four Country Roads'*, sung here by Big Tom,[92] offers an interesting contrast to the other two examples as it is a faster song in jive-time, and the instrumentation and arrangement has more of an American Country feel to it. It was written by Johnny McAuley. [93] The song is about the town of Glenamaddy in County Galway which has a crossroads at its centre. For many years, the town was a magnet for country and Irish music fans because of the 'Sound of Music' dancehall which hosted dances featuring many stars of the genre throughout the 1970s and and 1980s.[94] An audio version of an excerpt of the song sung by Big Tom can be heard at the following location:

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[92] Big Tom, *Big Tom-The Ultimate Collection,* track 15.

[93] McAuley (1925-2012) originally from county Donegal, was a singer and songwriter who wrote many songs that were covered by major country and Irish stars including Daniel O'Donnell, Larry Cunningham, and Big Tom. He is described by journalist Seán McLaughlin of the *Derry Journal* as 'the founder of the 'country and Irish' sound […]He was one of the first to blend U.S. country sounds with Irish-interest lyrics to such winning effect' See: 'Songwriting Legend Johnny Dies'—*Derry Journal,* 29/3/2012' accessed 26 September, 2015, http://www.derryjournal.com/what-s-on/arts-culture/songwriting-legend-johnny-dies-1-3681625.

[94] See: 'Funeral of Joe O'Neill Draws Crowds to Glen', *The Tuam Herald* 28/3/2012, accessed 26 September, 2015, http://www.tuamherald.ie/news/roundup/articles/2014/03/28/4026638-funeral-of-joe-oneill-draws-crowds-to-glen.

(go to Ex. 6)

Or: USB/Audio/3.6

Four Country Roads[95]

Four country roads, winding to a town in County Galway
Four country roads, leading to the friends I left behind
Four dusty roads, winding to the town of Glenamaddy
Four dusty roads, forever in the caverns of my mind

Once in a while I hear the sound of music in the winter night
I see now and then the trees where we sheltered from the rain
And once in a while I see us walking home in the morning light
And oft are the times I long to see my home town once again

Four roads to Glenamaddy Four roads that drift apart
Four roads to Glenamaddy are the four dusty byways to my heart

This song, like many country and Irish songs, has a nostalgic theme: in this case, a local person who has left the town, remembers places that featured prominently in his life there. As in '*Noreen Bawn'*, the emigrant is far away. However, while in *'Noreen Bawn'*, she returns (albeit to die), in *'Four Country Ro*ads' the emigrant is left with only memories of his homeplace. A slide guitar is prominent in the instrumentation here, as is a harmonica and a piano, played country-style, giving an American country feel to the arrangement. This marriage of Irish themes with American rhythms and sounds is one of the hallmark features of country and Irish music. Big Tom's singing is very syllabic. There is little use of ornamentation apart from some portamento notes. He also keeps full voice with little or no dynamic added. Songs such as this which have an American country feel in terms of rhythm (jive) and instrumentation, but that have an Irish country theme, were initially rare in country and Irish music. Normally American songs had to be used for this purpose. For this reason, the importance of people like Johnny McAuley, the writer of *'Four Country Roads '*, in developing the genre should be noted.

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[95] Transcribed by me from the song 'Four Country Roads' by Big Tom.

To summarise, country and Irish music is a mix in terms of repertoire between nostalgic Irish ballads sung in waltz-time, and faster, mainly American songs, sung in jive-time. The performers perform in bands with, depending on the band, slide guitars, drums, bass and acoustic guitar, and with a lead vocalist. Sometimes an accordion is added to give extra emphasis to the 'Irish' characteristics. The singers sing mainly in syllabic style with some adding a small amount of melisma or vocal breaks. The audiences, when it was at its peak, were mainly in country dancehalls around rural parts of Ireland or bigger dance halls in Dublin, or in UK cities often at venues frequented by Irish emigrants.

While, as previously noted, this music was listened and danced to by people from the Connemara area throughout the seventies, many of them also listened to the *sean-nós* style although normally in more informal settings. The two were not however, mixed until the early 1980s as will be documented in the next section.

4.6 Connemara country music

4.6.1 The Development of Connemara country music

As was noted at the beginning of this chapter, in the 1980s, a substantial change in the local music scene in the Connemara Gaeltacht occurred. A younger generation of Connemara singers, who had grown up listening to country and Irish music, some of whom also played guitar (and many of whom had also lived abroad in England or America before returning home), started singing new songs from and about their own area, in Irish. One of the foremost of these was John Beag Ó Flatharta who, with his band, *Na hAncairí,* started performing songs in Irish with guitar accompaniment and a strong rhythm, thus making them suitable for dancing to. They also played some instrumental music featuring accordion. The mix between traditional music on the accordion with guitar accompaniment, often with a drum machine keeping the beat, and songs that were newly written in country and Irish style but that were sung using stylistic features from Connemara *sean-nós*, was to be a major innovation in the area.

The material was largely provided, at least initially, by a songwriter from Leitir Mór island called Tom a' tSeoighe. Tom had been writing songs and recording them on cassette for many years, although he rarely sang them publicly and never on stage. The

songs he wrote told of his own experience as an emigrant worker on the building sites of London and Leeds, working with others from Connemara, and socialising with them at weekends.[96] The lyrics were full of home-sickness.

> In the 1980s when a lot of Connemara people were still leaving home and heading to England and America, Tom a' tSeoighe's songs found a listenership as the emigrants mourned the family and friends they left behind. [97]

Both John Beag Ó Flatharta and Beairtle Ó Domhnaill describe getting songs from Tom that either he, or they, thought would be suitable for them to sing. Ciarán Ó Fátharta, a broadcaster from *Raidió na Gaeltachta,* who also became a writer of Connemara country songs, talks of the period in the 1980s when, in his view, three factors coincided to enable this new musical development: the establishment of *Raidió na Gaeltachta,* which provided a ready-made platform to broadcast the songs and publicise, the singers and the songwriters, the fact that Tom a' tSeoighe was writing new material in Irish and was willing to make his songs available to local singers, and John Beag Ó Flatharta's return from the United States, where he had lived and worked for many years. John Beag became the lynchpin for the group of musicians that were to make up *Na hAncairí* – the first group to feature the new style.

> Repertoires spanned bluegrass and country favourites translated into Irish […] and newly composed material dealing with 'the realities of modern Gaeltacht life and in particular emigration'. As with many vernacular music traditions in Ireland, dancing, in particular jiving, was an essential part of live performances[98]

Ó Fátharta also points out that, had the other factors not been present, Tom a' tSeoighe's songs might never have come to the attention of a wider public.[99] John Beag reckons that Tom's songs had a greater effect on Connemara emigrants overseas than on the people at home.[100] Songs like *Litir Ó Mo Mhéit*, [A Letter From my Mate], a song

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[96] A television documentary detailing Tom a' tSeoighe's life, and songwriting, *Tomás na n-Amhrán,* produced by Peter Carr, was broadcast on TG4 in 2003. See: Carr, Peter, *Tomás na n-Amhrán* (2003), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hOCuqEXh5Fw. It is also available on the thesis website at: https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigration3/ (go to Ex.11).

[97] Carr, 38'26". The translation is taken from the subtitles

[98] McIntyre, Thérèse: 'Na hAncairí (agus John Beag Ó Flatharta)', White and Boydell, *The Encyclopedia of Music in Ireland*. Vol.2, 718

[99] Carr, 38'46".

[100] *Ibid.,* 41'02".

about a letter sent to a returned emigrant by a former co-worker of his still living in England, which causes him to reminisce about their time labouring together; *Pócaí Folamh, is Cloigeann Tinn* [Empty Pockets, and a Sore Head], a song about a Connemara fisherman sleeping rough in London, and *Deoraí Thír an Fhia* [The Tír an Fhia Exile] a song about an emigrant regretting how he may have shortened his father's life by leaving his home place and how he spent his life in London drinking and womanising; struck a chord with many from Connemara who had worked overseas. Following on the local success of Tom a' tSeoighe's songs, other people such as Ciarán Ó Fátharta began composing songs for local singers.

Connemara had a tradition going back for many years of local poets and songwriters writing songs about local issues. Often the songs remained in the Connemara area without spreading further afield. Folklorist and academic, Ríonach Uí Ógáin says 'it might be said that these poets and composers provided a kind of news service […] as matters directly related to the community in question are addressed, highlighted and presented in a particular way'.[101] Singer, harpist and academic, Síle Denvir, describes the tradition of the *file pobail* [community poet] and links some of these newer songwriters to that tradition. She traces the roots of the growth in popularity of songwriting in the 1980s back to the early 1970s and to two songwriters in particular – Tomás Mac Con Iomaire, and Tomás Mac Eoin.[102] Denvir observes that by the 1980s up to forty people were writing songs in Irish in Connemara.[103]

4.6.2 Interview with Beairtle Ó Domhnaill

When I interviewed singer Beairtle Ó Domhnaill[104] in 2014, he also traced the development of this genre back to Tomás MacEoin, who in the 1970s had performed a number of novelty songs with his group *Na Cloigne Folamha* such as *An Damhán Alla*

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[101] Ríonach Uí Ógáin, 'Camden Town Go Ros a Mhíl— Athrú Ar Ghnéithe de Thraidisiún Amhránaíochta Chonamara / From Camden Town to Ros a' Mhíl—Changes in the Connemara Singing Tradition,' ed. Fintan Vallely et al., vol. 1, *Crosbhealach an Cheoil-The Crossroads Conference, Temple Bar Music Centre Dublin*: (Whinstone Music, 1996), 219–33, 228.

[102] Síle Denvir, ed., *Ciarán Ó Fatharta- Amhráin* (Cló Iar-Chonachta,Indreabhán, 2008) Kindle edition, location 78.

[103] *Ibid.*

[104] Interview with Beairtle Ó Dómhnaill, Foirnis Island, Leitir Meallláin, interview by Brian Ó hUiginn, 15 August, 2014.

[The Spider], a humorous song which affectionately parodies the Johnny Cash song, *'A Thing Called Love'*; *Amhrán na Bó* [The Cow's Song], partly based on the chorus of the song *'Hey Rock and Roll'*, by 70s British pop band Showaddywaddy, as well as more serious songs such as *'An Cailín Álainn'* [The Beautiful Girl], a love song written to the tune of *'The Mingulay Boat Song'*. MacEoin later did collaborations with the folk-rock band 'The Waterboys'. Ó Domhnaill points out, however, that MacEoin would not really have been seen as a country musician, possibly being more associated with popular music. *'Bhí sé difriúil ón rud a bhí againne...bhí cineál popcheol ag Tomás freisin agus bhí 'Rock and Roll' déanta aige* [it was different from the thing that we had...Tomás played a kind of pop music as well and he had done *Rock and Roll*][106]

He mentions Ó Flatharta as having come next, then himself, followed by bands such as *Dúirling, Cillín, Banna Cheoil an Droichid*, and others. Ó Domhnaill himself played in a band called *Ceann Gólaim* in the early 1980s. He ascribes the origin of the Connemara country style to *sean-nós* singing, saying that himself and others who started playing in the Connemara country style learned from *sean-nós*:

> *Is dóigh gur ón tsean-nós is mó a d'fhoghlaim muide seo a' dtuigeann tú... ón sean-nós a tháinig sé uilig. Chuir muide ansin ceol le cineál amhráin sean-nós*[107]
>
> It's probably mainly from sean-nós that we learned this (music) you see... It all came from sean-nós. We then put music to kind of sean-nós songs

In a 2016 interview for Raidió na Gaeltachta, John Beag Ó Flatharta confirmed the influence of *sean-nós* (mainly as his mother sang it) on his own singing:

> *Bhí mo mháthair [...] ag casadh amhráin 'sí ag dul ar fud a' tí [..] agus bhí cúpla focla agam de sheanamhráin a chloisfinn ag mo mháthair cosúil le Liam Ó Raghallaigh agus amhráin mar sin agus seans dáiríre gur as sin a d'fhás an rud ar fad. Ní raibh aon raidió sa teach nuair a bhí mise beag.*[108]
>
> My mother [...] would sing songs while going around the house [...] and I had a few words of old songs that I would hear from my mother such as *Liam Ó Raghallaigh*, and songs like that, and there's a chance really that the whole thing grew from that. There was no radio in the house when I was little.

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[105] Various artists, *Báidín Fheidhlimí: Selected Gael-Linn Singles 1968-1980*, CD (Gael-Linn, 2013). Track 12.
[106] Ó Domhnaill interview, 1' 22".
[107] *Ibid.*, 1' 35".
[108] 'Liza mo Stór agus Scéalta Eile' (44'39").

Although they were familiar with the *sean-nós* style, the younger musicians played the old songs with a steady, regular rhythm, and sang with guitar accompaniment, Beairtle Ó Domhnaill acknowledges that Joe Éinniú, in particular, objected to the accompaniment of *sean-nós* songs.[109] However, as Ó Domhnaill goes on to explain:

> *Sé'n rud atá againne…taithníonn an ceol linn, agus nuair a airíonns muid amhrán agus é casta go maith ag leithéidí Joe Éinniú agus Dara Bán agus Máirtín Tom Sheáinín, 'bhfuil fhios agat go…laighfidh sé ort agus déarfaidh tú leat fein [...] tá mé ag iarraidh seo a chasadh. An chéad rud eile tá tú ag cur tionlacan leis.*[110]

> The thing that we have…. we like the music [accompaniment], and when we hear a song sung well, by the likes of Joe Éinniú and Dara Bán and Máirtín Tom Sheáinín, you know it would... impress you and you would say to yourself […], I want to sing this. Next thing, you're putting accompaniment to it.

In Ó Domhnaill's early years he had sung *sean-nós* songs, but by the time he and some of his contemporaries started singing publicly, they were singing in English, accompanying themselves on guitar, singing songs by country and Irish stars such as Big Tom, Larry Cunningham and Margo, all of whom Ó Domhnaill admired. Some of these Connemara singers, including Ó Domhnaill, changed over to singing in Irish (although not exclusively so) in the 1980s, when people became interested in the new genre. The generalised sentimental songs of the country and Irish repertoire which would have been applicable to anywhere in rural Ireland, were replaced by themes and a singing style specific to Connemara. Ó Domhnaill attributes at least some of the style of the new music to the *sean-nós* singers:

> *Tá mé a' ceapadh go ndeachaigh muid ag aithris ar lucht a' sean-nós i dtosach ach go ndearna muid an t-amhrán beagán níos scafánta. Rinne muid amhrán ceol tíre de.*[111]

> I think we imitated the sean-nós singers at first, except that we made the song a little bit faster. We made a country music song out of it.

Later on in the same interview, in relation to his own style of singing Connemara country, Ó Domhnaill mentions that '*A' chaoi a chasanns mise iad, tá an sean nós i mo ghuth* […] *Dúirt go leor daoine sin liom'* [The way that I sing them, sean-nós is in my

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[109] O Domhnaill Interview, 1'55'.
[110] *Ibid.*, 3'09.
[111] *Ibid.*, 26'16'

voice […]. A lot of people said that to me].[112] Ó Domhnaill acknowledges that most of the melodies for his songs come from country and Irish singers, and says that the songs of Big Tom, Larry Cunningham, and Margo have provided melodies for some of his newer songs. [113] When asked whether using a *sean-nós* style with these songs was difficult he mentions that in the main this was not the case, but that from time to time the original tune would have to be changed slightly:

> *B'fhéidir, scaití, go gcaithfeá an gutha beagáinín a athrú […] Caithfidh tú féin beagáinín obair a chur isteach ansin agus é a athrú beagáinín*[114]

> Perhaps at times you would have to change the tune sometimes […] you have to put some work into it then and change it a little.

A little later in the interview, acknowledging how new words could force slight changes to the melody he added:

> *Caithfidh tú beagáinín athrú beag a chur ar an ngutha agus é a thabhairt isteach sa stíl chéanna a' chaoi a bhfuil na focla curtha san amhrán*[115]

> you have to change the tune a little bit and bring it into the same style as the words that have been put into the song.

4.6.3 The role of the Connemara diaspora

Connemara people living and working in Britain, were important in helping to cement the musical change. Having the Connemara community in London as an audience was of major importance to Ó Domhnaill. The same thing was noted by John Beag Ó Flatharta, earlier in this chapter.

There were those, however, who did not welcome this new kind of music. Ó Domhnaill recounts singing his songs informally in the bar areas of big venues after country and Irish music concerts in London, to audiences of both Connemara and English people. In most cases his songs were well received but a few Irish people were not impressed. Sometimes they were from close to home. He describes how the manager of a major

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[112] *Ibid.,* 35'07'.
[113] *Ibid.,* 49'40'.
[114] *Ibid.,* 51'03'.
[115] *Ibid.,* 52'08' Ó Domhnaill gave an example of a line from one of his songs '*Amhrán Mháirtín'*. He reckons he got the melody for this from a Larry Cunningham song but is unsure which one.

venue in London (a Galway man) would tell him that he should leave the Irish songs behind in Galway or Connemara, that they should not be played in England.[116] Another comment that was made by some local Connemara people, according to Ó Domhnaill, was that he was putting '*an iomarca den rud Chonamara*' [too much of the Connemara thing] into his songs.[117] However, the level of acceptance of the change: what might be called 'social permission' was enough to ensure the success of the new genre. This was not just true for Connemara audiences in London. Ó Domhnaill went on to perform to audiences of several thousand, mainly Connemara or Connemara-connected people in Boston's Florian Hall in Dorchester several times in the 1990s. One other notable factor for Ó Domhnaill, is the popularity among his audience of songs that mention Connemara placenames. He gives this as one of the main reasons for the popularity of songs by Tom a' tSeoighe.[118] As discussed above, this is also an important factor in country and Irish songs.

4.7.4 Themes of Connemara Country Music

Although emigration, alcohol, and loneliness featured strongly in the new songs, reflecting the concerns of their emigrant audiences, they were not the only themes that lent themselves to new singing-styles, rhythms and instrumentation. More traditional songs, like *Púcán Mhicil Pháidín*, [Micil Pháidín's *Púcán*] and *An Mary Ann*, [The Mary Ann] celebrated the seafaring nature of Connemara people and in particular the 'hooker',[119] sailing craft that had been used for generations past. The largest of these boats, the *báid mhóra* [big boats] — sometimes called 'turf-boats' in English —had all but died out by the early 1970s. As their most recent function, bringing turf to the Aran Islands, became less important, they were discarded. However, during the seventies and early eighties, a revival in their use had taken place and more of these boats were being built, this time mainly as pleasure-craft, or for racing. The *curach*, a traditional rowing boat made from tarred canvas, was also being used more for racing than work purposes.

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[116] *Ibid.,* 28'32".
[117] *Ibid.,* 56'40".
[118] *Ibid.,*7'46".
[119] 'Hooker' is the generic name given to a category of wooden sailing craft traditionally used for carrying cargoes in the Galway Bay area. There are four types: *Bád mór*; *Leathbhád*; *Púcán* and *Gleoiteog*. By the late 1960s there were less than five of the *Bád mór* category left with only two or three still carrying turf to the Aran Islands. All work associated with these boats has now stopped and they enjoy a new lease of life solely as recreational craft.

Events such as *Cruinniú na mBád* [The Gathering of the Boats], held in Kinvara in Galway every year and *Rásaí na gCurachaí* [The Currach Races] at various local regattas, led to a new lease of life both for these types of boat, and for the stories and lore associated with them. The boats became iconic symbols of traditional life in Connemara. From early on, older traditional songs, such as *Púcán Mhicil Pháidín* [Micil Pháidín's *Púcán*] found a place in the repertoires of singers of the new music style. These songs had been learned from the great Connemara *sean-nós* singers, like Joe Éinniú and Dara Bán (Mac Donnchadh).

Figure 4.10: Galway Hookers off the coast of Inishmore, Aran islands[120]

New songs on the same theme were also written, such as *An Merican Mór*, and *Tom Deairbe*, (the former about a boat, the latter about a boatman), celebrating boats and their sailors. These expressed more contemporary feelings about the place of the boats and those who sailed in them in the popular psyche of south Connemara. As Beairtle Ó Domhnaill observes '*Siad na hamhráin báid is mó atá ag tarraingt caint thart anseo* [It is the songs about the boats that are getting most comments around here].[121]

As implied by some of Ó Domhnaill's detractors, a characteristic central to the identity of the these songs apart from language, is the style in which they are sung, which is strongly associated with Connemara. The next section will analyse the performance style of Connemara country music more closely.

4.7 Connemara country performance-style.

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[120] Source: http://www.aranislands.ie/blog/galway-hookers-sailing-on-inishmore-island-blog/
[121] Ó Domhnaill interview, 15'55'.

This section will analyse three examples of Connemara country songs, to demonstrate the style used in singing them. All three are relatively recent compositions. The singers chosen here display the various characteristics of Connemara country music in their performances. They also represent a mix of ages which helps to show further developments in the genre among younger singers. The first song, *Litir Ó Mo Mhéit* [a Letter from my Mate], is sung by John Beag Ó Flatharta, who is credited by many as being the originator of the genre. The second is a song written by Ciarán Ó Fátharta called *Cré na Cille* [The Graveyard Clay]. The third song is called *Amhrán an Imirce* [The Song of Emigration] written by Pádraic Ó Conghaíle and sung by the band *Fóidín Meara.* As stated at the outset in this chapter, many of the early recordings were on cassette and are no longer readily available.[122] Two of the following are therefore taken from YouTube videos. They do, however, amply demonstrate the points being made.

4.7.1 Connemara country performance style

'*Litir Ó Mo Mhéit*' -John Beag Ó Flatharta

One of the first people to write for the new genre was Tom a' tSeoighe, and the first to sing in this style was John Beag Ó Flatharta. The following example is a video of Ó Flatharta singing *Litir ó Mo Mhéit*[123] written by a' tSeoighe.[124] The narrator receives a letter from an old friend who laboured with him in England years ago, bringing back memories of life in emigration.

A video featuring the song can be seen at the following location. The USB key contains audio only. The words for the first two verses are given below.

https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigration3/

(go to Ex.7)

Or: USB/Audio/3.7

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[122] Although both John Beag Ó Flatharta and Beairtle Ó Domhnaill are still recording and producing new material on CD.

[123] *Litir Ó Mo Mhéit*, accessed December 3, 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-7tvzqs0y8w.

[124] The song is one of a group of three featuring a 'mate' written by A' tSeoige. As well as this song there was also *Mo Mhéit ar Saoire*, [My Mate on Holiday] and *Slán A Mhéit* [Goodbye Mate] .

Litir ó Mo Mhéit[125]	**A Letter From My Mate**
Agus <u>chuala</u> mé sa seanchas, 'fearr go deireannach ná go brách' *snach iomaí bliain ag fanacht mé, <u>smé</u> <u>ag</u> faire <u>ó</u> lá <u>go</u> lá* *Is beag nár theastaigh an sagart uaim, ar maidin arú inné,* *nuair a d'fhogair fear a phoist orm* *'seo litir ó do Mhéit.*	And I heard in the old sayings 'better late than never and for many years I've waited, watching from day to day I nearly needed the priest the morning before last when the postman announced to me 'here's a letter from your mate
Nach iomaí trá is tuilleadh atá tagtha riamh ó shin, *Is sneachta atá titithe is tá clúdaigh do na cnoic,* *Ón ar fhág mé mo sheanmhéit sa bpub i Waterloo,* *Bhí na deora síos go talamh leis* *Is é maraithe ag an gcumha.*	O Haven't many tides come and gone since then And snows that have fallen and covered the mountains Since I left my old mate in the pub in Waterloo His tears were falling to the Ground, and he was killed by the sorrow of parting

One of the first differences that might be observed is that the song is rhythmic, holding onto a more consistent rhythm (4/4 timing) than would be used in *sean-nós* singing. It is also accompanied by guitar. In this regard it resembles a country and Irish song. In the first verse, the use of melismatic ornamentation can be heard. The second syllable of *chuala* (first line, underlined) is sung with melismatic ornamentation. The technique is used again as he moves from '*smé'* to '*ag'* in the second line of the song, and again on the words *ó* and *go* in the same line. This continues throughout the rest of the song. The tendency to use melismatic ornamentation in what might otherwise be straightforward syllabic-style country and Irish singing is one of the traits that distinguishes Connemara country from country and Irish singing style. However, the melismatic style is tempered somewhat by the need to maintain the rhythm and therefore it does not follow the style of *sean-nós* singing, the 'holding on to the lines' seen in use by Ghriallais, MacDonnchadha or Éinniú above.

Although this is one of the earlier songs of the genre dating from the mid 1980s, it is slightly unusual in that, as sung here, it lacks the powerful backing beat and the accentuation that would yield the type of rhythm required for jiving. However, it was easily brought into the jive style later. Ó Flatharta's singing here shows, I think, a closer

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[125] Words and translation are transcribed from the recording by me.

affinity to the ornamentation of *sean-nós* than do some of his later songs, which in my opinion move closer to a syllabic and straight country style.

'Cré na Cille' – Anne Marie Nic Dhonncha

Another example of Connemara country is the song '*Cré na Cille'* sung here by Anne Marie Nic Dhonncha. The song, written by Ciarán Ó Fátharta, is about a ghost who appears to the narrator at a graveyard in the early morning. The ghostly apparition says that he cannot rest with the other souls in the graveyard because he has left debts behind him in a public house. The narrator asks to whom the debts are owed and is duly told. The ghost then disappears and the narrator goes and pays his debts, thus releasing the ghost and enabling him to join the other souls, resting peacefully.

An audio excerpt of the song can be heard at the following location.

https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigration3/

(go to Ex. 8)

Or: USB/Audio/3.8

The first two verses and the chorus are included below

Cré na Cille[126]	**The Graveyard Clay**
Ag dul thar chré na <u>cille</u> dhom,	Going past the graveyard clay
Ar maidin moch <u>liom</u> fhéin,	Early one morning on my own
*D'airi**gh** **mé** an choiscéimín,*	I heard a little footstep
Ag teacht anuas an chéim.	Coming down the step
Stán mé mar bhuail fait<u>íos</u> mé,	I stared because I was suddenly afraid
*Tháinig eagla **ar mo** chroí,*	My heart was filled with fear
*Is chona**ic** **mé** mar íomhá <u>é,</u>*	And I saw him as a spectre
Ar an leac le m'ais ina shuí.	Sitting on the flagstone beside me
Idir faitíos is crith anama,	With both fear and a trembling soul
D'fhiafraíos cérbh é fhéin,	I asked him who he was
Ach níor fhreagair sé in aon chor mé,	But he did not answer me at all
Ach d'éirigh aníos de léim.	But suddenly jumped upright
Bhreathnaíos ina shúile fhéin,	I looked into his eyes
Go ndéanfainn amach cérbh é,	Trying to make out who it was
Ach chúlaíos nuair a labhair sé liom,	But I backed off when he spoke to me
Is seo í an chaint a chaith sé.	And this is what he said
Curfá:	Chorus:
Tá cré na cille chomh ciúin inniu	The graveyard soil is so quiet today
Is go gcloisfeá an féar ag fás,	That you can hear the grass growing
Tá na milliúin cnámh ina luí ansiúd thall'	Millions of bones are lying over there
Ag baint suaimhneas is saoirse ón mbás,	Granted rest and freedom by death
Ó, bheinnse fhéin in éineacht leo,	Oh I myself would be with them
Dhá gcomhlíonfadh mé an dlí,	If I had fulfilled the law
Tá fiacha i dteach an óil orm	I have debts in the public house
Is ní bhfuair mé an seans iad a íoc.	And I never got a chance to pay them

The theme of this song is not one of the usual themes of Connemara country, despite the references to drinking and debt. The title of the song contains an important reference. *Cré na Cille* is the name of a novel[127] by a local writer called Máirtín Ó Cadhain.[128] It

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[126] Lyrics from Denvir, 2008, kindle edition, song no.19. kindle for iOS location 1130. The translation is my own..

[127] The novel concerns a graveyard where the dead are a community who talk to each other. The social strata, complexities and pettinesses of their community are explored in the novel. The book consists solely of dialogue.

[128] Ó Cadhain was a writer, political activist and academic from the Cois Fharraige area of Connemara. He died in 1970.

is undoubtedly the most famous piece of prose in Irish to come from the area and the title and its relevance would be well understood locally. The song is in waltz-time and the singing is delivered in a strong voice. Nic Dhonncha's singing is somewhere between being syllabic and melismatic. The rhythm keeps the singer moving through the syllables of the song at a steady pace. As in '*Litir Ó Mo Mhéit*' above there is no chance to 'hold onto' lines as described by Joe Éinniú, (which also allowed for a more prominent display of melismata). To that extent this is not a *sean-n*ós song. On the other hand, the singer uses a lot of fast melismatic ornamention as she sings. As was seen earlier in the chapter, this is not a technique used widely in country and Irish music. Some of this melismatic ornamentation is underlined in the first verse above. Nic Dhonncha also hints at vocal breaking without ever letting it develop fully. Some examples occur in the first verse at the points marked by bold type. There are more throughout the song. This is quite unusual in Connemara country and may be an influence from more mainstream American country singing in English.

'*Amhrán An Imirce*' —Fóidín Meara

Even among younger exponents of this style, the ornamentation of Connemara *sean-nós* can be heard, as in this example in which the brothers Patrick and Tommy Connolly and their Band *Fóidín Meara* perform '*Amhrán an Imirce*' (the Emigration Song), written by Pádraic Ó Conghaile (also known as Páraic a' táilliúra).

An audio excerpt of the song can be heard at the following location

https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigration3/

(go to Ex 9)

Or: USB/Audio/3.9

Amhrán An Imirce	The Song Of Emigration
Ó nach é d'imigh scioptha ó d'fhág mise'an <u>baile</u>	O didn't the time go fast since I left home
Tá leathchéad bliain bailithe ó d'fhág <u>mé</u> an Trá Bhán	fifty years have gone by since I left Trá Bhán
Culaith ceann easna, is bróga <u>breá</u> táirní	[wearing] a Grey suit and fine hobnailed boots
diabhail stopadh ná casadh	without stopping or straying until I

nó 'stigh i gCamden Town	was in Camden Town
Chaith muid Dé Satharn ag ól thíos	We spent Saturday drinking in 'The
sa gCastle	Castle'
s i ndiaidh sin ag damhsa sa	and afterwards dancing in 'The
mBuffalo	Buffalo'
ní raibh tad' ann ach Gaeilge, corr	There was nothing but Irish
throid agus sarú,	(spoken), the odd fight, and
Is 'chuile Mhac mháthar ann a	argument
d'fhág an áit thiar	and every man was there who had
	left the western place. [Connemara]

Again the singer uses lot of melismatic ornamentation, some of which is underlined in the song words above. The song is sung in waltz-time and the soft drumming behind it helps to hold the beat. The subject matter is typical of much of Connemara country music, dealing as it does with emigration, drinking, socialising in Irish venues, and the Irish-speaking Connemara community in England.

4.8 Melodic migration in Connemara country music

The Connemara country scene, had gone into decline by the late 1990s, perhaps a reflection of the decline in country and Irish music generally. Writer and publisher, Micheál Ó Conghaíle, detects a revival in more recent years.[129] To finish demonstrating the musics of the creolised Connemara country genre, I would like to return to the idea of melodic migration discussed in the first chapter and exemplified in each subsequent chapter. This section will demonstrate how a melody has travelled 'internally', that is within the culture rather than between cultures, but undergoing several changes of genre in the process. The song is '*Púcán Mhicil Pháidín*' [Micil Pháidín's *Púcán*] which featured earlier in this chapter sung by Joe Éinniú. The same melody is used for another traditional song called '*Peigín Audley*'. The example illustrates the changes of approach to singing traditional songs over the last twenty years, as innovations have occurred in the music of south Connemara. '*Púcán Mhicil Pháidín*' extols the virtues of a boat and its captain/owner and commemorates a race in which the boat took part in the bay of the village of Roundstone. '*Peigín Audley*' was written in the early twentieth century and is a song about a man who tries to court a woman. She rebukes him telling him that he has not got enough land and that she heard he is 'on the dole'. I have put together an audio mix of three singers singing the melody in very different styles but all also sharing some

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[129] Delap, 'Mícheál Ó Conghaile', *Beo* online magazine, no.112, August 2010, http://www.beo.ie/alt-micheal-o-conghaile.aspx. Accessed 19/2/2015

of the features of Connemara singing. This is best heard when the renditions are played together. The first is a verse from Joe Éinniú's performance of '*Púcán Mhicil Pháidín'*, [130] the second has Beairtle Ó Domhnaill [131] singing part of the same song in the Connemara country style, and the last is Patrick Connolly singing the song '*Peigín Audley'* with more of a 'country rock' performance-style. Connolly's style is, I think, a progression beyond the country and Irish influence of Ó Domhnaill, and leans more towards contemporary American country music.

This melody is migrating between genres even though it is in the same language in all cases. The audio mix can be heard at the following location

https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigration3/

(go to Ex. 10)

Or: USB/Audio/3.10

Púcán Mhicil Pháidín[132]**(Joe Éinniú**)	**Micil Pháidín's Púcán**
'*S a chiall le Dia nár bhreá í, sí púcán Mhicil Pháidín* *An lá ar fhág sí crumpán Charna is é ina ghála mhór,* *Dheamhan bhréig atá mé ag rá libh* *Ach an fharraige bhí sí a cháthadh,* *Go dtiteadh sé 'na bháisteach ar dhá thaobh an chuain.*	God knows she was a lovely sight, Micil Pháidín's *púcán* when she set out from the inlet at Carna with a gale blowing, I'm not exaggerating when I tell you that the sea was a froth of spume, and then it started raining on both sides of the bay.

Púcán Mhicil Pháidín[133] **(Beairtle Ó Domhnaill)**	**Micil Pháidín's *Púcán*** (2nd**verse)**

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[130] 'Joe Éinniú.' http://www.joeheaney.org/default.asp?contentID=1002 (accessed:13/09/2016)

[131] Ó Domhnaill, *Nancy Bhán,* track 13.

[132] Words and translation from: 'Joe Éinniú.' http://www.joeheaney.org/default.asp?contentID=1002 (accessed:13/09/2016)

[133] Words transcribed and translated from the singing of Ó Domhnaill.

'S dul siar ag Droim a' Mhaoilín	when going past *Droim a'*
bhí timpeall 's míle daoin' ann ann	*Mhaoilín,* there
Bhí Púcán Mhaitín roimpi, 'sí réitithe	was around a thousand people there
amach chun seoil,	Maitín's *Púcán* was ahead of her,
Is é déaradh Cathasach a' Mhaoinse,	All readied for sailing
go raibh sí déanta ó thogh' na	What Casey from Maoinis used to
saortha	say,
Is nach raibh aon bhád ar an líne	is that she was built by the finest
seo	tradesmen/
A bhuailfeadh í sa siúil. ''[134]	and there there was no boat in the
	area
	that could beat her in sailing

Peigín Audley	**Peigín Audley**
(Patrick	
Connolly)[135]	
Tá scéal agam le n-aithris,	I have a story to tell you,
Faoin mbaintreach Peigín Audley	about the widow Peigín Audley
A raibh conaí uirthi tí Neachtain,	Who lived in Naughton's house,
thuas ag barr an chnoic	Up on the mountain top
Chuala Tuarchail ó Mhaoinis	Tuarchail from Maonais heard
gur bean í ar theastaigh fear uaithi	That she was a woman who was
Is bheannaigh sé ar maidin ann	looking for a man,
a' fiafraí a raibh sí istigh	An he called one morning
	to see was she in.

Éinniú's version of '*Púcán Mhicil Pháidín'* bears all the hallmarks of *sean-nós* singing Connemara-style. Rhythm is a personal matter for him; there is no rush to catch the beat nor any sense of *rubato*. His relaxed pace of delivery allows plenty of melismatic ornamentation.

In the Ó Domhnaill version[136] it is useful to view the song and the singing from two different musical perspectives, and it will become clear that this version does not accord with the norms of either. Looked at from the perspective of Connemara *sean-nós*, the use of instrumentation is immediately noticeable as a departure from the norms of that tradition. The use of a regular rhythm—a 3/4 rhythm suitable for waltzing also stands

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[135] Words transcribed and translated from the singing of Connolly by myself.
[136] I have used the second verse from Ó Domhnaill as I think it demonstrates his singing style better than the first verse does.

out. The singing keeps fairly strictly to the rhythm whereas most *sean-nós* songs would allow more freedom to the individual in terms of rhythm.

Some of the stylistic features of Ó Domhnaill's singing however, might be the most unusual aspect of the song when compared to mainstream country and Irish songs. Ó Domhnaill keeps full voice throughout the song, there is no use of vocal dynamic. One of the main stylistic features of this recording and of the performance of Ó Domhnaill and others , is the use of melismatic ornamentation. By and large, this is not a feature of country and Irish Music.[137] The melismata here are far more frequent and elaborate often, involving three or more grace notes. In Ó Domhnaill's singing of the words *'míle'* and '*daoine'* in the first line (underlined), the middle vowels in both words are carried on a melisma. This can be heard in the audio. The same is true for the other underlined words.

Patrick Connolly sings the same melody albeit with a different song, '*Peigín Audley'*. It is sung in a very different style to that of either Éinniú or Ó Domhnaill. Connolly's singing is very animated, using a lot of dynamic. He gives a 'country rock' feel to the song. The instrumentation, heavy drums and a prominent bass, as well as lead guitar, emphasises this. However, he also uses melismatic ornamentation. Interestingly this is used to a far greater degree in modern American country than in country and Irish music. This version of '*Peigín Audley'* is very obviously suitable for jiving. A video showing Connolly's complete performance can be seen at

https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigration3/

(go to 'Peigín Audley video – Patrick Connolly')[138]

These three renditions of the same melody, show how a melody can be shaped to suit different genres even within a tradition. A number of notes are changed to allow for different words or different rhythms. However, the melody itself retains in this case a large amount of integrity between the versions. There is no elongation and breaking up of the lines of the original melody such as was seen in Chapter One in '*Bangor*' for example, changes that can make the original melody difficult to discern. Nor is there the

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[137] Although, as has been seen, Foster and Allen use some melismatic ornamentation, it does not alter the basic syllabic nature of their singing.
[138] Also available at: TG Ciarán, *Patrick Connolly—Peigín Audley—Abair Amhrán 134120*, 2007, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U8dVY9hRaIA. (Accessed 13 April, 2014).

adding of new parts and elongation of lines to allow for more syllables that was seen in '*J'ai Fait Tout Le Tour Du Pays*' in Chapter two. The melody is however, migrating between different genres within the tradition. The sort of rhythmic treatment given to it by Ó Domhnaill, would not have been used by Éinniú, and it would be hard to imagine Ó Domhnaill using the louder and more vocally dynamic style of Connolly.

4.9 Connemara country music –analysis and summary

This dichotomy in terms of function between music for dancing/socialising and what might be called, to borrow the Louisiana phrase, 'home music' can be seen as a musical version of Ferguson's 'diglossia', mentioned in the first chapter. The type of music to be performed is determined by the occasion, much as occasions determine the form of language to be used in diglossia. 'Home music' was more informal and intimate. By the end of the twentieth century, however, for serious community socialising, a band and a bigger venue were required.

It might have been expected that, in keeping with the language-decline and the decline of the older way of life, the associated singing-style would eventually be replaced by the more mainstream music-style of English-speaking rural Ireland. But in an unexpected departure from this more likely trajectory, the local community, through its singers and songwriters, managed to renegotiate a compromise mix of musics – a form of creolised music – that went on to become widespread throughout south Connemara.

Other Irish-speaking areas did not, and have not since, experienced a similar phenomenon. Why this happened is a complex matter. Country and Irish music was actually in decline in the rest of the country by the mid-1980s, although it appears to have subsequently experienced a revival.[139] Irish language decline in the area was ongoing and the community was now bilingual (although Irish was still, for many if not most people, their stronger language).

Some factors may have had a catalytic effect. As mentioned above, Ciarán Ó Fátharta has pointed to the significance of *Raidió na Gaeltachta*. As was also mentioned, RnG

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[139] As previously noted a second, younger generation, people like Nathan Carter, Michael English and Declan Nerney have come to the fore as performers

had, at the time, a policy of never broadcasting songs with English lyrics, thus banishing country and Irish music and many other styles from the local airwaves. Local English-language radio had not yet fully developed (the main English-language local station, Galway Bay FM only began broadcasting in 1989), leaving only RTÉ radio as an alternative source. As RTÉ 2FM broadcast almost exlusively rock and pop music and RTÉ Radio One was mainly English language talk-based, these stations could not cater for different tastes in Gaeltacht communities. By contrast, *Raidió na Gaeltachta* would broadcast songs in Irish, thus giving one possible incentive for new music. However, the question then arises as to why this did not happen in other *Gaeltacht* areas beyond Connemara where the same conditions would have applied.

A second factor should also be considered. The native-speaking population of Connemara was considerably larger than that of the other two main Irish speaking areas in north-west Donegal and south-west Kerry and formed one contiguous region unlike, for example, Donegal where the native Irish-speaking population is scattered in several non-contiguous regions. This meant that there were potentially larger audiences in Connemara for a local popular music in Irish. However, the fact remains that popular music in Irish, by people from outside the community, such as 1980s band *Na Fíréin*, or by those from within the community, such as P.J. Ó Flatharta / Barry Ronan and Seán Ó hÉanaigh, met with comparatively moderate success in the Connemara Gaeltacht. By and large their achievements and music were not replicated by other singers and bands. This indicates that it was not just a question of language, nor even the local dialect, but also the style of music. Even the earlier efforts at comic songs, such as those of Tomás MacEoin, did not spawn a host of imitators.[140] It was the new, creolised music that hit a strong nerve locally giving it the impetus to develop further. Rather than remaining a curiosity or a form of music idiosyncratic to John Beag Ó Flatharta and *Na hAncairí* as was the case with *Na Cloigne Folamha, Barry Ronan*, or Seán Ó hÉanaigh, it spawned imitators and gained a foothold in the culture as a genre.

Why local musicians did not sing straight up country and Irish songs in the local Irish dialect is a different matter. Some factors should be considered. Country and Irish music

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[140] One song produced in the early 1980s, written and performed by a singer/songwriter Padráig Ó hAoláin, might have given an indication of the major themes of the new music. *Cóilín Pháraic Shéamais* described the situation of a man forced into emigration, working as a labourer in England and bidding farewell to his old life in Connemara. It was not, however, in the country and Irish style or Connemara country, having more of an acoustic folk-song feel to it, and it stood out as an exception in terms of music in Irish at the time.

offered very general Irish themes, Irish rural areas, homesickness and loneliness, idyllic homesteads and childhoods, pretty young lovers, favourite counties, and uncomplicated lifestyles. While these would also have struck a chord in Connemara, specific elements of the local lifestyle, the old sailing craft, the local singing style, language, and place names in Irish, things unique to the south Connemara region, were also representative of local life. Such culturally specific markers were not well represented in the country and Irish world. It is possible that local people felt the need to give positive endorsement to the life and culture of their area as they had experienced it, in music that was contemporary and that could, like country and Irish music, be danced to. There may also have been an awareness that this way of life was now endangered. This may, at least in part, explain what caused local music-making to veer off on a slightly different course from country and Irish music

The use of the local language and the mention of local placenames is also a distinguishing feature when comparing Connemara country music to country and Irish. Beairtle Ó Domhnaill had started out, like many of his contemporaries, singing mainstream country and Irish songs in English. To this day, he performs songs in both languages, as does John Beag Ó Flatharta (who also writes songs in English). However, Ó Dómhnaill states that it is his songs in Irish that are in greatest demand among his audience, especially if they contain place names.[141] The mention of county names was also well received in country and Irish music. However, old traditional songs such as '*Púcán Mhicil Pháidín*' when it was put to dance rhythms, or '*Amhrán Mhaínse*' (one of the 'big' *sean-nós* songs) performed in its slow, traditional form but with synthesiser accompaniment by Ó Flatharta, provided something that country and Irish music could not. Songs like '*An Mary Ann*', an ode to a boat, sung by Ó Domhnaill that has a contemporary folk feel to it, is not the kind of song that would be normally found in country and Irish music. These songs feature a way of life that is 'emic' to the south Connemara community. Likewise, the songs about labouring in England and Scotland such as '*Litir Ó Mo Mhéit*' and '*Amhrán an Imirce*' referenced above may have an added significance to the south Connemara audience who had lived (or were still living) and worked in England. These are issues of identity and place. Martin stokes argues that:

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[141] Ó Dómhnaill Interview, 8'18.

> Music is socially meaningful not entirely but largely because it provides means by which people recognise identities and places and the boundaries which separate them […] musical performance as well as the acts of listening dancing, arguing, discussing, thinking and writing about music provide the means by which ethnicities and identities are constructed and mobilised[142]

Thomas Turino emphasises the importance of a sense of place, and of participatory activities such as dancing. In a 2008 publication he states in relation to the folk music revival of the 1960s in the United States that:

> the mainstream 'folk revival' was a result of a mainstream need to make music without pressured comparison to the stars– to have music back for connecting with places, a past, and other people, with *home,* however it is conceived. Music is certainly not the only way that people can do this, but participatory music and dance have special qualities and characteristics for creating solid feelings of community and identity. Sounding together articulates and realises a special way of being together, and the style of particular sounds– whether rap, punk, country, or old-time– carries specific indexical meanings that further define the nature and identity of the community being brought forth through performance. Participatory music-dance traditions exist the world over, and this suggests that they fulfill some basic human needs and desires. The 'folk revival' suggests that in times and places where such traditions don't easily exist, as in suburban America of the 1960s, people will find a way back to participatory music making.[143]

His comments could apply equally to both the development of LFM dance music and Connemara country music.

Another feature that distinguishes Connemara country from country and Irish music is that the songs tend to be less gentle in terms of theme. They often feature a harsh working life, hard drinking, fighting, and the desperate loneliness of emigration. Tom a' tSeoighe's son tells of working in London with other Connemara people and being ridiculed about their English at a time when poor English appeared to be accepted from workers from other European countries.[144] A sense of isolation perhaps even from other Irish labourers in England may have made the Connemara labouring experience in England different. This rather tough description of life abroad is not a common theme in country and Irish music which (as will be apparent from the examples above) generally has a softer and more sentimental thematic approach.[145]

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[142] Martin Stokes, *Ethnicity,Identity and Music: The Musical Construction of Place* (Oxford and Providence, 1994), 5.

[143] Thomas Turino, *Music as Social Life: The Politics of Participation* (University of Chicago Press, 2008) 157-158.

[144] See Tom Na n-Amhrán video :
https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigration3/https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigration3/ (26'39').

[145] Although it might be argued that American country music also has this darker side in terms of themes.

The importance of the performers in creating, developing and sustaining this style of music is of crucial importance. John Beag Ó Flatharta had thought of singing in Irish from the early seventies. His experiences, and those of others like Beairtle Ó Domhnaill, singing among Connemara people on the fringes of the country and Irish scene in London and other English cities also appears to have been of major importance. Raidió na Gaeltachta's exclusion of songs in English which may have had an alienating effect on a lot of young people, may also have played a part in encouraging new music in Irish although this would be hard to verify.

It is clear from Ó Domhnaill's comments that the Connemara community played a role in the process, both in Connemara itself, and (especially) in London. The creolised music (at that time perhaps more accurately a 'pidgin' music) appears to have elicited divided opinions. The more negative comments were that the music either did not belong outside Connemara, or that Ó Domhnaill was putting too much of the 'Connemara thing' into it. Leaving aside the disapproving nature of such comments, they could perhaps offer (subconsciously) an interesting way of describing the creolisation process at work. Aspects of style were deemed to be associated with a place or were emblematic of it. Played elsewhere, they were literally 'out of place' to some. Ó Domhnaill's approving Connemara audience in England, had come to accept aspects of Connemara style in a new setting and in a new place. Others rejected the 'transfer' from Connemara to England. Some had come to accept the Connemara singing-style in country songs. Others thought it out of place in the new musical setting. It is notable that early uncertainty gave way to a large measure of acceptance within the community. This 'social permission' appears to have been important. It is interesting to compare this to David Greely's comments about having to be careful about how new material was introduced to Louisiana French rural audiences, lest they rejected it or were insulted by it (see Chapter Three).

The music it would appear is discussed vigorously and assessed by the community. It also appears to have a meaning for audiences beyond the songs or lyrics themselves. Martin Stokes provides a possible reason for this when he points out that social performance:

[…] is seen as a practice in which meanings are generated, manipulated, even ironised within certain limitations. Music and dance […] do not simply 'reflect', rather they provide the means by which the hierarchies of place are negotiated and transformed.[146]

4.9.1 Creolised music?

To return to the main theme of the thesis: is Connemara country music a 'creolised music'? It might be argued that it is still relatively young to be considered a creole. However, I think it is true to say that a generation has, by now, grown up hearing it, and know the genre well, whether they like or dislike it. The music style tentatively constructed by Ó Flatharta and others has gone on to give rise to a host of imitators and bands, writing and performing new material in a style which is now universally recognised and understood in Connemara and which has come to stand for a whole era of Connemara community life, describing it from an emic perspective. It filled a musical need that *sean-nós*, pop, rock or country and Irish alone could not fill.

The genre as stated at the outset is small and it may well turn out to have been relatively short-lived.[147] Whatever happens to it, Connemara country music has served at least one generation of native Irish speakers trying to negotiate a musical path for their singing traditions in a changing world.

Although the thesis to this point has concerned creolised musics that may have started out as pidgins, in the next chapter I will engage in an exercise, which very definitely concerns 'pidgin' music. This is an attempt to see if there is a practical application to which I can put the information and observations of this thesis.

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[146] Stokes, *Ethnicity,Identity and Music: The Musical Construction of Place*, 4.

[147] As stated earlier in the chapter, much of the material from Connemara country music was issued on cassette. A lot of this was never reissued in CD format and is no longer available- perhaps an indication of the decline of the genre- although at the time of writing newer CDs have been recorded and issued by both Beairtle Ó Domhnaill and John Beag Ó Flatharta

CHAPTER 6

PRAXIS

5.1. Introduction

As stated in the introduction, this chapter of the thesis marks a change in emphasis as well as a change in style. Until now the emphasis has been on the creolised musics of the case studies. Creolisation requires a community to whom the music mix has become a native idiom. This chapter looks at an idea that precedes creolisation in music, that of 'pidginisation', the intentional mixing of musical styles by individual musicians. It deals with the second research question of this thesis: *To what extent can information about these processes be used to create new traditional-style music?*

This part of the research also brings me the researcher, directly into the thesis and returns to the autoethnographical description begun at the outset of the thesis. As stated there, I have been engaged in the process of music mixing for many years. Is there a way that a study such as this can inform my own practice in relation to composition and arrangement? If so, how does this relate to the wider process of, in this case, composition and arrangement in traditional music performance, and who should I consider to be my 'community' in terms of my own music making.

As pidginisation precedes creolisation, it may be seen as part of the process of creolisation. I will offer four pieces of my own that to varying degrees, either in terms of arrangement or composition mix musical codes to provide 'pidginised' pieces. A commentary on the process of pidginisation as I experience it in making these pieces will be provided. Some commentary on how these processes might be further extended to produce more pidginised music will also be made.

The pieces I offer here I describe as 'innovations' rather than 'compositions', as there may be some debate regarding what constitutes composition. As has been observed in the case studies, creolisation, although it leads to the creation of a new genre, does not always involve the creation of totally new music. It can also refer to music produced by musicians who unselfconsciously draw from existing music and lyrics to help provide new material. This often means using pre-existing melodies in part or in whole, as well

as pre-existing lines of 'floating' lyrics and themes. It is the reformulation of the different elements into a new song or melody that creates the innovation in these cases. To this extent the musicians or singers who do this are, I think, 'composing' although probably not in the way that is normally meant by the use of that word.[1] Ultimately, once the genre has been codified over time, completely new music is also composed in a creolised genre, but the process often begins with and may continue to use, pre-existing items of music.

In Louisiana and Connemara, the process of mixing musics seems to have begun within individuals who are open to the idea of mixing musics for aesthetic or for semiological reasons. Many of these innovating musicians have taken a liberal approach to adoption, adaptation, and reformulation of pre-existing material. Yet they have also created something new from this material, sometimes adding musical material of their own or adding unexpected elements from a second genre of music that both performer and audience will be familiar with, in the process giving existing material a new meaning, or a new function in society. Barry Ancelet stated that Cajuns and Creoles in Louisiana, in recycling older material were 'making a sports car out of train parts.' [2] George Murdock described this process of making something new from pre-existing elements as cultural 'invention'.[3] In the cases of D.L. Menard, and Beairtle Ó Domhnaill, both freely acknowledge using existing material in their own compositions. Yet both are regarded as having helped to create something new in terms of, respectively, LFM and Connemara country music. The fact that elements of their 'compositions' already existed is not important. Students of folk music will, of course, be well aware of the phenomenon. The use of pre-existing material for new lyrics or even new formats, is often found for example both in Irish traditional dance music and song.

With these points in mind I have allowed myself quite a bit of latitude in terms of my understanding of the word 'compose' for the purposes of this chapter and the question it answers. While I have written some new material for this part of the study, I have mainly concentrated on reinterpreting and reworking existing material in new contexts. There is a practical limitation here as I am a piper and not a singer. I am also taking

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[1] Contemporary songwriters or composers are normally held to have started the process with nothing and to have built totally new pieces.
[2] Ancelet Interview 1, (1.28'.25").
[3] See Chapter One (1.6.3).

from a vocal tradition to make new material in an instrumental one. I do not think, however, that this in any way reduces the innovative nature of the task.

The Process

The recordings that I include here were completed in my own house using a digital audio workstation (DAW) consisting of a computer, music controller keyboard, an audio interface and stereo pair mics. I have used concert pitch 'D' uilleann pipes, v-pipes uilleann (the electronic uilleann pipes simulator described in the methodology section, 1.8.5), and computer software instruments, to arrange and record the pieces. The stereo pair mics were used to record the uilleann pipes. The v-pipes uilleann plug directly into the audio interface and therefore no mics are required for them. V-pipes uilleann are transposable in terms of key, which is the main reason I use them here. The programmes I used mainly were 'Ableton Live', and 'Logic', both commonly used for studio recording and for sequencing.[4] In addition, as its name suggests, Ableton is also used for live performances by musicians and DJs. In some cases, I have multi-tracked piping parts, that is, I have added additional recordings of the pipes on tracks other than the main piping track. Ableton Live has some software processors and effects units that I particularly like. Logic I chose because of the quality of its sampled soundbanks. I used two additional sample libraries, one called 'London Symphonic Strings', for string sounds when required and from the other, 'kontakt', I used a software melodeon in one of the pieces. The v-pipes uilleann also plays sampled versions of other instruments and I have used an accordion from this library in two of the pieces. The composition or arrangement processes involved in each case will be described as part of the following discussion. After describing the creation of these four pieces, the discussion will return to an overall consideration of what has been achieved in terms of pidginising. It will also return to some of the autoethnographic implications of this part of the research.

5.2 *'Bangor'*

The first of my own recordings, is a rendition of the tune *'Bangor'*, as it is performed by Gaelic congregations in Lewis. *'Bangor'* was one of the psalm tunes featured in Chapter

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[4] Sequencing is programming a computer to play software instruments according to instruction. This is normally done by attaching a music keyboard to the computer and playing the notes that are required. The software records the pitch, length, position and velocity of each key that is played on a track. This information is used to playback any electronic or sampled sound that is attached to the track. Software instruments come in 'banks' or 'libraries'of recorded sounds. There are two types; synthesised sounds or sampled (i.e. recorded) real instruments. I have used the latter here.

Two. The rendition of *'Bangor'* by Malcolm MacLeod and congregation already encountered in Chapter Two can be heard at the following location. This is followed by my own rendition of *'Bangor'*.

Calum Martin says that *'Bangor'* is considered to be a difficult tune by congregations, due to its having a wider range than many other psalm tunes.[5] I decided firstly, as in all cases here, to perform it as an instrumental piece on uilleann pipes bringing it into my repertory of slow airs, but with differences. As will be appreciated, *'Bangor'* in its original form is a common metre tune, but when performed by a Gaelic congregation it acquires a totally different feel, displaying some of the characteristics of a slow air, as well as the kind of melismatic ornamentation characteristic of much Gaelic singing. One of the difficulties however, is that the tune is often sung at a much slower pace than many of the Irish slow airs that I would be used to playing. The first difficulty was to learn the tune. The original (Lowland) tune was not really a problem in that it is a relatively straightforward tune with little ornamentation. Learning this helps to establish where the main notes are when it comes to the Gaelic version. However, the Gaelic tune took a bit more time. I was relying on the 'congregational voice', the aggregated singing, which has many more notes than the original tune and includes a lot of ornamentation. I had four recorded versions of the tune that I listened to, eventually opting for one where I could discern an individual female singer in the congregation.[6] I followed the pace of the tune and tried to include as much ornamentation as I felt was required to try to replicate the singing style to some degree. I had to slow down my playing to a very challenging pace, trying to keep the movement within the tune but often holding notes for longer than would be comfortable for many Irish slow airs on pipes. However, I did notice this becoming easier as I relaxed into, and got to know, the tune. I also faced the challenge of what to do about the precentor's chanted lines. Normally when being sung by an individual, outside of a congregation, the four lines are either sung without the

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[5] Calum Martin Interview, interview by Brian Ó hUiginn, Skype recording, 10 April , 2015.
[6] This was played as part of a service broadcast on BBC a number of years ago. Unfortunately I have no direct reference for this recording.

precentor's lines thereby shortening the verses, or the precentor's lines are included by the singer thus giving a longer rendition that moves from faster to slower lines. I decided that in my rendition I would leave a space where the precentor's parts would normally be, thus preserving the drawn-out nature of the tune. I also think that leaving the space provides a contemplative hiatus between the lines of the music, allowing the listener (and the instrument player) to sit with the last played phrase for a moment. This is not something that would be done in the Irish slow air. Most Irish slow airs are the airs of songs and these breaks would not occur in a normal secular song either in Ireland or, indeed, in Scotland. Although an instrumental version of much of the style of ornamentation of the congregational singers is accessible to me on pipes, some features of the tune can still sound unusual. For example, an F natural is played in two consecutive lines of the tune as it is played on the pipes. This is not something that is very common in air playing on pipes. It requires either the use of a key, or half covering a hole on the chanter, which can make this tune sound slightly unusual when viewed from an Irish context.

In trying to keep something of the overall sound of the congregations in the arrangement I decided to provide some additions to the main tune by adding many other multi-tracked sounds from the pipes. These were processed using computer software processors and effects. They consist mainly of isolated piping sounds, taken out of their normal context. Their inclusion is intended to mildly echo the overall effect of the congregational singing, which can sound slightly chaotic due to the latitude allowed to individual singing, while at the same time preserving a sense of communal singing. In many congregations, I can follow the singing of one or two people who stand out either for the timbre of their voice or the quality of their singing. Work I had done with electro-acoustic composer Roger Doyle on his 1994 recording *'Under the Green Time'*[7] informed some of this part of the process. In that recording Doyle intentionally features some piping sounds that pipers might normally avoid when playing traditional music. Despite this being, at the very least, somewhat counterintuitive, I found it a useful technique in recording *'Bangor'*.

I decided to add a melodeon at the beginning, and some strings. This runs contrary to the spirit of the psalms where unaccompanied singing has been so diligently maintained

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[7] *Contemporary Music from Ireland, Volume Two* (Contemporary Music Centre, 1996), track 9.

for so long. However, I thought that the addition of these sounds helped to reproduce some of the melancholy feeling of the singing and of the tune, which might otherwise be missing in an instrumental version. Finally, I added regulators[8] adding chords to the main melody at intervals.

I was well aware before starting this piece, that trying to faithfully reproduce the effect of the Gaelic psalms is not really possible without a congregation to which the idiom is native. However, since the aim was not to fully reproduce the psalm singing, rather to pidginise, I added extra sounds that would interact with the main pipes, echoing part of the effect of the congregational singing.

The piece follows the convention for congregational singing for the Gaelic psalms. The first two lines are played as one continuous line. This is followed by a gap for roughly the length of a precentor's line. The subsequent six lines (the remaining two lines of the first verse and the four lines of the second) are played with a similar gap between each line and the next. As the piece progresses, the extra piping tracks are gradually brought in to provide a background tapestry of sympathetic sound. This plays continuously in the background, the gaps between lines affording a chance to hear it for a brief moment each time. Towards the end of the second verse this rises to challenge the main melody. After the second verse is completed the main pipes drop out completely bringing the background pieces to the fore for roughly the length of another verse.

My rendition of *'Bangor'*, brings, I think, three traditions together. First, it incorporates the Gaelic psalm singing tradition, which gives the format, pace, and basic melody. Secondly the Irish slow air tradition provides most of the instrumentation through the use of uilleann pipes. It also provides some aspects of ornamentation. Thirdly, it owes something to contemporary electro acoustic music, mainly through the pre-recorded piping pieces and the processed sound effects, taking from piping phrases and sounds. The piece, demonstrates, I think, several possibilities for Irish slow air playing. In the first instance, there is the possibility of including gaps between the lines of a verse to give a slow air a different kind of feeling; I feel that this is one of the most effective

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[8] Regulators are three 'closed' (they do not make a sound until the keys are pressed) fully keyed small chanters found on uilleann pipes. They sit on top of the drones. Playing different notes on the regulators builds chords that can augment the main chanter. The notes can also be played individually either with the chanter playing, or on their own.

techniques in *'Bangor'*. It is not part of the Irish tradition, but neither is it part of the Scottish tradition as the precentor would normally fill these gaps. It goes against the 'exclusion of silence' mentioned by Thorkild Knudsen. It is, I think, an example of where an attempt to imitate something falls short of the mark but in doing so opens up new possibilities. It might, similarly, be interesting to hear an Irish slow song with a precentors part added. Secondly the idea of using a second set of pipes to provide a sympathetic background to a slow air also opens up possibilities for additional melodic lines in a particular rendition. This is not something that is done in slow air playing in Irish music normally. Multi-track recording like this, or having two pipers play live, allows a second set of pipes to build a tapestry of sound around the main melody line. This could also be done by one piper with looping pedals or by using a programme such as Ableton Live in a live context rather than for recording, as it is used here.

The breaking up of the lines is something I find interesting in that it also breaks the sense of rhythm in the overall tune. Each line becomes a piece in its own right separated from the others by the gaps in the melody. Using this technique, borrowed from a vocal tradition in instrumental playing gives, I think, the listener a different experience of slow air playing.

5.3 *'Coleshill'*

The second piece I chose is also a psalm tune. It is called *'Coleshill'* and is quite common among Gaelic congregations. Interestingly the tune is known to many Presbyterian congregations in Ireland as *'Dublin tune'* or just *'Dublin'*. [9] The congregational example featured in Chapter Two followed by my own rendition can be heard at the following location:

https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigration3/practical-application

(go to Ex 3 and Ex.4)
Or: USB/Audio/4.3
And USB/Audio/4.4

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[9] See: Gale Huntingdon and Lani Herrmann, eds., *Sam Henry's Songs of the People* (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1990), 2.

This is one of the first psalm-tunes that I learned, many years ago. *Coleshill* is also one of what is known to Gaelic congregations as the 'special plaintive tunes', of which there are five.[10] These tunes are associated with more melancholy psalms rather than the more joyous ones. This time, I decided to keep the arrangement short and very simple and to allow the pipes to play the tune just as a slow air. I have included a synthesizer pad from Logic to add melodic backing. The tune sounds very different to its English version, but knowing the latter can help as a guide through the tune. There is no attempt here to imitate the effect of the congregation. The tune is simply played as a slow air at the pace of a Gaelic psalm. Once again, the first two lines are played as one. For the two subsequent lines in this case, gaps are left where the precentor's parts would normally be. This sounds somewhat somewhat similar to Irish slow air playing, but the gaps left where the precentor's parts would be, allow a contemplative space which, in my opinion, tends to retrospectively emphasise each time, the line that has just been played. I have played it over one verse only, to give an indication of this style of slow air playing. '*Coleshill'* does not follow the conventions for Irish slow air playing, but it also breaks the conventions of Gaelic Psalm singing by the use of instruments rather than voices. The assymetrical structure of the lines here, one long line followed by two shorter ones (with the two gaps), also breaks some of the the expectations that someone coming from the Irish tradition would have for a slow air.

5.4 '*Là-Bas Chez Moreau'*

'*Là-Bas Chez Moreau'* is the Louisiana blues song that was featured in Chapter Three, sung by Cleveland Benoit and Darby Hicks. Alan Lomax recorded the piece in 1934. The Benoit and Hicks version of '*Là-Bas Chez Moreau'* followed by my own rendition of it can be heard at the following location:

https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigration3/practical-application
(go to Ex. 5 and Ex. 6)
Or: USB/Audio/4.5
And USB/Audio/4.6

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[10] The other four being '*Walsall'*, '*Dundee'*, '*Stornoway'* and '*Torw*ood'. See: School of Scottish Studies Sound Archive SA1982/241

The two singers, one of whom has a much lower voice register than the other, alternate in their singing. Between them they weave a blues lament that follows a musical pattern which, in terms of pitch, starts high and progresses downwards. The second singer gradually descends to a pitch more than one octave beneath the starting note. This is a feature of much blues singing. The movement from the higher voice register singer to lower voice register singer during the sequence means that, working together, they can perform a song using a wider melodic range than if either one was singing it solo. The pattern then starts again. It also has the effect of one singer seeming to respond to the other. I really liked this piece when I first heard it as it seemed fairly accessible to someone with a background in Irish music. I thought that this would be a good opportunity to explore slow air playing using a song from outside the Irish tradition, that has a tune with two parts, one 'answering' the other and a descending contour from the beginning of the first part to the end of the second. This in my experience is not characteristic of the Irish slow airs that I would play.

Benoit and Hicks's performance despite being very different to the Irish tradition in many ways, also bears a resemblance to both Irish and Scots Gaelic traditions in some respects. For example the dialogue between two people found in this song is also found in songs such as the Donegal song '*An Ghiobóg',* [11] a song with verses giving the narrative from the perspectives, alternately, of a quarrelling husband and wife, or the Lewis satire '*Fiollaigean',* [12] where the singers alternate quite different styles of singing the verses. The singers of '*Là-Bas Chez Moreau'* also chain-link some of the sections of their song as happens in many songs in the Scots Gaelic tradition as outlined in Chapter Two. I wanted to try this song as an instrumental piece featuring pipes and accordion in a kind of musical dialogue in much the same way as the singers. Two decisions had to be made. The singers use a lot of note-bending, characteristic of blues singing and while this can be done on pipes, the aim here is to merge elements from two different styles. I therefore decided to keep an Irish style of ornamentation in the piping while observing the melody of the singers as much as possible. The singers vary their parts of the melody quite a lot as can be heard in the audio recording of their rendition. These parts demonstrate a certain freedom in format typical of much of the singing in field hollers and blues but to a level which would not be the norm in the performance of Irish slow

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[11] See Clannad, *Clannad in Concert* vinyl LP (Ogham records 1979), track 6 side 1
[12] See: Various, *Music From The Western Isles,* track 5

airs, despite some variation in the performance in that tradition. My rendition, which is much shorter than the full song on the 1934 Lomax recording, uses my own more fixed version of the tune, culled from their singing, with one or two variations of my own. The next decision to be made was whether to 'regularise' the parts to four lines. As it is, the singers mostly (but not always) sing alternating three-line sections each. Again, this is also done in the Scottish tradition, in particular in waulking song refrains, but is not as prevalent in the Irish tradition. Both ways, performing three-line sections or four-line sections accord with my own musical aesthetic and I recorded using both, as will be heard. In opting to regularise many of the sections to the normal Irish standard of four lines I have added a line, which give these sections the kind of musical symmetry that might be expected in Irish music. However, the mix of the two formats- three lines and four lines, reflects to some extent the overall freedom in terms of asymmetrical verses that would be found in Black Creole music such as *'Là-Bas Chez Moreau'* or *'J'ai Fait Tout le Tour du Pays'*. Finally, I decided to repeat the melody of the singers' individual parts each time I played them. This 'doubling up' of the melodic parts lengthens the structure. Benoit and Hicks sing them just once every time. Again, this is an attempt by me to regularise some aspects of the tune to Irish norms, where tune parts are often repeated. I added sequenced cello and string sections from the London Symphonic Strings sample libraries. The sampled accordion is played on the v-pipes uilleann. The main melody is also played on the v-pipes uilleann, as the key is not suited to my concert pitch pipes. This piece therefore takes a Louisiana Creole blues song, and alters its form somewhat. It uses instrumentation from the Irish Tradition and it is performed in what is perhaps closer to Irish style than Black Creole style. In this piece, therefore some aspects of Black Creole music tradition – asymmetrical verses, and pieces that musically seem to 'respond' to each other, have been mixed with Irish instrumentation, a regularisation to the four-line Irish standard, in some of the verses, and the repeating of the verses in all cases, to give a pidginised slow air. Whether this most resembles the Irish tradition or the Black Creole one, may well rest with the choice of instrument.

5.5 '*Latha Siubhal Beinne Dhomh*'

The final piece is a faster piece than the last three. I constructed a melody which uses lines taken from a waulking song called '*Latha Siubhal Beinne Dhomh*' [One Day When I Was Walking the Mountains]. This is what is known in the Scots Gaelic tradition as an *Òran basaidh*, a 'clapping song', used to roll up the tweed cloth at the

end of the waulking session. Its rhythm is normally faster than a regular waulking song and the back and forth movement from main singer to chorus occurs more rapidly in these songs than in the main body of waulking songs. The original song, sung by Mary Morrison and chorus, followed by my own rendition can be heard at the following location:

https://sites.google.com/site/melodicmigration3/practical-application

(go to Ex. 7 and Ex.8)
Or: USB/Audio/4.7
And USB/Audio/4.8

I also include the first eight lines of the original waulking song here to give an impression of the song's theme. The vocables (lines two three and four below) are sung after every line of the words:[13]

Latha Siubhal Beinne Dhomh	**One Day as I Roamed the Hills**
Latha siubhal beinne dhomh	One Day As I Roamed the Hills
(Na) hill ò ro bha hò	*(Na) hill ò ro bha hò*
Hill ò bhòidheach na	*Hill ò bhòidheach na*
Hill ò ro bha hò	*Hill ò ro bha hò*
Latha siubhal móintich	As I roamed the moor
Thachair orm gruagach	I met a girl
Uallach , bhòidheach	A high-spirited pretty girl
Sgian bheag na làimh	With a little knife in her hand
'S i ri buain neòinnean	Gathering flowers
'S i ri buain biolaire	Gathering watercress
'N cois gach lònain	By the sides of the pools

I have taken the first three lines of the waulking song, repeating and varying it slightly in terms of melody. This is more in keeping with a Cajun or zydeco setting, making it a dance piece suited to jiving. I have used v-pipes uilleann for both the pipes and the accordion. I have also used a drum pattern and backing strings from a sample library. I have included the first three of the vocal lines and their vocables from the original

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[13] Various, *Waulking Songs From Barra*, Vinyl LP, vol. 3, Scottish Tradition (London: Tangent, 1972). Side 1, track 3.

waulking song to add the impressionistic occasional lyrics of the Cajun and zydeco dance traditions, only this time in Scots Gaelic. This use of occasional lines was also a feature of some Irish music recordings in particular from the United States in the earlier part of the twentieth century. In this rendition the dance-music style is different to Irish dance music as are the lyrics, using a mixture of Scots Gaelic vocables and words. The use of a waulking song in this kind of jive dance setting is also unusual. Although waulking songs are often performed by popular musicians in Scotland, they are not normally used for dancing. My intention here is to employ the technique of recycling parts of old songs in newer ones. The use of the three lines and the vocables from the waulking song is an attempt to bring something of an older music tradition into a newer one. This mirrors things like '*J'ai fait tout le tour (du bois / du pays)*' or '*Les haricots sont pas salés*'— the use of lines of floating lyrics in Louisiana (and elsewhere) as signifiers of something more than their literal meaning. They are a retrospective reference to something older in the culture which perhaps engenders a sense of continuity even in times of change. In Louisiana, this is frequently done in instrumental music where one or two lines from another song may be sung as part of the instrumental. As waulking songs are not danced to, this is also an attempt to use something of the waulking song tradition in a dance tune.

5.6. Analysis

These four pieces demonstrate, I think, the use of certain aspects of the creolisation process of the case studies to pidginise in my own process of arrangement and composition. They provide techniques that might be employed in writing new traditional style material. While the individual techniques might be seen as small changes, the aggregate affect can lead to more dramatic and perhaps unusual results. Some of the music mixing for this chapter, required the consideration of techniques and music styles that I might otherwise have never used. I find it unusual that a Louisiana Creole blues song, for example, can be adapted for a slow air which is somewhat in Irish style, and that it can work well, in my opinion, in that environment. I also find some of the musical territory explored in my own pidginised version of *'Bangor'* to be something that I might not have entered were I not intentionally trying to pidginise musics. The requirement to work out a musical path which brings two musical genres or codes together is of course what ultimately led to the creolised musics of the case studies in this thesis. Perhaps a level of necessity, whether from changing religious or cultural needs (or even the kind of self-imposed constraints that I used for my own

arrangements) is essential in driving this part of the creative processes. I am attempting to recreate or re-imagine older songs, that are unusual to an Irish traditional music aesthetic, using a mixture of an acoustic instrument associated primarily with Irish traditional music, and newer electronic instruments and computer software. In doing this, I am breaking conventions associated with Irish, Scottish, and Louisiana music. Why do this when there are plenty of slow airs and dance tunes within the Irish tradition? It brings the thesis back to the autoethnographical consideration outlines at the beginning of the thesis.

Autoethnographic context

How do my own attempts at pidginisation compare with those of the innovating musicians in the case studies for example? A few differences immediately come to mind. Firstly, the innovating musicians in the case studies, contemporary people such as John beag Ó Flatharta or Beairtle Ó Domhnaill in Connemara; David Greely and Joe Hall in Louisiana, and even musicians from a different era such as Dennis McGee and Amadé Ardoin, all came from, or come from, communities defined to some extent by (apart from language) geographical location. A large number of the members of that community may associate the music of these musicians with their area. In addition, their musical innovations had to be negotiated with those communities. Being from that community, may have made these musicians more sensitive to what musical change or innovation might be acceptable, and what might not be. There are differences between my musical world and theirs to some extent, in that my audience is a scattered and fragmented one. The community of my area of residence for example, does not provide the primary audience for what I do. Nor does it associate itself especially with my (or any other) genre of music. Looking at the statistics over an eight-year period (2008-2016) for my own website[14] for example, and for downloads or steams of my music in a six-year period (2010-2016),[15] suggests that whatever audience there is for my music comes overwhelmingly from three very different areas; Ireland, the United Kingdom and the United States. There are also smaller amounts of people in many other countries who listen to, or download, these recordings.[16] Even within these areas, the audiences are not geographically concentrated. Therefore, to some extent I have to look for a

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[14] 'Brian Ó hUiginn', accessed June 25, 2017, http://www.brohig.com/.

[15] This comes mainly from statistics for streams and downloads from itunes which specifies the region of the world where the downloading or streaming has occurred.

[16] Taking the EU outside of Ireland or the UK would also constitute a large part of the purchases or downloads.

different definition of what 'my community' is in terms of music. In the methodology section of Chapter One, Heewon Chang's requirement of a community or 'ethnos' for autoethnographical research was referenced. This is the group of people of which the researcher is a member and which he or she tries to understand better through his or her work. I mentioned in that chapter that my own definition of 'community' for these purposes would be the innovating music makers of the case studies.[17] I would also include my own contemporaries in Irish traditional music who attempt to mix musics in their own work, as identified at the beginning of Chapter One. Although there might be an argument as to what extent this group forms a community I find myself drawn to and learning from their efforts, and therefore I think of them as providing me with one of the most natural communities I can think of. There are many parallels between the people involved in music innovation in the areas of the case studies and others playing arranging, composing and playing within the Irish traditional music community, despite the differences in terms of era, language and geography. All appear to want to try to do something new in their music, while at the same time remaining faithful to aspects of an underlying tradition. Rather than changing genres and playing in a different but well-established genre, this 'community' appears to want both the comfort of tradition and the adventure of innovation.[18]

However, that is not the only community of concern to me. It is sometimes difficult to place what I do within the community of people who listen to and play Irish traditional music. This is partly because that music is normally played in an acoustic setting. It does not habitually use computer programming for composition or arrangement. It also tends to avoid the use of electric instruments. A vigorous, and sometimes even acrimonious, debate has existed in relation to tradition versus innovation as was seen in Chapter One in the comments of Tony McMahon and Síle Denvir (1.4.1) This is not unusual within a music community however, as is demonstrated by the criticism of Beairtle Ó Domhnaill's innovations (4.7.4) or those of David Greely's band (3.7). A debate of this kind is to be expected and, I think, is a sign of vibrancy in a tradition. For that reason, I would also place myself within the Irish traditional music community but giving that community a much wider definition than might normally be allowed to

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[17] By which I mean the musicians in those traditions who made or are making innovations in the new creolized music.

[18] It should be pointed out that most people who might be considered 'traditionalist' or 'purist' do not object to change in the tradition. The *rate* of change and whether that change can be considered to be within the boundaries of the tradition might be said to be of more importance.

include a very wide range of playing singing and composition styles. I find the use of the term 'Louisiana French Music' (LFM) to be an enviable, all encapsulating term for the many varieties of music with an input from Cajun or Creole french languages or music traditions. Perhaps the term 'celtic music' although I have in the past had many reservations about it,[19] serves such an all-inclusive purpose for what I do. Martin Stokes in commenting about this, says that:

> The immense significance of 'Celtic' music lies in the fact that […] its content is capable of a great deal of variety and left relatively undefined. 'Celtic' music is thus always potentially easy, participatory and crosses national borders.[…] 'Celtic music' is then something which has been created by certain ways of classifying musical experience, and is certainly not a residue of authentic 'Celtness' waiting to be discovered in the many and various musical styles and genres played in the Celtic world.[20]

Secondly, among the differences between myself and the musicians of the case studies there is the issue of the function of the music. As has been pointed out, LFM and Connemara country music, among other things, fulfill a certain role in their communities. They are both musics for dancing to. Given that the older songs, in particular, did not fit that role, this functional use may partly explain why those musics came into being. Likewise, the Psalm singing of Gaelic Scotland fulfilled a religious need in the community. It is highly debateable whether my own music fulfills such immediately observable, functional, needs in any community. Although some of what I play is traditional dance music, this is not (in my case) mainly for dancers or for dancing to. It has in my performances and recordings changed function and become a music for people to listen to. This could be said of most Irish traditional music nowadays due in part to the influence of informal pub sessions, and formal concerts both of which are very much listeners' forums. Perhaps the music that myself and others within Irish or even celtic music play has more of a semiological function, a symbol of identity. This again is an area for further study.

In completing this thesis and looking at my own attempts to mix musics over the years one question comes to mind which might offer a more emic view of the process. Why do it? Why not just accept the genres I know already and work within them? I think the

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[19] 'Celtic' as has often been pointed out, is properly a linguistic classification and its use in many other areas lacks definition or clarity. It has become however a shorthand way of describing music from (mainly) Ireland, Scotland, and Brittany. As well as music that is seen to embrace these styles or elements of these styles. It is used almost ubiquitously in the the United States to describe these musics whether or not the examples are electric or acoustic.

[20] Stokes, *Ethnicity,Identity and Music: The Musical Construction of Place*, 6.

answer for me may be somewhat uncomfortable from the point of view of social convention. When my compositions or arrangements work to my satisfaction, I like the results. I feel that I have created something new. I feel, rightly or wrongly, that it is, 'cool'[21] that is, that the results are musically and socially desirable.

This might be seen as a form of the 'relative prestige' (see: 1.8.3) discussed in relation to culture in the case studies (although that concept normally applies to whole cultures as opposed to discreet parts of a culture). Common metre for example might have been thought of as being of higher prestige than Gaelic verse forms by the Scottish reformers and therefore that it was socially desirable to use it. D.L. Menard may have been led to the use of Anglo-American music in a Louisiana French language context to give his music some of the 'cachet coolness' and by extension, prestige, associated with the Anglo-American country music scene. I feel that in bringing new items into, or by reframing items of, a pre-existing music, I am in a small way altering, or perhaps even challenging, a musical perspective, initially my own, but hopefully also the perspective of others. I feel that I may be injecting something fresh into my own music and I hope that others might see it that way also. It is possible that all musicians trying to mix musics are trying to achieve this either subconsciously or perhaps consciously. Again, this offers a possibility for further study.

Having considered the three case studies of this thesis and having tried to produce my own pidginised music using information from the case studies, the next chapter will conclude the thesis by looking at the findings of the case studies and cross-referencing them against the opinions of the writers in the literature review, assessing the results of the praxis and discussing the conclusions of the thesis.

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[21] Ilan Dar-Nimrod et al., "Coolness: An Empirical Investigation," *Journal of Individual Differences* 33, no. 3 (2012): 175–85. Nimrod points out that the term 'cool' can appear to be so generic or all embracing as to be dismissed as meaningless. He points out, however, that terms that are too generic tend to fall out of use in common speech. The word 'cool' has been in use so long as to indicate that people find meaning in it that is useful. Nimrod discusses the results of three different tests carried out to ascertain what the concept of 'cool' meant to participants. The results show two different uses. What is referred to as 'Contrarian coolness' associated with rebelliousness, which is the historical use of the term and 'Cachet coolness' associated with social desirability, which is a more contemporary usage. My use of the word signifies the latter although my use of it is, of course, totally subjective.

CHAPTER SIX

CROSS-REFERENCING THE CASE STUDIES AND CONCLUSIONS

6.1. Introduction

Having looked at the three chosen case studies, and considered their respective historical social and cultural backgrounds, and having applied some of the information gleaned from the case studies to arrangement and composition, this final chapter primarily aims to do three things. Firstly, it will cross-reference the case studies to see what they have in common as well as what is different between them. Secondly, it will compare what was found in the case studies to the information in the literature review to ascertain what in that review is confirmed, supported or contradicted by these particular cases. It is the cross-referencing of the cases and the comparison of the findings with the observations of the first chapter that form the essence of the new information provided by this thesis. Thirdly it will offer conclusions drawn from the information in the thesis.

In cross-comparing the examples of creolisation, it will attempt to answer the first research question: What are the musical and social processes that lead to a new music genre, how are they interrelated and how do these processes affect individual music items moving from one culture to another. It will do so through the lens of musical creolisation, as identified in Chapter One.

This chapter, in attempting to find aspects of the creolisation processes and its results that the case studies have in common, and also in determining what elements are specific or unique to each, will initially be limited to discussing those concepts and observations made by the writers referenced in the literature review. The issues addressed in that review that will be revisited here, include: the relationship between music and other activities in society; change to a music culture from within and from outside that culture; the flow of influence between music cultures; and the relationship

between music and language. However, this chapter will also detail other observations gleaned in the course of the study, not specifically referenced in the literature review.

The process of creolisation will also be addressed in all three case studies from the point of view of *musical activity*, *change in music*, *acculturation*, and *creolisation* itself. The phenomenon of migrating tunes, the melodic migration identified in the first chapter, is considered for its potential to optimally encapsulate in one example, the process of change involved in each of the case studies.

While these case studies are not necessarily representative of the creolisation process in its entirety, they do add significant empirical information to what is already available, and they challenge some of the hypotheses of earlier writers. Other cases or a wider selection may provide even more detailed information.

The case studies, which form the focal point of this study, are, as was said at the outset, quite disparate. Geographically, culturally, societally and historically, they represent a wide variety encompassing very different eras. There are significant differences between the three, for example the various social substrata of their communities, and the type of social change that was occurring in their societies at the time of the musical creolisation process.[22]

However, all share certain aspects. The fact for example that all three have an input from an 'Anglo' or English-speaking culture, either in its British or American guises, may flag that some similarities are to be expected. They involve an accommodation between two or more music cultures. All cases also involve linguistic differences, Scots Gaelic, Irish, Louisiana French Creole, and Cajun French, and in all cases there is a major input from English. These linguistic differences may have played a part in the musical creolisation process. Each case involves a socio-political, ethnic, and historical background, which contributed to the status of its various cultures, including its music.

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[22] Of course Ireland and Scotland are geographically quite close and their Gaelic cultures share certain similarities. However these similarities should not be over-emphasised at the expense of the differences between the cultures. On the basis of their languages for example they have been diverging for at least one thousand years.

One of the first issues that was discussed in Chapter One was: what exactly should be considered as musical activity in any society? This is an important step in identifying the factors to be considered in the creolisation process later in the chapter. I suggest that what is to be considered part of musical activity is best observed at the point at which change occurs in a society's music. Therefore, I will be addressing it in the context of another issue that was considered in the first chapter, that of change in the music itself.

6.2. Music Society and change

One of the comments quoted in chapter one that stands out most for me is John Blacking's idea that in order to have 'heuristic value', a theory of musical change has to seek change in the music itself and not just in other areas of social activity around it. It is one of the reasons for the structuralist approach to musical analysis adopted in the thesis.[23] Although music and culture are interpenetrative, according to this, music is separate from other social activity. His comments were meant to focus attention on the music itself; to rebalance music study from the anthropological to the musicological.

It becomes apparent, however, in these case studies, that the issue of music making is intrinsically woven into other areas of life, not just in a general way but quite specifically. Finding the a clear division between music and other social activity sought by Blacking may not be possible. The issues of religious services and devotion, for example, are an intrinsic part of the activity of singing, in the case of the Gaelic Psalms. They affect not just the occasions on which the psalms are performed but also the style of singing that is used. The psalms are not considered suitable material for general entertainment. Every syllable of the text is given space and time, and high levels of ornamentation are used when moving from one syllable to the next. The singing environment is tightly regulated. Women may not precent in church although they sometimes do so at home. The singing of the psalms reflects the style of singing used for slow songs in Gaelic music, often its 'big songs'. The music format for the Psalms (the common metre tune) is used only for religious observances; it has not progressed into other areas of Scots Gaelic musical life as it has in the English-speaking secular world. In short, psalm singing gives rise to a panoply of other societal conventions that

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[23] This is despite Blacking's own misgivings about structuralist approaches as outlined in Chapter One

give them a large part of any 'meaning' that they might have. Yet nothing in the psalm singing itself yields that information. It is therefore quite hard to separate the singing from its societal function. They are interwoven. Quite simply, the Gaelic psalm singing genre would not in the first instance have come into being, and then have survived over such a long period had it not been for the regular services and family prayer occasions at which they were sung, not to mention the revolutionary change of attitude brought about by the Reformation. To fully understand the music, the actions and intentions of the people singing it, and its function, must also be considered. The text alone cannot provide it.

Similarly, in both Louisiana and in Connemara, the growth of dance halls and the rise in popularity of dancing to songs[24] as opposed to purely instrumental music, appears to have influenced the performance of both pre-existing music and song, and newer compositions. In both cases, the older singing styles became partly recycled into newer music that was in waltz-and two-step time (Louisiana), or jive time (Connemara). The audience in both cases became involved in the performance through dancing or movement; they were no longer just silent listeners to an unfolding story contained in the words of a song.

The performance venue for the newer music also changed from the home to the dancehall and later to larger public houses. A new type of socialising accompanied the musical change. The old French ballads and *sean-nós* songs continued to exist only where there was going to be a silent, listening audience. This was mainly in the home.[25] Again this information or understanding cannot be gleaned from the texts alone. The changes in music in both the Connemara and Louisiana cases happened in conjunction with changes in other areas of social activity in their respective societies. It does not matter much whether the change in music caused a change in other societal behaviour, or if it was the other way around. The two are inextricably linked.

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[24] Including sung sections of music (isolated verses and lines within an instrumental piece).
[25] In the case of *sean-nós*, although the singers might sing in public houses, it was on occasions where almost total silence could be obtained giving it an intimacy comaparable to the home. *Sean-nós* competitions also demanded total silence and although the occasion was far more formal than in the home, the competitions were in many ways an anomaly. *Sean-nós* singing was very much associated with the home.

This is not to say that the changes in the music texts themselves are irrelevant. Undeniably from the evidence, major change did occur in the music texts and in the type of performance style used. To this extent change can be found in the music texts themselves. However, descriptions of social change are required in order to explain the musical change, that is, to give it meaning. Given the ubiquity of accompanying changes in other aspects of community life in these case studies, musical change is, on the evidence here, firmly linked to social change.

The next matter to be considered is whether these changes were to the whole 'musical systems' involved or just elements of them and this is quite a complex issue. [26]

6.3 Conservation and change in the musical systems

As outlined in Chapter One there is no agreement among the writers referenced in the literature review regarding what constitutes change to a music culture overall as opposed to just elements of it, and these case studies only point out further difficulties or anomalies in this regard. The Scots Gaelic Psalms for example appear to confirm Alan Merriam's observation that it is often a particular *kind* of music within a system that is more or less susceptible to change. He argues that less change could be expected in religious, than in social or recreational music. Although the psalms and the psalm tunes were a dramatic introduction into the music of Gaelic Scotland, they did not bring revolutionary change to its musical system. They did not change other forms of music within that system. [27] However, having been introduced and having crystallized into their current form, the Gaelic psalms remained a highly conservative, and relatively little changing element of Gaelic singing. For example, although other reformed congregations around the (English-speaking) world ceased the practice of precenting after the congregations became familiar with the psalm tunes and texts, Gaelic congregations continue to hold onto and nurture this custom. [28]

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[26] There is of course a difficulty with the word 'system'. What is included and what is not? Also there is the question of to what extent the various strands together can be describes as a unitary system. For the remainder of this chapter, I will take 'system' to mean a 'music culture' and include elements that are commonly thought of as part of that culture.

[27] At most, if the observations of Ruaraidh MacThòmais's poem about Calvin in chapter three, or the comments from the Lewis woman in *Carmina Gadelica* about the disapproval of music by religious figures, are to be believed, then the Reformation suppressed secular music of all kinds. That is, all systems, not just one.

[28] As do other congregations mainly in North America.

Similarly, even though the performance occasions for *sean-nós* singing in Connemara may have changed considerably, the singing itself is quite vibrant, with many young performers now taking up the art. Connemara country music has not replaced it, and *sean-nós* is still recognized as the quintessential style of traditional singing in the area. [29] Again, the system itself, in this case Connemara traditional song, appears to remain relatively untouched by the innovation.

Of the three case studies, it is Louisiana French Music (LFM) that most shows signs of change to the system. The type of music and song, which predominates in LFM today, is radically different to the old French ballads and the instrumental music that would have been carried by the first French immigrants before the innovations of LFM went on to marginalise the older music. The French music of Louisiana, which at the time of the 1934 Lomax recordings was already undergoing significant change, owes a lot more to the influences of both the African-American and Anglo-American communities. The mix has become the recognised music of Louisiana French culture today. In this case the 'child' appears to have largely subsumed (or replaced) one of the 'parents' i.e. Cajun French ballads and dance-music. This could be described either as a change to the music system, or a replacement of one system by another, depending on the perspective.

Bruno Nettl's and John Blacking's observations that some cultures seem to be more welcoming of change, i.e. that the tendency to welcome outside material is *part of* their system might on the face of it be borne out by the Louisiana example. LFM appears to have incorporated many different styles of music including blues, rock, country, French ballad, and later still, soul, reggae and hip-hop. It is noticeable that the Scots Gaelic and Connemara music cultures, do not seem to have had such a verifiable multitude of forms creolising and re-creolising within them. Alan Merriam pointed out that internal change to a music system depends on the concepts held about music within that culture. If that is the case, then both Connemara and Scottish Gaelic communities appear to have been more resistant (or perhaps more impervious) to change than the Louisiana French community. Whereas change in Connemara and Gaelic Scotland was to an element of the music system, in Louisiana change appears to have occurred to most of the contents of the system.

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[29] It may however no longer be the *popular* singing style of Connemara.

A slightly contrasting view of the Cajun attitude is offered by David Greely's description in chapter three of a situation where innovation in music, introduced by his band to rural Louisiana audiences, had to be handled carefully for fear of rejection or of 'insulting' the audience. This is in apparent contradiction to the idea of the LFM community being more welcoming of change.[30] Change in LFM may have been more a product of necessity rather than the product of a society open to musical change (this will be discussed further later on). Undoubtedly change occurred more often in Louisiana than appears to be the case in either Connemara or Gaelic Scotland, creating multiple subgenres within the music. It should also be borne in mind that Louisiana French society had traditionally been segregated. Different strands of that society may have reacted differently and at different times to change or innovation in the music. It may be more correct to describe it in terms of at least two systems borrowing from each other while at the same time each maintaining its independence from the other. Attitude to change was not necessarily universal.

The next issue that will be given consideration is the provenance of change when it does happen, and whether that is of any consequence to the type of change that occurs.

6.4 Acculturation or internal change?

While change has undoubtedly occurred in the music of all the case studies, the question of whether change occurred as a result of outside influence or should be seen as innovation *within* the system was a major consideration to earlier writers such as Blacking, and Nettl.

 I think that it is undeniable in all three cases that the change is due to outside influence. This has been demonstrated in all of them. The influence of the Reformation and gradual anglicisation in Gaelic Scotland; the growth and popularity of country and Irish music among the community of south Connemara; the influence of Anglo-American and English-speaking African-American cultures on LFM, all point to external influences on the music and performance styles of the case studies. This finding is in keeping with George Peter Murdock's assertion discussed in Chapter One, that most innovation within a culture is due to borrowings from outside the culture.

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[30] This can be compared to the comments of Beairtle Ó Domhnaill (see Chapter Four,) about a reluctance among some people to accept the innovations that he attempted in his music, including the comments that he was putting 'too much of the connemara thing' into it

For Murdock, borrowings from outside the culture are a 'special case of imitation' emphasizing the distinction between imitating others within the culture, and imitating those from outside. In all cases in this thesis it can be seen that imitation of music from outside the culture is in fact one of the key elements in driving change. For example, Beairtle Ó Domhnaill although reared with local music and song ultimately wanted to perform country music. D.L. Menard, showed the same desire in copying Hank Williams' 'Honky Tonk Blues'. The Hoffpauir sisters singing a French ballad using 'vocal breaking' in their singing and the Gaelic congregations trying to sing common metre tunes, all involve imitation of outside styles. In all cases however, the imitation is only of certain elements of the style, other elements from within the native culture are maintained. This mix leads to the creolised music.

As was pointed out in Chapter One, all music could be said to be creolised to some degree, so why are these cases and others seen as special? In most musics the process seems to go largely unnoticed. In cases such as those featured in this study on the other hand, the creolised music is noticeable to the community involved and is recognized by them as being different, so much so, that the new style has acquired a name in most cases. 'Gaelic Psalms' (not just 'psalms in Gaelic'), 'Cajun music' (not 'French music'), *zydeco* music (not 'African-American music'), *gaelcheol tíre*, (not country and Irish music),[31] all indicate recognition by the communities involved and others, of a new type of music. Ulf Hannerz's remark, quoted in Chapter One, that at times 'some cultures are more creole than others' comes to mind. His reference to cultural streams that are historically different coming together with clearly dramatic results finds an echo in these cases. Perhaps, at times, some musics are more *recognisably* creole than others. The next task is to assess why this process occurred when it did in these case studies.

6.5 Compartmentalisation and mixing of music: sociolinguistic analogies
Normally people who listen to more than one type of music recognise the differences in music types and separate them accordingly in their minds. The musics acquire different names. This process is called compartmentalisation. It is a fairly normal process. So why did this compartmentalisation appear to 'break down' in the cases featured here? In the three case studies the boundaries between two or three previously separate musics

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[31] Although as has been noted, there is no commonly accepterd name for Connemara country music.

appear to have been greatly weakened or even broken among members of the community, leading to a mix of elements from the different musics.

In two of the three cases of this study, Louisiana and Connemara, the communities and their musicians appear to have been familiar with more than one type of music, many if not most of them since early childhood. If different musics are thought of as different 'codes' then, the linguistic analogies of 'code switching', and 'code mixing', outlined in the Chapter One, provide a useful tool to help explain the phenomenon. First, I will address the idea of *code switching*, where bilingual people incorporate phrases and sentences from another language into their primary one. François Grosjean provides a description, referred to in Chapter One, of 'modes' of code switching, where the speaker tailors his or her code switching to suit the ability of the person s/he is speaking to. The speaker uses different levels of code switching with different people depending on their level of understanding of both languages. Are musicians doing the same thing with music genres or 'codes'? There is nothing in these case studies to suggest that performers are changing the amount of material from the various constituent musics in their mixes to suit different audiences, as an analogy with Grosjean's linguistic model would suggest. Therefore, an analogy to Grosjean's model of code switching is not applicable in these cases.

Ewa Niemiec's view, also referenced in Chapter One, that bilingual people who code-switch or code mix can be seen as drawing from one large language reservoir rather than two smaller ones, is more enticing as a model. Since both speaker and listener are well versed in the two languages they can call upon whatever words or phrases they want to use from either language. This obviously is not possible where either the speaker or listener is monolingual. Are musicians who are well versed in two music codes, when performing to an audience equally well versed in them, mixing the codes to allow for this 'bi-musicality'? It may look, on the face of it, as though they are. However, this model does not explain why music mixes seem to come about suddenly rather than slowly develop as knowledge of two or more musical systems evolves in a community. The code switching in language develops over time, as members of the community become bilingual. In these case studies on the other hand, there seems to

have been, in all instances, a dramatic or revolutionary change in the music over a relatively short space of time. [32]

Another problem is that the way in which music performers mix codes is not analogous to the case of bilingual code switching, or mixing. In all cases of the latter there is a decision made 'on the fly' to use another language for parts of a conversation. This often involves whole sentences or clauses in one language interspersed in another. A musical analogy of bilingual code switching or mixing at this level would be, for example, Psalm singers singing three lines in Gaelic style and switching to English style for the fourth line, or a Connemara country singer singing one phrase with *sean-nós* ornamentation and the next in a country and Irish style. This is obviously not the case and therefore this analogy does not hold up. [33]

In all the cases here, although the mixes have come from separate musics, in the new creation they have became a unitary genre- a new musical language or, as I refer to it in this thesis, a creolised music. The musicians and singers are not borrowing or code switching; they are playing or singing a new music. For the same reason a speaker of a creole language is not deemed to be code switching or even borrowing. They are speaking a new language.

At best Niemiec's model as an analogy for music mixing may provide *part* of the answer. It may help to explain why, when the music mix was first initiated, individual performers such as John beag Ó Flatharta or D.L Menard—who were proficient in at least two musical 'codes'—felt that they could use parts of both in their compositions or performances.

Another possible part of the answer can be drawn from a moderated form of the 'language tip' idea described by Elizabeth Mertz in relation to Nova Scotia. What appears to be a sudden change of language by a community will, in reality have been preceded by years of bilingualism accompanied by a gradual undermining of the first language. Much as in a structure of which the core is rotten, a relatively small 'tipping

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[32] This will be further discussed in relation to 'language tip' see below.

[33] If code-switching is taken to include items at a level beneath a phrase or a sentence, for example aword, or a pronunciation then the analogy might have some validity. It is very hard however to distinguish this from 'lone words' or borrowings. This was the problem faced by Shana Polack that was outlined in Chapter One. I therefore only consider code-switching at this longer phrase level here.

event' can then have an effect way beyond what might be expected. The bi-musical stage leading up to the innovations of Connemara country and LFM might have been accompanied by a gradual and perhaps not easily discernable disengagement from the older music by much of the population.

However, the musical and linguistic models diverge at the point of the 'tipping event'. In language, this more normally leads to a complete switching of one code for another. In the music examples here, if accurate, it led to a mixed code.

The 'tipping event' of course, depends on the ground having been laid for the change for many years beforehand. In the case of Connemara and Louisiana this may have been what happened, as will be discussed in the next section. However, in the case of the Gaelic psalms, the gradual undermining of the indigenous culture, including its music, outlined in Chapter Two, had been taking place for a long time before the decision was taken by the Synod of Argyll to use common metre tunes and second and fourth line end rhyme. Its decision seems to indicate that by that time, there was a lack of confidence in the indigenous music and rhyming schemes, and that there was a feeling that common metre verse should be adopted. As it turned out, that decision led in large part to the creolised music.

In summary, some of the models from sociolinguistics, which to writers like Mark Slobin, seemed to hold such promise (see Chapter One), appear to provide a very limited analogy for what happened in the music of these case studies.

The next section considers *why* the music mixes in each of the case studies occurred.

6.6 Relative prestige, and the flow of influence,

Why did change occur in the music of the case studies in the way in which it did? Was the flow of musical influence unidirectional, bidirectional and equal, bidirectional but unequal, or multilateral, either equal or unequal? On the evidence of these cases the answer to the first question seems to rest on the idea of 'relative prestige' between cultures. In chapter one, Bruno Nettl was quoted as describing how when cultures come into contact, that the flow of influence would be from the more advanced music culture to the less advanced one. George List maintained that where two cultures — one more dominant — came into contact, it would lead to one of four possible outcomes for the musics involved: *disappearance* of one; *acculturation*, where one would gain a lot of the features of the other; *compartmentalisation* of the two; or *hybridisation* between the two. He posited that the factors influencing the outcome included, the 'vitality' of the

competing cultures, the degree of tolerance shown particularly by the stronger of the two and the degree of similarity or disparity between the two music cultures. Blacking, Merriam, Kartomi, Barron, and Hannerz however, held that the flow of influence is never unidirectional, that all cultures are affected by contact with others. This has been echoed in globalisation theories of culture in general, and there appears to be some truth in it on the evidence of these case studies. For example, although Gaelic psalms, waulking songs, *sean-nós* singing, Cajun and zydeco music were traditionally associated with 'weaker' cultures,[34] all could now also be classified as part of what is called world music. They have had an effect on English language popular singers. [35] The folk music revival from the 1960s onwards and the 'world music' boom in the 1990s and 2000s for example meant that musics from cultures that might be seen as weak in terms of status or economic power are now in global terms, strong strands both economically and culturally within music in general.

However, whereas there might have been a certain amount of bidirectional cultural flow, it is hard to read the process that led to the creation of the musics of this study as being an *equally* bidirectional flow. Gaelic song did not cause the kind of clash and compromise in Lowland music for example that common metre song did in Gaelic tradition. It would also have been inconceivable that during the Lowland Reformation, Gaelic formats and styles of singing would have been considered a possibility for Lowland psalmody. They simply did not have that status. [36] The flow was predominantly unidirectional. Likewise, the French ballad tradition did not ultimately thrive in Louisiana, not to mention any instrumental music that might have arrived with the Cajuns. These seem to have been substantially replaced to the point that musicians like David Greely and others well versed in modern Cajun music find it difficult to see a connection between LFM and the music of France or Acadia. Again, the flow seems to have been overwhelmingly unidirectional with Louisiana French Music accommodating multiple instances of influence from outside, and being changed quite dramatically in

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[34] By 'weaker' I mean in terms of perceived status in public life, and numerically in terms of other cultures around them. This is not meant as a pejorative term.

[35] For example Sinéad O'Connor, has used aspects of *sean-nós* songs in her repertoire, Bob Geldof has produced material in Cajun style, Bands like Capercaillie and Runrig in Scotland have injected a large amount of traditional Gaelic material into the popular music canon in that country as have American bands like Grammy award winning Beausoleil with Cajun music and song.

[36] It is true that some Gaelic melodies did find their way into Lowland Scotland and this was attested to even in the seventeenth century by Martin Martin (see Chapter Two), but these were often given new lyrics and ultimately a kind of romantic quasi-Gaelic style became the norm.

the process. The situation for Creole culture also does not seem to have been an equally two-way process. Although African-American cultures did have an influence on European America, [37] Louisiana Black Creole musical culture like its Cajun counterpart did not appear to exercise much influence before the boom in folk and world music from the 1960s onwards. The process of change to all the cultures in this study was underway for a long time before any attained 'world music' status, and any flow of material in an outward direction up to that time was, by all accounts, small.[38] Under no circumstances could it be said that the musics of the three areas in the case studies, changed the neighbouring musics to the extent that they themselves were changed by those musics. For these reasons, I think that the process of flow of influence is predominantly unidirectional in these cases. Margaret Kartomi, in particular, appears to have recognized the importance of the intensity of influence in changing a music culture.[39] The intensity of the inflow to the three cultures in question was undoubtedly strong if not overwhelming. This might help explain another phenomenon, that of cultural renegotiation or recalibration.

6.7 Renegotiation and recalibration

In writing about what he refers to as the 'Americanisation' of Cajun music that occurred throughout the twentieth century (see Chapter Three), Ryan Brasseaux indicates that the music of the Cajun people was, throughout that century, being brought into conformity with mainstream American music, thus the preponderance of mixes involving 'swing' and country music. Looking at later developments in *zydeco* music, the same observation might be made of Creole music in relation to more mainstream African-American musics such as blues or soul. In modern Cajun music, the Cajuns, according to Brasseaux managed to renegotiate their musical culture, to find a new place for it in twentieth century America where replacement might otherwise have been the result. This would help to explain the apparent anomaly between LFM appearing to conform to Nettl's and Blacking's idea of a culture that welcomes newer material, and David Greely's description of a cautious response to new items among LFM audiences. The

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[37] It might be argued that acceptance was aided by a change of status and prestige for African-American music from the jazz period in 1920s onwards. Prior to this it was more patronised than given status examples being, for example, black-and white minstrel shows, and the drawing room renditions of negro spirituals.

[38] It might be added that Connemara country music has not as yet attained any status in 'World Music' although *sean-nós* singing has.

[39] Kartomi (1981),238

weight of pressure may ultimately have forced the LFM communities to try to renegotiate a place for their music (and presumably other parts of their culture) to allow for its weakened position within the United States. The term 'recalibration'[40] could also be used to describe this process.[41] The same might be argued in relation to both the Gaelic psalms and Connemara country music. Under the weight of outside pressure, the local music managed to find a place for itself in the new musical order by compromising, recalibrating or renegotiating. Scottish Gaelic singers found a way to make common metre easier to deal with, and a way for their own singing style to be accommodated in the new music of the Gaelic psalms. Connemara people found a way to accommodate some of the stylistic norms of *sean-nós* singing within the more prestigious (in terms of popularity) country and Irish music. It is an attractive explanation and one in which I find great merit since it helps to explain why a mix of musics might have come into being rather than an outside music replacing a local one. It synthesises the ideas of continuity in music, seen to some extent in the mix, and the impetus and desire for change, again apparent in the mix, especially when two music systems of different prestige are present.[42]

However, many cultures face the kind of pressure from a neighbour, described in these case studies, but do not invent a commonly accepted creolised music.[43] Therefore this *alone* does not explain the coming into being of the creolised musics of this study. A fuller explanation requires the inclusion of factors that would explain why creolised musics are found in some places but not in others. I think that the answer to this might lie in large measure with individuals within the community and community attitudes towards him or her. The following section examines the roles of performer and audience

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[40] This is not Brasseaux's term. He used 'renegotiation'. 'Recalibration' refers to a reassessment of the relationship between two quantities. I prefer this as a description of what might have happened. The word 'negotiate' athough it can have the meaning of finding a way or a path, most often nowadays embraces the concept of compromise, which in turn implies concessions on both sides of an equation. Renegotiation by extension also includes this concept. I do not think that this is always an accurate description of what happened in these cases. 'Recalibration' on the other hand does not have that connotation (mutual compromise) and is therefore, I think, a more neutral term.

[41] Evidence of this recalibration is found in the fact that many men in Francophone Louisiana today have French second names but English first names e.g. Barry Jean Ancelet, Ryan André Brasseaux. According to Barry Ancelet, Cajuns in the 1960s adopted American names and played down their French origins to fit into American society .

[42] Recalibration or renegotiation in Louisiana may have been an ongoing process with multiple results, in the face of continuing pressure on LFM. This may help to explain why Louisiana uniquely among these case studies appears to provide multiple examples of creolisation.

[43] For example as was pointed out in Chapter Four, other *Gaeltacht* regions in Ireland did not emulate the development of a new music in South Connemara. There are also no known examples of Native American music in North America having mixed with European or African American music.

in the creation of the creolised musics. It also describes how performance venues may have played a role.

6.8 Performer, audience and event

In Chapter One, there is quotation from Alan Lomax which describes the relationship between music-maker and audience, as one of the areas that should be considered when evaluating what to include as music making in any particular society. John Blacking reckoned that musical change was a result of decisions made by individuals about music making. As was seen in Chapter One, George Peter Murdock, writing about the social acceptability of innovation in music, pointed to the 'prestige of the innovator and of the group which is first to imitate him' (see 1.6.3), as important factors in the acceptance of innovation.

Two out of the three case studies, Louisiana and Connemara bear these remarks out in striking fashion. Once innovation has been made in music, its survival depends on social acceptance. That social acceptance may well depend on the status of the innovator. In Louisiana, the importance of people like Denis McGee and Amadé Ardoin as innovative musicians is often cited as one of the reasons that LFM's dance music gained widespread acceptance. The same prestige is accorded to people like Mitch Reed and his band 'Beausoleil' and David Greely and his former band 'Steve Riley and the Mamou playboys'. Likewise, people like John Beag Ó Flatharta and Beairtle Ó Domhnaill were pivotal in developing Connemara country music. Only in the case of the Gaelic psalms is it difficult to find the innovators, and this is most likely because of both the historical distance between the events that led to the creation of Gaelic psalm singing and today and the fact that it is a congregational form of singing, thereby making it harder to discern innovators. However, it is noticeable that the Saunders family is still remembered in Lewis in relation to the development of Psalm singing there (see Chapter Two). At the level of versification in the psalms it is also notable that the Synod of Argyll, and the translators of the Psalms, all people of high prestige and status, were instrumental in getting common metre and the associated psalm tunes accepted in the Highlands and Islands. Given the lack of progress made by both the format and its tune type in the years since, it is debatable whether they could ever have been adopted in the first place without the imprimatur of people of status such as these.

It is noticeable that all of the people involved in performance in at least two of these case studies were well versed with other forms of music that became part of the

creolised music. John Beag Ó Flatharta and Beairtle Ó Domhnaill both played other music on guitar as well as hearing and singing the traditional songs of their home area. David Greely started out playing in country music bands. Earlier in the twentieth century, Amadé Ardoin and Dennis McGee were very familiar with the popular music of Anglo-America. The importance of prestigious individuals, either musicians such as these or others, seems to have been a factor in either creating or consolidating the musical change in all cases.

However, some of the evidence gleaned from these case studies also suggests a more complex set of relationships between innovators and their communities. It is hard to ascertain to what extent performers' innovations brought prestige to them, as opposed to their (prior) prestige having brought acceptance to the innovation as Murdock suggested. Nor is it possible to ascertain to what extent the relationship between innovator and innovation was symbiotic in terms of prestige. Both Ó Domhnaill and Greely talked about the views of their audiences about innovation, Greely pointing out that he and his band had to be careful not to 'insult' the audiences and that innovations were often tested outside Louisiana before being introduced to regular LFM audiences. D.L. Menard refers to a similar problem even among members of his own band when introducing '*La Porte d'en Arrièr'*. Ó Domhnaill also had somewhat similar experiences, in that audiences did not always accept his innovations and that some of this music initially caused acrimonious debate among people. Innovation in most of these cases was subject to a community 'gatekeeping' exercise. [44]

It is not easy to reckon what makes an audience that might have rejected innovations twenty years before, ready to embrace them when this eventually happens. The idea of a 'tipping event' mentioned above in relation to linguistic change may provide a clue as to why changes occurred at the time they did. Years of changing attitudes under the surface are suddenly brought to the fore by what is initially a relatively small event. In this case a change in music perhaps by one person, spawns a host of imitators very quickly in what might seem like revolutionary change. However, why that should result in a new creolised music rather than a sudden changeover to an already existing music is a more complex question. In that regard, it seems that the innovators guided by their audiences, between them negotiate a new musical path. Without the innovator, the

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[44] It might be argued that in the case of the Gaelic Psalms, the community did not have this kind of gatekeeping role, as the requirements of religious acceptance appears to have extended to the music of the liturgies, in this case the Psalms.

innovation does not happen. Without the social acceptance of the community or the audience, the innovation does not last. It is important in regard to this that the audience as well as the performer is well versed in both (or more) music styles being mixed. They understand what has happened in the innovation, and take meaning from it.

A further important factor that attention should be drawn to, based on these case studies, is the performance event. It is hard to imagine changes of this magnitude in music occurring in the setting of people's homes. The dancehalls, public house performances, even church services, along with mass media such as radio, allowed items to be tested and either accepted or rejected over time. David Greely talks about new pieces of music resulting in an empty dance floor the first time they were played and that people would only gradually be drawn to dance to them. John Beag Ó Flatharta mentions playing in the pubs in South Connemara in the early 1980s leading to a very positive response and consequently to *Raidió na Gaeltachta* asking him to record one of the songs. Ironically, given what was said earlier about Louisiana French society being possibly more open to change than the communities of the other two case studies, Greely's description is one of a cautious and relatively slow acceptance in Louisiana.[45] Connemara country music seems, on the other hand, to have had a rapid acceptance, and dissemination was fast. This indicates that Connemara country music in particular may have been the result of a tipping event, the background being the existence of a relatively large and homogenous Irish speaking population with little new music, the existence of new songs (although not available publicly) by people such as Tom a'tSeoighe, the rise of country and Irish music in popularity in the area, the existence of Radio na Gaeltachta (and perhaps also its policy of having no lyrics in English) and the presence of performers such as John Beag Ó Flatharta and Beairtle Ó Domhnaill.

One final point I would make here involves a combination of the innovating musician, and the performance event. As previously stated, most performers in both Louisiana and south Connemara were well versed in, and had played, both styles of music that were to be mixed. The musicians presumably started with compartmentalisation where both types of music were kept separate. However, playing both forms of music ultimately seems to have led to the musicians in question finding a way to mix them, initially to

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[45] The innovations that Greely is talking about however, are within the confines of the new music of LFM. Much of the revolutionary music change occurred further back as attested by Lomax's account of the jukebox music in 1934, quoted in Chapter Three.

their own personal satisfaction, and then ultimately, to pass the idea on to the community. In this regard, concert playing on a regular basis also seems to be of pivotal importance in the birth of creolised music, insofar as it affords to individual musicians a chance to break through the barriers of genre and to become the innovators of music mixes.[46] There is of course no guarantee that they will innovate in this way, and most do not, but it is doubtful if it would happen so readily without these factors being present. It is probable that the same was true in the early formation of the Gaelic psalm singing style, only of course that churches or church services and not dancehalls or public houses were the 'venues'.

6.9 Semiological meaning in the creolised music.

While the issue of semiology is outside the scope of this thesis, there is evidence that it offers possibilities for future study. John Blacking's search for change in the music texts themselves may be impossible without understanding the meaning that people take from various genres of music and various 'sonic objects' such as ornamentation styles. Of particular importance may be any *communal* understanding or meaning taken from the music, if there is such. Ultimately it may be these understandings that are being re-aligned when musics are mixed, aspects of the music or performance style acting only as symbols. Unexpected juxtapositions in music that might at one time have been seen as incongruous come to be welcomed and even thought of as expressing something new. Undoubtedly the Connemara community who have an understanding of the 'Connemara thing in the music' (see Chapter Four), the Psalm singers who sing the same tune differently in English and Gaelic services, and rural Louisiana French communities, both Cajun and Creole, who in introducing new music have held onto aspects of their earlier music, have ways in which they associate non-musical items with a music style. In Connemara country music it might be, to judge from the comment above, a sense of place. In Gaelic Psalm singing, it is perhaps language, or both language and place. However, a fuller understanding of the issue of semiological meaning would require extensive surveying of audiences to gather and compare their perspectives on the various meanings they take from the music. This is an area that needs further study.

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[46] Many performers perform different styles to allow for different tastes even at the same performance event. In some circles this allows older and newer music to be performed at the same event. Big Tom described in chapter three his early dances as a performer where a member of the band would perform one or two country songs during the night.

6.10 Creolisation in the music of the case studies

The answer to what has happened musically in each of the case studies is relatively easy to answer since a new sub-genre or a new musical system (depending on the perspective) has been created. Musically, something from outside the culture has been added to something that was already in the culture to create a new style of music – a creolised music. Each of the contributing or 'parent' cultures provided a set of features that are to be found in the creolised music.

The task is probably easiest when looking at the African American input into the creolised music of Louisiana. Whereas Anglo-American or Cajun music might have provided forms such as the waltzes and two steps, very often the Creole community gave them an African-American setting. '*J'ai Fait Tout le Tour du Pays'* has a common Cajun floating lyric to open, a melody and a format that is very much Anglo-American but in the 1934 version recorded by the Lomaxes, it acquires some of the traits of the Creole *juré* with a different rhythm, added percussion and syncopation and a Creole floating lyric–*les haricots sont pas salés*–used in Creole songs to express poverty. Likewise, '*Blues De La Prison'* and '*Là-Bas Chez Moreaux'* are blues songs whose performers bring long vowels and consonants into use in a Louisiana French blues song, something that would not have been done in traditional Louisiana French song. Other musical elements that would appear to be extraneous to the Louisiana French folk song also appear in the 1934 recordings, notably the *juré* singing with syncopated rhythms and percussion and the Hoffpauir sisters' use of vocal breaking which may have been a fashionable way of singing at the time and was, perhaps learned, either directly from Black Creole neighbours or alternatively from radio or phonograph. Most of the interviewees I spoke to in Louisiana felt that African music plays a big part in the music of Louisiana, mainly in the form of rhythm and a passion in performance that in their view (see 3.7), is missing from the French ballads.

The Gaelic Psalms in terms of format (what Bruno Nettl refers to as 'style')[47] and music, come firmly from the English and Lowland Scottish traditions, but in performance they acquire a new (Gaelic) aesthetic in tonality, a slow delivery, and a heavy use of ornamentation, the latter two serving to obscure the adopted format. Likewise, Connemara country uses the rhythms and instrumentation of an English language

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[47] In Chapter One it was described how Nettl held that either 'style'— the format of a song, which was general within a culture or its 'content'— its own specific melody, could travel between cultures.

tradition but it draws both thematically and in terms of ornamentation on the older local singing tradition.

6.11 Language and singing

In Chapter One, reference was made to Bruno Nettl's idea that the language of a culture might affect that culture's singing. He was unable to specify how this manifested itself. This is an issue that I decided to pursue to some extent in the case studies through discussion with interviewees. In the case of the Gaelic Psalm singing there appeared to be no need. Members of the same congregations sing the psalm tunes differently when singing in Gaelic or in English. The choice of language affects the way the congregants sing the tunes and the difference is manifest. In Louisiana, I put the question to both Barry Ancelet and to Mitch Reed. Ancelet, as was seen, mentioned the introduction of long vowels in LFM something that was common in English song but that would not have been found so much in French folksong due to an aversion to long vowels in the language. To that extent, LFM singers had altered their singing style even in French to suit an English aesthetic. However, by contrast, Mitch Reed could detect no difference in people singing in French or in English. He sometimes heard a singer sing in both English and in French in the same song but could detect little difference in style.[48] Beairtle Ó Domhnaill, explained that his own style of singing in Irish and in English is 'different' [49] perhaps reflecting the movement from a predominantly melismatic to a predominantly syllabic style when shifting between the two. This means that a significant difference in singing styles is noticeable in these cases between English and both Scots Gaelic psalm singing and Irish language singing styles but not so much between Louisiana French and English styles. Perhaps the fact that both the English and French ballad traditions shared a syllabic style of singing means that there was less difference between their singing styles and therefore less compromise was required between these two styles in the creolised music. I was unable to find out whether Creole singers felt there were differences in their singing styles when singing in Louisiana French Creole as opposed to singing in English, and therefore I cannot comment on this.

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[48] Mitch Reed interview at his home in Scott, Louisiana, interview by Brian Ó hUiginn, 27 June, 2012, (24'32").

[49] Ó Domhnaill interview (23' 06")

6.12 The post-creole continuum

A final note about the linguistic analogy is that researchers such as Derek Pickerton have posited the idea of what is known as the 'post-creole continuum'.[50] The theory is that creole languages continue on a path, which brings them increasingly closer over time to one of their contributing languages.[51] If this is also the case in music, it might be expected that, for example, Cajun music will move closer over time to mainstream country music, that *zydeco* will move closer to African-American music, Connemara country to mainstream country, and Gaelic Psalms to English Psalm singing. There are some small indications that this may be happening in the musics of these case studies, for example, the use of soul and blues music in English in zydeco as well as songs sung in Louisiana French in American country style (no accordions), among the Cajun community, the gradual speeding up of the Gaelic psalms, and the increasing use of American country norms heard in Connolly's '*Peigín Audley*' in Chapter Four. It will take many years to see if this is in fact the case and other events, such as the eventual loss of natively spoken Louisiana Cajun French and French Creole, or Irish and Scots Gaelic, may well overtake such a process.

6.13 Conclusions

This thesis set out to answer two questions pertaining to the mixing of music genres, both intentionally, by musicians, arrangers and composers in individual musical items, and also as part of the historical process of creating a new music genre. The three case studies of this research project together yield information about the creolisation process in music traditions. By outlining their relative historical and cultural backgrounds, closely reading texts from the contributing musical streams and analysing the resultant music mix, and by talking to people closely involved in the performance or in the study of the creolised musics, this thesis offers perspectives of the creolisation process in each case. However, it is in cross referencing these particular case studies and by measuring this information against the theories or observations of the writers quoted in the literature review, that this work adds to the empirical evidence needed to test any future theory of creolisation in music. It provides information about the process of change that

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[50] Derek Pickerton, *Dynamics of a Creole System* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975).
[51] This is sometimes called 'decreolisation'.

a music goes through in adopting outside musical influences. It provides information also about migrating melodies and what happens to them as they change cultures, either in terms of passing through changes over time in the popular music of one culture, or in migrating between different contemporaneous cultures.

First Question

Returning then to the first research question: What are the musical and social processes that lead to a new music genre, how are they interrelated and how do these processes affect individual music items? This research looked at the music of three cultures to try to evaluate what happened that gave rise to a new form of music. It also examined individual music items within those cultures. The first thing to note is that in all three cases an outside music culture, stronger either in terms of status or prestige, has been used to effect a major change within the music of the cases studies. In some cases, such as in francophone Louisiana, a culture, weaker in terms of prestige, manages to pass discrete items of style into a stronger culture. Such is the case with the 'African' influence on Cajun music mentioned by Cajun interviewees. Secondly, in all cases there appears to have been functional reasons for the change. The need for music for a new type of dancing or the need for music for a new type of worship. However, the change involved the bringing in of outside musical elements, in all cases. It would seem that the need to change a functional aspect of a community's culture where there is a musical element involved, may cause that community to change its music.

Thirdly, this was not a two-way process. The music of these case studies did not go on to have a similar effect on the outside music tradition that influenced them. Although as has been pointed out smaller discrete items such as note bending or rhythmic change passed into what was at the time perceived as a more 'prestigious' music culture from a less 'prestigious' one, the more 'prestigious' tradition appears to have remained largely unchanged.

With regard to what changes in the music itself, change in these case studies was brought about by incorporating outside musical elements into previously existing musical elements from within the culture. The result was a creolised music, mixing elements of the existing music with elements of an outside one in a way that was perceived as giving rise to a new music. The changes occurred initially within existing items of music and ultimately were reflected in newer 'compositions'. Pre-existing melodies from outside the culture could be brought in but were often changed in the process. As to what happened in the music itself, this thesis set out to show some of the

best examples of these changes through the process identified in Chapter One as 'melodic migration'. I have given one example in each case that, in my opinion, best exemplifies the process of creolisation. It should be remembered that these three examples best embody, in my opinion, the features seen in all the other examples. They should not be thought of as 'stand-alone' but rather as indicative of the process. I will take these first.

Two of the melodies, the psalm tune 'Bangor' and the *juré, 'J'ai Fait Tout le Tour du Pays'* involved music moving from one ethnic group to another. The last, *'Púcán Mhicil Pháidín'* remained within the ethnic group but was brought through a number of transformations as that community composed newer music. It passed through changes within the music culture rather than changing ethnic cultures. These changes in music within a culture from one era to another can be, in my opinion, as dramatic as the effects of a melody migrating between ethnic cultures.

Using these three examples, the following observations can be made about the process of creolisation. Certain aspects of a melody will tend to stay intact while other aspects will change dramatically. For example, its format will remain largely intact (all three).[52] However, tempo and rhythm may be altered quite dramatically (all three) and in some cases, this may lead to the format, although still intact, being obscured ('Bangor' and to some extent *'J'ai fait Tout le Tour du Pays'*). Where its sequence of notes clashes with the sense of tonality of its new environment, notes may be changed to reflect the new sense of tonality ('Bangor'). Choral or responding lines may be added, or the performance of the melody may be changed to allow for a solo and choral part (*'J'ai Fait Tout le Tour du Pays'* and 'Bangor'). The singing style normally used for that type of tune might also be changed from syllabic to melismatic style (*'J'ai Fait Tout Le Tour du Pays'*, 'Bangor') or, presumably, vice versa. Different ornamentation and/or different amounts of ornamentation might be used (all three). In keeping with a viewpoint that sees an activity such as work or dance performed to the music as being part of the music, the function of the melody might also change. The tune *'Cindy'* which is mainly sung solo, becomes in *'J'ai fait Tout le Tour du Pays'* part of a *juré* communal song. *'Púcán Mhicil Pháidín'* or with its alternative lyrics *'Peigín Audley'*, once songs sung solely for listening to, become waltz and jiving tunes respectively. In

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[52] I have to allow for the fact that in some cases it is possible that the format is changed beyond recognitionand that therefore some tunes may never be identifiable as having come from elsewhere. However it is, I think, fair to say that at that point, it has become a completely new melody

short, enough of the melody stays intact for the tune to be recognisable even where the original tune may have to be pointed out to the casual listener, as is the case with 'Bangor', but almost all aspects of the performance style can change. The resulting changes can be anywhere between being quite minimal, providing a new stylistic cladding for a tune that is immediately recognisable, and very dramatic, causing change to the tune format and its melody, and thereby obscuring and changing the feel of a particular tune. In most of the musical examples examined in this thesis however, not all melodies have migrated and not all of the above traits are found. Some melodies appear to demonstrate a smaller degree of mixing. For example, *Blues de la Prison* uses French lyrics in what is otherwise a blues song

In at least two cases, Louisiana and Connemara, the importance of individual innovating musicians is highlighted. In the third case, the Gaelic psalm singing, this may also have been the situation but there is not enough evidence to say so conclusively. In all cases the communities involved had a say in what songs, melodies and styles were accepted. Musicians and audiences between them seem to have negotiated the new musical path over time. Changes had to be made to suit the musical aesthetic of the community that was adopting the melodies. As to why some melodies manage to migrate between cultures while others do not is, on the evidence here, due to one of two factors: their previous popularity within the community (for example, the melody of '*Púcán Mhicil Pháidín'/'Peigín Audley'*) where the community recycles them, or their association with a desirable new cultural trend ('Cindy', 'Bangor') where a new community adopts them.

While often it is melodies that migrate, it appears to be the case (on the evidence of these case studies) that elements of performance style migrate far more frequently (*falsetto* 'upswing' or 'cut', vocal breaking, syllabic or melismatic styles, precenting). These performance elements appear to hold semiological information which has relevance for both singer and audience, and which can often be recombined in different settings to create new musical understandings and landscapes. The particulars of this type of stylistic 'grammar' is perhaps, an area for further research. The lyrics of songs also appear to be greatly important and not always because of their narrative power. Certain phrases ('*J'ai fait tout le tour du…',* or, *'les haricots sont pas salés'*) and

placenames, as well as some themes, have semiological meaning beyond the part they play in conveying a narrative. These words and phrases and even certain themes appear to be symbolic in themselves, beyond the meanings of the individual words.

This study concerned musics that are mixes of at least two other separate musics. I have referred to them as 'creolised musics' as an analogy to the linguistic use of 'creole'.[53] The difference as outlined in Chapter One, is that a pidgin language has no native speakers. It is a language of convenience; a mixed code used where there is no language in common between two groups of people. Its vocabulary is limited and it is shorn of most of the complexities of a native language. A creole language on the other hand is a mixed code that has become a native language. It has acquired its own set of conventions and complexities and has an attendant culture. A pidgin language can go on to become a creole one, but this does not always happen.

In all three cases, the term 'creolised music' has I feel proven to be a suitable choice. As a result of an initial mix (a 'pidgin'), which became generally accepted within a community, the musics in question acquired their own set of conventions and performance norms, which are now understood and repeated by people brought up hearing and performing them. They have been codified. Other musicians have gone on to compose in the creolised style understanding exactly what is expected in the new genre. The music has become 'native' to them. Other 'pidgin' musics over the years did not go on to acquire this 'creolised music' status.

Second Question

The second and subsidiary research question of this thesis concerned how information from the first research question could be used to create new traditional-style music The arrangements and recordings created by me give I think, an indication of the ways in which information from these particular case studies can be used in producing traditional-style music, in particular because of the fact that some aspects of the process of change that they went through can be replicated in other music to suggest new techniques and styles to musicians and composers. The attempt to cross musical

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[53] In Chapter One other, wider uses of the term 'creolisation' in cultural studies were described. It seems apt to reiterate here that my use of the term is by way of analogy with the linguistic use of it, rather than he broader sense used in cultural studies.

elements and styles that have been honed by musicians from one culture with elements and styles from another, can be at times quite difficult, but in my own recordings for this thesis they have led me to make arrangements that I feel I might otherwise not have done. *'Bangor', 'Coleshill', 'Là-Bas Chez Moreau'* and *'Latha Siubhal Beinne Dhomh'* as I have arranged / composed the material in them, have produced results that required a conscious effort to pidginise musics. I am acutely aware that the more natural type of creolisation that occurs in the music of the case studies took, in most cases, years to develop and to be accepted. In many cases musicians were not necessarily trying to create a new type of music, but instead were attempting to imitate existing musics. What might be described as imperfect attempts to do that led, by happenstance, to a music that became valued in its own right. To a large extent this process may not be susceptible to a 'hothousing' process such as the one I demonstrated in the previous chapter. On the other hand, the challenge of bringing together the different musical elements that are loved by any particular musician or singer, even when these are from different genres or music cultures, is always going to attract some, even if it does not attract others. In attempting to cross the boundaries, to be, in the words of Ulf Hannerz, 'tricksters' in the 'borderlands', musicians or singers may produce other exciting examples of happenstance. It is, I think, an interesting way of working to build new music creolisation, or rather its precursor, pidginisation, is not in these cases solely the result of any 'recalibration' or 'renegotiation' by a community or culture under pressure. The musicians are not necessarily striving to find a new place for the music of their community. They are perhaps more interested in purposely producing a new musical 'recipe' that they hope will prove popular with audiences, to make their music socially desirable and prestigious. To produce music that has 'cachet coolness'.

As a final point with regard to the second question, the issue of whether a musician is being interpretative or creative in pidginising music from different genres seems, perhaps, to be far too strict a dichotomy. I would suggest that elements of both creation and interpretation are at play in different measures according to the individual songs and according to the performers. This is not to minimise the achievements of composers and songwriters in composing new work. Rather, it emphasises the complexities of creative processes of any kind, drawing upon previously heard material, either consciously or subconsciously and yet weaving something new from it.

I think that a lot of work remains to be done in areas such as for example semiology in creolised musics. I believe that theories of creolisation in music will continue to be hotly debated into the future and that a generally accepted theory or theories of musical creolisation or pidginisation appear to be, for the time being, as elusive as they were to earlier musicologists and ethnomusicologists. The descriptions and observations emanating from this thesis will, I hope, play a part in informing any future discussion.

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