

Non-lexical Vocables in Scottish Traditional Music

Christine Knox Chambers
Ph.D.
University of Edinburgh
1980



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Abstract of Thesis

In this thesis I examine the non-lexical vocables, or syllables without semantic content which appear as a feature of virtually every genre of Scottish traditional music. The term 'nonsense syllables' is avoided because the vocables in question often convey as specific a musical meaning as words do semantic meaning.

The Introduction demonstrates that such non-lexical vocables are not a musical phenomenon unique to Scotland, and introduces the various categories of the genre. The two main types are 'Improvisatory', or vocables improvised by the performer; and 'Jelled', that is vocables composed as the chorus of a song and repeated by rote by the performer. In the former category, the main division is between vocables associated with the bagpipes (canntaireachd) and all other types of vocables (diddling). In the latter category the division is between vocables appearing in Scots and Gaelic song.

Chapters I and II define and describe these various categories (six in all) and discuss the varying uses to which they are put in differing contexts. The uses referred to are: pedagogic, mnemonic, as general musical communication, as a performance medium, for dancing, by children (musical experimentation), with children (musical enculturation), and in vocable refrains in song. Chapter II concludes with a discussion of the variable status of vocabelising (i.e. the practice of singing in vocables), which status is linked to the use most prevalent in the contexts in which an informant hears vocabelising.

Chapters III and IV are a phonetic and musical analysis of, respectively, 'Improvisatory' and 'Jelled' vocables. The first section in Chapter III introduces several phonological concepts basic to an understanding of the analysis. Points covered in the remainder of the chapters are: categorical and individual sound inventories (i.e. which singers use what sounds to make up vocables?), syntagmatic and paradigmatic relationships within the vocable (i.e. how are the sounds combined into vocables?), syntagmatic and paradigmatic relationships among the vocables (i.e. how are the vocables combined into phrases?) as well as, in Chapter IV, a discussion of rhyme schemes, patterns of phrases, synchronic and diachronic variants, and the relationship of text and melody to vocable refrains.

Chapter V is a discussion of the functions of vocabelising, beginning with a discussion of the interdependent nature of musical functions, the essentially expressive/communicative nature of music, and the inseparability of musical meaning and cultural context. The functions of vocabelising are discussed in relation to context, with separate sections on the functions vocabelising serves pipers and on the integrative effect of vocabelising. Chapter VI contains a summary and conclusions, including a discussion of the tangible differences between a vocable and an instrumental/vocal rendition of a piece of traditional music.

This thesis was conceived and written by myself, with assistance as acknowledged in the text.

- Acknowledgments -

In helping me to complete this thesis I gratefully acknowledge the kind assistance of: the trustees of the Helen Doig Bursary Award who eased the financial burden of my fieldwork; Fred Kent and the technicians at the School of Scottish Studies for instruction and advice on field recordings; Jody Higgs and Cynthia Shuken of Edinburgh University Linguistics Department for extensive help with the linguistic portions of this thesis; Dr. John MacInnes for advice on Gaelic vocable refrains; and all the individuals in various parts of Scotland who gave so generously of their time and vocal energy to sing for me.

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INTRODUCTION

1. Vocabelising in the context of world music.

Musicians the world over use non-lexical vocables to communicate music: that is, they sing a series of vocables without lexical or semantic content which convey musical meaning to the listener. In essence they are communicating about music in music. Throughout this study I use the term 'non-lexical' rather than the more commonly heard 'nonsense syllable', for the former indicates that a lack of semantic content does not necessarily imply a meaningless noise. In fact, I will demonstrate that in Scotland the vocables used to portray a traditional repertory may have more than one kind of non-lexical meaning.

A catalogue of examples of 'vocabelising' (singing in or with non-lexical vocables) on a world wide scale would be a topic for several doctoral theses and might take a life time of research. In order to give an idea of the wide diffusion and great variety of use of this musical phenomenon I have cited a few examples and references, without attempting to select a geographically representative or comprehensive sample.

In an introduction to "Chassidic Tunes" (the chassid being "A very religious and tradition-oriented Jew"), Chanina Yaakov ben Yisroel Lazar notes:

Most often the tunes are wordless, sung using vocalised syllables...a technique similar in some respects to Celtic liltng. (1)

An example of an instrumental use of vocables is found in the ancient Japanese music/drama, the No play.

The human voice, the drummer's, is used in an instrumental way. The kakegoe, "attached calls", are onomatopoeic syllables which the drummers shout, yell, hum or moan at given moments, which are strictly indicated. They are part of the score. (2)

Another instrumental use is seen in the music of Lhasa, Tibet.

1. Sing Out 25, 6 (1977)18

2. Eta Harich-Schneider, A History of Japanese Music, London (1973)435

Nangma and Western songs were not played only by the professional ensembles in Lhasa... Since all the instruments play essentially the same music in unison, a single instrument can give a complete performance... The instrumental line could also be performed vocally if there were not instruments available, at least for the fast part of the Western songs... (3)

The use of vocables in solmization systems is documented in China⁴ and Korea:

...the majority of the pieces in the court repertory employ a five-tone scale; jing, yim, nam, hwang, t'ae.. (5)

A reference to a religious use of vocables comes from the Philippines where Hanunoo' mediums known as pandaniwan "call upon their spiritual familiars." Communication is by:

...humming, chanting (ngayung) and intermittent hissing. Parts of this monotonous sequence contain audibly distinct vocables, many of which are easily understood Hanunoo' words... (6)

A rather similar example is seen among the Yirkalla, an Australian aboriginal people, who sometimes interpret "a baby's inept attempts to mimic speech... as revelations of secret and sacred song words." In the same article the author, discussing the songs of young girls up to 10 or 12 years of age, mentions that "No musical instruments are employed, although a vocable imitation of the drone tube occurs frequently."⁷

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3. Geoffrey Samuel, "Songs of Lhasa", Ethnomusicology XX 3 (1976) 410
 4. Laurence Picken, "Chinese Music", New Oxford History of Music I London, (1957) pp83-96 See Also: Robert C. Provine, "The Treatise on Ceremonial Music (1430) in the Annals of the Korean King Sejong", Ethnomusicology XVIII 1 (1974) and Jan la Rue, "The Okinawan Notation System", Journal of the American Musicological Society I 1 (1958) 28
 5. Harvard Dictionary of Music, editor Willi Apel, London (1946, 2nd edition 1970) 457
 6. Harold Conklin and Jose Maceda, "Hanunoo' Music from the Philippines" Ethnic Folkways Libraries (1955)
 7. Richard A. Waterman, "Music in Australian Aboriginal Culture- Some Sociological and Psychological Implications", Journal of Music Therapy V (1955) 40-49

Moving across to the North American continent, vocables seem to have been prevalent in many indigenous Indian musics.

The only instrument used is the Indian frame drum (eyele). The melodies are sung. However, although most songs have "titles" and are said once to have had "words", these have been forgotten by contemporary singers. As a result songs are performed using vocables. (8)

The texts very often contain long sections of vocables or nonsense syllables such as he-ne-ne-ya or heyo-heyo-ho-ho-wa, which may outweigh the meaningful words in a song by as much as three or four to one. Often entire songs may consist of vocables only, yet they are fixed for a particular song and the types of vocables used vary considerably from tribe to tribe... ..the short rhapsodic text surrounded by vocables is prevalent enough to be called the usual mode. (9)

Willard Rhodes, in his article "A Study of Music Diffusion Based on the Wandering of the Opening Peyote Song"¹⁰ refers to "meaningless vocables" which make up the "opening peyote song" sung by Commanche, Cheyenne, Kiowa, Dakota, Southern Ute, Winnebago and Menominee Indians of North America. Another scholar has studied the interpretation of (ostensibly) meaningless syllables in the music of the Pacific Northwest Indians.¹¹

Leaping continents again, the mnemonic and communicative powers of vocables are mentioned in a pedagogic context in an African example.

Various techniques of teaching and learning as they are employed by the Kachamba brothers are also traditional... Rhythmic-melodic patterns, motional and accentual patterns, etc., are often communicated between the musicians by means of mnemonic syllables, such as ke-nje-gge ke-nje-gge-nge, i.e. the guitar patterns for Jive and Twist. (12)

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8. Michael Asch, "Social Context and Musical Analysis of Slavey Drum Dance Songs", Ethnomusicology XIX 2 (1975)245-257.
 9. David P. MacAllester, "Indian Music in the Southwest", reprinted in Readings in Ethnomusicology, New York (1971).
 10. The Journal of International Folk Music 10 (1958)42-49.
 11. Ida Halpern, "On the Interpretation of 'Meaningless-Nonsensical Syllables' in the Music of the Pacific Northwest Indians", Ethnomusicology XX 2 (1976)253-271
 12. Gerhard Kubik, "The Kachamba Brother's Band - a study of neo-traditional music in Malawi", Zambian Papers 9, Manchester Univ. Press (1974).

Perhaps the best known non-western solmization system is the sa-ri-ga-ma of South Indian Classical music.

Abbreviations of the first syllable of each of these scalar degrees (sa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni) have been used as a solfege in India since at least two thousand years ago and are still predominantly used, for instance in South Indian vocal improvisation. (13)

This is, however, by no means the only vocabelising to be found in India.

The Sama Veda is the most developed musically, and may be thought of as a melodically heightened version of the Rg Veda. Meaningless syllables called stobhas were inserted profusely and aided melodic development.. (14)

Another aspect of Indian notation...is that of the rhythmic patterns which are extremely elaborate in Indian drumming. Each way of striking the double drum...is represented by a mnemotechnic syllable, the main rhythmic division being indicated by numbers and the empty beats by a zero. The basic form of each rhythm, once established, can thus be elaborated into the most complex pattern and easily remembered and practiced. (15)

Indian drummers can represent the sounds of their instruments in spoken syllables, and frequently recite them at prodigious speed. (16)

And, from one fieldworker's notes, a description of a performance which was obviously new to him:

A Mer doing what is called Bans or Vans, meaning literally flute, but in fact he produces both the drone and an exquisite sound, called I believe nose music or mouth music in Scotland. (17)

A more recent example of vocabelising found in an urban

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13. Robert Brown, "India's Music", Chapters in Indian Civilisation II (1967)367-403
 14. ibid.
 15. Alain Danielou, "Notation of Indian Music", The March of India (1958)
 16. Brown, op. cit.
 17. John Levy, John Levy Archive number 60/93 & 61/5. The collection of tapes is housed in the School of Scottish Studies, 27 George Square, Edinburgh.

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industrialised setting is that of scat singing in American jazz:¹⁸

Be-bop, the new jazz of the war years...scat singing
(vocalizing an instrumental line with nonsense syllables)
was one of the features of this instrumental style. (19)

...in jazz, the interpolation of nonsense syllables and
other peculiar vocal effects, introduced in the 1920's
by Cab Calloway (b. 1907) and Louis Armstrong (b. 1900). (20)

Another less widely known form of jazz vocabelising is
"blue-blowing", an intentionally onomatopoetic representation of
a muted trumpet.

Three references to vocables observed in the latter half of
the nineteenth century come from John Campbell of Islay, a traveller
peculiarly sensitive to them because of his interest in Scottish
canntaireachd:

In October, 1879, up in the Simplon region of the Alps...I
listened for hours to "jodeln". A lot of women and girls
were herding their grazing cattle in separate fields, and
knitting and singing...each in her own fashion at her post.
I could not detect one word of any language in this
natural concert of solos.

In Lappland, my Lapp boatmen when there was a pause in
their work, which left them breath to spare, spent it in
crooning articulate but meaningless music. I know enough
to be sure that they were not words in any language known
to the people of these regions, Lapp, Quainish, Norwegian,
Swedish, Russian or Karelsk.

About 1848 I heard in the Quarantine station at Klampenborg
in Denmark a man famed as the last of the bellman singers...
a large part of the performance was a vocal imitation of
instrumental music, in articulate words without meaning. (21)

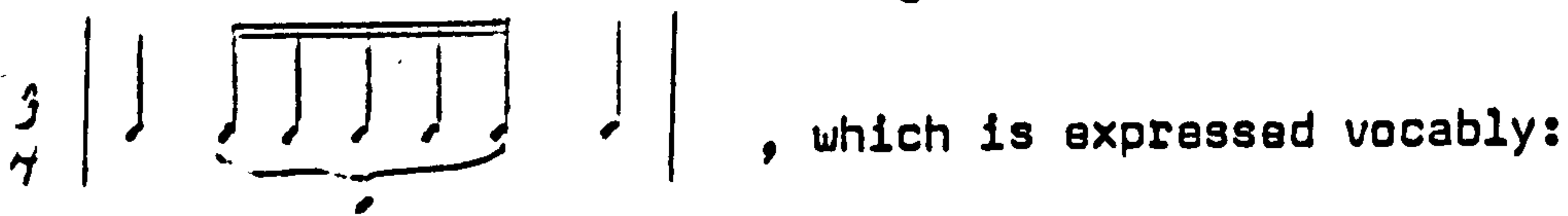
In Spain, vocables are used to teach the traditional rhythms
played on the castanets while dancing. Here the vocables designate
which hand is being used, as well as representing the sound ono-
matopoetically. For example, a common pattern is:

18. See: Barry Ulanov, A History of Jazz in America, London (1958)267-81

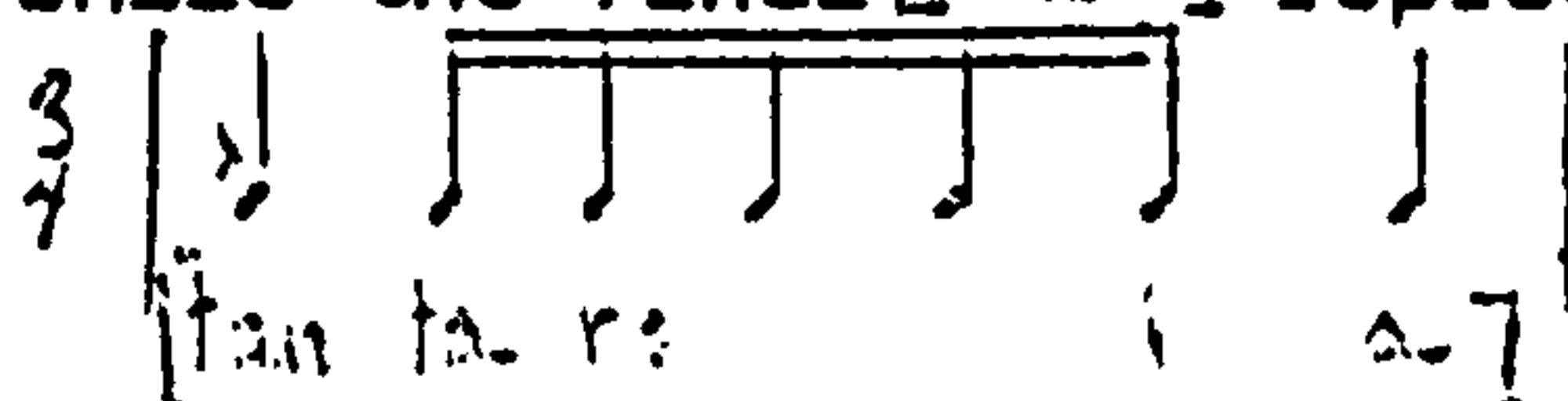
19. Dictionary of 20th Century Music, editor John Vinton, London(1974)
347

20. Harvard Dictionary of Music, editor Willi Apel, London(1946, 2nd
edition 1970)754

21. John Campbell, Canntaireachd: Articulate Music, Glasgow(1880)28,
21,30.



[tan ta ri a]. The [tan] stands for both castanets being clapped at once; [ta] represents a clap with the left hand; [ri] onomatopoeitically imitates a roll of the four fingers of the ring hand on the wood, while the final [a] represents another clap with the left hand:²²



Considerably closer in background to the subject of this study is the vocabelising heard in Ireland, most commonly known as lilting or port-a-beul, also in some areas as jaw-a-jigging, gob-jigging or simply jigging.

As I have learned this out of Petrie my tradition is broken by the instrument. For I have never heard it sung or jigged or whistled or piped. (23)

Irish-gaelic speakers use the term pus music (the Irish word pus meaning lips, and area around the mouth) and also portaireachd, which is the "official" translation of lilting, and is used as the term defining the genre in the Fleadh, or traditional music competition.

2. The parameters of the study: field and laboratory methods.

These scattered references to vocabelising observed in various parts of the globe partially indicate the enormous scope of this largely uninvestigated musical phenomenon. Practicality dictates that I confine my research to one small portion of this vast topic, namely the non-lexical vocables used in Scottish traditional music. The Gaelic genre of port-a-beul (literally, "tune from the mouth"), and its Lowland equivalent do not fall within the

22. Information from Mrs. Carmen Dakin, Spanish dancer and dance teacher.
23. Richard Henebry, A Handbook of Irish Music, Cork (1928) 54.

parameters of this study because they have semantic content, minimal though it usually is. So, although they are unquestionably related in style, context, use and function to some types of vocabelising, only those occasional examples with vocable refrains attached have been examined; these are discussed in Chapter IV.

Before presenting an introductory outline of vocabelising as found in Scotland I will discuss briefly my field and laboratory methods, and several of the problems I encountered in my research which tended to shape these methods.

At first it was necessary to spend a great deal of time simply sorting out the various categories of vocabelising attached to or representative of Scottish genres, and discerning the varied and overlapping uses to which vocabelising is put in the many contexts in which it is found. These overlaps combined with a complete lack of any general perspective of the genre tended to create confusion for me as a fieldworker, and hence in my questions to informants, which were at first too broad and too direct. The size of the area to be studied was problematic, and it should be stated here that the material examined in this study, though as extensive and representative as my efforts and the restrictions of time and money allowed, does not represent complete geographic coverage of the whole of Scotland. The insignificant status of the genre in some contexts (see Chapter II:3) led to a mild reluctance on the part of some informants to vocabelise and articulate ideas about vocables to the exclusion of what they felt to be their more significant musical contribution. It was also difficult to obtain recordings of certain kinds of vocabelising in its indigenous environment (as opposed to the artificial environment inevitably created by even the most sympathetic fieldworker) because of the fleeting, spontaneous and often non-performance oriented nature of the phenomenon. A prime example of a recording: virtually impossible to obtain is that of children vocabelising to amuse themselves. Rare examples can be found of children performing at the request of a parent or fieldworker, but this, of course, is not the same thing at all. Of the data used for analysis (approximately 370 items of vocabelising recorded from 91 informants) considerably over half the actual musical examples

(as opposed to relevant conversation) were collected by field-workers other than myself. Obviously this has both advantages and disadvantages: though these researchers were not primed to ask the questions to which I later wanted answers, they were recording in a more natural situation, i.e. at a time when vocabelising was not immediately or recently the focus of an unusual amount of emphasis or attention. The fact that some of these recordings were made as long ago as 1953 enabled me to examine diachronic variants from certain individuals by tracking them down and re-cording the same material twenty or so years later.

My field methods were of necessity rather varied because of the wide fluctuation in use of vocables, and in the social context and musical and general backgrounds of my informants. The most consistent aspect of my field methods was the repeated elicitation of a selection of well known tunes which were intended to be representative of a common traditional repertory. In this way I obtained as many as 17 performances of one reel from a wide range of performers, an analysis of which is extremely useful in gaining the much needed broad perspective mentioned above, as well as in discerning the categories of vocabelising and details about vocable means of portraying contrasting instrumental styles.

My laboratory methods consisted in first transcribing some 94 examples ranging in length from eight to forty bars of march, reel, jig, strathspey, pibroch (the "classical music" of the highland bagpipe) and song melodies from a wide range of performers, as well as approximately 325 refrains from Scots and Gaelic song. These transcriptions were of both the music and the vocables, and were done (respectively) descriptively and phonetically. Subsequent analysis of these transcriptions included examining the vocable repertoires of both individual performers and broad, stylistic categories; the distribution of use within the various categories; an examination of the "rules" of grammar by which vocable phrases can be constructed; and the relationship of the vocables to the rhythmic motifs and melodic contours of the tune. Details of the exact method would be tedious: suffice it to say that I evolved grids and charts pertinent to the examinations in question, samples of which

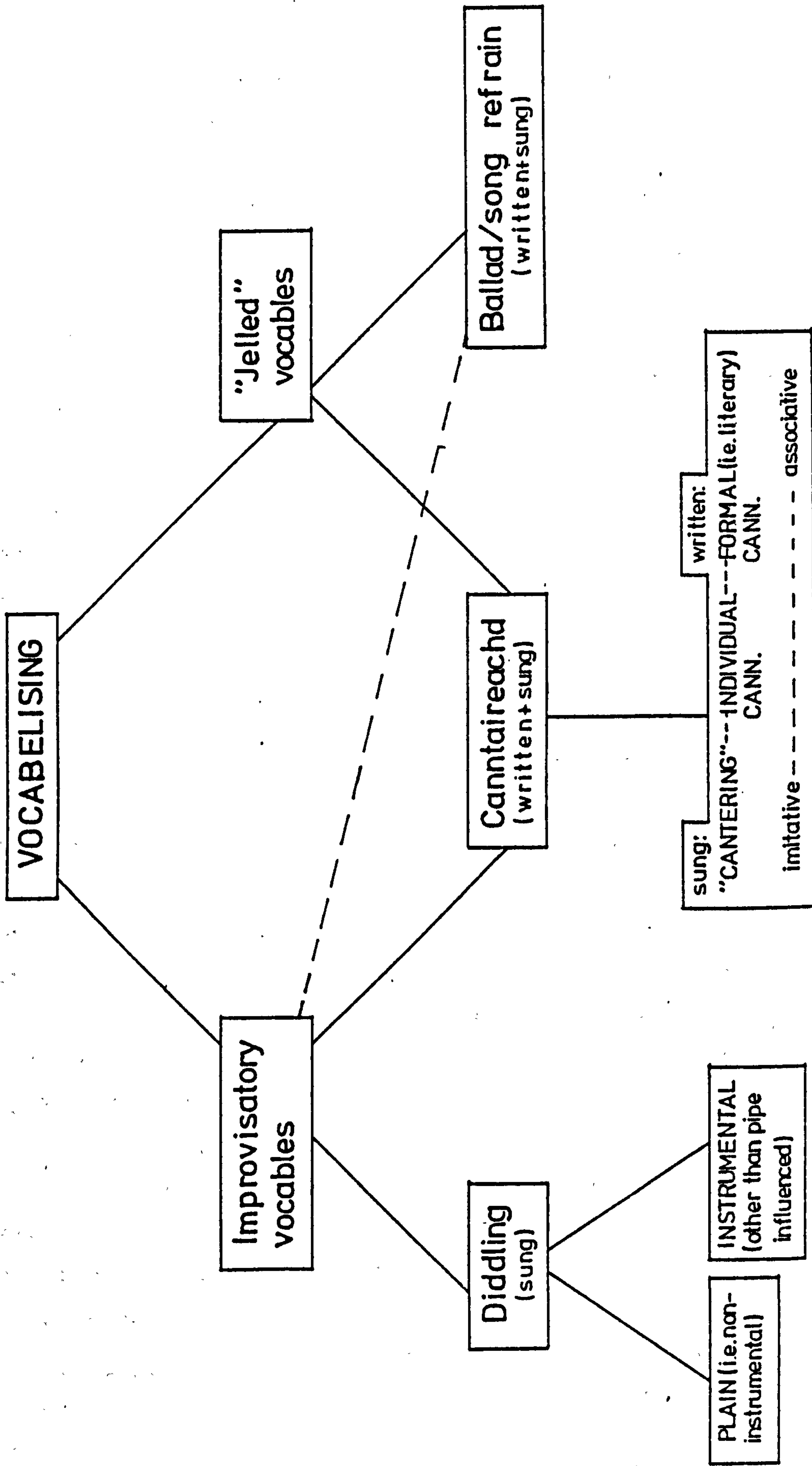
will appear later in the text. The other portion of laboratory work consisted in transcribing all the available conversations on any aspect of vocabelising in Scotland, and attempting to deduce from them indigenous evaluations of vocabelising: its status, various uses and underlying functions, past and present. References to these interviews, conducted both by me and by other fieldworkers, will appear throughout the following chapters; larger portions of the transcriptions can be found in Appendix 3.

3. Master-chart and discussion of vocabelising in Scotland.

The complex and varied nature of the types of vocabelising found in Scotland can best be illustrated with a chart which gives an inevitably somewhat simplified overview of the genre. The first level, "Vocabelising", has already been defined as singing in a series of vocables without semantic content. For the purposes of this study a vocable will be defined as consisting of one or more speech sounds, hereafter referred to simply as sounds, while vocable "words" are made up of two or more vocables, in fact just as words with semantic content are constructed. It will be shown later that certain vocable "words" may contain as much specific musical meaning as lexical words convey semantic meaning.

The second level of the chart contrasts "Improvisatory" with "Jelled" vocables. Improvisatory vocables are created by the individual performer using a selection of sounds from the inventory of "accepted" sounds available to him (see Chapter III:2). Jelled vocables are prescribed either by convention, as in ballad or song refrain, or by having at some point been written down, as with the vocable "words" of manuscript canntaireachd (the pipers' solmization system). Improvisatory vocables need not be improvised anew at each performance of a tune: often it seems they are remembered from a previous arrangement. The distinction remains, however, that at some point in time the arrangement was created by the performer, and bears the mark of his idiosyncratic style.

In the third level of the chart, the box farthest to the left labelled "Ballad/song refrain", is largely self-explanatory, but it



should be mentioned that the dotted line running from "Improvisatory Vocables" is meant to indicate that, as is frequently the case with pieces orally transmitted, small shifts and changes take place between individual performances. It is true, however, that in general the similarity between one singer's version of a refrain and another singer's version is very high; sometimes they are identical.

For the other two items listed on this level, "Diddling" refers to any and all vocabelising other than that related to the bagpipes, while "Canntaireachd" (literally "chanting" or "singing") refers broadly to all forms of vocabelising connected to or associated with the bagpipes. Within the self-contained world of piping in Scotland the term canntaireachd is used by pipers of differing backgrounds to denote different kinds of pipe-oriented vocabelising. Most commonly it refers to the systematic and formal solmization system found in books and manuscripts of pibroch, and to pipers' somewhat less systematic singing of that genre. Pipers divide on the question of whether their singing of ceol beag ("small music", i.e. jigs, reels, marches, strathspeys, airs, etc.) is or is not canntaireachd, but most of them agree in excluding a non-piper's imitation of their singing from inclusion under the term. The non-pipers in question, however, often do refer to their own performance as canntaireachd.²⁴ Since in my study I am trying to achieve a broad perspective and find the label convenient and all-encompassing, I have intentionally expanded the definition to include all types of pipe-oriented vocabelising.

The connecting lines between the boxes should be self-explanatory, however it is worth pointing out that the box labelled "Canntaireachd" has a line from both the "Improvisatory" and the "Jelled" boxes. Since it is written down, manuscript canntaireachd must be considered to be as "congealed" as any vocables can be, but when canntaireachd is sung it tends almost invariably to become less systematic than in its written form as idiosyncratic vocables and

24. For a fuller discussion of this complex topic see Appendix 4: a copy of a short paper presented to the U.K. National Committee of the International Folk Music Council in March, 1980.

musically expressive nuances creep in. Although such vocables are not always improvisatory in terms of spontaneity at the time of performance, they remain under that heading by virtue of being at one time composed by the performer.

The fourth level of the chart is in fact the main subject of the following two chapters in which I will describe and discuss the various categories into which diddling and canntaireachd can be split, but before passing on to this more detailed examination I will introduce here one more concept which is crucial to the understanding of vocabelising as found in Scotland. This is the difference between what I have termed "imitative" and "associative" vocables. The former are found mostly but not exclusively among pipe-oriented performers, who may say in so many words that their singing is imitating the sound of the bagpipes:

...there isn't the same similarity to the sound that comes out of a pipe chanter. But I think Gaelic speakers have it much closer, a closer resemblance to the actual sound.

SA 1976/26 Neil Angus MacDonald of Barra: gaelic-speaking piper. Fieldworker: Dr. Emily Lyle (25)

I'm canterin' the same as the pipes plays it.

SA 1956/199 Maggie Stewart: traveller and non-piper
Fieldworker: Hamish Henderson

...the way I diddle is influenced very strongly by the Scottish bagpipe... ...and if you listen to the way the chanter is played, and to the sound of my diddling, you'll hear it when it's played. ...if you listen to the tune played on the chanter, you'll find that the notes and the mouth sounds are very, very similar.

SA 1977/3 Stanley Robertson: traveller piper and ballad singer.

I would think that most pipers would know...certainly the birl and know what you mean when you say a doubling, I mean, they're so near the movement itself, you couldn't but know. To any piper...it's so very obvious what

25. All quotes from informants will be given in this format: School of Scottish Studies Sound Archive number, followed by the name and a brief description of the informant, and the name of the fieldworker. Where no fieldworker is cited the recording is my own.

you're doing.

SA 1978/32 Ruairi Somers: Scottish Highland and Irish Uilleann pipes.

I would tend to keep it more to what I think it sounds like on the chanter: [ho bio hŋ] (26)

SA 1977/168 Donald Morrison: gaelic-speaking piper from South Uist, playing pibroch & ceòl beag.

And, finally, an endorsement from a literary source:

...the method [i.e. canntaireachd] might be described as onomatopoeic, and consequently the vocables are intended to convey to the hearers the sound that the combination of notes and grace notes makes when played on the chanter.²⁷

Associative vocables, on the other hand, have assigned meaning; assigned either by tradition and convention (in which case many musicians will recognise and correctly interpret the sound) or by the individual (in which case the vocables may have meaning only for the musician and perhaps his immediate musical circle.) These associative vocables are a more prevalent feature of pipe-oriented vocabelising than of diddling, but the two forms are by no means mutually exclusive: in some cases a vocable comes to be commonly associated with a certain embellishment because it is so clearly onomatopoetic. An example is the low "birl" or trill, which is widely represented by the voiced alveolar trill [r]. Occasionally a piper will say that a vocable is imitative (indigenous evaluation) when analysis seems to indicate that it is actually associative (analytic evaluation) because he has connected the vocable with the specific musical detail for so long that he can no longer divorce the two in his mind. This blending process is in itself of great interest, and is discussed in further detail in Chapter II:2.3.

The distinction between imitative and associative vocables is useful because a musician's concept of his vocabelising will often give clues to his musical background as well as his ideas of

26. All phonetic transcriptions follow The Principles of the International Phonetic Association, London (1949). Unless otherwise stated examples in the text are from the author's speech, that is, east-coast American.

27. G.F. Ross, Some Piobaireachd Studies, Glasgow (1926)8

what vocabelising in specific and music in general exist for. For example: a piper who feels that his vocables are largely associative (though he would not, of course, express it in such terms) is likely to have had fairly extensive formal training of some kind, and to feel that canntaireachd is a medium for teaching, conveying tunes to another piper rather than a medium for performance. And on a more practical level, being able to quickly formulate an educated guess as to an informant's background and probable musical concepts helps the fieldworker to generate the useful and informative rather than the irrelevant and directionless question.

CHAPTER I: Definition and Description of Categories

1. Introduction

1.1 The dangers inherent in categorising.

At the very beginning of my research it became apparent that the wealth of styles of vocabelising in Scotland could not be accounted for merely by regional or idiosyncratic variations. Gradually, after listening to a variety of performances, categories began to emerge from what had previously been merely a jumble of sound. After a while I was able to distinguish individual personal styles within what could be called group styles, or categories, and eventually I could reverse the process and predict that a performer who sang in such and such a fashion probably belonged to a certain category. In fact this can to a large extent be done by examining the content of the performer's vocable inventory, so that categories, slightly broader than those I will outline below, could be fairly accurately devised based purely on which vocables a performer used. There are two dangers adherent to this method, however, for which reason I rejected it. The first is that for some informants there simply was not enough data to ensure that their entire vocable repertory was represented. The second danger lay in the over-rigorous classification of a highly amorphous musical phenomenon. As Mantle Hood points out:

No faculty is more important to the ethnomusicologist than his ability to hear without prejudice. (1)

Once the researcher has tucked an item neatly into a category, especially a category of his own devising, it is all too easy to cease to listen to it objectively enough to decide that it doesn't really fit, or that the category needs re-defining. Another danger lies in attempting to make the categories too distinct, and in failing to recognise the degree of overlapping and blending of one into another. Take, for example, the two categories "cantering" (a term borrowed from the travellers and here intended to mean singing vocables in a fashion imitative of pipers), and "individual canntaireachd" (a piper's individual and largely associative system

1. The Ethnomusicologist, New York (1971) 34

of representing his music in vocables). If we place each at one end of a line, and ask each informant to draw a dividing line between the two, each would place it slightly to the left or right of the previous informant. Given a sufficient quantity of opinions the process could continue to an infinity of points. Yet the fact remains that each informant will insist that there is a difference, and since the distinction is important to them (as can be understood from the following quotes) it is important to include this opinion in the devising of categories.

...well, what some pipers mistakenly refer to as canntaireachd isn't necessarily the Nether Lorn [a well known system] or something else, its just a sort of guttural shorthand for notes they've picked upon themselves, and some of them mistakenly call this canntaireachd.

And later in the same interview:

...again, I stress that this isn't true canntaireachd, but it's just a style of— any piper, if I was trying to get something across to him would know exactly what I was getting at...so in a way, I suppose, it serves the same purpose.

SA 1977/166 John Stewart: piper (pibroch and ceòl beag).

A non-piping traveller comments on the same theme:

...anyone that knows about it would feel the difference if they would hear people diddling and if they would hear someone canterin' they would feel the difference themselves, anyone that had an ear for the music of the pipes.

SA 1952/43 Betsy White:traveller, singer, story-teller.
Fieldworker: Hamish Henderson.

Although in each case it is clear that there is a distinction in the informant's mind between two (or more) types of vocabelising, it would be pointless and probably counter-productive to press for further definitions, which should rather be extracted from an analysis of the musical examples. In such cases where difficulties arose I compromised by simply stating, or in the chart attempting to represent graphically, where these grey or hazy areas occur.

1.2 The indigenous evaluation.

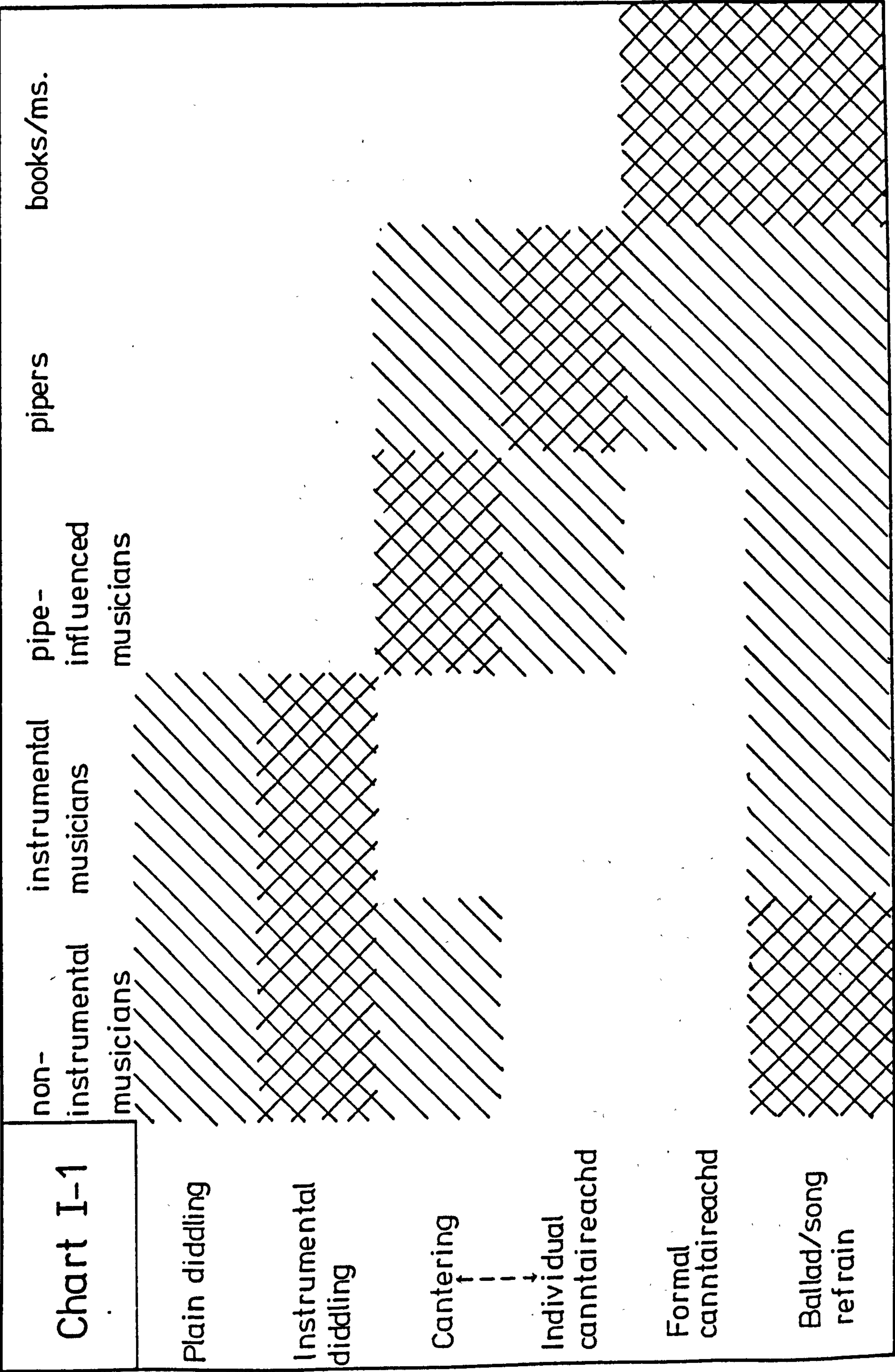
As mentioned above, these categories seemed to emerge from the musical raw material examined, however they are also based on informants' opinions and, as far as possible when no one person was familiar with them all, are divisions and definitions acceptable to the people performing the music. In the following chart (I-1) the categories of vocabelising are listed on the vertical axis while the groups of musicians are listed on the horizontal axis. As far as possible the vertical axis is arranged so that the least systematic, or most improvisatory types of vocabelising are at the top, the most systematic or static kinds at the bottom.

As the musician's categories are fairly obvious I will discuss them briefly first. "Non-instrumental musicians" covers not only those musicians whose vocabelising has no instrumental connection whatever, but also musicians who, although not instrumental performers themselves, are heavily influenced by a relative or friend's performance on the instrument (and probably by his vocabelising as well). "Instrumental musicians" in this context means all such musicians except pipers, who are covered in the next two categories. For my purposes here, a traditional piper is one whose musical training has emphasised canntaireachd in that he was mostly if not entirely taught by vocabelising, and considers written music to be merely a reference (and a poor one at that.) Non-traditional pipers are those who have learned in the main from staff notation and who, though they may have picked up some canntaireachd from their teacher or from other pipers, were not formally taught by it. There are also pipers whose background falls somewhere between these two just described. The last category is self-explanatory, but does include manuscripts as well as published works.

2. Definitions and descriptions.

2.1 Plain diddling.

I have defined plain diddling as singing with a selection of vocables which do not represent any specific musical instrument or genre. The inventory of "accepted" sounds² is of medium size,
2. See Chapter III:2



however individual vocable repertoires are often small and repetitive. (An individual's vocable repertory is large or small depending not only on how many sounds are available to him for composing vocables, but also on social context, tempo of the piece performed as well as on personal taste.) Most often plain diddling is used by non-instrumental musicians (or occasionally, multi-instrumentalists) for performing dance tunes and sometimes song melodies; or by children. It is also commonly found in lullabies and children's game songs, and sometimes interspersed with the lexical portions of puirt-a-beul and lowland mouth music. It is probably used more often as a performance medium than as a tool for teaching and tune swapping. Of all the forms of vocabelising, plain diddling is the most similar to the vocables found in Scots song refrains, probably because it is not instrumentally linked or influenced. For the same reason it is usually rhythmically and melodically the least complex of the various forms of vocabelising since the musician is not attempting to portray complicated ornaments (as when representing pipe music) or bow changes and slurs (as in fiddle music). Examples 1a. through 1d. on the tape accompanying this thesis are of plain diddling. The transcriptions of music and vocables can be found in Appendix 2.

2.2 Instrumental diddling.

That is, representing in vocables a tune as it would be played on an instrument other than the bagpipe. The inventory of "accepted" sounds is rather similar to that of plain diddling, however an individual's vocable repertory and his style of using it are sometimes dissimilar to plain diddling as the musician is attempting to portray a given instrumental style.

...a fiddler, because he's acquainted with the sound of his bow hitting the strings, he has to try and imitate, to get his voice to imitate the fiddle...from the voice there you get the effect of the bowings.

SA 1977/1 Tom Anderson: Shetland fiddler & folklorist.

Well, my brother-in-law, he diddles. And when he diddles he sounds just like the fiddle...I suppose it's the instrument that's influenced you most.

SA 1977/3 Stanley Robertson.

It is clear from these, and from similar remarks that the musicians in question are consciously attempting to imitate the style of an instrument (and in some cases the actual timbre of the instrument as well). In plain diddling this is not the case, and the resulting difference in style is usually plainly discernable. The repertory of music performed in instrumental diddling is in general the same as that for plain diddling: dance music (i.e. jigs, reels, marches, strathspeys) as well as slow airs and song tunes. In effect, any tune that a musician would perform on his instrument he would probably diddle.

Though differences in style within the category are obviously linked to differences between the various instrumental styles which have evolved in Scotland, one of the points of my research has been to establish how far there is a common repertory of associative, imitative and neutral (i.e. euphonic but not linked to any specific musical feature) vocables among instrumentalists from different musical backgrounds and with different playing styles. This is discussed in depth in Chapter III, however in brief it seems that there exist a far greater number of shared or commonly known imitative and neutral vocables than expected by myself or indicated by my informants. As far as the neutral vocables are concerned this is at least in part because the inventory of acceptable sounds and ways of combining them into vocables are somewhat limited, and thus the resulting vocables tend to be fairly similar. In general the imitative vocables are more idiosyncratic, but usually are easily recognised by other musicians as portraying a certain style or embellishment.

Instrumental diddling is used largely for teaching and more general musical communication, and in fact one informant at least felt strongly that it ought not to be a performance medium:

...this is a criticism I have of "professional" diddling [i.e. diddling heard in competitions at current-day folk festivals] that it should be done as you've heard it, that's what the music's inside of you...

...if you start mixing it up by using fancy syllables,

well, it may sound like a sort of comic song or something to amuse children, but it isn't of any value for teaching...you can't get the idea of the bowing.

SA 1977/1 Tom Anderson

Items 2a through 2c on the tape are illustrations of instrumental diddling.

2.3 Canterring

I have defined the term "canterring" as singing with a selection of vocables, some of which have drifted in from individual and formal canntaireachd, representative, either by imitation or association, of highland bagpipe music. The derivation of the term is unknown, though it seems not unlikely that it is a corruption of the gaelic word canntaireachd. The Scottish National Dictionary defines "canterring" as: "to make music with the mouth for dancing when a musical instrument is not available" and illustrates its use in context with the quote:

Come away mistress, canter for us. The lads and lasses are wearyin' for a dance and they say you're a gran' hand at canterin. (3)

Among present day travellers in Scotland the term is used to denote vocabelising connected to the pipes.

HH What's diddling lass, tell us.

BW Well, there's an awful difference between pipe music and diddling. The real pipe music comes from canterin' not diddling. Some people think that if they can diddle a tune that it's really pipe music, but it isn't really because the real music comes from the canterin'.

SA 1952/43 Betsy White. Fieldworker: Hamish Henderson.

HH What's the difference between canterring and diddling, tell us?

MS Oh, well, ye see, that's the same as the pipes.

HH Aye.

MS I'm canterin' it the same as the pipes plays it.

SA 1956/199 Maggie Stewart: traveller, singer, non-piper.
Fieldworker: Hamish Henderson.

3 Information received from L. McInnes of Argyll, 1939.

For my purposes I have expanded the term to include both non-pipers and pipers singing in vocables intended to represent the music of the bagpipes. The inventory of "accepted" sounds is considerably larger than that for plain or instrumental diddling, and individual vocable repertoires tend also to be bigger, hence more varied. There are also a number of widespread and commonly accepted vocable "words" and even vocable "phrases". (See Chapter III:3). The repertory of music performed overlaps that of plain and instrumental diddling to quite an extent, however the bagpipe's limited range (an octave plus one note) excludes a number of pieces from performance on it, while the characteristic scale (roughly A major with a flattened seventh degree) tends to set any pipe setting of a tune apart from any other instrumental rendition, whether played or sung. There is also a sub-section of tunes specifically or originally composed for the pipes, and acknowledged as such by other instrumental musicians when they perform them.

The problem with the category of cantering is that it blends almost imperceptibly into the next category, which I have labelled "individual canntaireachd". That there is a need for two categories is made plain by various informants' statements similar to that of Pipe-Major John Stewart's (see p.16) to the effect that pipers have "...a guttural shorthand for notes they've picked up themselves...some of them mistakenly call this canntaireachd." Later in the same interview he added:

A lot of these diddlers, you usually get them in the tinker class...they may not be pipers themselves, but they're hearing...the same sort of note-syllables, as it were, and they're putting them into their own form of diddling...but certainly not canntaireachd...there's no name for it really, it's just something that you grow up with in piping.

SA 1977/199 John Stewart

Although the extremes of both categories are fairly easy to discern (listen to examples 3a through c and 4a through g on the sample tape), a grey or hazy area appears when one considers the traditionally trained piper who plays both piobaireachd (commonly

anglicised as 'pibroch'⁴) as well as ceòl beag. The techniques evolved to overcome the difficulties inherent in singing jigs and reels and other dance tunes must of necessity be somewhat different from the techniques designed to represent the stately tempo and elaborate ornamentation of pibroch. But at the same time, many of the vocables used by an individual in his singing of pibroch drift into his performance of ceòl beag as well, as in many cases the vocables denote specific ornaments and grace notes which are used in both types of music. In such cases as these it is often difficult to draw a line of demarcation between what is cantering and what is individual canntaireachd, however since my informants did differentiate between the two I felt it was important to arrive at some criteria for distinguishing one from the other.

One viable distinction can be drawn by referring back to the concept of imitative and associative vocables. While both categories make use of both kinds of vocables, cantering relies more heavily on the former, while in individual canntaireachd emphasis is placed more upon the latter. A second method of discerning one from the other is by noting the degree of accuracy with which ornaments and grace notes are placed in the vocabellising by the singer, i.e. by determining whether or not a singer realises that certain vocables are associative and uses them as such, or simply uses them to imitate the sounds pipers make. A quote from Pipe-Major Donald Morrison of South Uist illustrates this point clearly.

You could distinguish between the good piper and somebody who wasn't a piper diddling the tune...the piper puts more detail into the little embellishments...

...it's just the little items like maybe taorluath⁵ movements...and stuff like that...a piper puts in more

4. In his paper "Ceòl Mòr:[sic] Its Structure and Definitive Terms", Celtic Review I(1904)149-60, C. Bannatyne claims that the anglicisation 'pibroch' was coined by Sir Walter Scott. The gaelic term ceòl mòr (literally, "great music") also refers to this genre.

5. The words taorluath and doubling both refer to pre-structured pipe ornaments.

detail, and the embellishments are put in the correct place...where a non-piper would maybe just throw in doublings (5) and taorluaths at random.

SA 1977/168 Donald Morrison

In fact, it is not necessarily true that non-pipers will not be able to sing as 'accurately' or place associative vocables as correctly as pipers can themselves. There are instances of women who were as conversant with the genre of pibroch as the pipers who performed it, and who would sit at competitions following the music in a manuscript, or mouthing the canntaireachd. An anecdote of the famous traveller singer Jeannie Robertson provides another illustration of this point. Tom Anderson relates that once, when she was listening to her brother-in-law playing the pipes and he made a mistake:

...she got onto him, she says "You're not playing that correctly, I'll sing it for you." And she sang the tune, with all the graces. ...she says, "No, I don't think you're right. Tom, don't take it down like that. I'll tell you, I'll sing it for you."

SA 1977/2 Tom Anderson

A third method of deciding whether an item is cantered or sung in individual canntaireachd is by examining the use intended for and the context of each musical item. Cantering is very much a performance genre, especially among the travellers. It might appear as a contribution at a ceilidh (informal gathering where each person present took a turn entertaining everyone else) or for dancers to perform to; in such an instance it would be the entertainment function which was important. Injecting life into a ceilidh or providing "lift" for the dancers becomes far more relevant than achieving a one-to-one correspondence of vocables and ornaments. Individual canntaireachd, on the other hand, is very often a teaching tool, or a method of conveying a correction or point of style, as illustrated in the anecdote above. In such instances it is specifically the small details, the ornaments and grace notes or a place to hold a note or cut it short, which are vital and need to be carefully described in vocables. The use here is as musical shorthand, the function is direct musical

communication, and entertainment value can be discarded.

Examples of cantering can be heard in items 3a through c on the sample tape.

2.4 Individual canntaireachd.

As described above, this is a method of representing ceol mór and ceol beag in vocables, and is used by traditional pipers and by non-pipers who are exposed to or influenced by piping tradition. It is not usually a performance medium but rather a teaching tool or a means of communicating technical musical details. The range of acceptable sounds is large and widely shared as well; a piper's vocable inventory may be based partly on common elements from well known systems of formal canntaireachd and partly on vocables evolved by the piper himself and picked up from his tutor. Some pipers are aware of this interpolation of idiosyncratic vocables:

I daresay there's quite a few of Bob Nicol's [his tutor's] words in there, as well, you just take a smattering off everyone, really.

SA 1977/166 John Stewart

BB Actually, what you, you can make up a canntaireachd to suit yourself.

RL Every piper does—

BB Every piper does.

SA 1953/256 Pipe-Major Robert Brown: a royal piper, taught by the illustrious John MacDonald of Inverness. He learned the bulk of his pibroch through canntaireachd. Fieldworker: Robin Lorrimer.

I'm sure Bob Nicol would have sort of made up his own canntaireachd, I think everybody does.

I don't think it matters two hoots what your interpretation here, vocables is as long as you've got the right phrasing, that's the thing.

SA 1977/168 Donald Morrison.

KC But you were saying that it doesn't really matter what the sounds are as long as the musical expression is in the singing?

BN That's it.

SA 1977/164 Pipe-Major Bob Nicol: a royal piper, and lifelong friend of Bob Brown. They had virtually identical tuition from John MacDonald.

In his book Puirt-a-Beul: Mouth Tunes (Oban, 1901) Keith Norman MacDonald also refers to this concept:

...the system was evidently based on the composer's conception of the sounds of the notes, which accounts for the different words having been used by different pipers. No two individuals would retain in the memory the same conception of the sounds of the music, but by observing a certain rhythm in their compositions it can readily be understood how it was possible for one piper to read the composition of another... (pp50-51)

In fact the latter statement does not seem to be true, according to various traditional pipers who claim that even someone familiar with the genre of pibroch is unable to interpret any canntaireachd without a teacher to hand down the traditional manner in which it was played and interpreted, and indicate by his singing the duration of notes and the phrasing.

So far I have given only thumbnail definitions of pibroch and of canntaireachd, and as they are unfamiliar terms even to many Scottish musicians I will digress briefly here and describe them at greater length.

Piobaireachd or pibroch (literally, "piping") is today synonymous with ceol mór, the "great music" of the Highland bagpipe. The structure of pibroch is that of a theme or urlar (meaning "floor" or "ground") followed by variations built on notes selected by the composer from the urlar. There are quite a number of possible variations but they are all pre-structured: that is, the composer must apply specific variation techniques to his melody. The earlier variations generally isolate notes from the ground which will be used throughout the set of variations, while the later ones involve the interpolation of increasingly complex chains of grace notes between the theme notes. To compensate for both the rigidly prescribed structure and the lack of dynamic contrast inherent in the construction of the bagpipe, pipers play with a flexible pulse, and make subtle accents by lengthening or shortening certain notes,

and punctuate the phrases with grace notes. As early as 1760 Joseph MacDonald was cognisant of this problem, and suggested the solution:

...for as the Pipe is one continued uniform sound; a Semibreve or any such long Note, cannot be swelled but by an additional strength of wind, which must occasion a very screaming and rude noise; besides it's being contrary to the nature of the instrument, as when the pipe is well blown, it is with the greatest uniformity, and the Reeds have as much as they are well able to bear. When such a slow Note cannot be swelled it has not other recourse but to the execution of the Fingers; which, by any shake or Cutting must be awkwardly performed; and...the small compass of a Bagpipe will not admit of any Flourish of Compass to supply the place of a Swell; therefore as all must be diversified by artfull and curious Cuttings, which constitute the principal beauty and singularity of true Bagpipe music, all long Notes are excluded; as Semibreves, Breves & etc... (6)

The main types of pibrochs are Gatherings, Salutes and Laments, composed in the past by pipers retained under a patronage system by clan chieftains. Often they commemorate an historic event (e.g. The Massacre of Glencoe), an expression of personal emotion, whether joy or sorrow (e.g. I Got a Kiss of the King's Hand, Lament for the Children) or are simply in praise of or in tribute to the patron (e.g. MacLeod of Raasay's Salute). There are also nameless and storyless pibrochs, but they are a minority and it is usually assumed that the name or story has been lost. The possession of a proud and ancient musical (and martial) heritage is of considerable importance to traditional pipers, and although there is little doubt that some of the legends of compositions of pibrochs are largely apocryphal, their existence is nonetheless musically important as many pibroch players feel that it is impossible to do justice to a tune without knowing the story behind it.

...today the tendency is...to play all Piobaireachd as Laments. The player should first form his estimate of what a tune is meant to be and render it accordingly. He should therefore study the historical side of Piobaireachd. (7)

6. Joseph MacDonald, A Compleat Theory of the Scots Highland Bagpipe Inverness (written 1760, published 1803)¹⁷
7. G.F. Ross, A Collection of MacCrimmon and Other Canntaireachd Glasgow (1929)¹

Canntaireachd can be described as an extremely complex solmisation system in which each note of the bagpipe scale has a vowel sound assigned to it (and, in the lowest two notes, a nasal stop to arrest the vowel). Unlike Western sol-fa, the system is designed so that a consonant preceding the vowel may change, indicating a grace note or cluster of grace notes of specific pitches and rhythmic pattern. The complex ornaments composed of chains of grace notes appearing in the later variations are represented by vocable "words", which are preceded by the theme note vocable. As written notation canntaireachd has one large shortcoming in that it cannot indicate note duration. Because of this, traditional pipers insist that it is of the utmost importance to learn pibroch by hearing the canntaireachd sung so that a "proper", traditional interpretation is conveyed to the pupil.

Although I have been describing canntaireachd as if it were perfectly structured and systematic, it is seldom if ever found that way outside the pages of a book. When it is actually sung there is less need to remember which vowel indicates the pitch 'a' or 'c sharp' because the singer's voice is presenting the pitch to the ear; associating the vowel with the pitch is virtually redundant. The middle step is only necessary when the piper looks at vocables written down; when the brain must translate, for example, the sound "hum" into 'low g natural'. Confusion about which grace note or ornament is meant by a vocable is usually prevented by the habit, ubiquitous among pipers, of holding the practice chanter in their hands and fingering it silently while singing.

I do remember specifically him having the chanter in his hands alot of the time, so that if there was any confusion in sounds he'd be moving his hands on the chanter, he'd never physically leave the chanter out of his hands so that he could afford to have a little bit of confusion in his sounds because he'd right them by moving...his little finger on the chanter. And i'd be always looking at his fingers on the chanter anyway.

SA 1978/32 Ruairí Somers.

To summarise: in the singing of individual canntaireachd, whether for pibroch or for ceòl beag, the melody of the piece is conveyed by the performer's voice, while the vocables indicate the placement

of the ornaments. The teacher's fingers on the chanter clarify exactly which grace note or ornament is intended if there is any confusion, while the overall fact that the music is being sung, not played, allows the teacher to use the extra tools of pauses and dynamic accent to illustrate the structure, phrasing, and general interpretation he wishes to convey. (Examples 4a through 4g on the sample tape give a selection of individual canntaireachds for both ceòl mór and ceòl beag.)

2.5 Formal canntaireachd.

By the term formal canntaireachd I mean the systematic representation of ceòl mór in written vocable notation, i.e. in vocables with consistent assigned or associative meaning. Depending on the individual actually committing the sounds to paper, the intended goal may have been to preserve the melodies of pibroch using canntaireachd as notation, or it may have been intended as a mnemonic device, totally comprehensible and of use only to the author. There were purported to be at least three systems of canntaireachd extant during the mid-17th century; the MacCrimmon, the MacArthur and the Campbell or Nether Lorn, although only the latter is in use today. Each of these systems is associated in piping lore with a famous piping family, or with one of the so called "colleges" which flourished at the time. I will digress briefly here and describe these at some length since it is impossible to understand all that pibroch and canntaireachd can symbolise to a piper without some knowledge of their historical context.

Stories of the 17th and 18th century piping "colleges" in the Highlands provide the background for much of the oral history and many of the legends prevalent among pipers. The best known of these "colleges" was that of the MacCrimmons in Skye, said to have been situated at Boreraig, a farm about eight miles north of Dunvegan Castle, the hereditary seat of the MacLeods of Skye.⁸ As pipers to the MacLeods the MacCrimmons became sufficiently famous that other clan chieftains began to send promising young pipers to them to be trained. Exactly when the school was begun

8. Angus MacKay, A Collection of Ancient Piobaireachd..., Aberdeen (1838)¹

is unknown: one researcher states that Alasdair (Crotach) MacLeod (ob. 1547) "settled the MacCrimmons at Boreraig and Galtrigal and founded their college of piping,"⁹ thereby circumventing the problem of which farm was originally the premises of the college. Although the college was traditionally supposed to have been at Boreraig, there is evidence that in 1664 the farm was held by a John MacLeod, whereas Patrick MacCrimmon was at that time holding Galtrigal,¹⁰ so it seems not unlikely that the college began on the one farm and later moved to the other. The family of MacCrimmon was said to hold the property free of feudal taxes for as long as one MacCrimmon "was suitably trained to become hereditary piper to MacLeod."¹¹ An early travelogue mentions a similar arrangement with Sir Alexander MacDonald of Skye's piper, whom the author heard during his visit in 1772:

Take repaft at the houfe of Sir Alexander MacDonald's piper, who, according to ancient custom, by virtue of his office, holds his lands free... (12)

The course or duration of apprenticeship at the MacCrimmon "college" is most frequently given as seven years, though Angus MacKay suggested as many as eleven years in the case of an especially proficient and valued pupil.¹³ One tradition reports that the pupils were expected to memorise upwards of three hundred tunes,¹⁴ though how far this may or may not have been exaggerated by the passage of time and the expansion of the MacCrimmon legend it is impossible to know.

If we accept that the school was well established by the early to middle sixteen hundreds, it would seem then to have flourished for nearly two centuries for it was not until 1770 that Iain Dubh MacCrimmon, then hereditary piper to MacLeod, quarreled with his master and "either resigned, or was deprived of recognition."¹⁵ He

9. I.F. Grant, The Clan MacLeod, Edinburgh (1953)15

10. A. Campbell, The Kilberry Book of Ceol Mor, Glasgow (1948)9

11. G.C.B. Poulter & C.P. Fisher, The MacCrimmon Family:1740-1936, Camberley (1936)8

12. Thomas Pennant, A Voyage to the Hebrides I (2nd edition), London, (1776)347

13. Angus MacKay, op. cit. 6

14. Poulter & Fisher, op. cit. 9

15. A. Campbell, op. cit. 9

was briefly succeeded by his brother, Donald Ruadh, but in both instances their possession of the title seems to have been somewhat nominal since "after 1746 the office of hereditary piper meant little or nothing."¹⁶ Their father, Malcolm MacCrimmon, who succeeded to the office in 1736,¹⁷ was perhaps the last of the line to be musically endowed as generously as his forebears, but the influence of the family has reached down to the present day, and could even be called the rock upon which Scottish piping is founded. At least one piper has given the members of this somewhat elitist tradition the tongue-in-cheek label of "apostolic" pipers.¹⁸

A reference in Thomas Pennant's travelogue seems to imply that there were actually two "colleges" extant in Skye, though he does not indicate if they were associated or linked together:

In feudal times the Mac-Donalds had in this ifland a college of pipers; and the MacLeods had the like; thefe had regular appointments in land, & received pupils from all the neighbouring chieftains. The Mac-Karters were chief pipers to the firft; the Mac-Krummens to the laft. (19)

Charles MacArthur was sent by his patron, Sir Alexander MacDonald, to be educated at Boreraig²⁰, and many stories are told and written of his sojourn there, and of his subsequent return.²¹ He is said to have established a "college" at Hungerlater in Skye,²² perhaps the one referred to above.

Another famous piping family were the MacKays, hereditary pipers to the MacKenzies of Gairloch.²³ The second in succession, Iain Dall MacKay, was sent to Boreraig to study under Padruig Og MacCrimmon, where he so excelled that he "was said by the best judges to have no equal but his teachers."²⁴ Iain Dall was famous

16. ibid. 9

17. ibid.

18. Attributed by Neville MacKay to Pipe-Major John MacDonald of Inverness.

19. Thomas Pennant, op. cit. 347

20. Angus MacKay, op. cit. 5

21. An early telling of these stories is found in Angus MacKay.

22. William MacLean, MS in School of Scottish Studies MS Library, (1910)

23. Angus MacKay, op. cit. 6

24. ibid.

not only for his piping, but was known as a poet, singer, and a composer of both songs and piobaireachd.²⁵ It has been suggested that there might have been a "college" at Gairloch,²⁶ but early sources make no reference to one.

Other famous piping families who studied under the MacCrimmons include the MacIntyres, pipers to Menzies of Menzies in Rannoch, and the Campbells, pipers to Campbells of Mochester in Argyllshire, both of whom sent young pipers to study under Padruig og MacCrimmon.²⁷ Yet another hereditary piping family was remarked upon by Dr. Samuel Johnson during his travels in the Hebrides in 1773 when he visited the MacLeans of Coll:

The bagpiper played regularly, when dinner was served, whose person and dress made a good appearance; and he brought no disgrace upon the family of Rankin, which has long supplied the lairds of Col with hereditary Musick. (28)

The invention of canntaireachd is most frequently attributed to one of the early MacCrimmons,²⁹ although they never laid claim to it themselves, and it seems more likely that some form of pipe-oriented vocabelising has co-existed with the bagpipes as long as they have been known and played in Scotland. One somewhat implausible theory states that the MacCrimmon canntaireachd came from Italy from Guido D'Arezzo, another that it was perfected by Padruig Mor MacCrimmon on his return from that country in the mid 17th century.³⁰

Although Fred. T. MacLeod claims that the MacCrimmon canntaireachd was the only one known among pipers until the late 18th century,³¹ it seems more likely that, as mentioned before, at least two other systems were in existence by then; the MacArthur canntaireachd and the Campbell, or Nether Lorn. At the Highland

25. ibid.

26. Manson, op. cit.

27. MacKay, op. cit. 8

28. Dr. S. Johnson, A Journey to the Western Isles (1773), editor R. Chapman (Oxford University Press) 1924, 116.

29. F.T. MacLeod, The MacCrimmons of Skye Edinburgh, (1933) 68

30. Poulter & Fisher, op. cit. 10

31. F.T. MacLeod, op. cit. 68

Society Piping Competition in 1816 John "Piper" Campbell of Nether Lorn brought forward three books of canntaireachd in manuscript³² for the judges' inspection. Although tradition has it that these mystified both judge and competitor alike,³³ the probability of canntaireachd being unknown to the latter is forthrightly dismissed by Archibald Campbell in his note appended to Angus MacKay's "Specimens of Canntaireachd."

Dalyell's statement on page nine of his Musical Memoirs of Scotland that the volume brought to the Edinburgh competition was utterly unintelligible may have been true as regards himself and his fellow committeemen, but was grossly improbable if meant to refer to the piper competitors. (34)

Two of these books were rediscovered in 1912³⁵ and are now in the Scottish National Library³⁶ but the third seems to be lost. Although John Piper's grandfather is said to have been tutored by Padruig og MacCrimmon³⁷ the Nether Lorn canntaireachd is quite distinct from the MacCrimmon canntaireachd published by Captain Neil MacLeod of Gesto in 1828.³⁸ Some fifty years later, when reviewing this latter publication, John Campbell of Islay (as distinct from the John "Piper" Campbell mentioned above, who was in fact John Campbell of Islay's "nurse") mentioned three separate systems of canntaireachd; the MacCrimmon as found in Capt. MacLeod's publication, the Campbell or Nether Lorn, books of which he had seen John "Piper" sitting with, reading and silently fingering the tunes, and the MacArthur canntaireachd, of which he claimed Capt. MacLeod owned a sample.³⁹ A second, unpublished manuscript containing historical information and pibroch was said to have been written by Capt. MacLeod, one copy of which was supposedly in the possession of Mr. Simon Fraser of Victoria, Australia, but was

32. J.P. Grant, "Canntaireachd", The Pipes of War, Glasgow (1920) 179-191

33. F.T. MacLeod, op. cit. 68

34. Archibald Campbell; a note appended to A. MacKay's "Specimens of Canntaireachd", Scottish National Library MS 3716 (1950)

35. J.P. Grant, op.cit.

36. Colin Campbell, Colin Campbell's Instrumental Book 1797, The first Volum Continuing sic 83 tunes (National Library of Scotland MS 3714) and Colin Campbell Second Volum Containing 86 Tunes (National Library of Scotland MS 3715)

37. MacLeod, op. cit.

accidentally destroyed, while another copy is thought to be extant in Canada.⁴⁰ Information about this missing manuscript is also found in J.D. Ross Watt, The Empire Book of Pipe Tunes and Tunes for the Pipe (London, 1936), along with samples of what Simon Fraser calls "old" and "new" MacCrimmon canntaireachd, which can also be seen in Some Piobaireachd Studies by G.F. Ross (Glasgow, 1926) and in Simon Fraser's manuscript in the National Library of Scotland. The folios containing canntaireachd (MS 9616 and MS 9617) give his staff notation and "corrected" canntaireachd of many of the tunes in Capt. MacLeod's book as well as several other pibrochs with some canntaireachd attached.

It is clear from the preceding paragraphs that early sources of written canntaireachd are few. Apart from those already mentioned (Colin Campbell's Instrumental Books 1 and 2 (1797), Capt. MacLeod's book of 20 tunes (1828) and the Simon Fraser manuscript) there exist two small fragments of canntaireachd in manuscript: Angus MacKay's "Specimens of Canntaireachd" (NLS MS 3743), which contains short excerpts from the grounds of several pibrochs, and "The Cameron Gathering in Syllables" (Edinburgh University Library Special Collections Dept., La. 11. 51, ff. 172-176) written down in 1815 by Capt. Neil MacLeod:

On the following ten pages, is a genuine sett of the Cameron's Gathering in syllables as taught by the MacCrimmons of Skye to their Pupils, as nearly as I can possibly write it from MacCrimmon's repeating it and first noted (without the syllables) to the Pianoforte by Miss Jean Campbell of Gesto and [?] copied and noted down more scientifically in my [presence? hearing?] by Alex. Campbell, Editor of Albyn's Anthologie.

Neil MacLeod, J.N. (Capt. $\frac{1}{2}$ pay)

Although the actual vocables of these various canntaireachds differ, the repertory of letters used to represent the sounds is highly similar. Thus for releasing consonants (consonants which may

38. Capt. Neil MacLeod, A Collection of Twenty Piobaireachd... Edinburgh (1828)

39. John Campbell, Canntaireachd: Articulate Music, Glasgow (1880)⁴

40. Poulter & Fisher, op. cit. 6-8

begin a vocable) all the works referred to use: h, d, t, b, v, dr, tr, r, ch, l and n. Arresting consonants (consonants found at the end of a vocable) are m and n, and either d or t (phonetically only distinguished by the presence or lack of voicing.) The vowels, however, present more of a problem. Not only are they less consistent, but it is virtually impossible to know exactly what sound was intended by the writer since even native Gaels, confronted by vocables unfamiliar to them (i.e. not learned or known in the context of a song absorbed from oral tradition) are reluctant to commit themselves to any definite pronunciation. And, as a Gaelic-speaking informant from South Uist pointed out, even the orthography of the consonants may present difficulties for the unwary monoglot English speaker, since the symbol "ch" is liable to be interpreted by such a person as /tʃ/, as in church, whereas the Gaelic speaker will interpret it as /x/, the voiceless velar fricative heard in Scots pronunciation of loch.

Since 1925 the Piobaireachd Society have published thirteen collections of pibrochs, using both staff notation and the Nether Lorn system of canntaireachd. The earliest published article on the subject of canntaireachd appears to be John Campbell of Islay's, (1880)⁴¹ which contains a great deal of valuable information and an interesting discussion of the onomatopoeic possibilities of vowels and consonants in canntaireachd:

...consonants do express sudden endings and runs, and such like incidents in music... (42)

Unfortunately the article is inevitably lacking in detail as the author was not himself a piper. Probably the first fairly accurate comparison of the different systems of canntaireachd is J.P. Grant's article "Canntaireachd—The Old Piper's Notation for Pibroch Music"⁴³ which contains a clear discussion of how canntaireachd is structured, plus a table comparing what is known of the various kinds. More recently, Francis Collinson includes

41. John Campbell, op. cit.

42. ibid. 15

43. Music and Letters VI 1 (1925)54-63

a discussion of the historical aspects and present day uses of canntaireachd in The National and Traditional Music of Scotland, London, (1966)189-195.

2.6 Vocable Refrains.

These are arrangements of pre-composed vocables appearing regularly between the lines or verses of the narrative body of a song. They appear in both Scots and Gaelic song; in lullabies, ballads, game songs, work songs, humorous and bawdy songs, and others. Although the structural rules governing the composition of sounds into vocables and vocables into phrases are similar for both improvisatory vocabelising (i.e. diddling and canntairsachd) and "jelled" vocables (i.e. vocable refrains), the inventory of sounds used and the parameters influencing the selection and arrangement of vocables into phrases differ noticeably: see Chapters III and IV. The fact that improvisatory vocabelising is almost exclusively linked to an instrumental tradition while vocable refrains are invariably associated with a song tradition indicates that there may be differences between the two in use and function: these will be discussed in Chapters II and V. For specimens of refrains in Scots and Gaelic song, listen to examples six and seven on the tape accompanying this thesis.

Chapter II: The Uses of Vocabellising in Context

1. Introduction and discussion of Chart II-1.

Although for the purposes of analysis it is possible to divorce a category of vocabellising from the context in which it is found and the uses to which it is put, it should be born in mind that this is an artificial and academic distinction. This is not to say that the categories described in Chapter I are not valid, but rather that it is impossible to understand vocabellising in Scotland without considering use and context simultaneously with a category. In the following chart the six categories of vocabellising defined in the first chapter are listed on the vertical axis, while eight separate uses of vocabellising are listed on the horizontal axis. As with the previous chart, the cross-hatching is intended to show the degree of overlapping and blending of one category into another, while the double cross-hatching indicates a particularly heavy use, i.e. can be interpreted as "is most often used for—."

If it were possible this chart should be three dimensional so as to include information about context. For example, the only instance of cantering used as a lullaby noted so far is among the travellers, i.e. in a rather specialised context, so that to fill in that space is slightly misleading. To leave it blank, on the other hand, is equally inaccurate. Information about context is therefore included throughout the following discussion and should help to clear up any misconceptions.

2. Uses of vocabellising.

2.1 Pedagogic uses.

One of the most important and probably the most widespread uses of non-lexical vocables throughout the world, as well as specifically in Scotland, is for teaching. By teaching I mean to indicate any situation where there is a pupil/teacher relationship of any degree of formality or informality; other methods of learning will be discussed below under "general musical communication" and "childrens' use of vocables."

Chart II-1	Teaching	Tune swapping	Mnemonic aid	Solo performance	Lullabies & game songs	Dancing	Musical experimentation	Notation
Plain diddling								
Instrumental diddling								
Cantering								
Individual canntaireachd								
Formal canntaireachd								
Vocable refrain								

There is a wide range of pedagogic uses of vocabelising. They may involve the correction of a mistake, or lack of an ornament in the appropriate bar:

But say...I'd run over a part on the practice chanter, and then he'd say, "You're not doing that right, it should be;" [fragment of vocabelising] ...it was just a shortcut for playing the tune as it should be played.

SA 1978/32 Ruairí Somers

...maybe it's something they're playing wrong [and informant diddles as a beginner would play, with hesitations and mistakes] and I'd say, "Oh, that's no use—" [then she sings the phrase correctly] They hear how it should be done.

SA 1977/162 Betsy Brown:sister of Bob Brown, and a piper of ceòl beag.

—or a more general correction of style or timing.

...the only way you can really teach style...if they don't get it off the fiddle, you can get 'em to sing it with you. Then they'll put it onto the fiddle.

SA 1977/1 Tom Anderson

...I think the beauty o' diddlin' is ye can get your bonnie timings, when you're teaching— That's what I done with this band, I used ti diddle all the tunes into them till they got the timing...

SA 1977/3 Stanley Robertson

A teacher may even perform an entire piece in order, as is particularly important with pibroch, to clarify the actual musical structure.

...and he sang all the tunes to us. Many's the tune I never even saw the music of it. (1)

SA 1953/256 PM Bob Nicol Fieldworker: Robin Lorrimer

Nicol and Brown, [the speaker's tutors] they sang everything, they always have done, this is the way they were taught, the traditional way they were taught.

SA 1977/166 PM John Stewart

One thing he always mentioned was that all the pibroch that he got from Calum MacPherson was from his lips and his

1. This is probably an idealised version of the actual situation.

fingers, never from a book.

SA 1955/128 D.A. MacKenzie: 'traditional' piper and player
of pibroch. Fieldworker: Calum MacLean

And after Willy and I went to bed at night, of course,
we went over the pibroch all in the canntaireachd. And
we had it in the morning. That's how we got on.

SA 1952/120 Angus MacPherson: 'traditional' piper, and son
of the famous Calumn "Piobaire" MacPherson.
Fieldworker: Calum MacLean

In 1880 Duncan Ross, an Argyll piper, described to
John Campbell of Islay how his tutor, John Ban MacKenzie, learned
piping from John MacKay of Raasay almost a hundred years ago:

MacKay used to turn his back on the pupils and play the tune.
MacKay's sister used to sit by the fire and dictate the
words of Canntaireachd and sing them as the piper played. (2)

He also described his own tuition in the same tradition:

Old John MacKenzie taught me that in Ross long ago; and
he learned it over the fire in the Isle of Skye. We
used to sit and listen to him, and learn what he said, and
sang, and learn to finger in this way. (3)

Outside the piping world vocables are traditionally if
somewhat vaguely associated with the handing on of piping
tradition:

...they way the old pipers used to learn afore they'd got
such a thing as music, [i.e. staff notation] the way they
learnt one another to play it this time was to sit 'n
diddle. it's like you taking up a book in shorthand—
They passed it from one another, mouth to mouth.

SA 1960/140 Ned Stewart: traveller, and non-piping musician.
Fieldworker: Kenneth Goldstein

...well, you see, the canntaireachd was used by pipers to
pass on tunes to each other...not only among the
traveller people... A lot of good pipers among every, among
piping classes, they couldnae read any music.

SA 1977/5 Duncan Williamson: traveller, ex-piper, singer,
storyteller.

- 2. John Campbell, Canntaireachd: Articulate Music, Glasgow (1880)33-34
3. ibid. 12

...because that was the way that the old people did teach, you see, they used to, when they couldn't play the tune they would sing it to the pupil. And you get that with the pipes, the canntaireachd, which is the same thing.

SA 1977/1 Tom Anderson

Among pipers themselves vocables are recognised as a teaching tool, as has been amply illustrated in the quotes from 'traditional' pipers above. In non-piping contexts, however, this is not necessarily the case, and the fact that most informants do not consciously consider vocabelising to be an aid in teaching has a profound effect on their attitudes towards it, and hence on the fieldworker's success in eliciting information from them on the subject. The consensus of opinion seemed to be that while pipers are known to use vocables in their own peculiar fashion to represent their music, vocables used in other contexts are assumed to be very much more random, and are often dismissed by an informant with a brief phrase.

HH Aye, now what'd diddling be then?

MS Oh, well—

HH That's just diddling o'er a tune?

MS Diddling o'er a tune, yes.

SA 1956/199 Maggie Stewart Fieldworker: Hamish Henderson

...it was jist a source o', for their ain amusement really—they werena diddling ti anyone in particular, jist fer their ain benefit, ti while away the time, I suppose.

SA 1977/2 Willie Fraser: an accomplished 'diddler' and winner of diddling competitions, also an ex-farm servant.

KC When do you think you learned to diddle?

BB Oh, my father could diddle fine.

KC Did he? And you just heard him—?

BB Oh yes, just heard him, I didnae know I could do it as well.
Oh yes, I think we all could.

SA 1977/162 Betsy Brown

PC Was there much of a tradition of nüdling?⁴

BT No...well, sure, nüdling...you would yen wi yer bairn, but never fer any organised way, jist a way o' expressin' the tune if ye didnae have an instrument, not fer any other reason.

— — — — —

4. Nüdling is a Shetland term for diddling.

SA 1977/111 Bobby Tulloch: Shetland musician and composer.
Fieldworker: Peter Cooke

What I intend to demonstrate here is that throughout the range of contexts in which various instrumentalists use vocables for teaching purposes, the manner in which the vocables are used is remarkably similar, despite the markedly dissimilar styles of vocabelising referred to in the quotes above. To illustrate this point I have listed a number of ways in which vocables can aid or enhance the teaching process, and then juxtaposed examples of canntaireachd and diddling (these being the broad genres which my informants found so dissimilar) being used in a teaching context to show that though the vocables may be stylistically different, they are being used in the same way. The list of ways in which vocabelising aids the teaching process includes: a. enabling the teacher to mark the accented beats dynamically; b. allowing for variation of attack by selection from a range of sounds; c. showing stress or lack of stress by the use of certain vocables; d. marking cadences or phrases which are constantly repeated by attaching vocable "words" or "phrases" to them, and thus clarifying the overall structure of a piece, and; e. enabling the teacher to highlight the placement of grace notes and ornaments by the interpolation of associative vocables. Obviously these "aids" are in some cases very closely related; the first three, for instance, are all methods of accenting a note, and in fact could all be combined in one vocable. Nor do I mean to infer that all of these are conscious processes on the part of the teacher, though in respect of "aids" a, d, and e, some teachers, especially pipers, are certainly aware of their effect. Some of these characteristics of vocabelising are of course utilised by performers for effect in other contexts, where a different goal is intended.

The first "aid" then, was that vocabelising enabled a teacher to emphasise notes with a dynamic accent. There are two ways in which this may be done; obviously the first is by the simple expedient of singing the note to be accented more loudly. The second is not technically a dynamic accent, but it is interpreted as one by the pupil, so I have included it here. Since, in many cases

the use of vocabelising frees the teacher's hands from the instrument, he can use body gestures (tapping his knee, hitting the arm of a chair, punching a fist into his open palm) to mark the notes which should be accented. This whole point is of especial importance in relation to teaching the bagpipes because the total lack of dynamic contrast arising from the construction of the instrument often causes confusion in a beginner's perception of the music. For a note in a piped tune to be accented it must be lengthened, shortened, or set apart by ornamentation; somehow pointed up by one of the "artfull and curious Cuttings" mentioned earlier by Joseph MacDonald. Some of these processes, especially the slight lengthening or shortening of a note, are so subtle that a learner/beginner simply doesn't realise what his tutor is doing, though he probably can perceive the result. The following excerpt shows how a piping teacher used both voice and body gesture to get his pupil to emphasise the first beat of a phrase.

...if anything, if he wanted me to hold a note he'd sing it. And indeed, now that I come to think of it, it was particularly in "beating" too that he would rely greatly on lilting. He'd say, "Ruairí, you want to say [di/dam dā dam, dam bā di/ di dn di dā]", he'd say, "You want to hold them notes: [i /dam dā dam, dam bā di/ di dn di da di/ dā dā dam], hold that 'c'," he'd say. Because, again, he could be even more effective when he was singing it— He could use all his hands to bring out expression too, seeing as he was only using his mouth in singing the note.

SA 1978/32 Ruairí Somers

In the anecdote above the teacher is described as singing the first note of the phrase loudly and emphatically, while at the same time slapping his clenched fist into his open palm to further emphasise the accented note. Yet what he actually tells the pupil to do is to hold the note, i.e. lengthen it. This is especially important for a piper learning to play pibroch, which is performed with a flexible pulse rather than the almost metronomic regularity of ceol beag where the accented beats come at predictably spaced intervals. With neither a regular pulse nor dynamic accent to guide the listener, the phrasing and structure of a pibroch can seem bewildering. The traditional pipers' insistence on learning pibroch aurally, by canntaireachd, implies that they are well aware

of this problem.

The anecdote quoted above was selected from a number of possible illustrations, but it is less easy to find an example of a lesson on another instrument because of the reasons cited before; most non-pipers do not regard vocabelising as an aid to teaching and hence tend to be far less articulate about it, although they seem to use it for teaching purposes almost as frequently (though not perhaps as lengthily) as pipers do. One informant did describe to me quite vividly how a famous fiddler and fiddle teacher, Hector MacAndrew, used vocabelising during a lesson. The interview was not recorded, so I quote from my field notes.

She described Hector MacAndrew diddling (she is a pupil of his as well as having had classical training) during a character sketch of him demonstrating intolerance of other playing styles. He used diddling to illustrate 'characterless fiddling', diddled with all the time values smoothed out. In imitating him, Mrs. Burns at this point sat quite still and spoke in her normal voice. Then illustrating how he felt strathspeys should be played, she diddled a fragment making the snaps ($\text{f} \text{ } \text{f}$) very sharp, and using great dynamic contrast and wide arm gestures to mark the stressed notes of the tune and the increased use of rubato. If one were to ask Hector to diddle, he would say he couldn't as he doesn't think of himself as a performance diddler.

Mrs. Florence Burns, a well-known Aberdeenshire fiddler, interviewed by the author 27/1/77.

These examples have been selected to show how a teacher of piping and a teacher of fiddling both used voice and body gesture to convey the placement of accent, and did so in a similar fashion.

The second "aid", or way in which vocables can enhance the teaching process is by allowing the teacher to vary the attack (and, less frequently, release) of a note by selecting from the range of 'acceptable' or available consonant sounds. Thus, if a teacher wanted to emphasise a certain note, he might well choose what seemed to him a 'hard' sound to begin the vocable, whereas an unstressed note might be given 'softer' consonants, or a vowel normally heard in an unstressed position. While this is intellectually a pleasing theory, and plausible as well, in reality and after

analysis of the music, it seems to have serious drawbacks. While it is easy to find examples to illustrate it, the opposite is also true, i.e. examples where it does not seem to apply are also numerous. A great deal hinges also on what each individual considers to be "hard" and "soft" sounds, and which notes in the music he wishes to stress or not to stress. A third problem appears when considering associative vocables which in some cases, especially among pipers, are prescribed and therefore clash with the theory. There is evidence for it, however, in that unstressed vocables are very often begun with lateral or approximant sounds (i.e. usually [l or ɫ]) which are generally considered to be "liquid" or "soft" sounds. Another point in its favour is that the phonetic realisation of stops, both voiced and unvoiced, is quite different depending on whether they are found in stressed or unstressed vocables. There is also some slight indication that this theory may have more validity in connection with Irish 'lilting'. This statement is based partly on my (somewhat sporadic) observation of lilting, and partly on my own experience of participating in a lilting competition in the Mayo Fleadh Cheoil (a traditional music competition held in County Mayo, Eire) where the judge criticised me for not singing the "right" sounds, which as far as she was concerned appeared to be d's and l's (in respectively stressed and unstressed positions) rather than my Scots piping h's. Most English speakers would intuitively agree that d is a 'stronger' sound than h, and with some reason since the former is a voiced stop whereas the latter is simply an exhalation of air through the articulatory organs which are already in position for the following vowel.

The third "aid", the possibility of showing stressed and unstressed notes by the appropriate choice of vowel, is closely related to the first two, though perhaps more easily substantiated than the second. Again, this "aid" is of especial importance in piping where stress is difficult to convey, but it is also of use in clarifying phrasing to a beginner on any instrument. To illustrate this point I have chosen the following eight examples which are

intended to be as representative as possible of the different types of vocabelising described earlier. They include a traveller cantering, a traveller 'plain' diddling, a gaelic-speaking non-piper cantering, a fiddler diddling, a 'plain' diddler who also sings pipe-oriented diddling, a traditional piper singing individual canntaireachd, and a piper singing in the style of the fiddle. The tune is Mrs. MacLeod of Raasay, one of the most widely known traditional reels. For the sake of ease of comparison I've included in the transcription only the first eight bars of each performance, which are ample to illustrate the point raised above, however wherever possible somewhat longer examples have been included on the sample tape (see: 5a through 5j.)

Even a cursory examination of the vocables indicates that the performers rely heavily on laterally and nasally released voiced and unvoiced stops (i.e. most often the vocable [dɫ], as heard in the second syllable of the words "fiddle" and "diddle") to indicate unstressed notes. The schwa, [ə], or unstressed central vowel, preceded by one of a selection of consonants (stops, laterals, approximants and fricatives are all used)⁵ is also heavily relied on. These vocables never appear in stressed positions at all. The two types just described accounted for 68 of the 101 vocables appearing in unstressed position in the 1st 4 bars of example; each performer used one or the other kind, and several used both. The point is that throughout the range of types of vocabelising each performer chose a number of similar if not identical vocables and used them in a similar or identical fashion to represent the same facet of the music. A much lengthier discussion of the relation between stress and the selection of vowel can be found in Chapter III:4.2.

The fourth teaching "aid" can also be illustrated by this set of eight examples. By attaching vocable "words" or "phrases" to constantly repeated rhythmic or melodic phrases, their rhythm of reoccurrence is highlighted, while at the same time the overall

5. These and all other phonetic terms are defined and described in Chapter III.

Ex. 5a-j.

See documentation
attached to music
example tape.

Title: Mrs. MacLeod of Raasay

Type: reel

Handwritten musical notation on five staves, each with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 4/4 time signature. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and bar lines. Below the staves, there is a series of lyrics in a non-Latin script, likely Georgian, which appear to be a mix of uppercase and lowercase letters. The lyrics are:
a) ხა საბო ხა სამ პაი ხოდუ ძა თი ჟა ხა სა და ხა სამ პაი ხოდუ ძა თი ჟა ხა სა ხუ ჟა ხა სა და
b) ხა სამ პაი ხოდუ ძა თი ჟა ხა სა და ხა სამ პაი ხოდუ ძა თი ჟა ხა სა და ხა სამ პაი ხოდუ ძა თი ჟა ხა სა და
c) ხა სამ პაი ხოდუ ძა თი ჟა ხა სა და ხა სამ პაი ხოდუ ძა თი ჟა ხა სა და ხა სამ პაი ხოდუ ძა თი ჟა ხა სა და
d) ხა სამ პაი ხოდუ ძა თი ჟა ხა სა და ხა სამ პაი ხოდუ ძა თი ჟა ხა სა და ხა სამ პაი ხოდუ ძა თი ჟა ხა სა და
e) ხა სამ პაი ხოდუ ძა თი ჟა ხა სა და ხა სამ პაი ხოდუ ძა თი ჟა ხა სა და ხა სამ პაი ხოდუ ძა თი ჟა ხა სა და

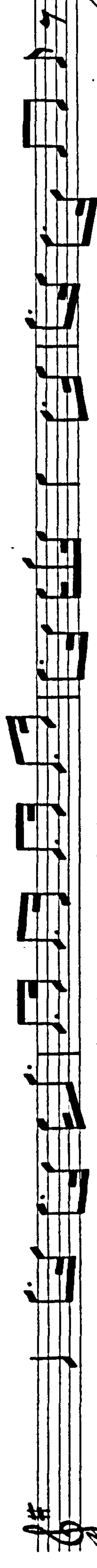
See documentation
attached to music
example tape.

Title: Mrs. MacLeod of Raasay

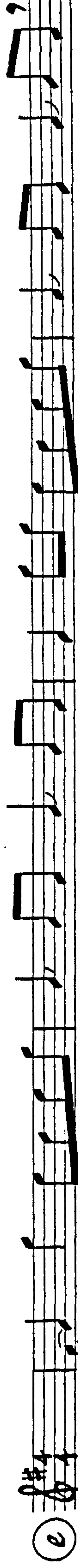
Type: reel



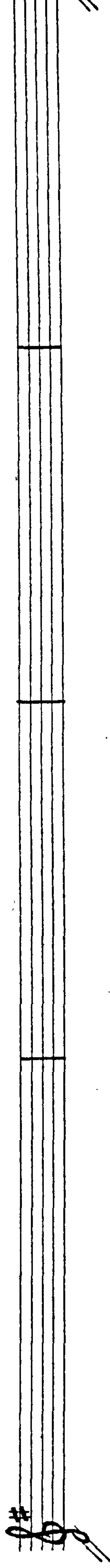
ha san pi di e di de di hum ba sa di da ha sa di



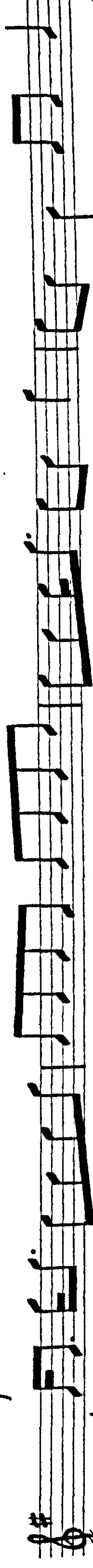
dam pi di e di da di ha ha sa di de di da di e



a sai z da dz di az dz di daz dz di ai dz di dai dz di



ja n tz li he u su vi hz lo se o ha na n tz li e o du vi ha h se h n ba lo so va



han am pz si he u du vi hz lo se o ha lo sa fo ge o da vi se a vi si: a so so va

See documentation
attached to music
example tape.

Title: Mrs. MacLeod of Raasay

Type: reel

9

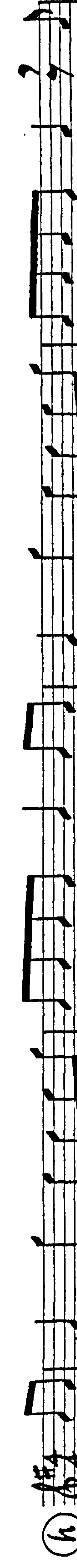


tsed! dnm dao t2 dl da di t2 al 3a dao dz dl dnm dao t2 dl da di t2 dl ad' a dao ha



dnm dao t2 dl da di ti dl al 3a dao dnm dz dl an da du dl di dl di dl zt' 3a dao dz dl

10



te dl dnm tau t2 dl da di dz dl an da de de da dnm dau t2 dl da di t2 dl an do de ta

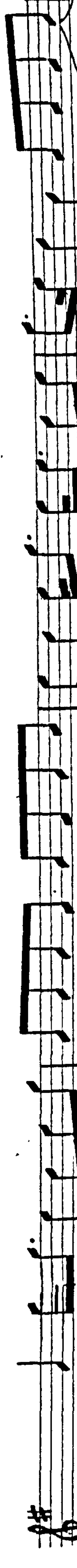


dnm tau t2 dl da di dz dl an da de dnm ta dl a dl du dl an 3a di dl zt' 3a de t2

i



ti he sam pa 3asi hi dn di dn ba sa hi dn de da dz 3a dnm da di hi dn di dn ba sa hi dn di ha sam ta



dnm ta di hi dn di dn ba sa h2 dn di ha sam pa di dn da di ha sa hnm pa di dn di dn dz ha sam t2

See documentation
attached to music
example tape.

Title: Mrs. MacLeod of Raasay

Type: reel

①

hə sam pzəsi hi dŋ di dŋ br sə sə də dam pzəsi hi dŋ di dŋ br sə dŋ br sə dŋ
dam pzəsi hi dŋ di dŋ br sə si dŋ br sə sŋ dŋ di hŋ br²n ba sa dŋ dŋ di dŋ da di ŋ də sŋn [?]

structure of the piece is clarified. A glance at the transcriptions shows that the third bar is virtually a repeat of the first (with minor variations in some cases). In four of the examples, the vocable phrase attached to the first bar was repeated verbatim in the third, while of the other four examples, two exhibit only the most minor variation, while the remaining two show obvious connections to the original set of vocables.

The final "aid" mentioned above was the ability vocables gave a teacher to highlight the placement of grace notes and ornaments by the interpolation of associative syllables. Again, it was a question of selecting from a number of possible examples to illustrate this in respect to the pipes, for pipers are quite conscious of how they use vocabelising for this purpose, and thus are highly articulate about it.

...and indeed, if anything he could describe as vividly or convey to me...the particular embellishment— It was usually involving an embellishment or a grace note or a grip or something that I would be leaving out, and he would convey to me as vividly in his mouth, by using lilting, than he could on the chanter.

I must say...he used lilting, the organisation of his lilting tended to be on the basis of embellishments rather than on do-re-mi-fa-so-la-ti, or its equivalent on the chanter...it was specifically to bring out movements that he lilted the tune.

SA 1978/32 Ruairí Somers

Certain associative vocables are sufficiently widely known among pipers to have gained recognition almost like a word with lexical significance. Such a "word" is [ha-xɪm or ta-xɪm], ([ʌ] is the vowel heard in but or cut, while [x] is the voiceless velar fricative heard in loch). Teachers expect their pupils to be familiar with their terms:

I remember once...I'd this young recruit...and I was trying to put across the rhythm of a particular tune we were playing to him and I says, "Get this [ɛx ə - bə] in right", you see, [ɛx ə - bə]. And he looked at me and he says, "What's this [ɛx ə bə] you're speaking about?"

...as I say...you can hear all the notes [i.e. ornaments and

grace notes in a sung version of the tune] if you know the tune, you know exactly what they're getting at.

SA 1977/166 John Stewart

Although this process is by no means so self-conscious among other instrumentalists, it does take place, though possibly not to the same degree. For instance, Tom Anderson (Shetland fiddler and folklorist) showed me how he teaches bowing technique through his diddling (hinging largely on the use of stop consonants to indicate change of direction in bowing, and an approximant [ɹ] or melismatic use of vowel to indicated slurred notes). He also uses specific vocables to indicate such stylistic features as 'birls' (a two note trill), triplets, and other common ornaments. Though other references are less direct, and seldom indicate the teaching process specifically, it does seem that informants distinguish between cantering and instrumental diddling, and although this might be done in part by an intuitive perception of the difference in vocable inventories used, it is also more than likely that other stylistic features, including characteristic ornaments, were in evidence in the vocabelising and were of use in setting one genre apart from the other.

Oh, there's a distinct difference, a piper would be, well, make a totally different sort of sound. Aye, well, I think. Because, they usually follow the sound the instrument makes...

SA 1977/2 Willie Fraser

...when Albert [a fiddler] diddles it's clearly emphasised which parts to slur and jump, and a'.

SA 1977/3 Stanley Robertson

In the preceding paragraphs I have attempted to demonstrate that while the vocables used by various instrumentalists to aid the teaching process may be stylistically different, the manner in which they are used is almost identical, the variations being largely a matter of emphasis. In each case it was a combination of three factors which communicated the tune and style of performance to the pupil: the first being the melody and rhythm of the tune itself which is presented by the teacher's singing, the second being the

teacher's body gestures, and the third factor being the vocables which present the tune. The first and third of these are either self-evident or previously discussed, but I wish to digress briefly to emphasise the importance of the second factor as it is often dismissed or ignored.

The importance of the body gestures of the teacher should not be under-emphasised as they can be of great importance not only in amplifying (or as is the case with pibroch, clarifying) phrasing and accents in the music, they may also signal changes in the teacher's attitude, marking approval or displeasure, so that a pupil who is not sensitive enough to receive these subtle signals may not reap the full benefit of his teacher's presence.

A glance at Sandy's face [Sandy Cameron, a famous 'traditional' piper] was plenty worth trying— would tell you whether you were on the right lines or not. His fingers would be on a table or on a chair, and if he was no longer interested, the fingers stopped working.

SA 1955/128 D. MacKenzie Fieldworker: Calum MacLean

It seems that at one time, before the advent of staff notation, body gesture in the form of finger-counting may have been used along with canntaireachd to help convey the placement of accent and phrasing in pibroch, which, as I've mentioned previously, is a genre in which it is notoriously difficult for the beginner/learner to divine the structure on his own.

...now, there's another interesting point, and I've discussed this with Bob Nicol and he seems to agree with me. I remember my father and some of the older pipers used to speak about port nan trì corragain which means "the tune of the three fingers," which certainly didn't make much sense to me. ...but having studied pibroch since then, I've become to realise [sic] there's something in this, and it would relate to the timing of a tune. Like, we've some pibroch in two-four time, some in three-four time and some in common time...and it's very, very distinctive after you've studied pibroch for a while...you can point it out on your fingers... [he sings the ground of The Blue Ribbon, pointing out the accented beats on his fingers] It's distinctively a three-fingered tune.

SA 1977/168 Donald Morrison

2.2 General musical communication.

The second use of vocabelising listed in Chart II-1 was for "general musical communication." In one sense, of course, all music, including vocabelising, can be considered to be communication, and this broader approach is taken in Chapter V. This category, however, is distinct from the previous one in that it presupposes an equivalent level of musical competence and familiarity with the repertory on the part of both singer and listener. By the rather amorphous term "general musical communication" I mean that the vocables are used as a vehicle to convey one musician's concept of a tune to another musician. Instead of using words, or lexical communication, which must of necessity then be translated back into music, they use music conveyed in vocables for direct musical communication. Instead of trying to describe a non-verbal medium verbally, musicians "speak" about music in music, thus dispensing with the cumbersome intermediary of words.

...no one consciously teaches you it [vocabelising] ...but it's a very handy way of expressing something, rather than picking up the chanter.

...it's just a style of— any piper, if I was trying to get something across to him, would know exactly what I was getting at.

...it's a piper's musical expression, more than anything, a way of getting things across, you know, it's an aid to a piper's ability.

SA 1977/166 John Stewart

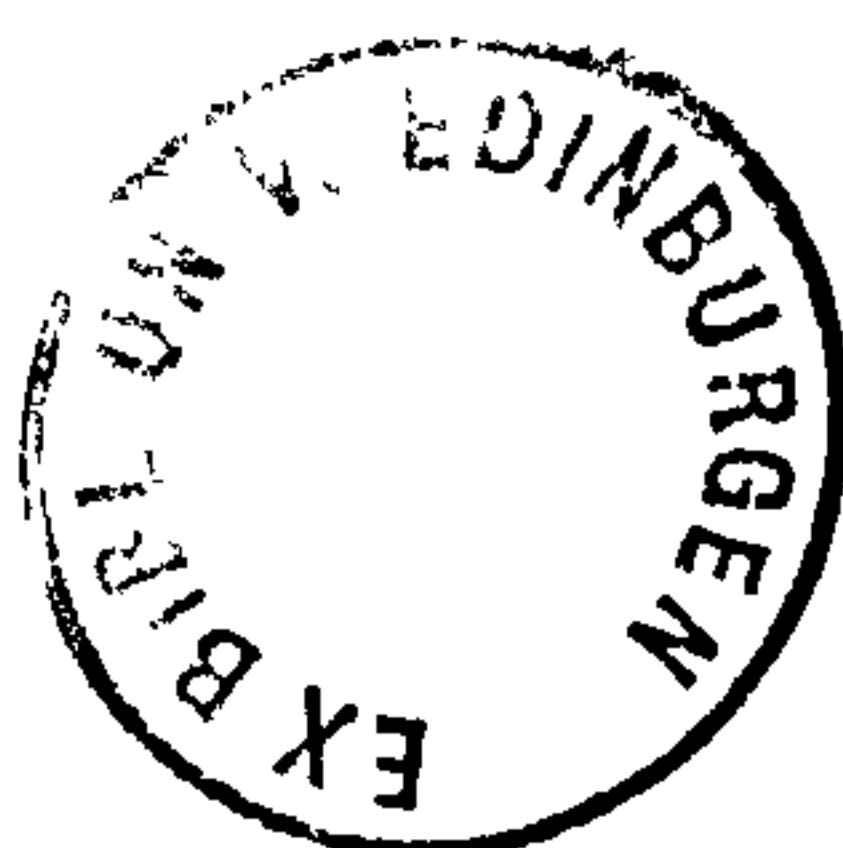
Oh, it's a great gift to express the thing properly, there's no doubt about that.

SA 1977/162 Betsy Brown

Vocabelising is also of use in swapping tunes in a context where musicians are present without instruments, or unable for some reason to use them.

...and he'd call me aside and say, "I want you to hear this new tune, Jesus, it's a great tune, ye must learn it." And he'd be lilting it. And I'd lilt it back to him.

SA 1977/32 Ruairí Somers



...well, you see, the canntaireachd was used by pipers to pass tunes to each other, like, if they went to the games and heard a tune they just picked it up in their head the best way they could. 'N they would say to each other, "Did ye hear that one t' day?" "No, I heard it, but how did it go?" So they would use canntaireachd.

SA 1977/5 Duncan Williamson

Another very frequent use of a similar kind is for musicians to prompt each other's memories with just a snatch of a tune diddled or cantered. Any fieldworker (or musician) who has been present at a gathering of two or more musicians will probably have observed this process. Even more closely connected to the learning process mentioned in the previous section, it is often the case in a gathering of musicians that one player may not know a tune being performed by the rest. In such an instance it can often be observed that he will silently finger his instrument, often vocabelising quietly to teach himself the new tune. Similarly, rather than be ostracised by the lack of his instrument, a musician might join in the group by vocabelising. Again, this sort of use of vocables is a feature of their musicality of which most musicians are almost wholly unconscious, so that to ask questions about it is largely counter-productive, merely creating the impression that the fieldworker is ignorant of the much more important features of the musical event. It is an area where silent observation is best.

2.3 Vocables used as a mnemonic.

In section 2.1, on pedagogic uses of vocabelising, it was shown that one or another form of canntaireachd was an important tool in the learning process of a piper because of its ability to clarify structure and phrasing. But canntaireachd is equally important to traditional pipers for its ability to serve them as a mnemonic, both in learning and retaining repertoires of ceòl mòr. In fact, one of the few points upon which large bodies of traditional pipers seem to agree is the superiority of learning pibroch from sung canntaireachd as opposed to learning and memorising it from staff notation.

This brings me to the most important point of technique in learning ceol mór. When you select the tune, learn it by singing, and by singing only. It matters not whether you're a crow or Caruso himself. This is the only way you can get the lights and shades of expression.

SA 1960/262 PM Bob Brown

...and we were taught of course on the oral system, not by any book. The book was there for a reference if we were forgetting the tune, but the system by which he taught us was entirely oral, or canntaireachd as they call it. And personally, I maintain that once the oral system was done away with and the book substituted, I think that is really when the rot came into the teaching of pibroch.

Well, unless you've got a teacher beside you who's been thoroughly taught, I maintain that you can never teach yourself from a book.

SA 1952/119 Angus MacPherson Fieldworker: Calum MacLean

...no books, just memory...all from memory. He wouldn't take a pupil that couldn't memorise from his own playing. He said that was the way the music was handed down and if you couldn't get a pupil that was capable of that he would prefer not to have him at all, if he had to teach him from books.

...there was no use of any pupil coming to them [the Mac-Crimmons] unless they...had a memory for to record in their brain the music they were being taught in their classes. So that's the tradition of handing down of the pibrochs we have today, and it's undoubtedly the best system of learning pibroch.

SA 1953/5 PM William MacLean: traditional piper, tutored by Calum "Piobaire" MacPherson. Fieldworker: Calum MacLean

DM ...all the pibroch that he [John MacDonald of Inverness] got from Calum MacPherson was from his lips and from his fingers, never from a book.

CM Never from a book, yes. And you think that is the best way of teaching pibroch?

DM Oh, there's no other way, there is no other way. There was never any book written that can teach a man pibroch.

SA 1955/128 D.A. MacKenzie Fieldworker: Calum MacLean

...the canntaireachd, you see, was the real foundation of the pibroch, it wasn't the book.

SA 1970/7 Alasdair Boyd: gaelic-speaking traditional piper. Fieldworkers: Morag MacLeod & Peter Cooke

BN Well...we never used a practice chanter...everything was sung. And we more or less had the same canntaireachd as Johnny MacDonald...and we learned much quicker than if ever with the practice chanter. In fact, you just don't learn with the practice chanter.

KC And why is it that the canntaireachd is so much better?

BN Well, you get the song. You see, when they went to a teacher in the old days...they had to learn the tune along with the canntaireachd...they relied on a very good memory.

SA 1977/164 PM Bob Nicol

...they would sing it to you, and this singing is a great way of putting stuff across. There is no substitute for it really, I mean, you can put all you like into staff notation, but nothing gets across to you the way the singing can.

SA 1977/166 John Stewart

BN There's one point in John MacDonald's teaching. He always impressed...the importance of disregarding staff notation. That was one thing he did impress.

RL What did he say?

BN Well, he maintained that the old pipers taught it by word of mouth, and he maintained that that was the only method of teaching pibroch. And he says that staff notation is most misleading, it's never been perfected in pibroch music.

BB ...but mostly the big pipe and singing. Singing was the main way of memorising. And he sang all the tunes to us. Many's the tune I never even saw the music of it.

SA 1953/236 PMs Bob Nicol and Bob Brown Fieldworker: Robin Lorrimor

And, a final endorsement of this point from a literary source:

[The MacCrimmons] devised and brought to perfection a verbal notation of Ceòl Mór...it may be remarked that this unique system seems far more ingenious, and indeed better adapted to pipe music than the modern staff notation. If the old system were more intelligently studied and understood, the traditional style of the ancient music could be preserved, while the use of a foreign notation tends to obscure what was once clear and intelligible. I contend that the verbal notation is as distinct a heritage as Ceòl Mór itself; in fact it may be compared to the true casket in which the jewels are contained, and if I may be permitted this analogy, the gems when deposited in a foreign case are in danger of

losing their brilliance and suffering loss... It is the native system; it is musically correct; each bar is one word; it is easily written and easily remembered; it was the notation used by the masters; the undying memory of the centuries of musical tradition intertwined with it. (6)

Although the preceding quotes were selected to show pipers' emphasis on the importance of learning by canntaireachd, in most instances they are speaking as well of its superior ability to express the music. In Chapter V I will attempt to discuss what is communicated in vocables, and how; for the moment I wish to concentrate on the mnemonic qualities of canntaireachd in the context of memorising and retaining pibroch.

A complete pibroch may take up to, or occasionally more, than half an hour to perform, though analysis shows the actual thematic material to be rather more limited than such a span of time might imply. Even in the urlar or ground, thematic material is repeated, while all of the variations are built on a series of notes selected from the melody of the urlar. (One of the (optional) variations is the "thumb" or "high a" variation, which consists of playing the ground again, and substituting high "a" for "f" wherever the latter appears.) Despite all this evidence of their repetitive nature, or perhaps because of it, learning and retaining a repertory of pibroch can be said to be a considerable feat of memory. Though few pipers today could make such a claim, some of the past masters are said to have known over a hundred pibrochs.

KC How many pibroch do you think he [John MacDonald] knew?

BN I couldn't answer that one, I never saw him look at a book.

KC Over fifty? Over seventy?

BN Oh, over three figures.

KC I see, that many.

BN I know that many myself.

SA 1977/164 PM Bob Nicol

And I remember on one occasion one of the wee scholars asking him [Calum "Piobaire" MacPherson] in the gaelic,

6. J. Grant, The Royal Collection of Pibroch, Edinburgh (1908, 2nd edition 1911) no page numbers given.

or saying rather, in the gaelic, he couldn't understand how he could remember all his pibroch. And he said, "Well, there was a day," he said, "I could play a lot of the big music, but," he said, "I believe I could yet play six twenties." So, of course, he meant he could play a hundred and twenty tunes.

SA 1952/229 Angus MacPherson Fieldworker: Calum MacLean

It is the consensus among such traditional pipers that canntaireachd helps you not only with memorising, but with retaining a repertory of pibroch.

CM And then could the pipers...learning by canntaireachd, could they memorise the tune that way, they memorised the canntaireachd?

AM Well, there's no doubt about that. The tunes that I learned as a boy, now nearly seventy years ago, they're as fresh in my mind as ever. And anything I've learned of a book in recent years, I lose it. Shows you the difference. By learning in the oral system you never forget it. It's like learning the alphabet in school.

SA 1952/119 Angus MacPherson Fieldworker: Calum MacLean

...if you learn a pibroch from a book, you're learning the tune with your eyes, not your ears, and the memory doesn't carry it so well as what you've learned by ear.

SA 1953/3 PM William MacLean Fieldworker: Francis Collinson

The student who wishes to make himself acquainted with piobaireachd will find canntaireachd of a great advantage in memorising the Ceol-Mor, which once learned by this method is not soon forgotten. (7)

I have found that for the purposes of learning new tunes, staff notation, compared with canntaireachd, is cumbrous and misleading; and even when written in abbreviated form... it appeals mainly to the eye, while canntaireachd appeals to the ear. (8)

Despite this insistence on the necessity of learning and memorising pibroch through canntaireachd, many of these pipers, when describing their lessons in detail, felt that it was acceptable and in fact desirable to initially learn the tune from staff notation, provided that one always then turned to one's tutor

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7. W. MacLean, op. cit. 18

8. J.P. Grant, The Pipes of War, Glasgow (1920)181

for a proper interpretation which cannot be obtained from staff notation, but which can be communicated vocally through canntaireachd. Once the tune is memorised the book is set aside and used only as a reference.

Staff notation for me was just a very good reference for the initial memorising. Then when I had the tune memorised, shut the book, go to him [John MacDonald] and learn it by singing, as this is the only way one can get the proper lights and shades or scansion of the bars and phrases with which one can make a tune live.

SA 1962/262 PM Bob Brown Fieldworker: Bob Brown

Well, I usually commit the tune to memory as far as I can, and then I'll go along, I'll play it what I think it should be, and I'll go up to Bob Nicol, or Bob Brown as it was in my younger days, and play it for him, and usually you were stopped before you'd gone very far. Head-shaking or what have you, and they would sing it to you.

SA 1977/166 John Stewart

KC I've asked a couple of people in pipe bands, but it seems they don't use canntaireachd, they just use the book.

BN The book, the book, the book. (Fainter each time).

KC With all its inherent failings.

BN That's exactly—I always say, the book, the book, the bloody book, I can't do with it at all. John MacDonald said "Close the book, close the book. Use it to get the tune up and forget about it afterwards."

SA 1977/164 PM Bob Nicol

A few pipers take a more extremist point of view, feeling that the use of staff notation at all is a somewhat decadent modern innovation, and giving the impression that they learned their entire repertory without seeing a single sheet of paper.

...and he [Calum "Piobaire" MacPherson] was very strict in his teaching. He started, we got up a little after eight in the morning, we had our breakfast at nine and then we started on the practice chanter at ten. And I had to keep going with the chanter, himself on one side of the fire and I on the other. No books, just memory.

SA 1953/5 PM W. MacLean Fieldworker: Francis Collinson

...and we had to keep to it [the lesson] too, till about midday, then we might get a half hour's play, then back to it again, all the afternoon. ...and after Willy and I went to bed at night of course, we went over the pibroch all in the canntaireachd. And we had it in the morning. That's how we got on.

SA 1952/120 Angus MacPherson Fieldworker: Calum MacLean

How far such an attitude is an attempt to identify with the practices of the piping masters of old is difficult to say.

There seems to be little doubt, and none at all among pipers, that vocal canntaireachd is not only better designed for communicating the musical expression and interpretation so crucial to traditional pipers, but the actual physical difference of learning by ear instead of by eye imbeds the music more firmly in your mind. It also seems that staff notation has to a large extent replaced written canntaireachd, though some pipers still keep canntaireachd "notes" of a tune they've learned, just as others will refer to staff notation in a book if they feel the tune has slipped their memory.

The point about absorbing pibroch aurally/orally rather than visually is an interesting one. For many pipers it seems that at some point in the process of hearing the music in vocables and then on the chanter, and then singing and playing it themselves, the two facets of the music become indivisably blended or welded together, so that each is a reminder of the other and the musician is no longer able to divorce the two in his mind. This is so much the case with some pipers that they hear the canntaireachd in their head at the same time that they are playing a pibroch on the pipes.

...[by singing] is the way to learn, without question, you know. I've found when I'm playing tunes that I've had tuition from Bob Nicol and Bob Brown, I can hear them singing behind me when I'm playing, behind my notes I can still hear them singing.

SA 1977/164 John Stewart

An interesting parallel statement comes in reference to a piper singing ceòl beag:

I was much struck by a remark I heard made a few days ago, by one of our very best reel players... "Every old reel and strathspey, being originally a 'port-a-beul', has it's own words. Now, if you wish to play with genuine taste, keep singing the words in your mind when you're playing the tune." (9)

Although it is difficult to document this theory of the circular relationship of (vocal) canntaireachd and (piped) pibroch, it does seem that in the case of pipers who have learned and memorised their repertory through canntaireachd, one representation of the music stimulates the thought or presence of the other, so that hearing pibroch on the pipes brings the canntaireachd forcibly to mind, and vice versa. Some further evidence for this theory is provided by the pipers' ubiquitous habit of fingering a substitute chanter (anything from their own thigh to a walking stick, a poker, someone else's wrist or a rolled up paper-handkerchief) while vocabelising, and also by the not uncommon sight of a piper singing quietly along with a performance of pibroch.

So far it has been established that the strength of canntaireachd as a mnemonic lies partly in its essentially auditory nature, and partly in its two-way relationship with the music as performed on the pipes. A third way in which the vocables of canntaireachd help a piper to retain pibroch is by condensing the complexities of the elaborate but highly codified embellishments found in the genre into (ostensibly) equally codified but much less elaborate vocables which, despite this simplification, retain the perceived rhythmic and melodic motif of the ornament they represent. Thus an ornament as complex as the crunnluath:



can be represented in vocables as simply as: "che bandre."¹⁰ The ornament when piped occupies very little space in time, visually it's just a ripple of the

9. C. Stewart, The Killin Collection of Gaelic Songs, Edinburgh (1884)x
10. from: Piobaireachd Society Book 1, Glasgow (1925); the Nether Lorn canntaireachd for a crunnluath. Staff notation from: A. Mackay, A Collection of Ancient Piobaireachd, Aberdeen (1838).

fingers on the chanter, so that the untrained ear is unable to perceive each note, and the voice is unable to reproduce the notes at anything like the same speed. The vocable used to represent the ornament, therefore, is a vocal portrayal of what the ear actually perceives, an extraction of the main melody and rhythm of the embellishment.

Although many pipers use canntaireachd as a mnemonic, the method by which vocables are selected and strung together to form the mnemonic which represents the music does not appear to be as regular or systematic as many pipers believe. Ostensibly, since canntaireachd is supposed to be a solmisation system, each note of the scale as well as each ornament would be represented in the canntaireachd by an invariable sound. In fact, and this is discussed at greater length in Chapter III, any note above or including the note 'e' is most likely to be represented by an [i] vowel (the sound in see or he), while the notes 'a' and 'g' (the lowest on the chanter) are likely to be represented respectively by [ʌn and ʌm], (as in "Hun" and "hum"). The vowels used for other notes appear to be selected very much according to individual taste, and the same vowel may appear at several different pitches within one performance of a piece. What most often seems to happen is that a series of vocables becomes associated in the piper's mind with the thematic material of a given pibroch, so that each time a particular phrase or cadence reappears in the piece, he will sing the same arrangement of vocables he evolved to represent it before. John Campbell of Islay hints of a similar process in his paper on canntaireachd (1880):

Each school of pipers of old, and every individual piper now has a separate method of singing... [they] repeat the same sounds in chanting the same tune, when it has been learned by rote and "committed to memory". (11)

A comparison of two diachronic performances of one traditional piper's canntaireachd rendition of Lament for the Union indicates that over a span of eight years his vowels remained

11. J. Cambell, op. cit. 6

virtually identical. The consonants, though they varied somewhat more, did not change greatly. (See Musical Examples 4e and 4f.)

The interesting question arises as to how far a similar process takes place in diddling, thought by most informants to be a far more random attachment of syllables to music. It is possible to show that a very similar process takes place (though for a different use) and also that the choice and arrangement of vocables is, in all kinds of diddling, far less random than is generally supposed. The crucial factor is tempo: the faster a piece is performed, the greater the need for formulae and patterns to ease the strain of improvisation. In slow airs and strathspeys (and in pibroch canntaireachd) there is more time to think between each vocable, hence more time to improvise. But, while pibroch canntaireachd is used by pipers as a mnemonic to help them learn and retain a repertory of long and intricate pieces of music, the similar attachment of vocables to music is used differently by 'professional' or performance diddlers, and so it is discussed in the following section.

2.4 Non-lexical vocables as a medium for performance.

In several of the contexts mentioned so far the singing of non-lexical vocables has evolved into a performance genre in its own right. This is especially true of diddling, though performances of cantering seem to be especially prevalent among the travellers. An early reference to someone performing in vocables comes from the island of Colonsay:

Our piper, Hugh M'Neill, was a tall, hale old man, with rosy cheeks and a very good musical ear, for he could sing the most difficult reels and strathspeys in a thin, cracked voice. (12)

It is not difficult to imagine how diddling might have been developed into a kind of party-piece from occasions where it had to be used for dancing because no instrument was available, or from its use in lullabies and game songs. Among the travellers

11. Frances Murray, Summer in the Hebrides, privately published? (1887)65

cantering and diddling are still performed purely for entertainment, and according to one informant, were at one time something of a woman's speciality, perhaps originally from association with diddling for children.

...they seemingly liked a bit o' the diddle...folk diddled for the pleasure o' diddling, because they liked doin' it, they liked ti diddle...

They diddled ti their bairns on their knee, they diddled ti someone'd maybe had a wee drink, 'n they'd say, "Come on, she's a good diddler, let us hear you," 'n then somebody said she was good, so somebody else wanted ti hear her, and somebody else wanted ti hear her, and so she kept at it and kept at it and got better as she went along.

...he took a pleasure out o' it because that was his speciality, he couldnae play...he said, "Well, I'll give ye a bit o' the diddle."

SA 1977/5 Duncan Williamson

In the past there were, apparently, actual diddling competitions, i.e. a context where the concept of evaluating and passing judgement on the quality or standard of a performance of diddling was formalised.

HH Did you ever take part in a diddling competion, Willy?

WF Oh yes, uh-huh.

HH Whereabouts?

WF In the Cabrach.

HH And what time o' the day would that start?

WF Oh, in the evening it t'was, jist a sort o'— back o' eight.

HH Aye, and how long would it last?

WF Oh, about two hours, I suppose. Something like a concert, ye ken, two hours, maybe two and a half hours.

SA 1956/50 Willie Fraser Fieldworker: Hamish Henderson

Another informant described a rather different kind of competition:

JM There was a time when diddling competitions were held throughout the country, very often at dances, at some charitable effort. And, eh, it created quite a bit of fun. If you can picture a heavy-handed farm servant being given a doll, a life-sized doll, and a nappy— And his duty was ti pin that nappy onto this doll, and all the time singing diddles to the doll as if to a child. This created a tremendous amount of fun, and there was keen competition because... (pause)

KC They all did it at once?

JM No, oh no, it was one at a time.

KC Oh, I see, it wasn't a race.

JM No, no, t'wasn't a race, no, no, one at a time usually. I daresay they may have had more than one, but it used to be, you see, one at a time, and it was a round of applause, the biggest round of applause...but t'was more for the fun than anything else.

KC What kind of tunes would they sing?

JM Well, something of a diddling nature, you see.

SA 1977/167 John Mearns: Aberdeenshire singer and folklorist.

The Scottish National Dictionary quotes one of its informants (John T. Ewan, Forfar, 1940) stating that "Diddling competitions were advertised and held throughout Angus in 1936-1939." Today competitions for performance diddling are found in "folk festivals" like Kinross and Keith. One difficulty encountered during my field work was a mild reluctance among informants familiar with these competitions to admit or make any claim to an ability to diddle at all because they did not consider themselves to be up to the standard of 'professional' or competition diddlers.

Yet another context in which diddling was commonly heard as a solo performance was in the bothies. Several informants have described a situation where someone would "diddle up" or "diddle o'er" a tune as his or her contribution to the evening's entertainment if he didn't know the words to a song or didn't play an instrument or was simply a good diddler.

Jimmy Cameron and I...him and I used ti diddle quite a lot in the bothy...

SA 1977/2 Willy Fraser

In the...time o' the bothies when the bothy men used ti gather in the evening, 'n the farmer's wife'd come in and the maid'd come in and they'd all come in and have...well, one would say, "I cannae play," or "I havenae got an accordion, but I'll gie ye a piece o' the diddle."

SA 1977/5 Duncan Williamson

In the first section of this chapter, on pedagogic uses of vocabelising, it was demonstrated that vocables became attached to musical phrases within one individual's performance of a given

tune. In the section immediately preceding this one I made but did not substantiate the claim that the same thing happens in diddling, just as it does in individual canntaireachd. Taking an informant who has the ability both to diddle and to sing with pipe-oriented vocables, I examined diachronic variants of both his 'pipe' and his 'plain' version of the reel Mrs. MacLeod of Raasay (see Music Examples 5g - 5j.) The span of time between the performances of the 'pipe' version was twenty-one years, between the 'plain' versions, seven. Not surprisingly the degree of similarity was greater in the 'plain' versions, indeed in many places the vocable "phrases" are identical. But even where a span of twenty-one years had passed, the vocable "phrases" in the two 'pipe' versions were obviously related, in many places similar, and in some identical. Within each variant the vocable "phrases" attached to a given musical phrase remained constant each time the musical phrase reoccured. In sum, the vocables were manipulated by the performer in much the same fashion as the vocables in the diachronic variants of Lament for the Union discussed above.

In the case of pibroch canntaireachd, the process of attaching vocables to musical phrases serves to remind the piper of the melody itself and of the placement of various ornaments within it. In the case of performance diddling, however, it seems that the same process takes place partly to facilitate a brisk tempo of performance, and partly for the sake of euphony.

It isn't particularly easy to diddle dance tunes. Anyone who has tried it will have found that it demands good breath control and a high degree of vocal agility, especially when attempting jigs and reels. The two main problems are finding time to breathe without breaking the flow of the music:

JA Would ye like a bit o' diddling?

HH Aye, come on!

JA Not too long, I hope, fer it takes the wind oot o' ye.

SA 1957/19 Jock Ainslie: bothy singer Fieldworker: Hamish Henderson

...an' if I diddle any more ye'll nae get any songs, I'll hae nae wind.

SA 1971/207: John MacDonald Fieldworker: Hamish Henderson

- while the second problem lies in finding and fitting into a short space of time a large number of vocables. By attaching vocables to reoccurring phrases, and thus easing the strain of improvisation, the performer leaves his mind free to cope with other problems.

...it's hard work...a lot of folk don't think that, but it is hard work...I was at a concert in Carron, and there was nadbody'd play for the dancers...So I did diddle for the dancers, and by gum, was I tired! Because I sung, oh, I dinna mind how many bars it was noo, but they danced a Highland Fling and then they danced a Seann Triubhas, and oh, another couple o' dances besides that. And...I was feeling the weight o' that right enough!

SA 1977/2 Willie Fraser

Another reason for this same process taking place is for the sake of euphony. In our culture it seems that as soon as any kind of music becomes a performance genre people begin to evaluate it and make value judgements about it, and—as was mentioned before—this is true of diddling. The existence of past and present diddling competitions implies a set of criteria for judging, and that there is more than one set of criteria is indicated by the fact that one informant, who had been criticised by a judge at such a competition for his pipe-oriented style of vocabelising, defended his style, and condemned the judge's for lack of variety of vocables. Both he and the judge had definite (and conflicting) ideas of what vocabelising could and should be. Other informants have made it clear that some diddlers are thought to be better than others, and in some cases they referred specifically to the choice and arrangement of vocables used, i.e. what I've referred to as euphony.

DW ...that's called puttin' the diddle ti the tune, and it's no so easy as you'd think.

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KC So when you're putting the diddle to a tune it has to be the right syllables, or it doesn't work—

DW It doesna, doesnae work.

KC And you just know by experience which ones—

DW You know by experience which ones you think would suit the tune.

KC If you heard someone diddling would you be able to judge whether those were, if that was a good choice of syllables?

DW I would really, if it was a good choice o' syllables... that's what's good about Ronald. It's the way he does the tunes. I mean, the music's there ti be diddled by anybody. It's the way Ronald puts the tunes off that makes them so good, the way he puts them ti the diddle.

SA 1977/5 Duncan Williamson

...and he'd be lilting it. And I'd lilt it back to him, and he'd say, "That's not the— no, ye haven't it right." And he'd be saying I hadn't it right not because my musical sounds wouldn't be right, but because I wouldn't be using his mode of lilting.

...for example, when I attempt to lilt, purely for the sake of passing a tune to someone else, they would know immediately that I wasn't a lilter, and they would say, they wouldn't remark on my lilting abilities in any laudatory manner at all, just dismiss it as purely functional way of passing a tune, they wouldn't consider any beauty.

SA 1978/32 Ruairí Somers

In this last quote, both the informant and the audience clearly distinguished between vocabelising used for swapping tunes or general musical communication, and vocabelising as a performance genre, though apparently only the latter has recognised status. If one has succeeded in 'putting the diddle to the tune', in finding a euphonious selection of vocables which fits and best expresses a certain tune, it follows logically that when phrases within the tune are repeated, the pleasing set of vocables used before will be used again. Of the two reasons cited for attaching vocables to musical phrases (for facility of performance and for euphony) it is the former which is probably the more important as it is likely that there would be as many sets of euphonious vocables as there were performers of a tune.

2.5 Pipers' uses of canntaireachd.

I have already discussed two, related uses of canntaireachd under the headings 'Pedagogic uses of vocables' and 'Vocables used as a mnemonic', uses which are shared by other types of vocabelising. There remains to discuss the use of

vocables as notation, and pipers' opinions on the importance of using canntaireachd as opposed to using staff notation; points which obviously apply only to pipe-oriented vocabellising.

Some judges of piping competitions have written out books of their own canntaireachd to refer to and remind them of details while judging the competitors. One such judge, Pipe-Major George Stoddart of Edinburgh, also described occasions at competitions earlier this century when some of the women present, wives and daughters of pipers playing, would sit with books of canntaireachd following the performances; possibly an unsettling experience for a nervous competitor.

There is, however, a great drawback to using canntaireachd as written notation: there is no indication of the time value of each note. While cuttings and grace notes present little problem in that they are played as fast and as crisply as the performer's dexterity will allow, parts of some ornaments and many of the theme or melody notes are generally played with a flexible pulse, very much to the individual's musical taste. The fact that the notation specifically designed and devised for pibroch does not contain any indication of note duration could imply one of several attitudes on the part of those who developed it: they might have been completely indifferent to note duration, a theory so unlikely as to warrant dismissal; they may have intended it primarily to be a mnemonic device to remind themselves of tunes with which they were basically familiar; or they may have held the implicit assumption that any competent piper who had absorbed the rules and style governing the composition and performance of pibroch wouldn't need detailed indications about theme note duration, and would in fact find them restrictive. It is impossible to say for sure which, if any, of these theories is correct, or if its creators had something rather different in mind. The consensus among traditional pipers today, however, seems to lean most heavily towards the second attitude suggested above.

...and another thing, I don't think [writing canntaireachd down in books] was for posterity. ...no, it's for their own self, in case they would forget it themselves. ...it's

the same as you and I go to a lecture, you take a notebook with you and you hear the lecturer talking, you'd note down a lot of points here and there, put the book in your pocket, and when you come home take out this book, and the lecture comes back to you. Now, if I picked up your book, it would be no use to me.

SA 1977/164 Bob Nicol

...and then should he forget he can go back to the canntaireachd, if it's printed, and correct himself through that. Quite independent of the staff notation.

SA 1953/5 Pipe-Major William MacLean Fieldworker: Francis Collinson & Calum MacLean

According to pipers such as these, the ideal is to learn the music aurally so as to have the subtleties of phrasing and expression drilled into the ear simultaneously with the main melody and variations by means of the vehicle of canntaireachd. Then seeing or hearing the canntaireachd again will trigger the piper's memory so that all the musical detail he was taught to blend with the canntaireachd will come back to his mind and his fingers. Whether this is done by the sound of the vocables themselves (just as the tunes for some of the waulking songs are remembered and referred to by the vocables attached to them) or by the solmisation properties of the system is immaterial, and the answer is probably that the triggering process is caused by a blend of both.

As written notation, canntaireachd can convey a skeleton of the melody and ornamentation of a pibroch, but without a tutor to flesh out the musical bones with a traditional interpretation, the written canntaireachd is to a large extent useless.

Despite this major drawback to the use of canntaireachd as written notation, many pipers hold strong, adverse views on the gradual substitution of staff notation for the singing of canntaireachd, their point being that a sung version and a written version of canntaireachd went automatically together (i.e. to write it down at all, presuming literacy, pre-supposed a knowledge of how to sing it) while the same is not true of staff notation. Many pipers today could write a pibroch in staff notation without any

idea of a canntaireachd to accompany it. Many traditional pipers inveigh at length against this latter process, and describe vividly the effect they feel it has had on the playing of pibroch.

Personally I think that when the pibroch became tied up in quavers and crotchets and...all the rest of it, I think the soul of the pibroch got imprisoned. Because I maintain that you can't put a man's, the expression of a man's soul on paper. ...in the old days they kept away from monotony ...nowadays it's taped off, so to speak, or as if it were measured off with a foot-ruler, and every note is more or less the same, has the same time value. Whereas in the old style it was like an artist's picture. All the small things were there, but in their proper place. And I don't think you can do that by writing quavers or semi-quavers nor yet demi-semi-quavers.

SA 1952/119 Angus MacPherson Fieldworker: Calum MacLean

...but oh, since it went into staff notation...the timing of tune's been altered, didn't do it any good. ...you see, something's lost. They drew lines, and so many notes have got to go in there, and so many in here. ...something's drifted.

SA 1972/246 Pipe-Major Bob Nicol Fieldworker: Neville MacKay

...and he [John MacDonald of Inverness] maintained that staff notation is most misleading, it's never been perfected in...pibroch music.

SA 1953/256 Pipe-Major Bob Nicol Fieldworker: Robin Lorimer

There never was any book written that can teach a man pibroch. For example, a cadence; there is no way of learning a cadence except from a teacher's lips. There's no music that will teach you to make a cadence...it's impossible to get the slur of a cadence by looking at notes in a book. And it's equally impossible to follow the theme of a pibroch by looking at the score.

SA 1955/128 D.A. MacKenzie Fieldworker: Calum MacLean

...in fact, I think time signatures should be done away with altogether...because [then] you get phrases. Well, let's take that last bit I sang of The Blue Ribbon...that's one phrase, that's six notes. And one would never play it: [illustrates in canntaireachd, separating the first three and second three notes, i.e. pausing at the bar line] in little packets.

There's the classic example of The Lament for Donald Dugal MacKay, which I think is absolutely impossible to write correctly in staff notation. [sings an example]—it's about impossible to put that into quavers and semi-quavers.

SA 1977/168 Pipe-Major Donald Morrison

...as I say, it's like you can be very good in musical theory, but there's something got to come from the heart which nothing in staff notation, there's no sign or signal in staff notation you can put down for this. This is where I think individualism comes into a person's playing, this is where he stamps, hallmarks his playing. Singing, I think, helps a lot to do this.

SA 1977/166 Pipe-Major John Stewart

BF This is an age old problem as to what is the meaning of the bar line, and many people think the phrase is from bar line to bar line.

GM Och, yes, it's clear to me that that's— the great majority in fact, all pipers' idea. That the bar line is the boundary of the croft.

SA 1972/228 George Moss: traditional piper. Fieldworkers: Peter Cooke & Bob Fries

...[John MacDonald of Inverness] could have a look at the music [i.e. staff notation] and explain its deficiencies, and...the brutality of staff notation and that sort of thing, and he was taught by singing, by canntaireachd, and he taught us that way.

SA 1953/256 Pipe-Major Bob Brown Fieldworker: Robin Lorrimer

According to such pipers trying to write pibroch in staff notation is trying to force a square peg into a round hole. A discussion of the reasons for this attitude, other than those given by the pipers themselves above, can be found in Chapter V:3, and are also touched on in section 3.1.3 of this chapter.

2.6 Vocabellising for dancers.

Although it seems that this was once quite common in many contexts, nowadays it is to a large extent a phenomenon of the past. At one time the practice was widespread enough that in some contexts the word 'diddling' was automatically associated with dancing, as witness some of the several definitions of 'diddle' in The Scottish National Dictionary.

To sing in a rather low-pitched key¹² without words, generally as an accompaniment to dancing.

The word 'canter' is defined (rather narrowly) in a similar fashion:

...to make music with the mouth for dancing when a musical instrument was not available; "still used in the landward part of the district, where impromptu dances are of frequent occurrence." (13)

The definitions of 'diddle' are illustrated with quotes as well, some of which pertain to dancing.

If no better instrument was to be had, "playin' on the kame," or "diddlin'" was resorted to...for Scotch reels. (14)

...hence diddler, a person who can diddle an accompaniment for dancing. (15)

Accomplished "diddlers" or "doodlers" often laid one hand flat on the knees and kept smiting it with the other hand to emphasise the time for the dancers. (16)

Diddling for dancers was quite a common practice within living memory, though depending on the context there were differing reasons for calling someone forward to diddle. One of the most common, and practical, reasons was simply if people wanted to dance and there was no instrumentalist present (or present but incapable.)

HH Did ye ever see the tinkers dancin' when they were haein' a spree, man?

RH Oh, aye, aye.

HH And what did they use for music?

RH Oh well, they used bagpipes, but if they had no bagpipes, they used ti, they gied the mouth music.

HH Oh aye? And how did it go?

RH Oh, it went [and sings]

SA 1953/246 Robin Hutchison: ex-farm servant & plain diddler
Fieldworker: Hamish Henderson

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12. My researches have indicated the exact opposite to be the case.
13. from correspondent L. MacInnes of Argyll, 1939.
14. H. Beaton, Back o' Bennachie, Aberdeen (1915)
15. Correspondent apparently untraceable.
16. from correspondent Mrs. Duncan, Ayr, 1928.

HH Did ye ever hear them diddling to the dancing, Jean?
JR Oh yes, when there were no music around, many's the time the older people diddled.
HH They just diddled, hey?
JR Yes.
HH And the young ones'd dance too—
JR Yes, the young ones danced. Many's the time when there wasn't anyone ti play music, they often just diddled—'n by mouth—did the same purpose.

SA 1952/33 Jeannie Robertson Fieldworker: Hamish Henderson

...my grandmother was one of these people who sang when there was a shortage of fiddlers—...and it happened that there were dances and the fiddler would be tired, or there was fiddlers wanting a rest, and they would get up 'n sing this. Oh, there were various people, Jean Pole, another old fiddler, she did the same thing. She played the fiddle and she also sang the tunes.

SA 1977/1 Tom Anderson

KC Do you know anything about, in the old days when they used to dance to people singing?
JS ...yes, well, I've seen it on television, I've seen it at ceilidhs at home [Aviemore] and I've seen it out in Uist when I was out there, it's a very good form of dancing. In the absence of a piper—probably under the table with drink or something—it's fine for somebody to sing and get the same effect for dancing.

SA 1977/166 Pipe-Major John Stewart

One informant described an occasion where the instrument broke down, and he and another man stepped in to fill the breach and keep the dance going:

...oh aye...the melodion went, ah, we struck up, Jimmy Cameron and I..him and I used ti diddle quite a lot in the bothy— And we were...at this open air dance, and, oh, somehow or other the melodion went phut, just finished with a wheeze, so, poor fiddler, we, we went up and started diddling along with the fiddler. He was quite glad o' the help, really, because 't was hard work...oh, he enjoyed it...he asked us if we could keep goin' so's he could get another melodion.

SA 1977/2 Willie Fraser

In other contexts performance diddlers might be recognised and acclaimed by the community, and they would be specifically requested to come forward and perform.

HH What happened when ye didnae hae anyone wi' a box? [accordion]

JA Oh, aye, ye diddled, och aye...they used ti hae Old Maggie the Diddler...and she lived in a wee house, and she used ti diddle at dances, now, that wasnae jist in my time but in my employer's time...

SA 1957/16 Jock Ainslie Fieldworker: Hamish Henderson

...these old women used ti be brought to these dances especially for to lilt...

Miko Rossel: tin-whistler and lilter from Co. Clare, Eire.
Fieldworker: C. Heinrichs

...occasionally, if I'm at a wedding dance, they'll ask me ti diddle something. And the folk go up and dance to it, maybe a strathspey for the Highland Schottische, or maybe a six-eight [i.e. a march in six eight time] or something and they do the Gay Gordons...

SA 1977/2 Willie Fraser

Several informants mention the likelihood of diddling being used when children were learning to dance, as the chances were that no one would impose on a musician during what were probably his working hours, and yet the beginners needed something to dance to.

[after talk of dancing classes in the school house]

AB And what sort of music did you sing, did you diddle it, or what did you do?

EF Oh, I suppose we did, it'd be diddled right enough.

AB You didn't have words to the tunes, for instance?

EF No, no, we just diddled all the music, lovely singers all the girls were.

SA 1969/53 Ethel Findlater: Orkney singer and plain diddler.
Fieldworker: Alan Bruford

It does not necessarily follow that where there is a shortage of instruments or players there will be a proportionately greater appearance of vocabelising (though it is possible that a proportionately greater number will be able to do it) because of the various practical difficulties inherent in singing for dancers. The singer must be able to control his breathing over a long space of time; once he becomes winded he is lost because the demands of a regular pulse and very considerable note density never give him a chance to recuperate. Nor do some singers consider it

acceptable to miss out a note in order to breathe:

...for instance, take that reel o' Tom Anderson's, you've got to do eight bars, I mean, you could stop and take a breath and cut out a note, I suppose: it would have ruined the tune, that's the tune finished, you see, unless you did it a second time through and put that note in and cut another one out somewhere else!

SA 1977/2 Willie Fraser

The performer must also sing at a tempo suitable for dancers, which may be somewhat faster or slower than he would choose if left to himself: the former is particularly likely to throw him off balance. Another problem lies in presenting a variety of tunes. Most often the dance is long enough that to sing only one tune is fairly monotonous, but to switch to another often requires a change of key as well (to accomodate the range of the new tune within the tessitura of the singer's voice). Most traditional singers seem to prefer to stay in one key and strain to reach the notes. Diddlers who have sung for dancers frequently seem to learn which tunes suit them best, and select those they find easiest to sing.

...the fact that you can breathe properly every four bars...makes an awful difference, you see

SA 1977/2 Willie Fraser

2.7 Children's use of vocables.

Though important, this is as yet a largely uninvestigated use of vocabelising, principally because of the difficulty in gathering data other than brief, sporadic and unplanned observations. Most musicians have only the vaguest recollections of their earliest attempts to diddle, though Willie Fraser is an exception to this.

...I was just a kid. I mind fine on diddling, right enough, 't was a doll, but whether I did it right or wrong at that time I don't know, I dinna ken was it even a tune, ye ken? But, eh, I mind fine on sittin' on the doorstep and diddlin' this doll, so I must 'a been maybe three, I suppose thereabouts, or four.

SA 1977/2 Willie Fraser

But such references are rare, and it necessary to gather data by observing children using non-lexical vocables. Such occasions are seldom if ever when one is equipped with a tape recorder, nor would the appearance of a microphone be likely to do anything but end the performance, so for the time being such vocables go unrecorded. There are several instances of children diddling in order to be recorded, encouraged by their parents or by the fieldworker, but this is quite different from the case of a child using vocables as a medium for trying over a song melody or an instrumental tune.

A child who hears diddling around him, who is diddled to by his parents and relatives may absorb not only the melodies themselves, but the ability to vocabelize as well.

KC When do you think you learned to diddle?

BB Oh, my father could diddle fine.

KC Did he? And you just heard him—

BB Oh yes, just heard him, I didnae know I could do it as well. Oh yes, I think we all could.

SA 1977/162 Betsy Brown

Well, I didnae learn it [cantering] but I, just, my mother used ti diddle a lot, and my people was a' pipers... ..used ti often canter a tune ti me, for ti, I could pick it up, like gie me the air o' it.

SA 1977/163 Tommie Stewart: traveller piper of ceòl beag

WF I'd been hearing diddling all the time, you see.

KC From your parents, and just the people about—

WF Aye, well, from the folk about, oh, 't was not only my parents that diddled, I mean the folk round about all diddled.

SA 1977/2 Willie Fraser

PK How d'you actually learn all that? [cantering]

HM Oh, a' my generation, ye ken, a' my folk learnt it. I learnt it hearing things 'n playing... ..we just tried to folly after one another the best we could do...

SA 1956/65 Hugh MacGregor: piper of ceòl beag
Fieldworker: Peter Kennedy

Vocabelising is of course just one of a number of ways in which a child may make musical experiments. It may

however, be an important tool because a child can vocabelize even on just one or two syllables long before he has developed the manual dexterity needed to play an instrument or the retentive powers to remember the words of a song.

A small child's vocables are most likely to come into the plain diddling category because even when imitating an adult singing with imitative and associative vocables, the child is still developing the necessary co-ordination of musical and vocable skills. Also, just as in a child's acquisition of language, he must learn the rules which determine which sounds are "accepted" and which are "not used" in making vocables, and also the shared conventions which largely determine the arrangement of the vocables once these are composed.

In brief, then, while vocabelising may be used as a lullaby or in a game song with children (see next section), that use, as well as the use of diddling helps to enculturate a child musically. The child himself may use vocables as a medium to experiment with and express the music osmotically absorbed from his environment; it may well be the first medium in which he attempts to express the music he hears about him.

2.8 Non-lexical vocables in lullabies and game songs.

This appears to be one of the oldest, widest spread and most commonly recognised uses of vocabelising. Some informants indicated that they thought vocabelising may have originated with this use.

Diddling must have started when the first bairnie was on it's mother's knee, and that's a long time ago.

SA 1972/185 Davy Glen: famous 'professional' diddler,
and winner of diddling competitions.
Fieldworker: Peter Cooke.

^{they} In her book on lullabies, Leslie Daiken seemed to feel that ^{they} probably originated with or evolved from some form of vocabelising:

Of all our lulling songs, then, perhaps the oldest and
_ _ _ most element is this croon without words. (17)

17. Leslie Daiken, The Lullaby Book, London (1959)36

Such statements reflect the prevailing feeling that this use of vocabelising was prevalent before more 'organised' forms were known. In the case of diddling competitions this is probably true, as they seem to be a latter-day phenomenon found mostly in farming communities. Although we have no specific date for the origin of canntaireachd, it seems likely that its appearance is concurrent with the introduction of the bagpipe to Scotland, and the same is probably true of other instrumentally linked forms of diddling. But the genre of vocabelising, rather than its adaptation to portray certain instrumental styles, is probably as old as the musical needs of Scottish culture.

As reflected in the first quote in this section, diddling has long been associated with mothers and children, whether the intention was to liven a child up, keep its attention engaged and amuse it:

They diddled ti the bairns on their knee...

...you can imagine a wee lassie, maybe a nine year old, dancin' ti her Daddy, sittin'— maybe one on his knee and the other on the floor dancin'.

SA 1977/5 Duncan Williamson

...if you start mixing it up by using fancy syllables, well, it may sound like a sort of comic song or something to amuse children...

SA 1977/1 Tom Anderson

—or it may have been intended to have the opposite effect.

...travelling people, well, especially my folk used ti always associate a child with a tune...when I was a child the tune I was...diddled was The Road to the Isles, and so when my wee lassie came I used ti diddle ti all my children and I used ti have this unique way o' puttin' Nicole to sleep by diddling her this particular tune. [he takes her on his lap, gently flicks her eyelids and sings 'her' tune very loudly at first, and then gradually quieter and quieter, down to a whisper, by which time she is sound asleep.]

SA 1977/3 Stanley Robertson

The same informant and his family kindly showed me an

example of a game use of vocables with children, again peculiar to themselves. They all gathered in a circle around the youngest child who sat on the floor smiling and laughing; they walked round her holding hands and singing their special version of the tune Brochan Lom (or Orange and Blue) which included vocables and her pet name, 'Clutie' (short for 'clutie dumpling'); a lovely example of diddling functioning to reaffirm family solidarity.

Another example of vocabelising connected with a game for children is the use of diddling 'dolls', wood[^]dolls designed to be loose-jointed so that they can be made to dance on a board while the performer is diddling. Davy Glen, several times winner of the Kinross diddling competition as well as many others, was adept with them.¹⁸

In The Scottish National Dictionary the word 'diddle' (also 'didle, deadle') has as one of several meanings, "to dandle a child", and illustrates this definition with the quote:

To her grandchildren fondly 'diddled' upon her knee
she tells many a tale. (19)

Another set of definitions includes the use of 'diddling' as a lullaby:

A mither's diddlin' till her bairn can bring
The sleep that flees fae fussle, trump or string.²⁰

I mentioned earlier that diddling to children is the use of vocabelising most commonly recognised by informants outside the piping world. As was illustrated in the quotes from The Scottish National Dictionary the word 'diddle' is itself in some contexts actually synonymous with dandling a child (and presumably singing to it as well, though this is not specifically stated.) This association in peoples' minds of children and

18. In the north-eastern United States such dolls are also still found, and known there as 'lumberjacks'.

19. "Leebie's Woon'", Swatches o' Homespun, 4 Vols., (1924)

20. C. Murray, Sough o' War (1917)

vocables sometimes results in the latter being assigned rather low, or insignificant status; a concept which will be discussed in greater depth in the last section of this chapter.

2.9 Vocables used in refrains.

I have already mentioned the use of improvisatory vocables in lullabies, but these may also contain 'jelled' vocables, as do many kinds of Scots and Gaelic songs, including ballads, work songs, love songs, puirt-a-beul, humorous songs, bawdy songs and others. Indeed, it would be difficult to cite a type of song in which vocable refrains never appear, though it is true that the probability of their appearance is increased in certain types of song. For example, in Gaelic material, lengthy vocable choruses are most frequently found in work songs, particularly in the repertory of songs originally composed for or transferred to use at waulkings,²¹ while in Scots song the likelihood of the presence of a vocable chorus is increased if the theme of the text is humorous, or concerns the exploits of a trickster hero. (See Chapter IV.)

Although the vocables which appear in refrains in Scots and Gaelic song are radically different, the uses to which they are put seem very similar, and do not differ greatly from the manner in which a lexical chorus is used. For the solo singer the refrain provides both a mental, and in instances where an audience joins in, a physical respite from the main body of the song. This is particularly true of a work song, where the physical requirements of the task at hand may demand a large portion of the singer's energy. In recordings of actual waulkings it is often apparent that the solo singer decreases the amount of effort in her singing during the refrain, or even falls silent, marshalling her forces for the next verse.

The presence in a song of a refrain engages the interest of the audience by providing an opportunity for them to join in and share the music-making, while their desire to participate ensures

21. A waulking is a gathering of women who 'waulk' or shrink lengths of hand-woven tweed by thumping it repeatedly on a board. They commonly accompany their work with songs containing extended vocable refrains.

that they remain alert to the solo singer so as to be aware of their cue. Their response is encouraging and supportive to the solo singer not only by giving her a physical respite, but by indicating their interest in and approval of her performance.

As mentioned in the first paragraph of this section, vocable refrains sometimes appear in puirt-a-beul, a gaelic genre where dance tunes have texts (and sometimes vocable refrains) set to them (listen to music example 7.) Although in these songs the vocables are 'jelled', they are used in the same fashion as the improvisatory vocables discussed in sections 2.4 and 2.6 in this chapter (Vocables as a performance medium, and Vocables used for dancing.)

As well as comprising an entire refrain, vocables may also appear in more fragmentary form at specific points in each verse or each lexical refrain. This is especially true in Gaelic songs (other than work songs). Here they may serve the same purpose of allowing the singer a minute mental 'breather', as well as providing an opportunity for purely musical expression through the medium of sounds chosen for euphony rather than semantic content. (See Chapter V: 4.1.6).

3. Context and use linked to the fluctuating status of vocabelising.

It has already been demonstrated that in Scotland diverse groups of musicians use vocabelising in a variety of ways in a number of traditional contexts. Where such a large and somewhat disparate group of individuals is involved it is hardly surprising that there should be differing concepts about music among them, even concerning a music activity like vocabelising which is found in so many overlapping musical environments. Although the various functions which vocabelising is made to serve are discussed in Chapter V, I intend to precede that discussion here with an outline of the nature of the fluctuating status of vocabelising in Scotland since opinions expressed by informants can vary to a bewildering degree. Thus, depending on the individual's concepts about vocabelising, which are

presumably absorbed in the context(s) in which he most often meets it, an informant may variously give the impression that vocabelising is totally insignificant, that it's something every mother does for her children, that it's a specialised musical skill which only a few can develop, that it's an acceptable substitute for an instrument, or that it's a mystical 'secret language' comprehended only by an élite among pipers. For the purpose of analysis, and bearing in mind the dangers of over-rigorous classification, I have separated holders of opinions about vocables into three broad groups: those who regard it as musically insignificant, those who award it middling status, and those who award it very high status, and regard it as equal to an instrumental rendition.

3.1 Vocables linked with children and/or bawdy song.

Where vocables are linked in peoples' minds with children, with use in bawdy or obscene song, and with filling in memory lapses in the performance of a song, they are generally regarded as being of low or insignificant status. In the case of diddling for children, this is perhaps because in context the performance is taken so much for granted. Such vocabelising is quiet and unobtrusive music, not intended to reflect upon the performer's talent or exhibit his vocable skill, and aimed only at an extremely limited and non-discerning audience. It is quite un-selfconscious music which does not seek an audience or the commendation of the community. Thus the community saves its plaudits and admiration for the musical activities which, by their performance-oriented nature, demand them.

In the second case, vocables may be associated with use in bawdy or obscene song in one (or more) of several ways. Not only do such songs frequently contain vocable choruses, in the text vocables may be ^{used} euphemistically, and to heighten a comic effect. An example of vocables replacing tabu words is seen in the text of a Scots song which has the recurring phrase, "...would you like a bang at my ricky-dum-doo?" (SA 1960/156 Aronia Stewart Fieldworker: Kenneth Goldstein). Another example illustrating

how vocables can be used in several ways at once is found in the song well known in Britain and in Eire (and the U.S.) as well, An Old Man Come Courtin' Me.²¹

First verse:

An old man come courtin' me, hey ding dorum da:
An old man come courtin' me, diddle aye ay,
An old man come courtin' me, "Faith, will ye marry me?"
Maids, when you're young, never wed an old man!

First chorus:

'Cause he's got no falorum aye orum aye orum ah:
He's got no falorum aye iddle aye ay,
He's got no falorum, he's lost his ding dorum, so
Maids, when you're young, never wed an old man!

Last verse:

When he went to sleep (as before)
When he went to sleep (as before)
When he went to sleep, out of the bed I'd creep
Into the arms of a handsome young man!

Last chorus:

And he got my falorum aye orum aye orum ah,
He got my falorum aye iddle aye ay,
He got my falorum, I found his ding dorum, so
Maids, when you're young, never wed an old man!

In this example the vocables form a large proportion of both verse and refrain, the lexical content of the song being cleverly structured so that the meaning of the vocables can change and become gradually more explicit as the song progresses. In the first verse they are nonsense syllables, no more, no less. In the first chorus, however, they are made to refer to an old man's impotence, his inability to sexually satisfy a young girl. In the last chorus the meaning becomes even more specific, so that the ostensible disguise of the nonsense syllables is merely a facade, intentionally heightening the comic effect. Here, it is specifically their lack of exact, lexical content which makes the vocables so extremely flexible.

The vocables in this, and in most songs are 'jelled', or largely unchanging; they were built into the text and the music

21. This variant was learned by the author from a publican in Co. Mayo, Eire.

(which was composed with the normal limitations of the human voice taken into consideration). Thus, unlike a performer trying to sing tunes composed for an instrument, the singer here needs no special agility to perform sounds with the same syllable density in time as lexical words. The case is much the same for the memory lapses mentioned earlier. Vocables substituted to preserve the flow and continuity of the performance until the singer can recall the text are simply that, substitutes for missing words.²² As such they serve a useful purpose, and reflect the concept that, once begun, the continuity of a musical event should be preserved if at all possible; but the 'folk evaluation' of such vocables is predictably low.

3.2 The status of vocables used as a performance medium.

Where vocabelising appears in a performance context it seems to be awarded middling status by most informants, whether or not the style is instrumentally linked. The ability to vocabelise is sometimes seen as a special skill, or an extra musical accomplishment; performers judged 'good' by a community may be actively sought out and requested to perform, and this is still true today. Willie Fraser of Aberlour finds his diddling skills in request at barn and wedding dances, as well as in competitions at folk festivals.

In contexts such as these, a vocabelised tune is appreciated not only for its practical ability to substitute for a broken instrument or a tired musician, but is obviously seen as a performance worthy of respect in its own right. The vocables themselves, however, are not regarded as especially significant: rather what seems to be appreciated is the skill of the performer in producing them in a pleasing fashion, and in defiance of the problems inherent in singing tunes intended for an instrument.

3.3 Vocables associated with the bagpipes.

22. See: Francis Collinson, The Traditional & National Music of Scotland, London (1966)²⁷ for a reference to and transcription of a traveller diddling a ballad tune because of a memory lapse.

As has already been demonstrated, there are various sub-groups of opinion within the range of musicians who use pipe-oriented vocables, but it seems safe to say that any type of pipe-vocabelising is regarded by its exponents as having higher status than any type of diddling, or non-pipe vocabelising. I have already indicated that what I've labelled 'individual canntaireachd' tends to have to have slightly lower status among traditional pipers than 'formal canntaireachd', while both are considered by pipers to have higher status than the cantering of a non-piper (which tends to use the associative vocables of traditional pipers in an imitative manner, i.e. without comprehension of their relationship to specific aspects of the music.) But the exponents of all these forms regard them as a significant portion of their musical accomplishments, and a significant contribution to their musical environment.

Traditional pipers award pibroch canntaireachd the highest status that any musician awards to any form of vocabelising in Scotland. The reasons for this are various: its ancient use as the medium for teaching conveys to them a sense of musical and cultural identity and continuity, while at the same time canntaireachd is seen not only as a preserver of pibroch, but as the only medium through which pipers' musical heritage can be kept 'pure', i.e. unacculturated. Traditionally the piper is a dominant, often a heroic figure, sometimes with a rather exaggerated sense of his own importance, as can be seen in many piping legends. The hereditary piper's position in the hierarchy of a chieftain's retainers was unusually high as well.

It was usual for these hereditary pipers to be esteemed of no ordinary rank among the retainers of noble families. We can therefore readily believe the tradition regarding the MacCrimmons which describes them as, of manly bearing, with a pride of family in their blood, and always looked upon as a class apart. (23)

The complex, associative nature of piper's solmisation systems is unique in Scotland to pipe music, as indeed are the martial connotations, the association with clan structure and

highland tradition, in fact with all things Celtic:

The Phìob Mhor, or Great Highland Bag-Pipe, therefore...is sacred to Scotland, to whose inhabitants it speaks a language which no others can appreciate, and excites a feeling in their breasts to which others are strangers. (24)

A similar point of view is expressed in somewhat hyperbolic language by a later writer.

Is it mere fancy alone that makes piobaireachd great? No! It is because it expressed in harmony the romance, the renown, the glory, the tragedy, the joys and sorrows, the memories and hopes of our beloved forefathers.

The love song, the battle song, and the song of lamentation all possess a common feature. They can be read and understood by all, whereas "Ceol Mor" [sic] can only be appreciated and translated by the genuine Highlander. (25)

For pipers, neither the fiddle, the melodion, harmonium or more recently, accordion can be said to carry the emotive and culturally connotative burden of the bagpipes; perhaps only the clarsach, or Scottish harp, can make a claim to a similar cultural symbolism.

An interesting point about the status of canntaireachd is that not only pipers, but musicians and non-musicians aware of it also tend to regard it with interest and respect, tinged with a wariness of what they regard as its exotic characteristics. This attitude may have arisen in part from references to canntaireachd as an incomprehensible 'language' which in turn became muddled with theories about the pipe's legendary ability to 'speak', and convey messages and information. An early reference of this kind comes from the preface to Donald MacDonald's A Collection of the Ancient Martial Music of Caledonia Called Piobaireachd(1882):

The feelings which other instruments awaken are general and undefined because they talk to Frenchmen,

24. Angus MacKay, A Collection of Ancient Piobaireachd or Highland Bagpipe Music, Aberdeen(1838)15

25. J.P. Grant, Piobaireachd: Its Origin and Construction, Edinburgh (1915)102

Spaniards, and Germans and Highlanders, for they are common to all. But the bagpipe is sacred to Scotland, and speaks a language which Scotsmen only can feel. (26)

In this quote, and in the quote from Angus MacKay on the preceding page, it is clearly only a metaphorical description of the music as a language which is intended. References to the belief frequently expressed in folk tales that pipers could make the pipes 'speak' are also found in fairly early sources.

For the information of those who do not know the ways of the Scotch Highlanders, let me add that nearly all compositions of this class [pibroch]...have histories. In many of them it is said that the hearers understood the new music played; as though instrumental music were a language capable of translation into words. (27)

A similar attitude is expressed by a later writer on the subject.

Many stories were told, and believed, in the old days, of how the piper, in an impromptu, warned his friends of danger; told the numbers and disposition of the enemy; pointed out the ambush, and indicated the weak spot in the defence. (28)

An example of a statement which could easily have been misconstrued so as to lead toward the theory that the pipes could 'speak' is found in W.L. Manson's The Highland Bagpipe (Paisley, 1901):

Pipe music has many voices, and it expressed many of the emotions which are given vent to by language that can be printed. (p.89)

Manson himself in no way supports the theory, and includes a clear discussion of how he thinks this misconception gained credence on pages 92-97 of the book mentioned above.

Apart from metaphorical references to the pipe music functioning like a language, there are also definitions of canntaireachd

26. This quote is so similar in content and style to that of Angus MacKay's on the preceding page that it seems a foregone conclusion that the latter was familiar with MacDonald's treatise published 16 years earlier.

27. J. Cambell, Canntaireachd: Articulate Music, Glasgow (1880)34

28. A.D. Fraser, The Bagpipe, Edinburgh (no date given)426

specifically designating it as such:

...a peculiar language used by a school of musicians
in Skye for teaching, learning, and remembering music. (29)

An example of how the two concepts (that of canntaireachd
being a language, and that of the pipe's ability to 'speak') come
to be merged together is apparent in the following quote.

Pibroch's language is of course what we call canntaireachd.
It is a sort of humming and its sounds are interchangeable
with the chanter notes...the words or 'chant notes' are
unintelligible except when considered as a whole in a melody,
and then we strangely enough can sometimes get a message—
hence the saying, *Leig leis a' Phìob bruidheann*, (Let the
pipes speak.) (30)

Although few if any pipers would support this view today,
these mythical attributes still help to increase the status of
canntaireachd, while at the same time its associative nature makes
it seem bewildering and doubtless incomprehensible to anyone un-
familiar with the ornamental intricacies of the music it is
designed to represent. Also, as will be seen in Chapter III, the
sounds which pipers use to compose their vocables often include a
selection of sounds which may seem exotic to musicians or audiences
familiar only with the more restricted range of sounds heard in
Scots-English diddling. This element of incomprehensibility (except
among an élite), the aura of exoticism lent by the use of Gaelic
sounds and the general atmosphere of ancient obscurity all help
to increase the status of canntaireachd among non-pipers.

Another point about the status of canntaireachd among pipers
themselves is that since they tend to conceive of it more as a
method of conveying information than as a medium for entertainment,
it is not regarded by them as a 'specialist' activity, as vocabel-
ising often seems to be in a performance context. This is not to say
that they cannot perform an entire piece in canntaireachd: many of
them can, and will do so on request. It seems likely that pipe-
oriented vocabelising may have originated to fulfil a need felt by all

29. J. Campbell, op.cit. 3

30. Dr. R. Ross, Binneas is Bòreraig II, Edinburgh (1959) no page
numbering given.

pipers for a musical shorthand that was at once quicker, demanded less energy and time than blowing up the full pipes, and at the same time could clarify musical details which could then be translated back onto the pipes. Canntaireachd's usefulness and suitability for fulfilling this role seems to have resulted in the piper's conviction that pibroch could not exist in traditional form without canntaireachd; and hence the high status which they award to it.

To summarise then, the status of vocabelising ^{differs} fluctuates according to the use and folk evaluation of the function most prevalent in the context(s) familiar to the informant. Where diddling and vocables are linked in peoples' minds with lullabies and game songs for children, with vocable choruses and euphemistic replacement of tabu words or actions in bawdy song, and with the substitution of vocables for text in the vent of a memory lapse, they are assigned very low or insignificant status. Indeed, informants may hardly be conscious of their existence as a musical phenomenon, and frequently are unwilling to perform vocabelising to the exclusion of what they consider to be their more significant musical contribution. In contexts where vocabelising is seen as a performance genre worthy of regard in its own right, and possibly also as a specialist activity which only a few musicians can develop, it is assigned almost the same status as an instrumental rendition of the tune. (I use the cautious wording because in some performance contexts where there is a comic element involved, e.g. with the diddling dolls mentioned previously, or during the baby-diapering contest described above, there is a lean in attitude toward the lower status of vocabelising associated with children). Among traditional pipers and especially among "apostolic" pipers canntaireachd is assigned very high status, both in its own right and in relation to other forms of vocabelising. Opinions range from considering it to be a convenient shorthand peculiar to pipers, to considering it indispensable for the preservation of a traditional (i.e. to pipers, musically meaningful) interpretation of pibroch.

CHAPTER III: An Analysis of Improvisatory Vocabellising

Introduction.

Although the types of vocabellising previously described are all modes of communication they cannot individually or collectively be considered language, a fact which makes linguistic analysis of them peculiarly difficult. It would be possible to make a general phonetic analysis of vocabellising (that is, to analyse the sounds produced and the manner in which the organs of speech must be manipulated to produce them) independently of language meaning. This does not, however, appear to be a particularly useful or rewarding approach in this instance since the repertory of sounds used for vocabellising is a subset of the repertory of sounds used in Scots-English and Scots-Gaelic, both of which have been studied by linguists. At first sight it would seem that a phonological approach to an analysis (that is, a study of the sounds composing a given language and how they function within it to form words) might prove more productive, but again problems arise from the unusual nature of this speech phenomenon. The first of these is that although each individual communicating music with vocabellises will rely principally on the sounds and combinatorial restrictions governing the arrangement of sounds in his native tongue, he may also, as in the case of pipe-oriented vocabellising, include in his repertory sounds and combinatorial possibilities which have drifted in from his second language, whether that be Scots or Gaelic. In the case of monoglot English speaking pipers, they may use Gaelic sounds and constructions without any knowledge of the language.

The second problem with a phonological analysis of vocabellising arises with the concept of the phoneme, described by A.C. Gimson as "...the smallest contrastive linguistic unit which may bring about a change of meaning."¹ Thus, for example, in the minimal pairs "pin, bin, sin, tin, kin, gin, win, fin", [pɪn, bɪn, sɪn, tɪn, kɪn, ɡɪn, wɪn, fɪn] the contrastive linguistic unit which changes the lexical meaning

1. A.C. Gimson, An Introduction to the Pronunciation of English, London (1962, 2nd edition 1970)44

of each utterance is the first element of the word. This method of discerning phonemes by establishing the distinguishing factor among minimal pairs is called the criteria of opposition; other criteria for discerning the phonemes of a language include parallel and complementary distribution and phonetic similarity, but as my purpose here is simply to describe what a phoneme is they need not concern us. In general the phonemes of his mother tongue are intuitively obvious to the native speaker.

The second problem facing a phonological analysis of vocabellising is now apparent: the sounds with which the vocables are constructed cease to become phonemes, or contrastive linguistic units because the substitution of one for another cannot change the meaning of a vocable which has no lexical content. A performer using vocables constructs them out of the basic building blocks or repertory of sounds familiar to him from his native language, this being the handiest, indeed, almost the only repertory of sounds available to him for constructing syllables. But whereas with language these sounds function contrastively so as to bring about a change of lexical meaning, when used in conjunction with music their purpose is to enhance musical communication rather than to create lexical sense.

If, then, it is redundant to examine this repertory of sounds phonetically, and incorrect to say that they are phonemes, how can one analyse them? The answer seems to be an adapted phonological approach closely combined with an examination of the musical influence on the vocables. If we consider that an individual is for the most part using the building blocks (in language, phonemes) of his native tongue to form non-lexical (though musically expressive) syllables, it is not surprising that he intuitively follows the ground rules his language provides for combining sounds when he constructs non-lexical vocables instead of words. A phonological approach is therefore necessary for the examination of those syllables. To comprehend the manner in which vocables can enhance musical communication it is of course essential to have the relationship between musical and speech sounds and phrases constantly in mind as well.

The transcriptions upon which this analysis is based (approximately one hundred, ranging in length from eight to sixty-four bars) were done with the goal of comparison in mind so that although the music transcriptions are descriptive and the vocable transcriptions phonetic (as is indicated by square brackets) they are both done as broadly as possible to avoid amassing a quantity of data burdened by an overwhelming and unnecessary amount of detail which would have made comparison of a large number of pieces almost impossible. Deciding which pieces of information are essential and which irrelevant is the difficult and ultimately subjective task of virtually every scholar; the intuitions which guided my choices were developed while listening to (and recording a portion of) 420 examples of vocabelising from about a hundred informants (see Appendix 1) as well as during the more intensive listening sessions necessary for transcription and during interviews with some of the informants.

1. Some Phonological Basics.

Before proceeding to the actual analysis it is necessary in this first section to introduce several concepts crucial to a phonological study, and which are important to the comprehension of the following analysis. These include the concepts of; the syllable, syllabic and non-syllabic elements, syllable formulae, structure and system (syntagmatic and paradigmatic relationships), and the difference between actual and potential syllables.

1.1 The syllable - syllabic and non-syllabic elements.

It seems to be virtually impossible to define a syllable, although paradoxically native speakers of a language usually know intuitively where the boundaries of syllables lie in any given word. After reviewing several attempts to define the concept, A.C. Gimson sums up:

A term need not, of course, be defined simply because it has existed for 2000 years. If experimental procedures provide evidence of a unit above the sound segment at the physiological or acoustic levels of speech, or if, at the linguistic structural level, a unit consisting of groups of

phonemes is found to be useful, then the term 'syllable' may well be applied to it. (2)

Syllables are generally supposed to be comprised of two kinds of elements; syllabic and non-syllabic, (in Gimson's terminology, nuclear or central, and marginal or non-central.) The syllabic element is the nucleus of the syllable, invariably present and usually termed a vowel.^{3a} In the following words the syllabic element has been underlined: be, I, fiddle; /bi, ɑɪ, fɪdl̩/. In the first two examples the syllabic element is, as expected, a vowel, however the latter half of the third example illustrates that it is possible for certain consonants^{3b} to function as the syllabic element. The /l/ phoneme in the transcription is marked with the diacritic (̩) to indicate this syllabic function, which will be seen to be of importance later in this analysis.

Non-syllabic elements are those sounds, if any, surrounding the nucleus of the syllable, which are usually termed consonants. They need not necessarily be present, or they may appear only before or only after the syllabic element. In the same examples, the non-syllabic element is now underlined: be, I, (which has no non-syllabic element) and fiddle: /bi, ɑɪ, fɪdl̩ /.

1.2 Syllable formulae - releasing and arresting position - clusters.

It is possible to show the construction of syllables in formula by representing the syllabic element as V (for vowel) and the non-syllabic element as C (for consonant), though it should be remembered that occasionally a consonant may function syllabically, i.e. as a vowel. There are two kinds of syllable structures, open and closed. A syllable ended with a consonant is said to be closed, one which is not ended with a consonant is said to be open. Consonants found at the beginning of a syllable are termed releasing consonants, those at the end or close of the syllable, arresting

2. ibid. 53

3a. & 3b. As with the term 'syllable' I have skirted a major discussion of terms so difficult to define. For further reading see: David Abercrombie, Elements of General Phonetics, Edinburgh (1967)34-41; A.C. Gimson, op. cit.27-41; J. Lyons, Introduction to Theoretical

consonants. A syllable formula may need to represent two or more consonants in releasing or arresting position since many languages, including English and Gaelic, allow clustering of consonants.

The possibilities in English syllable structure range from simple (V), for example in "eye", /aɪ/ all the way to (CCVC) as in "splash", /splʌʃ/ and (CVCCCC) as in "sixths", /sɪksθs/. The vocables used to perform Scottish traditional music, however, do not exhibit clusters of more than two consonants, and these are quite rare, and found only in releasing position.⁴ This is probably for the practical reason that it would be extremely difficult to sing them quickly enough.

1.3 The syllable formulae used in vocabelising.

The syllable formulae used in vocabelising consist of three open and three closed formulae, respectively: (V), (CV), (CCV) and (VC), (CVC), (CCVC). That is, only six out of approximately twenty syllable formulae possible in English are used. In diddling the formulae including clusters are heard so rarely as to be virtually unused, so that it can fairly be said that only four syllabic formulae are used in that kind of vocabelising. The following chart (III-1) compares the proportionate use of the six syllabic formulae in question. Reading from left to right, the first two rectangles show the various formulae as they are used in all forms of pipe-oriented vocabelising, first in stressed and then in unstressed position. The second two rectangles represent the use of the same formulae in diddling, while the fifth rectangle is a composite of the previous four. It can readily be seen that by far the most frequently used formula is (CV) which by itself accounts for just over 75% of all the vocables counted. Other points to note are that the formulae (CCV) and (CCVC) are only used to any extent by pipe-oriented vocabelisers, while the same formulae plus that of (VC) only account for about 6% of all canntaireachd vocables. That is, the formulae (V), (CV) and (CVC) are much the most common in all styles

3. cont'd: Linguistics, Cambridge (1968)103-105; J.D. O'Connor, Phonetics, Aylesbury (1973)125-274.

4. This and all such statements in this chapter are based on a count of approximately 9000 vocables from the transcriptions mentioned.

in the genre. This is one of the first indications of the highly restrictive nature of vocabelising in Scotland.

1.4 Structure and system.

The next two concepts to be discussed are those of structure and system. Within a syllable each segment is said to "enter into a structure" with all the other sounds or segments combining to form the syllable. Thus, the consonant /h/ enters into a structure with /-ʌm/ to form the syllable /hʌm/, "hum". Each language has its own rules regulating the formation of structures, indicating which segments may combine and in what order; there are always combinations which are not acceptable. Thus in English "bong", /bɔŋ/ is an acceptable syllable, while "ngob", /ŋɔ b/ is not since the combinatorial restrictions of English do not allow the voiced velar nasal stop /ŋ/ to appear as a releasing consonant. Clusters are often restricted; simply reversing the order of a two-segment cluster will often violate the structural rules of English. Thus "twin", /twɪn/ is acceptable, "wtin", /wtɪn/ is not. Clusters are also often restricted as to position within the syllable, that is, they are often confined either to releasing or to arresting position. Thus "apt", /apt/ is acceptable, but "pta", /ptʌ/, is not⁵ indicating that the cluster /pt/ may appear in arresting but not in releasing position, though in both cases the formula of the syllable is acceptable in English: (VCC) and (CCV).

Just as certain structural combinations are not accepted within a language, certain structures which are accepted within a language may not be accepted within the conventions of vocabelising of that same language. Thus while "blat", /blat/ is acceptable to the structural rules of English it does not happen to be a possible vocable even though each sound is permissible individually, and the syllabic formula is also accepted. This point may be summarised by saying that the class of acceptable structural combinations for

5. It is important to remember that orthography is irrelevant to a phonological study. The spelling "pta....." is of course found in the word "ptarmigan", however the phonemic transcription of the same word, /tʌrmɪgən/ indicates that the "p" in the orthography is totally superfluous.

vocabelising is (with occasional exceptions) a sub-set of the class of acceptable structural combinations in the native tongue of the performer.

As well as entering into a structure with all the other elements combining to form a syllable, a sound or segment is said to "enter into a system" with all the elements which could replace it to form another structurally acceptable syllable. Thus /h/ enters into a system with /pl, r or s/ in the structure /-Λm/ to form "hum, plum, rum and sum." In the same way the /Λ/ enters into a system with /a/ and /i/ to form "ham" and "him". Just as certain structural combinations are not acceptable in vocabelising, similar restrictions are evident in the formation of the class of sounds which may enter into a system with elements in a given structure found in vocabelising. Again, such a class is (for the most part) a sub-set of the class of possible Scots-English and/or Scots-Gaelic sounds which could enter into a system within a given structural combination.

In sum, then, each sound or segment is part of a structure with the other sounds composing the syllable, and part of a system with all the alternative segments which could replace it to form another syllable. This relationship holds true for phrases and sentences (and, to a lesser extent, strings of vocables) as well. Given the phrase "...a pint of milk," pint enters into a structure with all the other elements (in this case, words) in the phrase. Pint also enters into a structure with all the other elements which might replace it in that phrase, i.e. "cup, gallon," etc. Obviously many words which would be gramatically correct would not make lexical sense, thus "ball, tree and horse" are not part of the system.

A word or sound which enters into a structure with other words or sounds is said to be in a syntagmatic relationship with them. A word or sound which enters into a system with other words or sounds is said to be in a paradigmatic relationship with the set of alternatives. Because vocables lack semantic content, their syntagmatic and paradigmatic relationships are less restricted at the level where they combine to form phrases. But these relation-

ships are more restricted at the level where sounds are combining to form vocables since all combinatorial restrictions of the native tongue of the performer are generally first observed, after which the informant's intuitive comprehension of the style in which his type of vocabelising is performed further regulates his construction and arrangement of vocables.

In non-imitative and non-associative vocabelising, syntagmatic relationships are governed partly by the restricted repertory of vocables available for use, partly by the informant's sense of what is euphonic and musically expressive, and partly by what is easy or possible for him to sing, this latter being particularly true of a piece performed at a brisk tempo. In this type of vocabelising paradigmatic relationships are largely governed by the fact that each of the factors mentioned above is fairly flexible, and even though the repertory is restricted there may well be more than one vocable which can fit into a certain phrase which is simultaneously euphonic, expresses musical aspects, and is still in accord with the fairly broad 'rules' governing the arrangement of vocables.

In the case of imitative and associative vocabelising the syntagmatic and paradigmatic relationships are governed by slightly different factors. The former are largely guided by the fact that imitative and associative vocables represent specific musical features which come at specific places in the music, thus the need to portray these features is the guiding principle, rather than a concern for relationships among the vocables themselves. One can only say 'largely guided', however, because the fact that paradigmatic alternatives are used in all kinds of vocabelising indicates that syntagmatic relationships are not entirely ruled by the music, or there would be no paradigmatic alternatives. The fact that there are indicates that many of the factors which apply to non-imitative and non-associative vocabelising are also in operation in determining the syntagmatic and paradigmatic relationships in 'representative' vocabelising. These concepts will be discussed in greater depth in section 3. of this chapter.

1.5 Actual and potential syllables.

One more phonological basic which is relevant to this study is the distinction drawn between actual and potential syllables. I have already discussed the fact that certain structural combinations of phonemes are not acceptable within a given language. There are, however, syllables which conform with combinatorial restrictions but which are not actual syllables because they are not used in any word of the language in question. For example, /hɪp/, "hip", is an actual English syllable, appearing in "hippotamus", "hypocrite" and just plain "hip". But the syllable /blat/ "blatch", is not an actual syllable because it does not appear in any English word. Such syllables are referred to as potential syllables.

While most of the syllables found in Scottish vocabularising are actual syllables in Scots-English and/or Scots-Gaelic, it is possible to find examples which are potential in one language and non-permissible in the other, and even rarely non-permissible in both. An example of a potential Scots-English syllable is heard in the second half of a vocable "word" commonly used by pipers, [tə.xəm], "tachum."⁶ An example of a vocable used by both Scots and Gaelic pipers which falls outside the parameters of Scots-English is [ɕ],⁷ while an example of a vocable which falls outside the parameters of both Scots-English and Scots-Gaelic is [xi].⁸ Such instances of unusual or unfamiliar sounds used in positions in which they may

6. Mr. J. Aitken, currently at work on The Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue at the School of Scottish Studies, informs me that in Scots /x/ occurs post and inter-vocally. Thus in the vocable 'word' /x/ is used in a manner which complies with the combinatorial restrictions of Scots-English.

7. A.C. Gimson's charts setting forth the combinatorial restrictions of English (op. cit. 241-45) include /ɕ/ (transcribed as /hj/) appearing in combination only with /u/ and /ə/, whereas in vocabularising [ɕ] may combine in structure CV with [ʌ, ə, ɔ, ɛ, ɔɪ]. With additions such as the extra phoneme /x/, Mr. Aitken considers that these charts apply to Scots-English.

8. As mentioned above, /x/ in Scots appears post or inter-vocally so its appearance here as a releasing consonant is not a Scottish-English construction. According to C. Hj. Bergström, "A Linguistic Survey of the Gaelic Dialects of Scotland", Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap, I & II, Oslo (1940-41), /xi/ is not a permissible Gaelic combination, although /x/ does combine with many more vowels than in Scots-English.

not appear in language help to account for what English-speaking non-pipers sometimes detect and describe as the exotic and peculiar qualities of canntaireachd.

The remainder of this chapter will be devoted to an attempt to answer three basic questions about the nature of vocabelising. What sounds are used? (Section 2). How are the sounds combined to form vocables? (Section 3). How are the vocables combined and in what relation to the music? (Section 4). In Section 2 I will discuss both individual and categorical sound inventories and the proportionate use of specific sounds (i.e. some sounds are very much more popular than others in certain types of vocabelising.) In Section 3 I will present a vocable 'grammar' illustrating the combinatorial restrictions governing the formation of vocables. In Section 4 I will discuss a number of the factors influencing the choice and combination of vocables into phrases: the relationship of choice or selection of vowel to pitch, the relationship of choice of sound to stressed or unstressed position (as dictated by the music), the relationship of choice of vowel to note duration, imitative and associative vocables, and the principles of minimum effort and of contrast.

The broad stylistic categories I have used in this analysis accord with the basic distinction in style drawn by virtually all informants, that is, between pipe-oriented and non-pipe oriented vocabelising, which for brevity's sake I often refer to as pipe and non-pipe, or canntaireachd and diddling. There are subtle variations in style within the former group which will be discussed in section 2. The finer divisions made within the genre of vocabelising in the first chapter of this thesis are based not so much on the sounds composing the vocables (as is the case here) but rather on an assessment of the use and function of vocabelising in context as well as on other important factors (for example, the proportion of associative vocables used.) Of these finer categories, 'plain diddling' and 'instrumental diddling' fall here into the non-pipe category, while 'cantering', 'individual canntaireachd' and

'formal canntaireachd' fall into the pipe category. The original definitions are not the less valid, rather they are based on other than purely audible factors which must be the main concern of this type of analysis.

2. Categorical and Individual Sound Inventories (Which singer uses what sounds?)

2.1 The sounds used in diddling and canntaireachd juxtaposed.

In Chart III-2a on the next page I have juxtaposed the consonant sounds used in canntaireachd and diddling⁹ in stressed and unstressed position (which hereafter may be referred to as SV for 'stressed vocable' and unSV for 'unstressed vocable'.)

The places of articulation¹⁰ (see Chart III-3a for illustration) are listed in this chart on the vertical axis beginning with that which is furthest forward in the mouth (i.e. the lips) at the top, so that 'further into the mouth' corresponds to 'down the page'. The uvular and pharyngeal places of articulation are omitted since no vocable incorporates any segment produced at either one. Chart III-2b compares all English and Gaelic consonant sounds with the selective inventory of sounds used in vocabelising shown in Chart III-2a.

It is obvious at a brief glance that there is a much larger repertory of 'accepted' sounds among pipers than among musicians performing diddling. Another point of interest evident from Chart III-2a is the appearance of the voiced dental fricative [ð] (as in "the") only in unstressed position in both pipe and non-pipe inventories. The only voiced/voiceless pairs appearing are the labial and alveolar oral stops, [p, b] and [t, d]. In pipe-oriented vocabelising voiced consonants are favoured by two to one,

9. Sounds used by only one informant or extremely rarely were not included in the chart. These were [f] (labio-dental), [dʒ] (palato-alveolar), [s] (alveolar), [k, g, ŋ] (velar), and the double articulation [w] (labial and velar).

10. A clear explanation of place of articulation (referred to above) and manner of articulation (referred to on the next page) can be found in Elements of General Phonetics by David Abercrombie, Edinburgh (1967) 42-54.

CHART III-2a		Consonant sounds used in all types of Canntaireachd in:		Consonant sounds used in all types of Diddling in:	
Place of articulation		Consonant sounds used in all types of Canntaireachd in:		Consonant sounds used in all types of Diddling in:	
		Stressed Vocables (SV)	Unstressed Vocables (unSV)	Stressed Vocables (SV)	Unstressed Vocables (unSV)
Bilabial		p,b; m	p,b	p;m	p,b;m
Labiodental		v	v		
Dental			ð		ð
Alveolar		t,d,l;n;r,r	(as in SV)	t,d;n;l;r	(as in SV)
Palato-alveolar		tʃ			
Palatal		ʃ,j	(as in SV)		
Velar		x	(" " ")		
Glottal		h,ʔ	(" " ")	h	

Chart III-2b.

Scots-English and Scots-Gaelic consonants



h (ph) = aspiration - (t) = velarized
(b) = voiceless - (n) = dental
(k) = palatalized

stricture	position of velum	(oral) direction of air stream	labial	labio-dental	dental	alveolar	palato-alveolar	retroflex	palatal	velar	glottal	manner of articulation
complete closure	lowered	—	m		n	n			ɲ	ŋ		nasal stop
	assumed to be raised	—	p b		t d	tʰ dʰ	tʃ dʒ			k g	ʔ	oral stop
close approximation		central		f v	θ ð	s z	ʃ ʒ		ç j	x		(central) fricative
open approximation		cen.			ç	s	ʃ		ç j	x ɣ		(central) approximant
		cen.	w							w		" " " " (double articulation)
		lateral				l			ɬ			lateral approximant
intermittent closure		cen.				r						trill
		cen.				r						one-tap trill

*[tʃ] and [dʒ] are affricates, that is, segments made with a stricture of complete closure and released through a stricture of close approximation

but in non-pipe forms the split is more evenly divided; five voiced and three voiceless consonants being selected. In pipe forms manner of articulation covers a wide range, including nasal and oral stops, central fricatives, central and lateral approximants, the alveolar trill and 'tap' [ɾ], and an affricate, [tʃ]. In non-pipe forms there are nasal and oral stops, central and lateral approximants, the voiced dental fricative and the alveolar tap; a more limited selection.

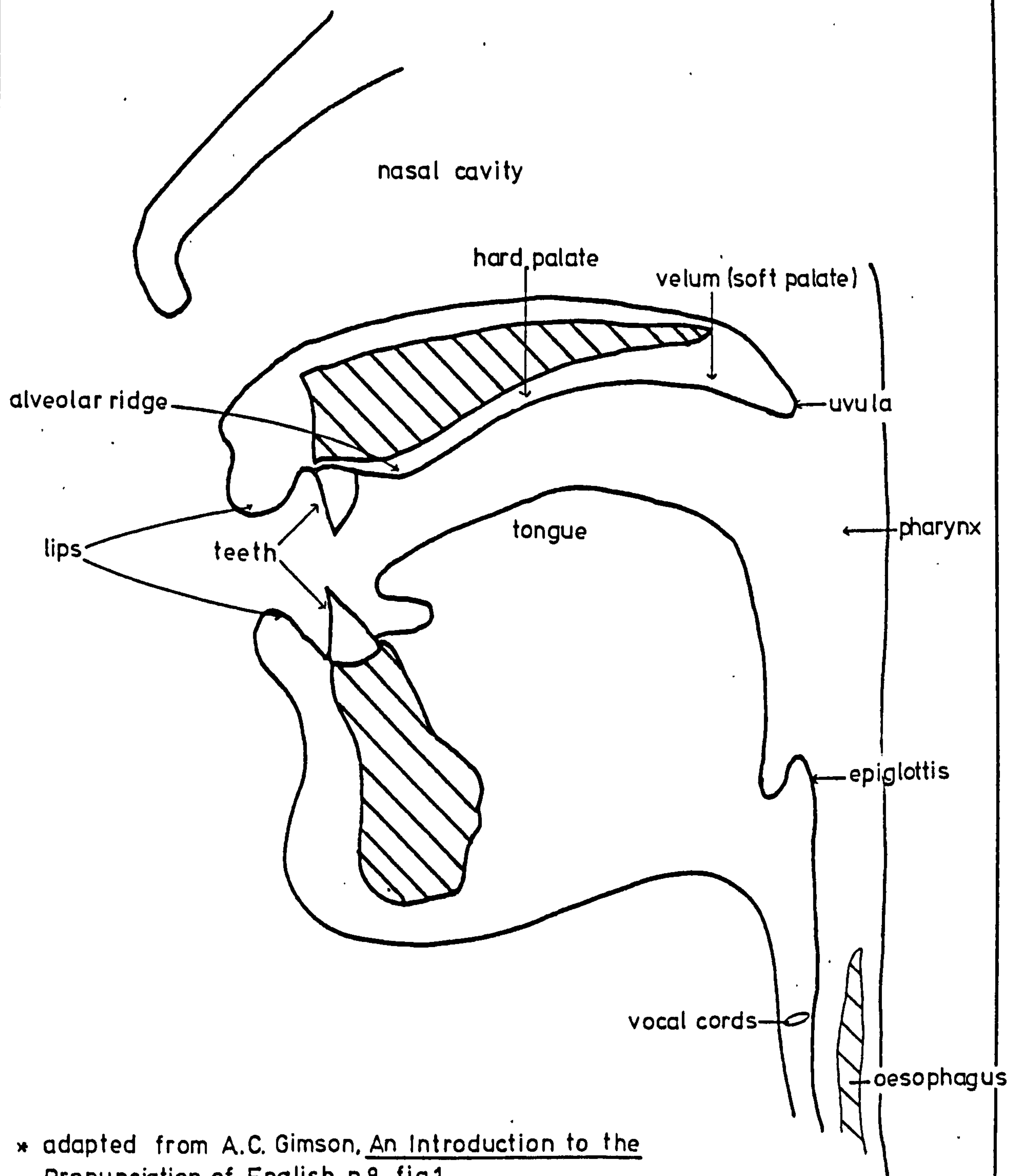
2.2 The place of production of the sounds used.

The human articulatory organs are illustrated in Chart III-3a, as has already been mentioned. Chart III-3b illustrates the fact that the majority of consonant sounds used in vocabelising (already listed in Chart III-2a) are produced far forward in the mouth. Of the seventeen consonant sounds used in vocabelising, twelve (i.e. about two thirds) are produced far forward in the mouth, the greatest concentration of sounds produced at any one place of articulation being at the alveolar ridge. It seems reasonable to suppose that this concentration on bi-labial and alveolar sounds is for the practical reason that when trying to produce a large number of speech segments in a short space of time it is easier to alternate quickly between places of articulation fairly near to each other than it is to switch back and forth between, say, a bi-labial and a velar place of articulation. A simple experiment should be convincing: if the reader will repeat to himself the vocable word 'diddle' several times quickly, and then try an acceptable (although unusual) pipe vocable, 'pichum', [pɪxʌm], remembering that the ch sound is the voiceless velar fricative heard in loch, he will readily admit that the former sound is easier to repeat quickly than the latter. The vocable 'diddle' is composed of consonant segments all produced at one place of articulation, while 'pichum' contains segments produced far forward and fairly far back in the mouth (at bi-labial and velar places of articulation.)

It is worth noting that with the exception of [h], all the sounds shared by both forms of vocabelising are those made far forward in the mouth, i.e. at bi-labial, dental and alveolar

Chart III-3a.

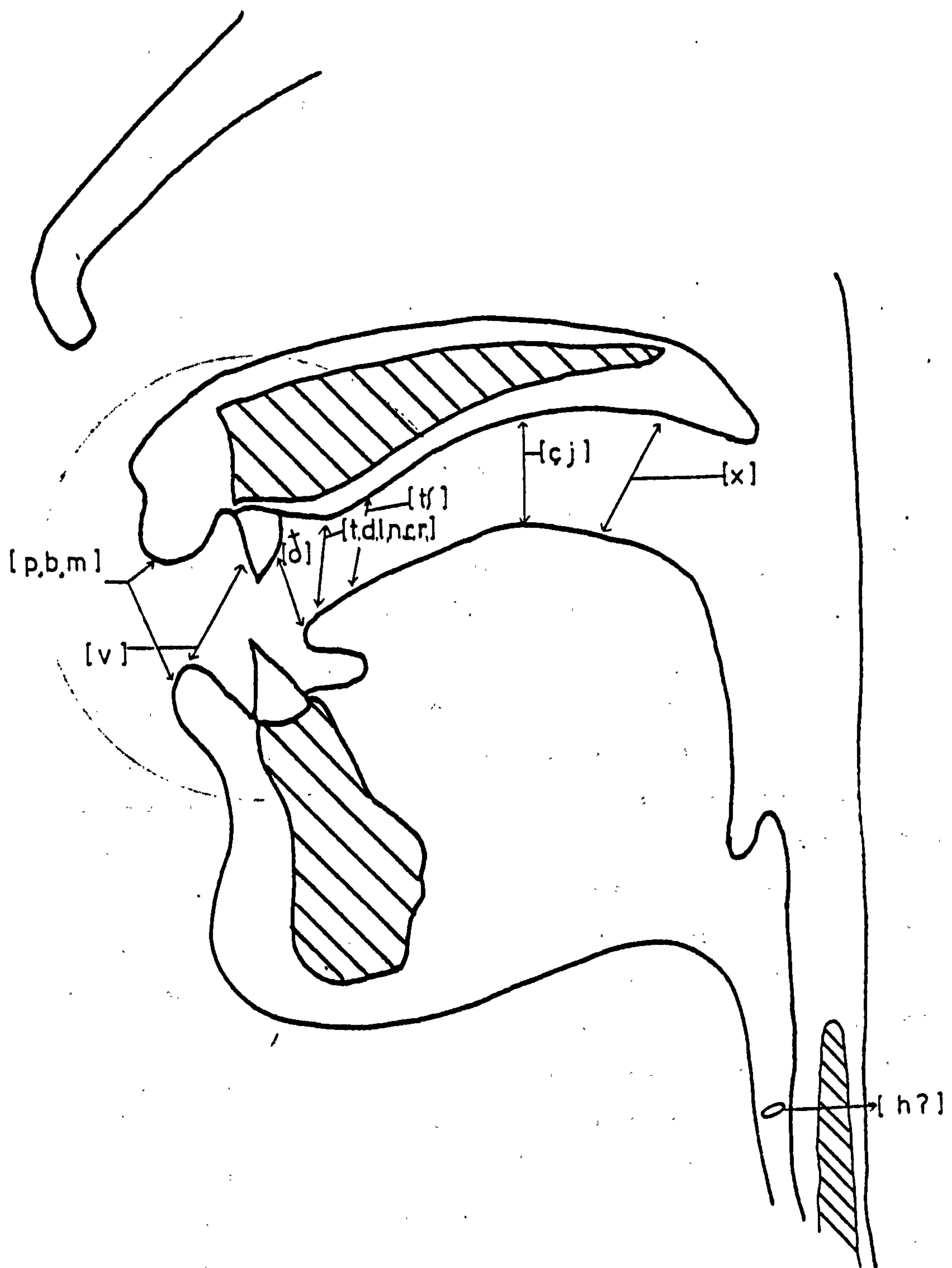
The organs of speech*



* adapted from A.C. Gimson, An Introduction to the Pronunciation of English, p.8, fig1

Chart III-3b.

Place of articulation of consonant sounds used in vocabelising



places of articulation. It is also interesting to note that the special 'pipe-sounds' (in which category [h] must be included as it is extremely prevalent in canntaireachd and insignificant in diddling) are all segments incorporating a hissing expulsion of air, whether throughout the production of the sound (as with the fricatives [v, x, and ç]) or only during the release of the sound (as with the affricate, [tʃ]). The only exception to this is the palatal approximant [j] which in vocabelising might well be considered an allophone of its fricative equivalent, [ç] , and is in any case a rather rare sound, accounting for only 1% of all canntaireachd vocables counted.

2.3 The hypothesis of a 'vocable phoneme'.

The idea that [j] might, in vocabelising, be considered an allophone of what in language is a separate phoneme, [ç] , is a concept which needs further explanation. Although conclusive evidence is lacking, there is enough to provide speculation about the (academic) existence of what might be termed a vocable phoneme, so that sounds which in language are considered to be distinct phonemes might in vocabelising be considered as allophones of one vocable phoneme. Thus [x, ç, j and even tʃ] might be considered to be allophones of [h] since many pipers seem to use them interchangeably, sometimes apparently indicating the same grace note with several such phonetically different sounds. In this way the vocable [h^m] , "hum" would be (unconsciously) considered by the piper to be identical to [x^m] , "chum"; which variant appeared might depend on the needs of the musical moment in much the same way as phonetic realisation of a phoneme is affected by its segmental environment. Other vocable phonemes might include the voiced/voiceless pairs of alveolar stops and bi-labial stops (each being one vocable phoneme). The bi-labial and alveolar nasal stops [m and n] might well be treated as a vocable phoneme by all vocabelising musicians except traditional pipers, to whom [m] signifies "low a" and [n] "low g" on the pipe chanter.

This concept need not be restricted to consonant sounds; a strong case could be argued for the vowels [ʌ, ɔ, ɜ] all being allo-

phones of a vocable phoneme which indicated a low note, while the closed and half-closed front vowels [i & e] and the slightly more central front vowel [ɪ] could comprise a phoneme meaning a note of high pitch. (See Chart III-19a & b.) Although this seems to fit well with the description of a phoneme as "...a contrastive linguistic unit," I have not looked into the question in depth so it must be stressed that this remains hypothetical.

2.4 The proportionate use of sounds in canntaireachd and diddling.

Having listed which sounds are selected for vocabelising from the larger class of 'sounds used in the native language of the performer', it is important to realise that some sounds are used far more frequently than others. Charts III-4 and III-5 illustrate the distribution of use of sounds within the canntaireachd and diddling repertoires. The first two rectangles in each chart show releasing consonants (or a lack of same) in stressed and unstressed position; the second two rectangles show arresting consonants (or a lack of same) in the same fashion, and the last two rectangles show the vowels used. Various important points to note in relation to a comparison of these charts are listed below.

Consonants in syllable releasing position:

The consonant [d] constitutes the releasing segment for 66% of all the non-pipe vocables; in pipe vocables only 10% of SV and 19% of unSV are released with [d].

The consonant [h] is the releasing consonant for 33% of all SV and about 16% of all unSV in canntaireachd; in diddling it accounts for less than 1% of both positions.

Disregarding [h], the most popular (i.e. most frequently used) releasing consonants in both styles are: [d, f, t] and 'no releasing consonant', i.e. vocables beginning with a vowel.

In pipe-vocabelising approximately 16% or one sixth of the vocables are released with one of a range of special 'pipe sounds'; [x, m, n, ɟ, j, t], v, r] and clusters. This dimension of variety is unknown in diddling.

Consonants in syllable arresting position:

In SV in both styles the nasal stops [m & n] are the only 'accepted'

arresting consonants (apart from syllabic [ɹ] which functions as a vowel). [m] is somewhat more popular in both styles.

In unstressed canntaireachd vocables [m] is again the most popular arresting consonant, however [n] and syllabic [ɹ] and syllabic [ŋ] are also used.

In unstressed diddling vocables, almost 50% are arrested with syllabic [ɹ]. [m] also appears, but the alveolar nasal stop [n] and syllabic [ŋ] do not.

75% of unSV in canntaireachd have no arresting consonant, while 50% of unSV in diddling have no arresting consonant.

Vowels:

The half-open front vowel [e] appears more frequently in canntaireachd than in diddling.

The vowel [ɪ] is used more frequently in diddling than in canntaireachd in SV, while in unSV it appears in much the same proportion in both styles.

The diphthongs [aɪ] and [aʊ] are used much more frequently in diddling, so much so that the latter could almost be called a 'diddling vowel' since it virtually never appears in canntaireachd.

In unSV canntaireachd relies most heavily on the schwa [ə], which accounts for 33% of all unstressed canntaireachd vocables.

In diddling the schwa is also frequently used in unSV, but even greater emphasis is placed on syllabic [ɹ], which accounts for almost 50% of unSV.

The inventory of vowels acceptable in SV is much the same between styles, however for unSV diddling has a much more restricted inventory.

Summary of the Outstanding Features of Contrast:

Great emphasis is placed on [d] as a releasing consonant in diddling. In canntaireachd the principle releasing consonant is [h].

The consonants: [x] as in loch, [ç] as in hue, [j] as in you, [tʃ] as in church, [v] as in vendor; the trilled [r], the glottal stop, the appearance of [m & n] as releasing consonants and clusters are all peculiar to and indicative of pipe-vocabelising.

There is more similarity in the use of vowels between the two styles than in the use of consonants.

In pipe-vocabelising there is a much greater selection of sounds available to the performer, hence no one sound is emphasised to the degree which [d] and [ɹ] are in diddling.

2.5 Individuals performing both canntaireachd and diddling.

As an interesting further investigation I examined the individual inventories of two informants each capable of singing in both styles. Mr. Willie Fraser of Aberlour is well known for his skill at diddling, having won prizes in competitions both in the past and at present-day folk festivals. He is also familiar with pipe-oriented vocabelising, though due to an accident to his hand he has not played for many years. The second informant, Mr. Stanley Robertson of Aberdeen, is a piper of travelling stock, who is also a singer and teller of tales.

A comparison of Willie Fraser's charts (III-6a & b) with the composite charts of canntaireachd (III-4) and diddling (III-5) shows a very close correlation. A comparison of his charts, each to the other, provides material for even more interesting discussion in that they reflect graphically one individual's concept of the difference between the two styles.

Although [d] is the most frequently used releasing consonant in both of Willie Fraser's charts, it accounts for 75% of the diddling vocables, but only just over 33% of the canntaireachd vocables. On the other hand, [h] appears accounting for 15% of the canntaireachd vocables, and not at all in the diddling vocables. The use of [t, b & p] is much increased in the pipe vocabelising as well, which is in accordance with the composite charts. A glance at the contrasting use of arresting consonants in unSV provides a clear confirmation of a split in style reflected in choice of sounds: in the diddling vocables syllabic [ɹ] is the only arresting 'consonant' used, which in the canntaireachd chart is entirely replaced by syllabic [ŋ]. The vowels show an interesting contrast as well; the diphthong accounts for a quarter of all the vowels heard in diddling vocables, but does not appear at all in the pipe vocables.

In Stanley Robertson's case (Charts III-7a & b), a comparison of his use of releasing consonants in the two styles shows an even greater reliance on [d] in diddling as opposed to the heavy use of [h] in pipe vocabelising. The frequent use of

Chart III-6a.		Mr. Willie Fraser - pipe influenced vocables			
Consonants				Vowels	
Releasing		Arresting		SV	unSV
SV	unSV	SV	unSV	SV	unSV
h	h	Am	Am	Λ	η
d	d	η	η		
r	r	none used	none used	i	e
b	χ			ɪ	i
p	t			a	Λ
none used	none used			e,3,η	a

Chart III-6b.		Mr. Willie Fraser - diddling vocables			
Consonants				Vowels	
Releasing		Arresting		SV	unSV
SV	unSV	SV	unSV	SV	unSV
		Λη		Λ	
		Λm			
d	d	none used	none used	ae	
r	r			ɪ	e
t	t			i	
none used	χ			a	i
				e	
				a	
				u	
				aɪ	Λ

Chart III-7a		Mr. Stanley Robertson - pipe influenced vocables			
Consonants				Vowels	
Releasing		Arresting		SV	unSV
SV	unSV	SV	unSV		
100	h	Am	Am	Λ	100
75	ɾ	none used	ŋ	3	ə
50	d		none used	d	ŋ
25	t			i	
	none used			e	
	p			ɪ	Λ
	r			aɪ	i
	x			a	a
				o	e, aɪ
				u, ɔ, ɒ	ɛ, ɔ

Chart III-7b		Mr. Stanley Robertson - diddling vocables			
Consonants				Vowels	
Releasing		Arresting		SV	unSV
SV	unSV	SV	unSV		
100	d	Am	Am	ɪ	100
75	d	none used	ŋ	aɪ	ə
50	ɾ		l	Λ	ŋ
25	t		Λn	a	Λ
			none used	ɛ	l
				ɔ	
				e	
				3	a
				i, u, ei	

the 'rare' phoneme [tʃ] is a feature of many traveller cantering styles (see section 2.6 in this chapter). As in Willie Fraser's chart, [ɪ] is principally used in unSV in diddling, but disappears in the pipe vocables. There is a much greater use of the diphthong [aɪ] in the diddling vocables.

As a piper himself, Willie Fraser's chart adhered closely to the composite canntaireachd chart, even though it is a style less frequently used by him than diddling (and it is worth pointing out that he uses none of the 'exotic' fricatives and affricates). In Stanley Robertson's case the individual chart adhering most closely to a composite chart was the one portraying the style he is most conversant with, namely pipe-oriented vocabelising. These comparisons do give us a very clear picture of the distinction drawn between two types of vocabelising by two quite disparate informants; and the distinctions drawn by both informants agree in large measure, and agree with those observed between the composite charts as well.

2.6 Stylistic sub-groups within canntaireachd.

Earlier in this study I intimated that it might be possible to distinguish sub-groups within the broad field of pipe-oriented vocabelising purely on the basis of the use (or proportionately greater use) of certain sounds. While it is too strong a statement to say that the presence of a given sound invariably signals the musician's background and the context in which he is performing, a certain combination of significant sounds may well be a strong indication that the musician belongs to one of a number of broadly defined groups. I have isolated three such stylistic groups which exhibit idiomatic characteristics: Gaelic-speaking informants, "apostolic" and/or traditional pipers, and travelling pipers. (See Charts III-8, 9 & 10). It should be noted that many individuals overlap the first two categories, that is, many traditional pipers are native Gaelic speakers.

Both Gaelic-speaking and traditional pipers use a higher proportion of the syllable formula V than other types of pipers, particularly for vocables in unstressed position. Travelling pipers, on the other hand, use only a third as many unaccompanied

Chart III-8 Gaelic speaking informants						
Consonants				Vowels		
Releasing		Arresting				
SV	unSV	SV	unSV	SV	unSV	
h	h	Λn	Λn	Λ	ə	
		Λm	Λm			
	none used	none used	i			Λ
ɫ	ɫ	e		i		
d	d	ɔ		a		
none used	none used	u	u	ə	ə	
p	p,l	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	
t	t,x,v	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ	ɔ	
b	b	u,3,ɛ	u,3,ɛ	u,3,ɛ	u,3,ɛ	
br	ɫ, ɔ					
dx,mnc,l,t						

Chart III-9		"Apostolic" pipers			
Consonants				Vowels	
Releasing		Arresting			
SV	unSV	SV	unSV	SV	unSV
h	h	Λn	Λn	Λ	ə
	r	Λm	Λm		
r	d		L,ŋ,m	i	i
d	none used			e	Λ
none used				o	a
j				x	a
b	b			ɔ	ɔ
dr	p			ɛ	e
br	t, br			ɑ,ɔ,ɜ	u,ŋ
ɕ,p	ɕ,l,r,dr,ð			ɛ	l,ɔ
vr,pr,x,t,n, v,ʃ,ʔ,l					

vowels as the other two groups. Traditional pipers use more clusters in both SV and unSV than other pipers, though clusters are not unknown in traveller cantering or among Gaelic-speaking pipers. A particularly noticeable feature of Gaelic pipe-oriented vocabelising is the marked increase of the sound [v], which does not appear at all among the travellers, and in less than 1% of the sample of vocables from traditional pipers. The close back vowel [u] is much more prominent among Gaelic-speakers as well, particularly in combination with [ɫ], but does not appear at all among the travellers. The half-open back vowel [ɤ] is also featured among Gaelic-speaking and traditional pipers, and is far less prevalent among the travellers.

One distinctive mark of traveller cantering seems to be the frequent appearance of the affricate [tʃ] in stressed position, which hardly ever appears at all in the other stylistic groups. The diphthong [aɪ] is also more prevalent among the travellers, as in general are highly idiosyncratic styles incorporating sounds unused by other musicians even within travelling circles.

From these remarks it can be seen that the preliminary evidence provided by a vocable count tends to confirm the intuitive perception that an emphasis on certain sounds in a performer's singing can often be related to his background, or identify the context in which he learned to vocabelise. A larger sample from each sub-group would have to be examined in greater detail for definite confirmation of this theory, however.

3. Syntagmatic and Paradigmatic Relationships within the Syllable: How are the sounds combined into vocables?

By now it is clear that only a sub-set of the sounds of Scots-English and/or Scots-Gaelic are actually used in vocabelising. These selected sounds enter into structures and systems with each other to form vocables, but, as was pointed out in section 1.4 of this chapter, they do not do this at random, but rather according to a body of 'rules' or directing precepts which constitute a sort of vocable 'grammar'. It is perhaps worth re-stating here that just as the sounds used in vocabelising are a sub-set of the sounds

of the native language of the performer, so the body of precepts governing the structure of vocables is a sub-set of the combinatorial restrictions governing the composition of syllables in the performer's native tongue.

I will first define the 'rules' regulating the combination of sounds in the six syllabic formulae used in canntaireachd, and then the 'rules' governing the four syllabic formulae used in diddling. Although four of the formulae are shared by both styles of vocabelising, it is necessary to discuss them separately since the repertory of 'accepted' sounds is much restricted in diddling, which affects the possibilities for combining sounds into vocables.

3.1 Canntaireachd vocables.

There are six syllabic formulae used in composing canntaireachd vocables, of which three are open syllables: (V), (CV) and (CCV) while three are closed syllables: (VC), (CVC) and (CCVC). When referring to syllables with clusters in releasing consonant position, the first and second segment in the cluster will be indicated below the consonant symbol: (C_1C_2V C.)

3.1.1 Canntaireachd vocables in syllable formula (V).

All the 'accepted' vowels appear in isolation, i.e. without any releasing or arresting consonant. Syllabic [ŋ] also appears in this fashion.

3.1.2 Canntaireachd vocables in formula (CV).

This is by far the most common vocable formulae (see Chart III-1) and is also the formula in which fewest restrictions are imposed. Chart III-11 shows all the 'permitted' combinations of sounds into canntaireachd vocables, including of course those in (CV) structure. It would certainly be possible to write out a set of rules designating which sounds combined in this formula, but it is questionable how useful such a complex set of statements would prove. By restricting the data to the more frequently used vocables in this formula, and omitting the more idiosyncratic combinations¹¹ which can be seen in Chart III-11, 11. For example, [tu] which appeared only once in 7000 vocables.

Chart III-11

canntaireachd vocables

	h	d	t	vowel	r	dr	p	b	tf	c	br	v	j	l	x	z	n	tr	vr	pr	ð	r	m
a	2%	1%	1%	1%	2%																		
e	3%	1%		2%	2%																		
o				2%																			
i	4%	3%	1%	2%	2%		1%					1%		2%									
u	2%	1%	1%		1%			1%															
3/a	4%	3%	1%	2%	1%		1%	3%													2%		
am	2%	2%			1%										2%								
l	2%	1%	1%																				
c	1%				1%																		
ai	1%				1%																		
ð	1%				1%																		
u		1%													1%								
3																							
uv	1%			1%											1%								
u																							
et																							
l																							
in																							

KEY:



= % of 7000 canntaireachd vocables



= used frequently to rarely



= used less than 5 times

CHART III-12

Canntaireachd Vocables in syllable formula(CV)

hi	ri	di	ti	vi	pi	li			
he	re	de	te		je				
ha	ra	da	ta	pa					
hʌ	rʌ	dʌ	tʌ	bʌ					
hə	rə	də	tə	bə	və	pə	ðə		
hɪ		dɪ	tɪ					tʃɪ	
hɛ									
hɑ			tɑ						
ho	ro			bo	vo	jo		co	
hɔ	rɔ		tɔ						
	raɪ								
	ru								
		dɪ							
		dɪ							

a set of 'rules' for popular (CV) vocables can be written which is not so complex as to be virtually unintelligible. Chart III-12 illustrates these 'most frequently used' (CV) canntaireachd vocables. It is apparent that [h, t, d & f] are the most freely combining of the consonant sounds, while [i, e, a, ʌ, ɜ] are the most freely combining of the vowels. Thus the square of vocables within the heavy black line in Chart III-12 can be expressed in the formula:



(The vowel [ɹ] is confined in round brackets; (ɹ) to indicate that it does not combine with the consonant [f].)

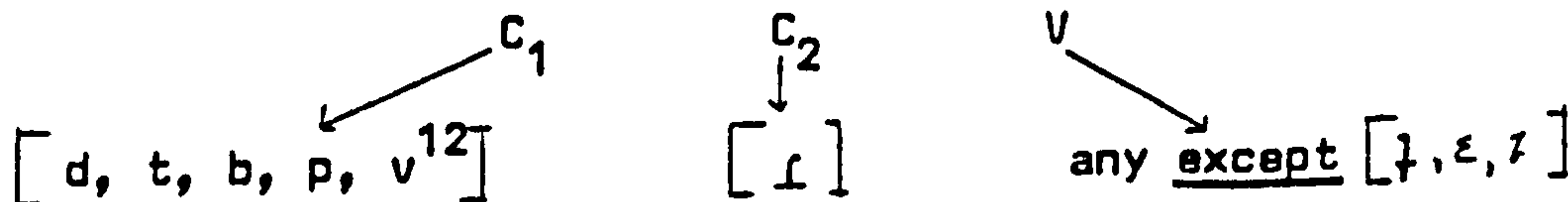
In order of diminishing ability to combine freely, the consonants and vowels also exhibit the following patterns in (CV) formula:

h	also combines with	o, a, ɛ, ɔ, ɜ
f	also combines with	o, a, ɔ, ɜ, u
b	combines with	o, ʌ, ɜ, ɜ
v	combines with	o, i, ɜ
p	combines with	i, a, ɜ
t	also combines with	a, ɔ
d	also combines with	ɪ, ɔ
j	combines with	o, e
ɔ	combines with	ɜ
l	combines with	i
tʃ	combines with	ɪ
ç	combines with	o

Permitted ways for sounds to combine in the remaining four formulae are much more restricted, so it is possible to write out grammatical 'rules' which encompass all the examples collected, not just those most frequently used.

3.1.3 Canntaireachd vocables in formula (C₁C₂V)

In any cluster used in vocabellising, C₂ will be [f] while in this particular structure, C₁ may be [d, t, b, p or v]. The vowel is virtually unrestricted.



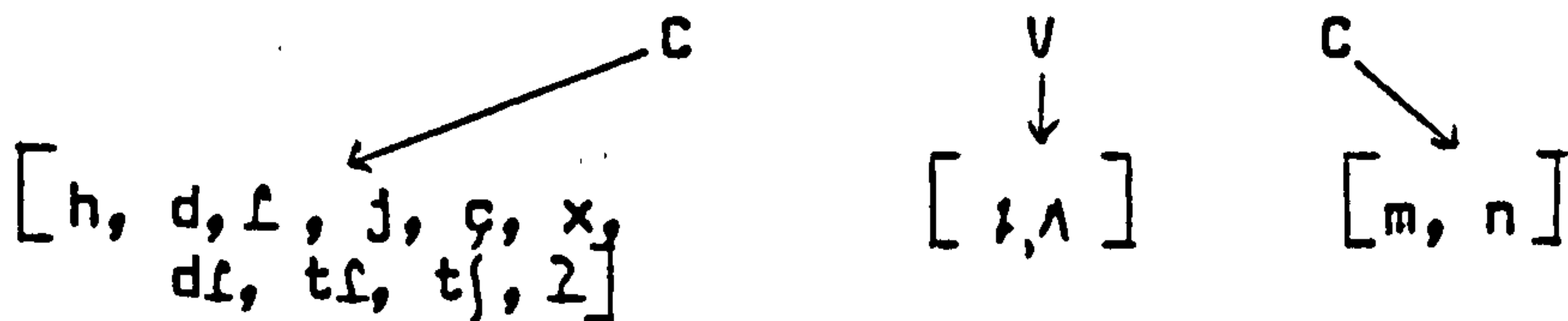
3.1.4 Canntaireachd vocables in formula (VC).

The only arresting consonants used by the vast majority of informants are the bi-labial and alveolar nasal stops; [m & n].¹³ The vowel will be [ʌ], except rarely when [ɪ] combines with [n].



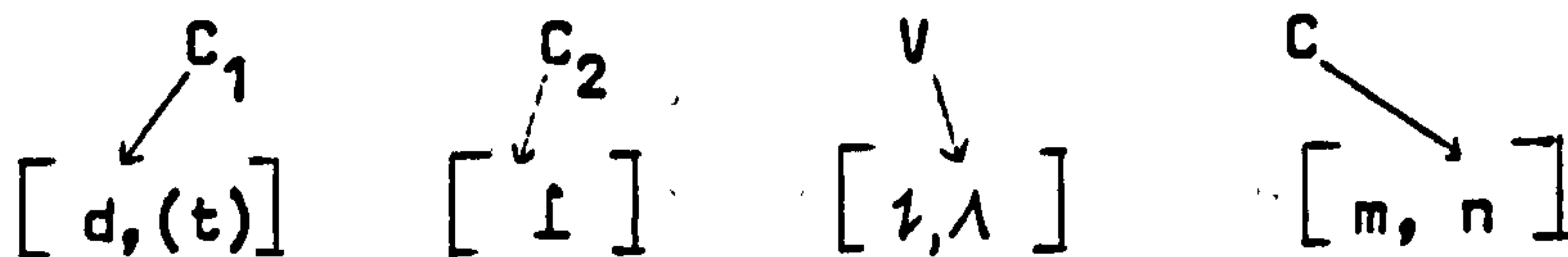
3.1.5 Canntaireachd vocables in formula (CVC).

Since this is also a closed syllable (i.e. one with an arresting consonant) the rules stated immediately above in 3.1.4 are valid for this structure as well. The releasing consonant, however, may be one of quite a range.



3.1.6 Canntaireachd vocables in formula (C₁C₂VC)

Since 'rules' for clusters and for permitted combinations in the formula (VC) have already been given, it remains only to combine them. One further restriction may be noted, namely that only two of the five clusters listed as 'permitted' in paragraph 3.1.3 are actually permitted to enter into structures in this particular formula, and of these two [tɸ] is extremely rare.



3.2 Diddling vocables.

The four syllabic formulae used in composing diddling

-
12. The combination [vɸ] is in general used only by Gaelic speakers.
13. It is interesting to note that when one informant did use another consonant to arrest a vocable it was still a nasal stop, the voiced velar nasal [ŋ].

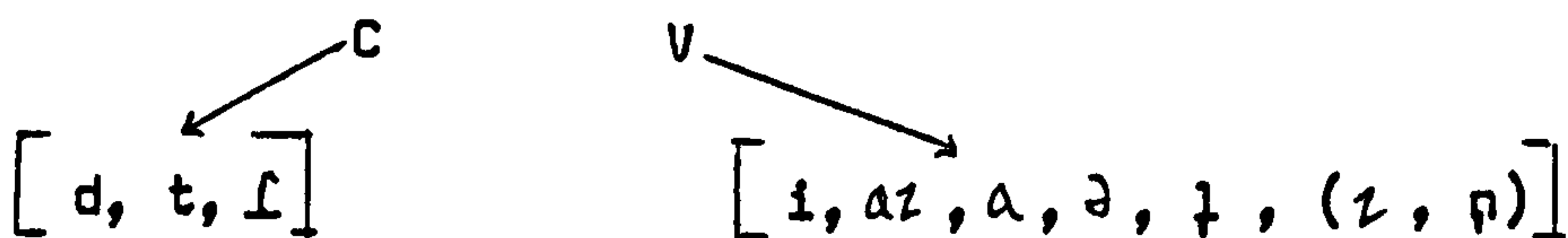
vocables are the same as four of the canntaireachd formulae: (V), (CV), (CVC), and (VC). The 'rules' governing the composition of vocables in these formulae are essentially the same as those for canntaireachd, but the repertory of 'acceptable' sounds is smaller, hence the number of 'permitted' combinations is also diminished.

3.2.1 Diddling vocables in formula (V).

As in canntaireachd, all vowels may appear with neither a releasing nor arresting consonant. Neither of the syllabic consonants may appear in isolation, a minor contrast from canntaireachd where [p] appeared on its own.

3.2.2 Diddling vocables in formula (CV).

As in canntaireachd, this is the most popular formula in which diddling vocables are constructed. Again, to avoid a bewildering complexity of rules, the same approach to the data has been taken: while all 'permissible' diddling vocables are shown in Chart III-13, the 'rules' below describe the combinatorial restrictions affecting those diddling vocables which accounted for 1% or more of all diddling vocables counted (see Chart III-14). In diddling vocables [h] is excluded from the category of freely combining consonants, while [d, t, & f] remain popular. The most frequently used diddling vocables (contained within the heavy black line in Chart III-14) can be expressed in the formula:



(The vowel [ɪ] and the syllabic consonant [ɸ] are confined in round brackets to indicate that they do not combine with the consonant [f]. Note that [ɪ] consistently refuses to combine with [f] in both canntaireachd and diddling.)

In order of diminishing ability to combine freely, the consonants and vowels also exhibit the following patterns:

d	also combines with	u, a, e, ʌ, ɔ, ɛ, ɜ
h	combines with	i, aɪ
p	combines with	ə, aɪ

Chart III-13

diddling vocables

	Λ	ə	3	Λm	a	ɪ	ai	ā	e	Λn	u	aa	l	eɪ	ε	η
d	5%	7%	7%	3%	11%	12%	3%	2%	3%		3%	2%	18%		1%	1%
c	1%	1%	1%	1%		1%	1%	1%		1%	1%	1%	1%			
t	1%	2%			1%	1%	1%						2%			1%
vowel		2%			2%	2%	1%	1%				1%				
h							1%									
p		1%														
l																
b																
ð																

Key:

1% = % of 2000 diddling vocables

⊗ = used less than 1%

▨ = used less than 5 times

Chart III-14

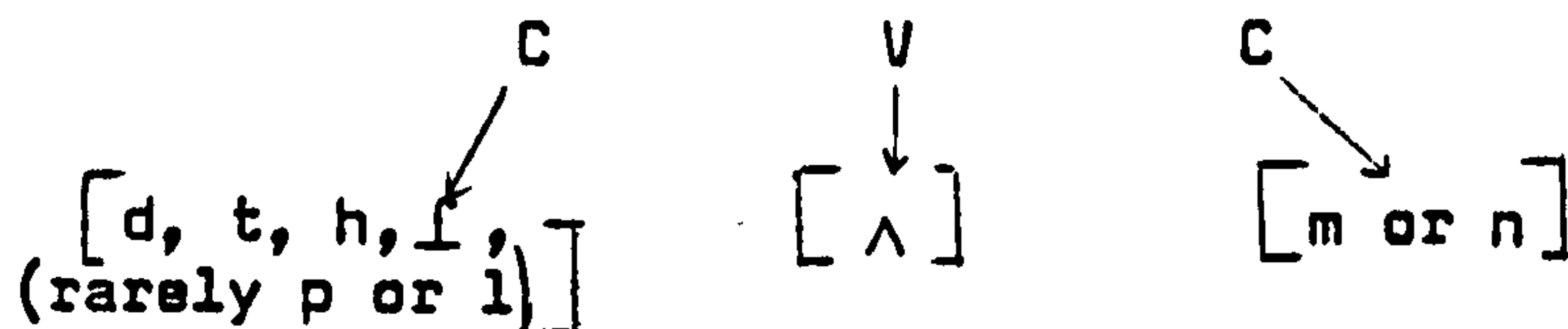
Diddling vocables in syllable formula (CV)

di	ri	ti	hi				
da	ra	ta					
daɪ	raɪ	taɪ	haɪ	paɪ			
də	rə	tə		pə	bə	ðə	
dɪ	rɪ	tɪ					
dŋ		tŋ					
dɪ		tɪ					
dʌ		tʌ					
dā							
du	ru						
daʊ							
de							
dɛ							
dʒ							

t	also combines with	Λ
f	also combines with	u
b	combines with	ə
ɔ	combines with	ə

3.2.3 Diddling vocables in formula (CVC).

Structural rules governing this formula are the same as for canntaireachd except that [ɹ] does not appear, and the selection of 'permitted' releasing consonants is far smaller.



3.2.4 Diddling vocables in formula (VC).

This formula is governed by the rules already stated, except that as just mentioned above, [ɹ] does not combine in this structure in diddling, as it does in canntaireachd. Thus, combinatorial restrictions limit such vocables to [Λm and Λn].

3.3 The Proportionate Use of Vocables.

This vocable 'grammar' has attempted to encompass all the 'permitted' vocables illustrated in Charts III-11 and 13 (except in the case of the formula (CV)). In actual usage, however, certain vocables appear far more frequently than others, just as certain sounds have been shown to be favoured in the composition of vocables. (Charts III-4 and 5). The following weighted charts illustrate the proportionate use of these more popular vocables. In the canntaireachd chart (III-15a & b) the criteria for inclusion was that the vocable must account for 1% or more of all the vocables counted in at least one of the sub-groups previously mentioned in section 2.6. This chart also illustrates which vocables are popular in the various sub-groups, thus expanding on the previous discussion of how certain sounds might be related to given groups of musicians. The diddling chart (III-16a & b) is slightly less complex since no stylistic sub-groups were isolated within this category. It may also be noted that there is a separate chart for stressed and

Stressed vocables appearing in sub-groups in cantairreachd

Key:

1 A composite of can't/irreached variables

= % of all vocables counted in that category

2. "Apostolic" pipers

3. Gaelic-speaking informants

4. Traveller informants

3			

1.	a	o	i	e	hi	he	ha	hi	ham	han	ha	hai	hE	hā	h3	ho	h3	di	de	da	dā	dā	ri	re	ra	ra
			2.5	2.5	5.5	6	4	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5						2.5					2.5	2.5		
2.		2.5	5	4	4	5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5							2.5	2.5				2.5	2.5		
3.			2.5	2.5	7	7	3.5	5	4	3.5	2.5		2.5										2.5	2.5	2.5	
4.				2.5	6	6	6		4	2.3	6	2.5			2.5	2.5			2.5				2.5	2.5	2.5	

[illegible]

Chart III-15b.

Unstressed vocables appearing in sub-groups in cantaireachd
(For key see chart IV-15a.)

	o	a	i	u	a	e	ɹ	an	d'	dh	he	hi	hm	hɹ	ho	ha	di	de	damd	do	da	ba	ba
1.	4	4							2.5	2.5	7						5	6				6	
2.	4	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5			5			6	2.5		2.5			4	2.5				5	
3.	5	5		2.5	2.5						8	2.5		2.5			2.5	5				5	
4.	2.5										6						7	8	3.5			11	

	rí	ra	ro	ra	ra	ram	re	ll	xam	xan	xɹ	pe	pí	pa	tə	tí	tɹ	da	cam	cam	vi	va	bro	bra
1.	2.5	2.5						4	2.5			2.5			2.5			2.5						
2.	2.5			2.5	2.5		2.5		2.5			2.5												
3.	2.5				2.5					2.5	2.5	2.5									2.5			
4.	2.5	2.5						6	4			2.5			4	2.5		2.5						

unstressed vocables in each style. Heretofore I have indicated that certain sounds are used only or more frequently in stressed or unstressed positions; having now reached the level of complete vocables it becomes necessary to keep this distinction constantly in mind. Although many sounds may themselves appear equally in either position, some of the vocables composed with these non-preferential sounds are used frequently in one position and barely at all in the other, and this proportionate use fluctuates within the sub-groups in canntaireachd as well.

Considering first the SV chart for the various kinds of canntaireachd it is apparent that of the 414 'possible' combinations (i.e. if all consonants combined freely with all vowels and syllabic consonants) very few are actually used to any great extent. Of 18 possible vowels, all but one of which do occasionally appear unaccompanied, only two, [i & e] appeared alone to any extent (except among traditional/ "apostolic" pipers, who can be seen to use more unaccompanied vowels than the other sub-groups.) Not surprisingly, vocables released with [h] were the most popular, 13 of the 18 possible combinations being used. 11 of the 18 possible combinations released with [ʃ] were used, though five of these were only much used by Gaelic-speakers. Although [d] is 'permitted' to combine with any vowel, it was only used frequently in six combinations, and of these only two were much used by travellers. [t], the voiceless equivalent of [d], was usually found combined with much the same vowels, but it does not appear with the bi-labial nasal [m] as does [d]. It is interesting to note that [t] ^{as a releasing consonant} is used predominantly by the travellers, while the three 'popular' vocables with clusters were predominantly used by Gaelic-speaking and 'apostolic' pipers.

In the unSV chart of the various forms of canntaireachd (III-15b) it is obvious that unaccompanied vowels play a much greater role, the two most popular accounted for 8% of all unSV counted. Another 19% (i.e. almost a fifth of all unSV) is accounted for by combinations with the schwa, a trend which runs right through all the sub-groups. In contrast, the nasally and laterally released alveolar stops (i.e. syllabic p and syllabic l) between them only account for 5%. Although [p] hardly appears at all in stressed canntaireachd vocables

it appears in three unstressed vocables. In SV, the syllable [xʌn] was the only vocable with the velar fricative which appeared to any great extent, and then in only 1% of traveller examples. In unSV, it is still predominantly used by travellers, but by the other groups as well and permutations on the vocable also appear. It can be seen in these charts that [x] combines only with [ʌm] and [ʌn or p], all of which might be considered allophones of a vocable phoneme. In unSV, [ç] only combines with [ʌn or ʌm] as well, suggesting that [x and ç] are similarly allophones of a vocable phoneme. The vocable [li] does not appear in the SV chart, but of itself alone accounts for 4% of all the unSV; it is the only appearance of [l] as a releasing consonant in these charts. Another 'one combination only' consonant is the voiced dental fricative, [ð], which combines only with the schwa, a combination which appears only in unSV in both diddling and canntaireachd. It is apparent that [d], although again restricting itself to only six out of the 18 permitted combinations, is actually used far more in unSV than in SV. The opposite is true of [h], which combines with fewer vowels in unSV and accounts for the releasing consonant in fewer unSV as well.

In the diddling chart for SV (III-16a) it can readily be seen that [d] is the principle consonant, combining with all but two of the possible vowels and accounting for approximately 66% of all the SV counted. Five of the 14 possible vowels appear unaccompanied, accounting for 8% of the SV counted; substantially more than the two popularly used vowels in stressed canntaireachd vocables. [ʌ] is again very popular, almost half of the possible combinations being used, and accounting for 1% or more of all diddling vocables. Although [t] is permitted to combine with all but two vowels it only appears with any frequency in five combinations, in much the same way that [d] was used in stressed canntaireachd vocables; that is, permitted to combine freely but in practice restricting itself to quite a small range of vowels. In diddling [h] only combines with any frequency with [i or aɪ]; in canntaireachd it does not combine at all with the latter, although

the former is one of the most frequently used of all canntaireachd vocables. [b & l] are so infrequently used as to be negligible in this chart, while [p] combines only with [a] with any frequency.

Unaccompanied vowels in unstressed diddling vocables are less rather than, as is the case in canntaireachd, more used. (In canntaireachd, unaccompanied vowels accounted for 5% of SV to 10% of unSV: in diddling the ratio was 8% of SV to 5% of unSV.) In canntaireachd combinations of consonants with the schwa accounted for about 20% of unSV, in diddling such combinations accounted for just over 25% of unSV. In diddling combinations of [d, t, or c] with syllabic j accounted for 40% of all unSV: in canntaireachd such combinations accounted for about 3%. Thus it is clear that while combinations with the schwa are frequently used in both styles, in diddling combinations with syllabic j are relied upon even more heavily.

3.4 Vocable inventories: categorical and individual.

In the preceding paragraphs it has been shown that vocables are composed by combining 'accepted' sounds in structures 'permitted' by the grammatical 'rules' of vocabellising. It has been stressed that not all vocables are actually used with equal frequency, but rather that some are more popular than others. The following table illustrates this refining process graphically. The three categories are: the number of possible vocables (if all consonants combined freely with all vowels), the number of permitted vocables (those possible vocables which actually appear) and the number of frequently used vocables (those which accounted for 1% or more of all the vocables counted in that style).

<u>III-17:</u>	Possible Vocables:	Permitted Vocables:	Frequently Used Vocables:
Canntaireachd	414	216	76
Diddling	144	87	43

Thus in canntaireachd only 50% of the possible vocables are permitted, while only 20% of the possible vocables (35% of the

permitted) are frequently used. In diddling, 60% of the possible vocables are permitted, while 30% of the possible vocables (50% of the permitted) are frequently used.

It is more difficult to generalise about individual vocable repertoires since informants vary widely in the number of 'permitted' vocables actually used. The following table (III-18) gives the average¹⁴ number of vocables used in SV and unSV in canntaireachd and diddling, as well as the extremes of large and small individual vocable repertoires.

<u>III-18:</u>		Average number used:	Extremes: great to small
<u>Canntaireachd</u>	SV - - - - -	25 - - - - -	56 - - - 9 - - -
	unSV - - - - -	32 - - - - -	50 - - - 10 - - -
Diddling	SV - - - - -	16 - - - - -	27 - - - 6 - - -
	unSV - - - - -	8 - - - - -	15 - - - 2 - - -

Thus it can be seen that on average, a performer of canntair-
eachd actually uses about 13% of the vocables permitted him, while he may use as many as 25% or as little as 4%. In comparison, someone diddling uses on average 14% of the vocables permitted him, while he may use as many as 24% or as little as 5%. The similarity of the figures is striking.

It has been pointed out previously that canntaireachd has a larger inventory of sounds than diddling, and this is particularly true in unSV, where it can be seen that on average a performer singing canntaireachd uses four times as many different unstressed vocables as a performer diddling. This does not indicate that there are more unSV positions to be filled in canntaireachd since the quantities of vocables counted in stressed and unstressed positions were approximately fifty-fifty in both styles: 1350 SV to 1075 unSV in diddling; 3500 SV to 3400 unSV in canntaireachd.

- - - - -
14. The average was taken by adding the total number of vocables used by each informant and dividing by the number of informants, not by averaging the extremes of large and small repertoires.

4. Syntagmatic and paradigmatic relationships among vocables:
How are the vocables combined to form phrases?

Just as syllables combine to form words, and words sentences with semantic content, so vocables combine to form phrases which can enhance musical meaning. There are numerous factors which influence an informant's choice and combination of vocables: the relationship of choice of vowel to pitch, the relationship of choice of sound to stressed and unstressed position, the relationship of vowel to note duration, the need for associative vocables or the desire to imitate such vocables, and the principles of minimum effort and contrast. The first four factors mentioned deal with the influence of aspects of the music on choice of vocable, while the latter two deal with influences determining the combination of vocables into phrases. Any string or set of vocables is likely to be influenced by several of these factors at once, while the context of the performance and needs of the music (for example, tempo) regulate which if any of these factors may temporarily take precedence over some or all of the others. It must be stressed here at the outset that the performer is not in general conscious of these influences or their effect on his choice and combination of vocables, just as we are not usually aware while talking of the structural and grammatical rules governing our speech.

4.1 The relationship of vowel to pitch.

Except among traditional pipers there does not seem to be any correlation between pitch and choice of consonant sound, however there is demonstrably a very strong correlation between pitch and choice or selection of vowel sound, which runs right through the whole range of all types of vocabelising. Charts III-19a & b illustrate the relationship of vowel to scale degree¹⁵

15. For purposes of comparison, 9 scale degrees are shown for both pipe and non-pipe music. The great majority of tunes covered a span of an octave or less: those which included any other note usually included the dominant below the tonic, which was here compressed into scale degree one.

Chart III-19a. Diddling and camtaireachd of ceòl beag.

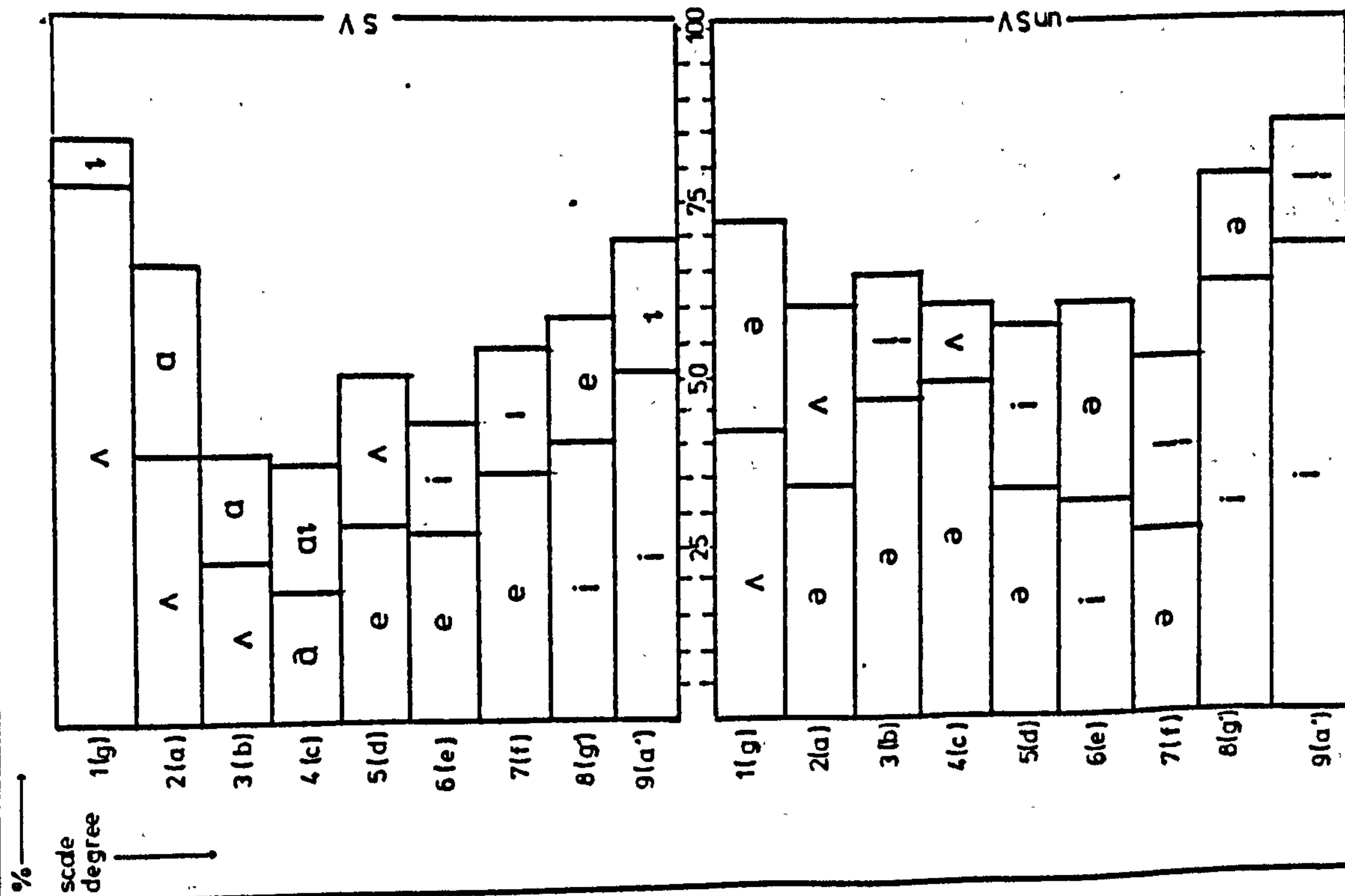
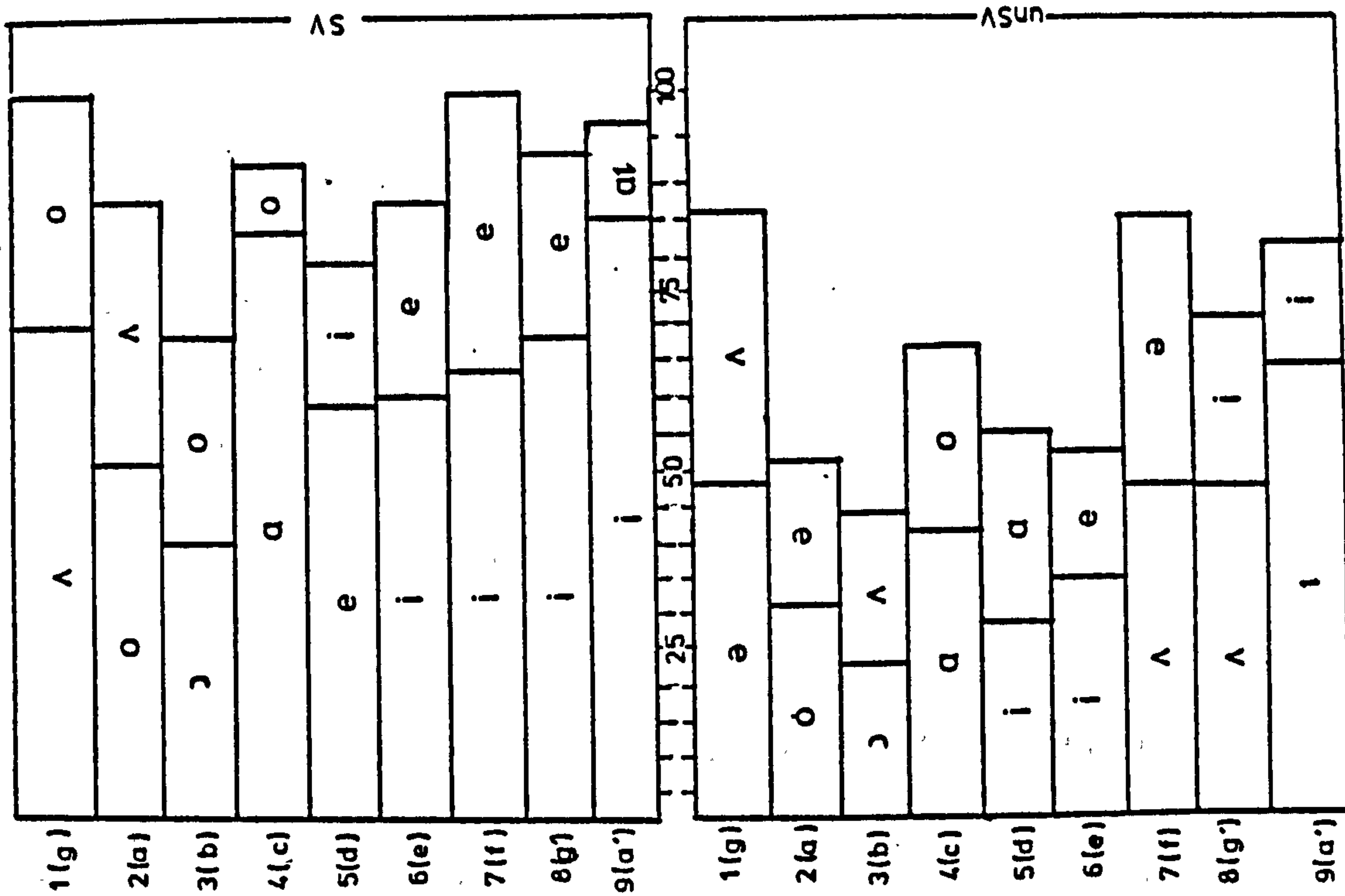


Chart III-19b. Pibroch camtaireachd.



in stressed and unstressed position, the first chart being a composite of all canntaireachd and diddling vocables except pibroch vocables, which are shown in the second chart (III-19b). Since pibroch canntaireachd in particular purports to be a solmisation system I wished to see if in fact these vocables related pitch to vowel sound more systematically than in other, supposedly less consistent forms of vocabelising. This did not appear to be the case; there did not appear to be any correlation between the systematic relating of vowel to pitch and any given group of musicians. It seemed that within any group some individuals were more consistent than others, and though it is safe to say that traditional pipers used more associative vocables than other groups, they did not exhibit any greater consistency in associating vowel with pitch.¹⁶

The most obvious similarity observable in these charts is the tendency among all performers to use [ʌ] for low pitches, and [i] for high pitches, particularly the two highest pitches in a tune. In the composite or non-pibroch chart (III-19a) this is true in both stressed and unstressed positions, while in the chart of ceòl mòr it remains valid for stressed positions, but is not so apparent in unSV. The unSV column of the pibroch chart must be considered to be less reliable than the other columns since it is often very difficult to discern which vocables a performer of pibroch intends to be stressed, semi-stressed or unstressed. In unSV in ceòl beag the schwa shares the burden about equally with the back vowel [ʌ] for the first two scale degrees, in the middle degrees it gains prominence, and then gives way to [i] in the higher scale degrees.

Although it is interesting to speculate about other possible correlations: the juxtaposition of [i and e] in the higher scale degrees, the prevalence of [o] in pibroch and [a] in ceòl beag in the lower degrees and so on, the only conclusion which can confidently be drawn from this chart is that all types of performers

16. One 'apostolic' piper used as many as 10 different vowels on one pitch in an example of ceòl beag, while in pibroch the use of two to four vowels for one pitch is the rule rather than the exception.

favour [i] when singing higher pitches and [ʌ] when singing lower pitches.

4.2 The relationship of consonant and vowel to stressed and unstressed position.

It is apparent in Charts III-4 and 5 that certain sounds, both consonants and vowels, appear only or much more frequently in either stressed or unstressed position in the music. Charts III-15a & b and III-16a & b show that certain vocables, although composed of sounds which individually show no particular preference for either position, do appear with much greater frequency in one position or the other. The following charts (III-20a & b) show first the individual sounds which appear only or more frequently¹⁷ in stressed or unstressed position, and then a selection of vocables which exhibit the same pattern.

III-20a	
	<u>Consonants</u>
<u>appearing only</u>	<u>Vowels</u>
in SV: - - - - -	[t], [m] - - - - -
<u>appearing only</u>	[ɜ, eɪ, in diddling
in unSV: - - - - -	also a, ʌ, ʌɪ]
	[ɔ, in diddling - - - - -
	also p, b]
<u>appearing more</u>	
<u>frequently in SV:</u> - - -	[h, j] & all clusters - - [e, a, ɛ, ɪ, ʌ, ʌɪ]
<u>appearing more</u>	
<u>frequently in unSV:</u> - -	[l, x] - - - - - [p]

(It should be noted that this chart refers to the whole spectrum of types of vocabellising; within the sub-groups previously identified certain sounds are omitted or emphasised, as was discussed in section 2.6 of this chapter.)

Examples of vocables which can be seen to prefer one or the other position, even though in some cases the sounds composing them appear with equal frequency in both stressed and unstressed position are given below. The examples are extracted from Charts

17. The sounds in question appeared at least three times more frequently in one position than in the other.

III-15a & b and III-16a & b.

		III-20b			
		SV		unSV	
<u>Canntaireachd:</u>	hi	- - - - -	5%	- - - - -	1%
	he	- - - - -	6%	- - - - -	0%
	la	- - - - -	3%	- - - - -	0%
	di	- - - - -	2%	- - - - -	5%
	li	- - - - -	0%	- - - - -	4%
	xAm	- - - - -	0%	- - - - -	3%
<u>Diddling:</u> ¹⁸	dA	- - - - -	7%	- - - - -	1%
	dQ	- - - - -	4%	- - - - -	0%
	i	- - - - -	5%	- - - - -	2%
	l3	- - - - -	0%	- - - - -	2%

From these paragraphs it should be clear that a performer's choice of sounds to compose a vocable, or choice of vocable itself will, at least in part, be influenced by whether that vocable is to appear in a stressed or unstressed position in the melody.

4.3 The relationship of vowel to note duration.

It has already been shown that pitch has a direct influence over what vowel will be chosen as the syllabic element of a vocable, and that stress or lack thereof is also influential, particularly in the selection of consonants which function as the syllabic element, syllabic *t* and *p*. Another equally important factor influencing choice of vowel is the length or duration of the note in question. Chart III-21a shows which vowels are used for long (quaver or dotted quaver and longer) and short (semi-quaver and shorter) notes in five of the most commonly used rhythmic motifs in ceol beag in common and march time. Chart III-21b illustrates the same for jigs and marches in six eight time, and it can readily be seen that the first three motifs are

18. It is necessary to point out that the repertory of permitted unstressed vocables in diddling is sufficiently restricted that in general vocables appearing frequently in unstressed positions are simply those composed with at least one sound which appears only in unstressed position.

Chart III-21b.

The relationship of vowel to
note duration ($\frac{6}{8}$ time)

Key:  = used
 used rarely

i	X	X		X		X	X	X		X	X	X				front vowels
ɪ			X		X				X			X				
e	X	X			X							X				
ɛ	X															
a	X							X			X					
u	X							X								back vowels
o		X					X				X				X	
ɔ	X			X							X					
ʌ	X				X								X			
ɑ	X		X	X				X			X	X			X	
aɪ	X	X						X								diphthongs
ao	X															
ə		X							X			X	X			central vowels
ɜ			X													
ɪ		X														syllabic consonants
ɲ		X								X						
1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14.																

Chart III-22 a. and b.

a.		Short positions						Long positions										
		short SV			short unSV			long SV		long unSV								
		ā	ɪ	ʌ	ə	ɜ	ɪ	ŋ	e	o	a	i	aɪ	aə	ɔ	u		
		X	X						X								3	
			X	X		X											5	
		X	X	X					X		X	X	X				9	
		X	X	X													11	
					X		X			X							2	
					X		X	X		X	X					X	7	
				X	X		X	X		X	X						10	
				X	X		X	X									12	
		X							X		X	X			X	X	1	
									X		X	X		X			8	
				X					X	X	X	X		X	X		13	
							X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X		4	
									X			X					6	

numbers refer to positions in CHART IV-2a.

numbers refer to positions in CHART IV-21a.

b.	Short positions				Long positions																				
	short SV		short unSV		long SV		long unSV		ā	ɪ	ʌ	ə	ɜ	ɪ	ŋ	e	o	a	i	aɪ	aə	ɔ	u		
																									3
																									5
																									12
																									2
																									9
																									13
																									1
																									7
																									8
																									10
																									11
																									4
																									6
																									14

— numbers refer to positions in CHART IV-21b

numbers refer to positions in CHART IV-21b.

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very similar. Less reliance can be placed on the latter chart since the body of data examined was considerably smaller (approximately 300 motifs as opposed to 2300 in the first chart). The rhythmic motifs appear on the horizontal axis of the charts, on the vertical axis the vowels have been sectioned into: front vowels, back vowels, diphthongs, central vowels and syllabic consonants. So as to be able to examine the effect of stress and duration simultaneously the rhythmic motifs were divided into four categories; each position of each motif was considered to be either short stressed, short unstressed, long stressed or long unstressed. Thus in charts III-22a & b the numbers in the far right-hand vertical column refer to the positions listed underneath the rhythmic motifs in charts III-21a & b, only in III-22a & b the numbers have been regrouped so that the vowels used in all the short stressed positions, long unstressed positions and etc. can be examined together in order to find any pattern they exhibit.

Two main points emerge upon examination; firstly, that duration does have a marked effect on the selection of vowels, including syllabic consonants, and secondly, that stress (combined with duration) plays more of a decisive factor in short notes than in long ones. The main points of difference are summarised below.

1. In short stressed positions the vowels [ɪ, ʌ, a] predominate, while [e, i, ɜ, ʌ, aɪ] also appear, far less frequently.
2. In short unstressed positions the schwa and syllabic consonants [ɹ & ɸ] predominate, while [o, i, u, ʌ] also appear, far less frequently.
3. In long stressed positions the peripheral vowels predominate: [e, o, i, u, ʌ, ɔ, aɪ, aʊ]; [a & ʌ] also appear less frequently.
4. In long unstressed positions the same vowels with the exception of [u & aʊ] predominate; very occasionally the syllabic consonants are used.

Comparison of these results with the vowels considered by Gimson to be long or short¹⁹ in spoken English strongly indicates

19. A.C. Gimson, op. cit. 90-91

that English-speaking singers are unconsciously influenced to choose vowels which are 'long' in spoken language to be sung during notes of longer duration, and short vowels for quicker notes. It seems extremely probable that Gaelic-speakers follow a similar pattern with the vowels of their own system.

<u>Vowels used in vocabelising</u> ²⁰	
For notes of short duration: [a, z, ʌ, ə] & syllabic consonants	For notes of long duration: [i, u, e, o, a, ɔ, aɪ, aʊ]
<u>Vowels considered short in spoken English:</u> [a, z, ʌ, ə] (plus 3 which are not used in vocabelising)	<u>Vowels considered long in spoken English:</u> [i, u, ɔ, aɪ, eɪ, oʊ ²¹ , aʊ,] (plus others not used in vocabelising)

In summary, then, note duration combined with stress or absence of stress affects the musician's choice of vowel in that he tends to be influenced (to an extent which probably varies somewhat from individual to individual) by an unconscious need to fit vowels, considered long or short in language, to the appropriate place in the music.

4.4 Imitative and associative vocables.

In general these are composed following the combinatorial restrictions discussed in sections 2 and 3 above, and are affected to a large degree by the influences discussed in sections 4.1-4.3 and 4.5. The fact that, in the case of

-
20. For clarity's sake I have translated Gimson's symbols into the system I have used throughout the thesis. They are all I.P.A. symbols: [ɪ and ʊ] correspond to [z and ɔ]; the latter are the preferred symbols. The difference between [æ and a] lies in the former being slightly higher and farther back.
21. Because he is dealing with Anglo-English, Gimson has transcribed these vowels as diphthongs. In Scots-English they commonly appear without the glide. See: David Abercrombie, "The Accents of Standard English in Scotland", The Languages of Scotland (Association for Scottish Literary Studies Occasional Paper 4) Edinburgh (1979) 68-84

associative vocables, the composition of the vocable probably takes place at a point in time before rather than simultaneous with the performance makes no difference to the nature of the vocable. Indeed, there is evidence to suggest that this pre-composition takes place in many types of vocabelising, not just those types which incorporate associative vocables. The difference between such associative vocables, and vocables which imitate them lies not so much in the actual sound, which in both instances is probably very similar if not identical, but rather in the specific relationship in the piper's mind between a given sound or vocable with a particular melodo-rhythmic motif in the music. For instance, to many pipers [h] in releasing consonant position in a vocable indicates that a high 'g' grace note should be played before the next note. Many non-piper who sing pipe tunes include a high proportion of [h] sounds in their vocables because they hear pipers sing it, but lacking the knowledge of the reason for its use. So while the vocables themselves may be identical, the difference lies in the intended goal of the performer; to represent instrumental and other musical aspects with speech sounds, or to imitate the sounds used by pipers, therefore 'imitating the sound of the pipes.'

Some vocables are imitative by virtue of being onomatopoeitic. One of the most obvious (and widely spread) examples of such a vocable is the use of the alveolar trill [r] to imitate a two-note trill or "birl" in the music. Again, while instrumentalists tend to place onomatopoeitic sounds as directed by the occurrence of the ornament in the tune (or the occurrence of a suitable place for such an ornament) some non-instrumentalists imitate the onomatopoeitic sound and place it more or less at random, or where it seems to them musically appropriate: the sound itself remains the same.

4.5 Vocable phrases: the principles of minimum effort and of contrast.

So far I have been discussing the relationship of music to choice and combination of sounds as if each vocable appeared in isolation, dictated by combined musical aspects, or as if syntagmatic relationships were regulated entirely by the

music. This does not in fact seem to be the case. There appeared to be two guiding principles for combining vocables into phrases: the principle of minimum effort and the principle of contrast. The importance of these principles varies somewhat in relation to the type of vocabelising under consideration.

4.5.1 The principle of minimum effort.

This simply states that the linear arrangement of vocables is designed to be as easy as possible for the performer to articulate. This is of particular importance in the singing of ceol beaq, or in any piece sung at a brisk tempo where the lips and tongue must restrict themselves to small movements if the desired density of notes is to be realised within a given time span. Although the necessity for continuous quick movement of the articulatory organs is much reduced in a tune performed more slowly, the same conservation of effort is apparent in performances of these tunes as well.

In section 2 of this chapter it was demonstrated that the majority of consonant sounds used in vocabelising are produced at places of articulation far forward in the mouth (i.e. bi-labial, labio-dental, dental and alveolar), this being particularly true of diddling, where palatal and velar sounds are not used at all. It was pointed out that it was physically easier to move quickly back and forth between places of articulation fairly close to one another than between those more distant. (This statement is qualified because movement between places of articulation immediately next each other can be extremely difficult. For example, [bə və] bi-labial to labio-dental; or [tə tʃə], alveolar to palato-alveolar, are both difficult to repeat over quickly.) So, this principle of minimum effort seems to be in evidence in the very selection of sounds to be used in vocabelising, or, put another way, the sounds may have been (unconsciously) selected because they were the ones easiest to produce quickly in a short space of time.

Even more important, however, is the ubiquitous use of homorganic junctures between vocables; that is, the last segment of one vocable and the first segment of the following vocable are produced at the same place of articulation, thereby expending a

minimum of articulatory effort. In the following typical canntaireachd phrase the homorganic junctures have been underlined:

[h₁am₂ b₂ d₃ n₃ t₃ə]. Between the first two vocables, the lips were compressed (and the velum lowered) to produce the bi-labial nasal stop [m], then while the lips remained compressed, the velum was raised to stop the flow of air through the nasal cavity and direct it orally instead until enough pressure was raised for the lips to explode the bi-labial oral stop [b]. Voicing was constant through the production of both segments. Between the second two vocables the common place of articulation is the alveolar ridge. During the production of [l], the lateral approximant, the tip of the tongue touches the alveolar ridge throughout while the sides of the tongue allow air to escape laterally. This air escape is then cut off, the tongue tip remaining in place; the air pressure builds up until the alveolar oral stop [d] is released. Again, voicing was constant throughout the juncture. The method of joining the third to the fourth vocable is substantially the same as that used in joining the first to the second except that the place of articulation in question is alveolar rather than bi-labial, and the second segment is not voiced. The result of this particular conservation of articulatory effort is that in vocabelising [m] is very often followed by [b or p]; syllabic [l and p] are frequently followed by [d or t]. Homorganic junctures do, of course, occur in language as well, but their presence or absence is to some extent dictated by the prescribed nature of words, and they do not appear with anything like the frequency found in vocabelising.

In general the minimum possible effort is to move the fewest number of articulatory organs as short a distance as possible. In the first and third of the examples of homorganic junctures described above only the velum was moved; in the second only the tongue. In each case the direction of the air stream was shifted. This is one of the primary tricks used by 'performance' diddlers to achieve such high syllable density in their singing (i.e. to produce a large number of syllables within

a set space of time.)

Among traditional pipers the prescribed nature of some associative vocables may occasionally prevent junctures like these just described. If, say, the vocable [hΛm] were sung to indicate 'high g grace note followed by low a', and if the next note were also preceded by a high g grace note, the next vocable would presumably also begin with [h]. But there is some evidence to suggest that this principle of minimum effort may in fact at times take precedence over the demands of associative vocables. An example is given below in the (descriptive) transcription of Pipe-Major John Stewart first singing and then playing a fragment of Glendaruel Highlanders, a pipe march in six-eight. (SA 1977/166/A13a & b). (See: next page).

In this performance homorganic junctures frequently replace the associative consonant [h] (indicative of the high g grace notes in the piped version). The last quaver and first dotted quaver of bars two and three have as vocables [hp and ta], ([p and t] forming a homorganic juncture), instead of [hp] followed by [ha], where the [h] would represent the second g grace note in the piped version. In bar three the fourth note (a semi-quaver on f-sharp) might be expected to be represented by the vocable [h], to indicate the high g grace note, but instead the vocable is released with a [b], the bi-labial stop, which forms a homorganic juncture with the bi-labial nasal stop concluding the vocable immediately preceding it. Bars five and six are a repeat, both musically and vocably, of bars one and two; and exactly the same shift (from an associative sound to one which forms a homorganic juncture with the last segment of the preceding vocable) takes place between bars five and six. Thus in roughly half the instances where an associative sound to represent a high g grace note might have been expected, a homorganic juncture was substituted instead. Of course, one synchronic variant of one individual's performance of one piece from the repertory is not sufficient evidence to conclude that all traditional pipers occasionally exchange associative exactness for conservation of effort, but it

Tape No: SA 1977/166/A13

Title: Glendaruel Highlanders

Type: 8 march

Performer: Pipe-Major John Stewart

Coll: KKC

Trans: KKC

Chant

1

Voice

1

hi gam ba dam hum ba bsa haz ba di ha se xu
gam ba dam gam ba bsa he ba di ha se xu

Chant

12

Voice

12

Hz re: bse hu di to di o he xa d> xu b>

* () = alternate ornament.

is a preliminary indication that the practice might prove to be widespread, were a larger sample of data to be examined.

4.5.2 The principle of contrast.

This states that as a general although not invariable rule no vocable will be exactly the same as its immediate neighbours.²² In fact, this is in keeping with the first principle discussed since at a brisk tempo it is much more difficult to reiterate one vocable than to use one of the methods described above in section 4.5.1. The contrast may be slight, perhaps only the consonant or vowel will be changed, but the dimension of variety is perhaps the most distinctive, idomatic feature of the genre of vocabelising, and performers generally make full use of it. Sub-groups of musicians within the genre exploit the possibilities to different degrees, as was pointed out in the section on categorical and individual vocable repertories, but regardless of size of repertory, performers throughout the range of types in the genre all appear to be guided in their arrangement of vocable material by the principle that each vocable should contrast with its immediate neighbours.

At this point the reader should ideally be able to select a tune and vocabelise it in a traditionally Scottish manner. In practise, of course, it takes time and a certain amount of endeavour for an 'outsider' to acquire the necessary vocal and vocable ability, and to absorb the conditions of vocable 'grammar' described in this chapter. Traditional musicians do not have to make any conscious decisions about which sounds to use, how to combine them with others or how to combine vocables into phrases, having absorbed all such information from their musical environment just as all peoples unconsciously absorb the intricacies of their native tongue during observations of and interaction within their social environment.

22. Occasionally children, or adults not conversant with the genre, will vocabelise on one syllable, but this is rare or unknown with actual performers.

CHAPTER IV: Vocable Refrains in Scots and Gaelic Song

Heretofore I have been largely discussing vocables which are improvisatory, whether improvised at the moment of performance or at some point previously. Different individuals vary their selection of vocables for a tune to differing degrees; ranging from those who "find the right diddle" and stick quite closely to it afterward to those who recreate virtually a new "diddle" each time they perform a piece (the latter being far more rare.) In this chapter I will discuss what in the master chart in the Introduction (see page 10) were termed "jelled", or fixed vocables, which are found in the refrains (and sometimes the texts) of both Scots and Gaelic song. The term "jelled" implies a greatly diminished degree of improvisation except on the part of the original composer; the singer absorbs the vocable chorus or refrain along with the melody and text of a song and in general makes only minor modifications to the pre-composed piece. As has been implied in the preceding paragraph, vocable refrains are associated only with songs and almost invariably accompany a text (though not necessarily just one text), whereas diddling and canntaireachd are much more commonly a representation of an instrumental repertory. So, we have already noted two basic differences between a vocable refrain and a performance of diddling or canntaireachd: 1. the first is composed by someone other than the performer and generally remains fixed while the second is improvised by the performer and may be quite flexible, and 2. the first is associated with a song tradition while the second is linked to an instrumental repertory.

1. Vocable refrains in Scots song.

The data from which the following analysis was made consists of 196 variants of 66 melodies. Only 59 texts or narratives were used by the informants, indicating that some texts were linked to more than one melody. The size of the sample was determined by the cessation of appearance of new vocables: after approximately 46 ^{songs} and their variants had been examined, no new vocables appeared

in the next twenty songs and I deemed this a fair indication that I had noted down the bulk of the repertory of vocables used in the refrains of Scots songs. I do not claim to have listed the complete repertory, but certainly the majority and certainly all the vocables commonly used.

1.1 The sounds used in Scots vocable refrains.

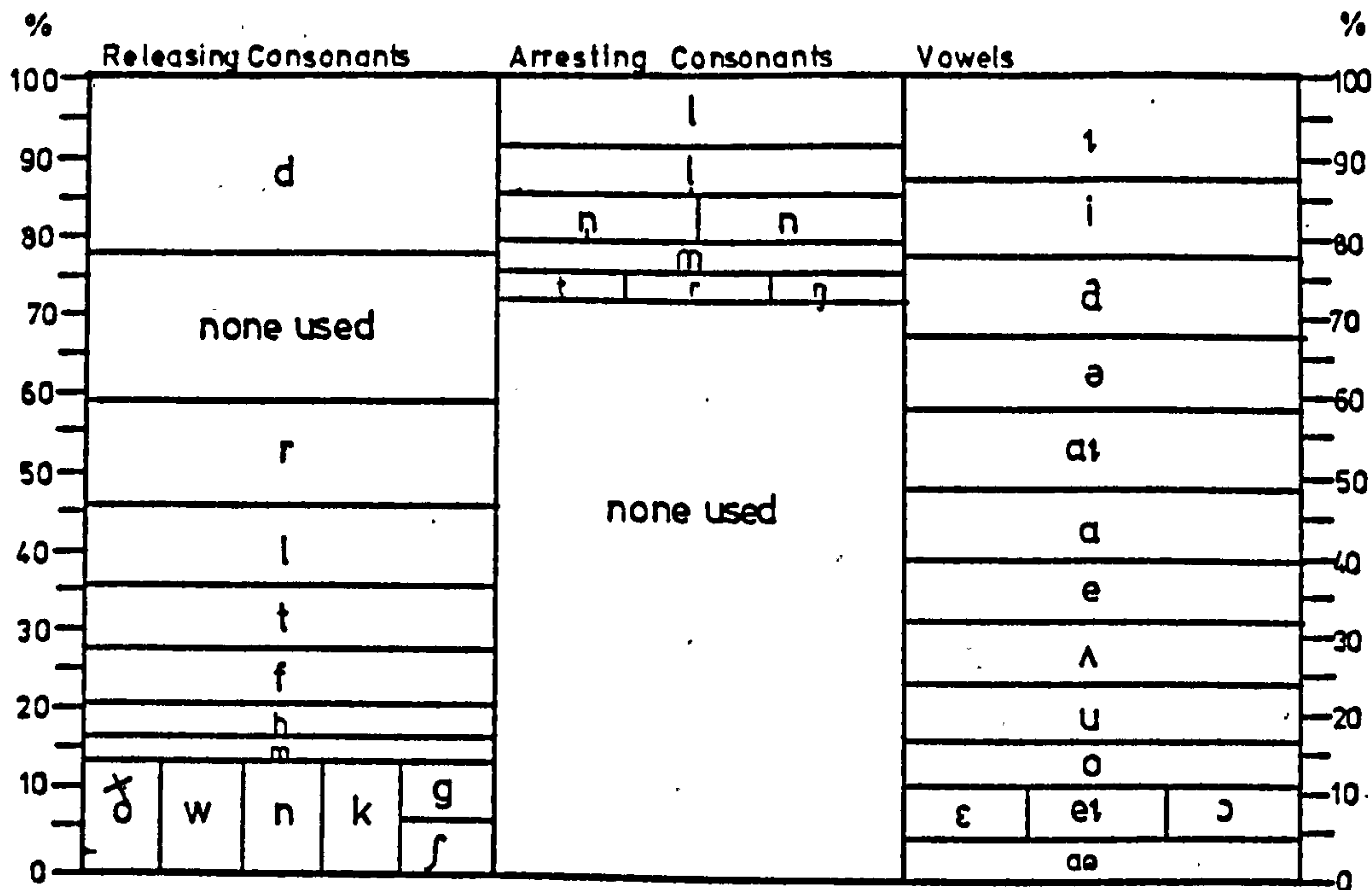
1.1.1 A Phonetic Analysis of the sounds.

Chart IV-1 shows the sounds composing the vocables found in the refrains of Scots songs, displaying them in the same format as was used in the charts presenting the sounds used in canntaireachd and diddling (III-4 and 5). Discrepancies both in repertory and proportion of use of certain sounds are evident from a comparison of the two sets of charts; the main points of divergence are listed below.

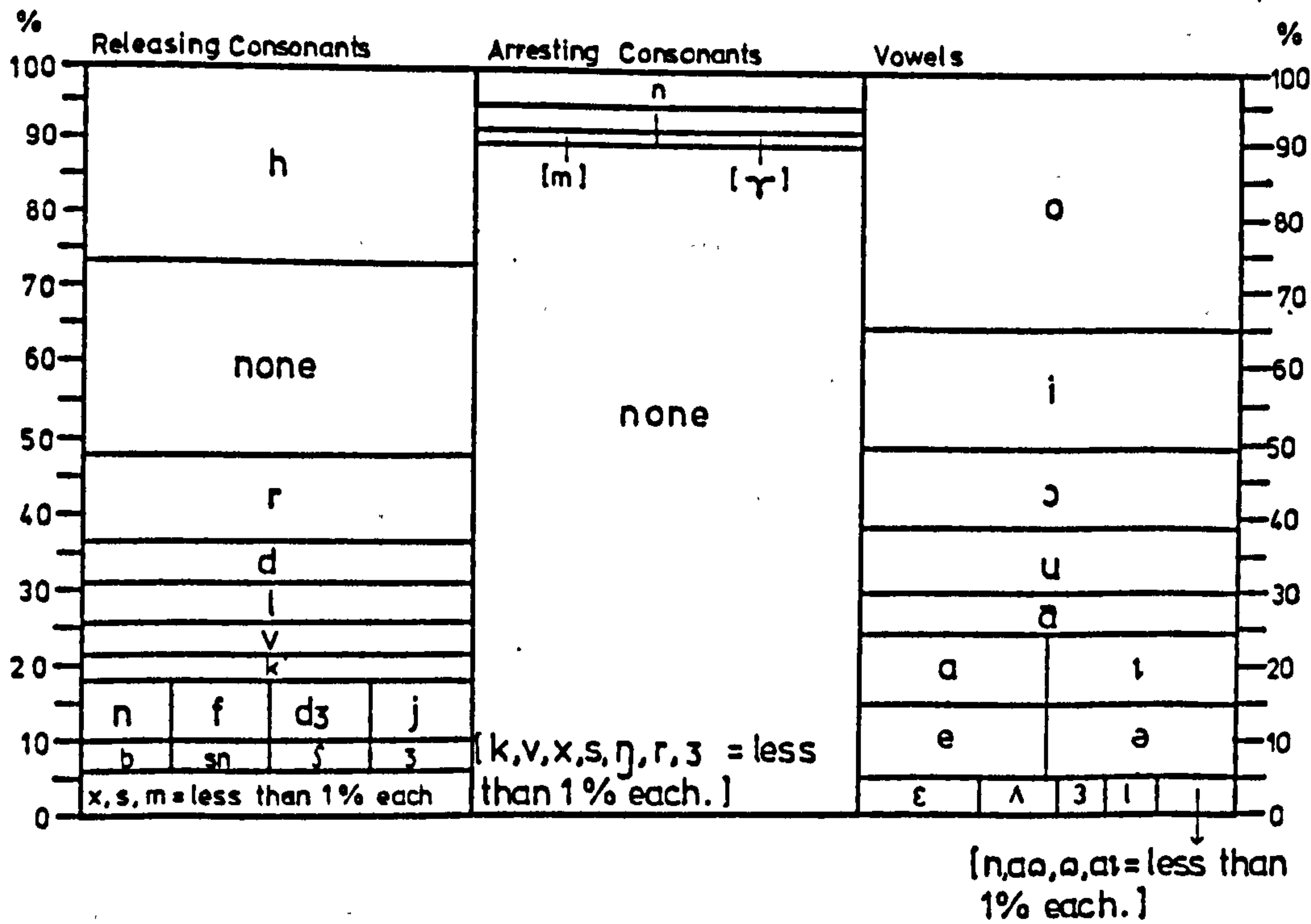
1. Several sounds are found in vocable refrains which are not used in either diddling or canntaireachd. [f, w, k, g, ʃ] are used as releasing consonants; [l] (rather than syllabic l) and [t, ɫ, k, and ɰ] as arresting consonants.
2. The vocables found in Scots refrains do not contain the special 'pipe' sounds used in some canntaireachd: [b, p, x, ɕ, ʝ, tʃ, v, r] (the trill), the glottal stop and clusters.
3. The vowels used in all three kinds of vocabelising are by and large the same, but in refrain vocables no one vowel is singled out for particular emphasis as in diddling and canntaireachd.
4. Similarly, although [d] and 'no releasing consonant' do to some extent predominate in releasing consonant position in refrain vocables, no one consonant is emphasised to the degree that [h] in canntaireachd and particularly [d] in diddling are.
5. Syllabic l is used far less in refrain vocables than in diddling; it seems most likely that the reason for this is the greatly reduced syllable density in refrains. One of the characteristics of 'performance diddlers' is their ability to cram as many vocables as possible into as short a time as possible, and the use of syllabic consonants is one of the tricks which enables them to do this. When the need disappears, as in refrains where the syllable density is about the same as for lexical words, the predominance of syllabic consonants diminishes as well.
6. Overall, vocables found in Scots refrains are, not surprisingly, more similar to those found in diddling than in canntaireachd, which is originally a Gaelic tradition.

Chart IV-1

Vocable Refrains in Scots Song



Vocable Refrains in Gaelic Song



Of all the points mentioned above, the one which most immediately impinges on the ear is the appearance in refrain vocables of [f, w, k, g, and ʃ] in releasing position, and [t, l, ɪ, ŋ, and k] in arresting position. With the exception of [f and l] they do not appear very frequently, but in diddling and canntair-eachd they do not appear at all, so that their presence in a string of vocables is by itself enough to strongly suggest that one is dealing with a phrase of refrain vocables rather than a phrase of diddling or canntaireachd.

1.1.2 Interspersed lexical words.

Another feature common in vocable refrains and entirely absent from improvisatory vocabellising is the appearance of lexical words interspersed with the vocables. The following discussion of this phenomenon is split into two sections; the first dealing with refrains containing the odd word or short phrase, and the second with refrains containing whole sentences or long phrases.

1.1.2a Approximately one third of all the variants examined (196 in all) contained short lexical interjections, all but a few of which followed a common pattern. Most prevalent were either "me" or "my" preceded by "with", "to", or "and". Thus; "with me", "to my", "and me" and so forth. Of these the phrases beginning with "with" were far the most commonly used. Occasionally slight variations on this theme appeared, such as "with your", or "and his", but they were less common. Combinations such as these accounted for well over half of all the short interspersed words.

About a third of the short lexical interjections were accounted for by the words "sing" or "singing", followed by the refrain, while the remainder consisted of short phrases (sometimes pertinent to the song in question) such as "with his fine...", "...the lady", "lassie with your...", etc. One stylistic feature apparently associated with bothy singers, or songs commonly performed in the bothies, was the punctuation of a lexical phrase with the word "man", and this seems occasionally to be transferred to a vocable refrain:

sing ta ri dee a ri dee
eye, man, sing
da ri dee an de
kye.

[szɪ] ta rɪ di a ɪz di
aɪ man szɪ
da rɪ di an dz
kaɪ]

The first two groups mentioned, which account for the great majority of the lexical interjections, are not interspersed randomly, but appear almost invariably as the anacrusis to the first and third bar (i.e. to the start and to the second half of the chorus.) Occasionally they may also appear as the anacrusis to the second or fourth beat as well, but not to those bars alone. This is clearly demonstrated in the following brief table.

Interspersed lexical words appeared as
an anacrusis to the:

1st bar:	2nd bar:	3rd bar:	4th bar:
48 times	—8 times	—28 times	—3 times

Thus lexical interjections of this type tend to follow quite a restricted pattern, both in the words chosen and in their placement in the refrain.

1.1.2b Refrains containing longer phrases or complete sentences can also be divided into two groups, those where the chorus alternates between a line of lexical words and a line of vocables, and those which are ended by a lexical phrase. Examples of the former include She Was a Rum One (SA 1952/53/11, sung by Jeannie Robertson. Fieldworker: Hamish Henderson), in which the refrain runs:

"She was a rum one,"
Fall di doodle eye do ay,
"And a bonnie one,"
Fall di doodle eye do.

[fal di du d! aɪ do e:
fal di du d! aɪ do:]

—as well as an unusual variant of Lang Johnnie Moore (Child 251) (SA 1960/169/84, sung by Christina Stewart. Fieldworker: Kenneth Goldstein.)

High diddle dee
"Hielan' laddie,"
High diddle dee,
"Bonnie Dundee."

[haz dz d! di:
haz dz d! di:]

Such examples are rather uncommon, however. Songs where the lines of the text are alternated with lines of vocables are somewhat more common, well known examples being The Wee Cooper o' Fife (Child 277), The Twa Sisters (Child 10) and The Souter's Feast. Such songs often include a complete vocable chorus as well as the lines of vocables which alternate with lines of the text, as is the case in the first and last of the three songs just mentioned.

The second group of refrains containing phrases or complete sentences is that in which the vocable refrain, usually double length (i.e. eight rather than four bars) is ended by a lexical phrase or sentence which takes up the last quarter of the refrain (i.e. the last two bars.) An extremely well known example is the bothy song The Barnyards o' Delgaty. In many versions the chorus is sung completely in vocables, but it is also frequently sung with one of two lexical phrases which, as is often the case with refrains of this pattern, rhyme with the vocable phrase.

Lintin addy tu rin addy
Lintin addy tu rin ee,
Lintin addy tu rin addy,
"The barnyards o' Delgaty"
or
"Turra market for ti fee"

[lzn tzn a di tu rzn a di
lzn tzn a di tu rzn i:
lzn tzn a di tu rzn a di]
"The barnyards o' Delgaty"
or
"Turra market for ti fee"

Another example of this practice of rhyming lexical words and vocable is seen in the two songs The Day We Went to Rothesay O and The Tinkler's Weddin', which though they have different texts share a melody and vocable chorus.

Durum a doo a dum a day, a
Durum a doo a daddy o,
Durum a doo a dum a day, "The
Day we went to Rothesay, O!"
or
"Hurrah for the tinkler's
weddin' O!"

[da lam a du a dum a de: a
da ram a du a da di o:]
[as first line] "The
Day we went to Rothesay O!"
or
"Hurrah for the tinkler's
weddin' O!"

This necessity for rhyme is carried to the point where it seems as if the vocables themselves are composed or adapted so as to rhyme with a lexical word no matter how unlikely a combination of sounds the rhyme causes, as in the following song

about a prostitute.

A din eye dum a ring ding
Dun do rin delly
A din eye dum a ring ding,
"And a
Roving Sarah Kelly."

[a dzn az dām ə rzn dzn
dān do rzn dē le-
a dzn az dām ə rzn dzn]
"And a
Roving Sarah Kelley."

The combination [dz le] is a most unusual one in a vocable refrain, or in diddling or canntaireachd for that matter, and has obviously been inserted to rhyme or make an assonance with the woman's name. In this song at least, the desire for rhyme was greater than the urge to follow unconsciously absorbed 'rules' guiding the combination of vocables.

1.2 Syntagmatic relationships in Scots vocable refrains.

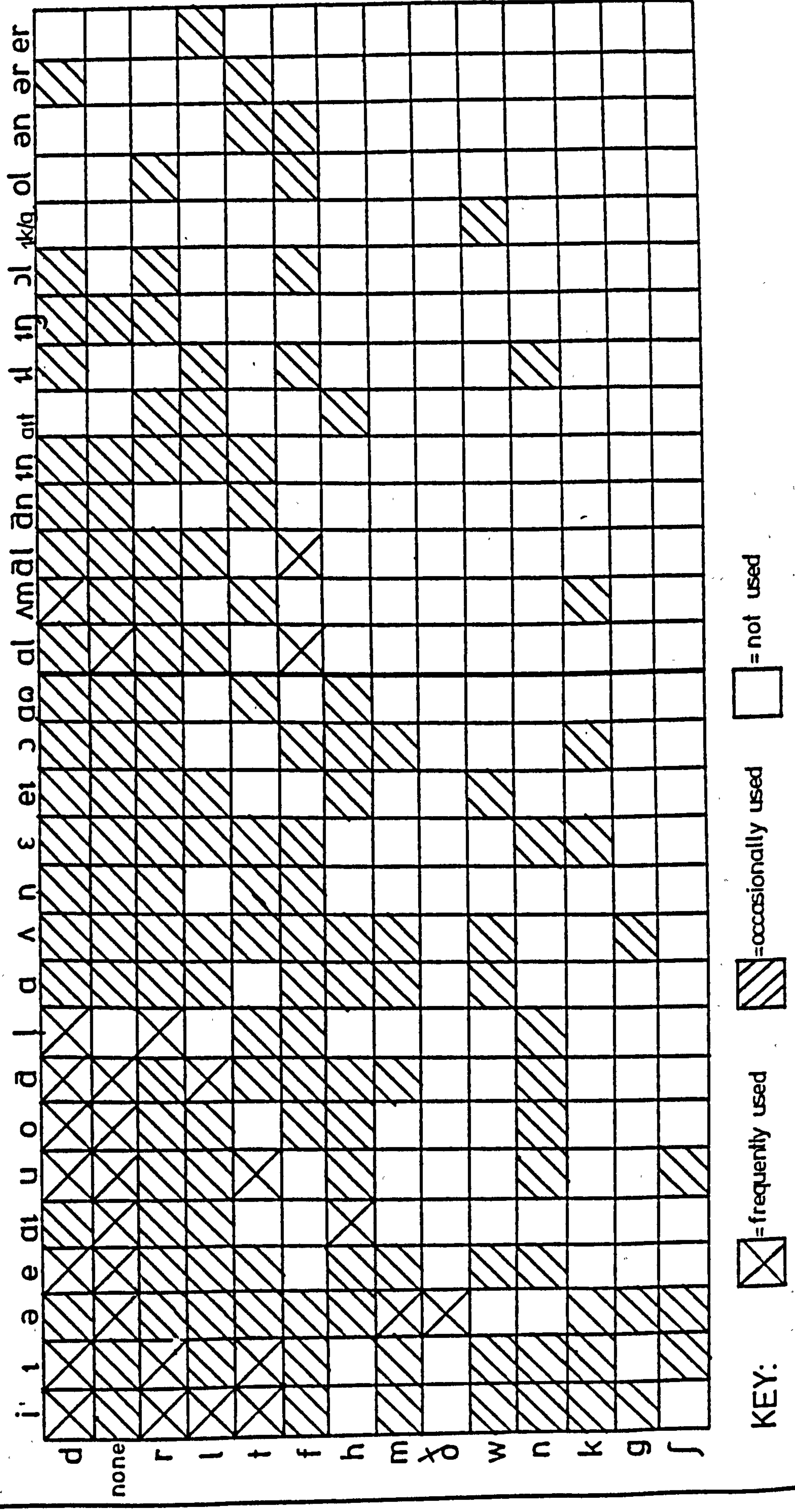
In this section I will discuss in brief the manner in which the sounds combine into vocables and the vocables into phrases, as well as the musical features affecting the latter. I've said "in brief", since many of the combinatorial 'rules' discussed in Chapter III apply to refrain vocables as well, and there is no need to reiterate those here. The following discussion will concentrate on those areas where refrain vocables differ from diddling and canntaireachd in their composition and arrangement.

1.2.1 Combinatorial restrictions.

Chart IV-2 shows the possible combinations and 'used' combinations for refrain vocables in the same format as used for Charts III-11 and 13. One obvious difference lies in the expanded repertory of releasing and arresting consonants, but it can be seen here that they are fairly restricted as to which vowels and which consonants may combine and in what order. For instance, the frequently seen combinations [al and aɪ] (as in "calculator" and "fall") strongly favour [f and l] as releasing consonants. The only vowel arrested with [t] is the diphthong [aɪ] (as in "eye"), and that combination strongly favours [ɪ] as a releasing consonant. Vocables ending with the voiced or voiceless velar stop [g or k]

Chart IV-2

Vocables in Scottish Song



combined only with [wɪ] though the instances of a vocable arrested with a velar stop were sufficiently uncommon that one cannot draw other than an inference of a preference from this.

Apart from certain sounds preferring combinations with each other, as in the examples above, refrain vocables themselves also seem to have arbitrary patterns of preferred combinations; mostly in relation to the releasing consonant. That is, a vocable released with a certain consonant is likely to be followed by a vocable released with a certain other consonant (or with one of a small range). The consonants in question have come to be associated together, and frequently follow each other either in sequence or in random order. For example: vocables begun with [d] and [ɔ] frequently appear together, though either may come first. Vocables begun with [h] are very often followed by vocables begun with [d], though not often the other way around since [h], which is an uncommon sound in Scots vocable refrains, seldom appears other than as the first vocable in a phrase. Another sound which appears most frequently at the beginning of a phrase is [f]; when it does follow another vocable, that vocable usually begins with [ɔ]. Vocables begun with [l] as well, are seldom seen in any but an initial position in the phrase.

These examples should suffice to indicate that compositional techniques have evolved associating certain consonants and vowels, both within a vocable and in phrases. The reason for such a practice is uncertain; perhaps, like the "right diddle", these combinations are simply felt to be euphonious arrangements of sounds.

1.2.2 Vowel and consonant relationship to pitch, stress, and position in the refrain.

In this section I will discuss the musical features affecting the syntagmatic relationships of refrain vocables. The first of these listed above is pitch. It was noted in Chapter III: 4.1 that pitch influenced the selection of vowels in diddling and canntaireachd, particularly those pitches at the top and bottom range of a song's inventory of pitches. The same phenomenon cannot,

however, be observed in refrain vocables. Isolated instances can certainly be found, but in general pitch does not seem to be a factor related to the selection of vowels in refrain vocables.

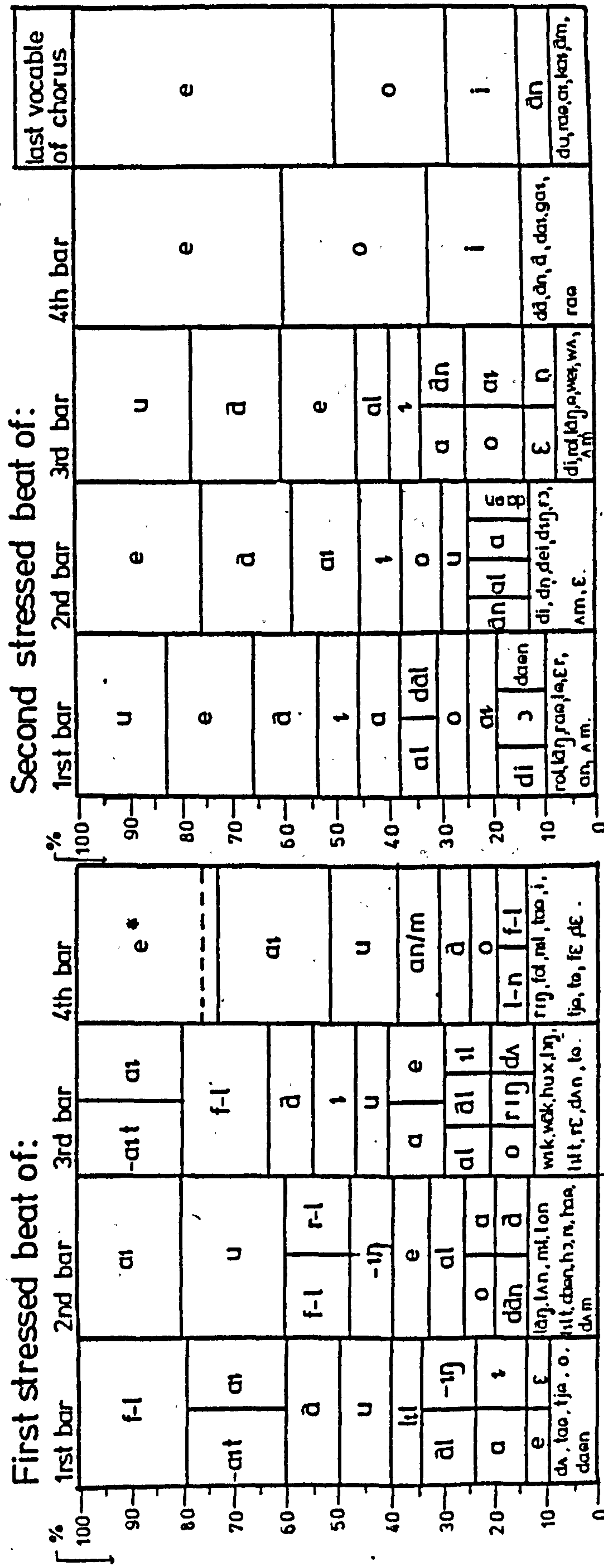
On the other hand, the last two factors mentioned in the heading of this section, namely stress and position in the refrain, do influence the selection and arrangement of sounds comprising refrain vocables. The first of these, the factor of stress, affects both the selection of vowels and of consonants. More accurately, in respect of consonants, they seem to be affected by stress or lack of stress when they appear in closed syllables (VC and CVC). Table IV-3 illustrates the preferred placement of vowels and consonants in these syllabic formulae.

<u>IV-3</u>		
	<u>Stressed position</u>	<u>Unstressed position</u>
Vowels:	[e, a, o, u, i, ə, ɪ, ʌ, ɔɪ]	[ɪ, ə, ɪ, ə]
Consonants in formula CV & CVC:	[-n, -ɹŋ, -ʌm, -l, -aɪt, f-l, d-l, l-l, n-l, -l, daʊn]	[-ɹn, -ɹŋ, -ɪ, -ŋ]

Several points to note: vocables released with [f, n, d, l,] and arrested by the voiced velar lateral approximant [ɹ], (i.e. [fal, dol, rol] etc.) show a marked preference for stressed positions, as do the rather rare combinations [daʊn and -aɪt]. Vocables arrested with a nasal segment [n, m or ŋ], appear in both stressed and unstressed positions, though in the count they were far more prevalent in stressed positions. As could be predicted from the previous study of diddling and canntaireachd, the schwa and syllabic ɹ appear only in unstressed positions.

The second factor which, together with stress, influences the selection and arrangement of sounds in refrain vocables is the position of the vocable in the refrain. This was not a factor influencing the selection of diddling and canntaireachd vocables, but it plays an important part here, particularly in relation to stressed beats in certain positions in the refrain. In Chart IV-4 the left

Chart IV-4 The relationship of vocable to position in the refrain



four rectangles represent the vowel or, where appropriate, entire vocable used on the first stressed beat of each bar of the refrain. (As mentioned previously the great majority of Scots vocable refrains are four bars long.) The right- four rectangles represent the vowel or vocable used on the second stressed beat of each bar of the refrain, while the fifth rectangle in that row indicates the last vocable used in each chorus.

Several patterns emerge from this chart. One of the most marked is the presence of [e] on the second stressed beat of a bar, particularly on the second stressed beat of the second and fourth bars, i.e. halfway through and at the end of the refrain. It seems that this vowel is used as a kind of punctuation, as a comma halfway through the refrain and a full stop and the end. Further evidence for this hypothesis can be seen in the last rectangle in the chart, which indicates the sounds used for the last vocable in each chorus. By itself, [e] accounts for just over half of all the choruses examined. Another 'punctuating vowel' is [i] which, when it appears in a stressed position, tends to do so at the end of a refrain. The frequency of appearance of [o] also increases greatly at the end of the refrain.

Just as [e] and [i] and to a lesser extent [o] appear to be used primarily in closing or final position, certain vowels and whole vocables seem to prefer opening or initial position. One of the most prominent of these is the combination [f-l], which is most frequently found on the first stressed beat of the first and third bars of the chorus, less frequently on the first stressed beat of the second and fourth bars, and does not appear on the second stressed beat (or on any unstressed beat) in any bar of the chorus. Other similar vocables ([d-l, l-l, l-l, n-l, -l,]) exhibit a similar pattern, though appearing rarely on the second stressed beat of a bar. Another structure which has a pattern almost identical to [f-l] is [-a t], which appears only on the first stressed beat of bars one and three. On its own the diphthong [a z] continues to prefer the first stressed beat of a bar, but it does appear occasionally on a second stressed beat as well. The addition of the arresting consonant apparently influences the options for placement

of this combination.

Specific combinations of vocables, or vocable motifs, may also exhibit a preference for a certain position within the refrain. One of these which I examined was an [aɪ -do] motif, which I chose to look at because it appeared as a feature of 18 different refrains. It showed a distinct preference for a closing or final position: exactly half the appearances ended the final bar of the refrain, while the remainder concentrated in the first two bars, appearing in various positions. It has already been pointed out that [o] tends to be a final or 'punctuating' vowel, but when found on its own, [aɪ] tends to have the opposite preference, to appearances on the first stressed beats of the earlier bars in a refrain. In 19 choruses in which [aɪ] appeared on its own (two of which also included the [aɪ -do] motif, and thus overlapped) two-thirds of the appearances of [aɪ] occurred in the first two bars, while just over half the appearances occurred on the first stressed beat of a bar, and usually the first and second bars of the chorus. But, as mentioned above, when [aɪ] is combined with [do], it appears much more commonly as the final motif in the refrain. So, just as the addition of the arresting consonant [t] influenced the options for placement of the diphthong [aɪ], its combination with [do] into the motif [aɪ. do] also influences its placement in the refrain, and to a far more drastic extent in that it reverses the tendency which the diphthong [aɪ] exhibits when found on its own.

1.2.3 Rhyme schemes and structure of phrases.

I have already discussed certain factors influencing syntagmatic relationships of the sounds comprising refrain vocables, and, in brief, how the same factors influence the syntagmatic relationships of the vocables themselves. In the following section I intend to expand on the latter, introducing two new factors which help to determine the arrangement of the vocables into phrases and the relationship of one phrase to another within a given chorus. These are the use of rhyme schemes and the arrangement of phrases into an overall structure or pattern.

Even the shortest vocable chorus exhibits some kind of

repetition or an embryo rhyme scheme, even if not long enough for a pattern of phrases to be observable; the great majority of vocable choruses exhibit both rhyme schemes and underlying phrase structure. This is a marked contrast to diddling and canntaireachd where, although musical and vocable phrases may be linked, rhyme schemes such as are seen here are not used.

Chart IV-5 illustrates the various rhyme schemes seen in Scots vocable refrains: the capital letters indicate the first stressed beat of each bar while the small letters indicate the second stressed beat of each bar. The most useful result of presenting these rhyme schemes in table form is to display graphically the great emphasis, or proportionately greater use of one family of rhyme patterns which might be labelled A-A-. In short, in the majority (two thirds of those counted) of vocable refrains the first vocable of the first and third bar will rhyme.

In examining the structure or pattern of phrases in vocable refrains I looked at the repetition of whole strings of vocables rather than the repetition of vowels in strategic stressed positions. Some allowance was made for slight variation as well. For example, the chorus:

Fal the diddle derry	[fal dɔ dz d! de ri
High dum derry	haz dɪm dɛ ri
Fal the diddle derry a	fal dɔ dz d! de ri ə
High dum doo	haz dɪm dʊ:]

-would have its rhyme scheme written (AbCbAbCd), but its pattern of phrases would be (ABAB'), the apostrophe indicating "B prime", meaning a slight variation of material already used. Although in my examination such variations were all marked, in the following table (IV-6) they have been removed for the sake of clarity and ease of comparison. The numbers in brackets indicate the number of choruses using the pattern.

IV-6					
2 bar choruses:		3 bar choruses:			
AA (5)	AB (4)	AAB (1)	ABA (1)*	ABC (1)	
4 bar choruses:					
AAAA(11)*	AAAB(7)*	AABA(2)	AABC(5)	ABAA(1)*	ABAB(10)*
ABAC(25)*	ABBA(2)	ABCD(6)	ABCB(1)	ABBB(1)	ABBC(2)

Chart IV-5		Rhyme schemes in vocable refrains:		
2 bars-		3 bars -	4 bars-	
AA	AAA AAB AAC AAD	AAA- AAB- AAC- AAD- AAE-		
AaA AaAb AbAa AbAc	AbAdDe	AAAbA AABbA AaAbCaAb AaAbAaAb AaAcBaC AbAbCaB AbAcAbAc AAbBcD A AbCdEf AaAbAaAc AABcC AbAcAbAd AbAbAcAb AbAcAcAd AbAcAdAe AaAaAaB AbAcAdBe AbAbAbC AaAbAaCd AbAcAb Cd AbAcAb De AbAbAc De		
AB	ABA ABB ABC ABD	ABA- ABB- ABC- ABD- ABE-		
AbBb		AbBcAbAc AaBcBcAa AbBcDbEc AaBcDdEc AaBcAc B AaBaAaBc AbBaAbBc AaBcAaBd AbBcAbBd AaBaAaC AbBaAaC AbBbAbCd AbBbAbC AbBcAbCc AbBcAbCb AbBcAb Db AbBcAb Dd Aa BcAa D AaBcAd E		
AC	ACA ACB ACC ACD	ACA- ACB- ACC- ACD- ACE-		
AbC AbCb AbCc	AbCbAa AbCaDe	AbCcAbCb Ab CdEeE AbCdCdAe AbCbDbE AbCdEe F AbCbAbCd AbCbCbD AbCbDcE AbCdAb Ce AbCbCcCb AbCbDeF AbCbC dE AbCbAbD AbC AbD AbCdAe D AbCbAb De AbCbAc De AbCbAd Ef		

The starred patterns are those which exhibit in arrangement of phrases the same pattern as was seen to be so common in the rhyme schemes: A-A-. Again, such patterns of phrases account for two-thirds of all the patterns. Unlike the various rhyme schemes, however, one pattern of phrases also stands out as being far and away the most commonly used, accounting by itself for almost a third of the choruses, the pattern ABAC.

Before continuing it might be well to digress briefly and mention the reasons for the discrepancies between the number of variants forming the basis for the analysis (196) and the number mentioned in the previous two charts (86). A great many of the variants of well known songs such as The Wee Toon Clerk, The Guise o' Tough, and The Battle o' Harlaw/ The Forrester are virtually identical, with only minor variations of vowel or consonant: in general neither the rhyme scheme nor the pattern of phrases changes much from one rendition to another. In such cases it seemed highly misleading to consider them all separate variants, doing so would certainly have led to an undue emphasis on their rhyme schemes and phrase patterning in the overall results. Thus when the rhyme schemes and patterns of phrases have numbers following them, those numbers indicate the sum of different songs, or markedly different variants of a song which used that rhyme scheme or phrase structure. A second reason for the discrepancy of number of variants is that a number of unusual and double length choruses, although included and examined in the sample, do not appear on the charts in order to make these as easily comprehensible as possible. There are not sufficient numbers of these odd length and double length choruses to exhibit any patterns among themselves: but they do all possess rhyme schemes and phrase patterns, and on the whole these follow those already described, with minor variations.

An interesting highlight on the importance of rhyme scheme and patterning of phrases in vocable refrains is illustrated by two variants of The Minister's Wether (The Parson's Sheep) which tell the same story but to different melodies and (ostensibly) different vocable choruses.

1. pal do cl de sz d! dam dz d! dam pal do cl de rz d! dam de:

2. hazt ho se ca di tam tadi hazt ho se ca di tam te:
(ta mi)

1. Sung by S. Scott, SA 1971/260/A1 Fieldworker: Dr. A. Bruford
2. Sung by W.B. Henderson, SA 1971/228/9 Fieldworker: Peter Cooke

Even without analysing the vocable refrains, the ear is immediately struck by a similarity between them which upon examination turns out to be identical rhyme scheme (AbCcAbCb) and identical pattern of phrases (ABAC). Apparently as one variant travelled and was altered and adapted by singers, the core or essence of the refrain which sank into and remained in successive performers' minds was the pattern of rhyming vowels and the pattern of phrases rather than the melody, the time signature or in most cases the actual vocables.

It has become evident during this section that the syntagmatic relationships governing the arrangement of sounds into vocables, and vocables into phrases in refrains differ in a number of ways from those governing diddling and canntaireachd. A number of consonants appear in and are peculiar to refrain vocables, while conversely a number of consonants found in canntaireachd are not used in refrains. Lexical words are interspersed with vocables at selected points in the refrain, a feature unknown in improvisatory vocabellising, with its predominantly instrumental characteristics. Combinatorial restrictions and preferences differ to a certain degree as well; obviously they must since the material with which combinations may be constructed includes sounds not used in diddling or canntaireachd. There also seems to be a much higher degree of association of certain consonants or even whole vocables (for example, the [al-do] motif discussed at length earlier). Unlike

diddling and canntaireachd, pitch is not a determining factor in the selection of vowels; stress, however, influences selection in all the genres. An influence upon selection unique to vocable refrains is the position of the vocable within the refrain; certain vowels and vocables, and combinations of vocables showing marked preferences for either initial or final position. Lastly, but perhaps most distinctively, all vocable choruses are composed with a rhyme scheme and a pattern of phrases. Rhymes are of course founding in diddling and canntaireachd (particularly internal rhyme, or rhyme within one phrase) but an overall, consciously composed scheme is lacking, presumably due to the improvisatory nature of the genre, and to the cyclic nature of dance melodies. As to patterning of phrases: in diddling and canntaireachd vocable phrases are often linked to musical phrases and repeated whenever the musical phrase appears, thus highlighting the musical structure of phrases with vocables. In vocable refrains, however, the phrase pattern may be and often is totally divorced from the musical structure. The pattern of repetition may be purely of the vocables, without reference or link to the repetition of musical phrases.

1.3 Synchronic and diachronic variants (paradigmatic relationships.)

Until now I have discussed refrain vocables only as they appear in a single, chronologically isolated performance so as to concentrate on syntagmatic relationships. Now I will discuss performances of a refrain in relation to each other, i.e. the synchronic variants of the choruses. Depending on the popularity of the various songs, I was able to gather as many as 23 or as few as one or two variants. Diachronic variants were rather more difficult to trace, though verse variants can in some measure be considered diachronic. Three points of importance emerged from my examination of the variants of each chorus: the existence of what I've labelled a 'mini-repertory'; the existence of points of weak and great consistency; and the link between vocable and rhythmic variation.

1.3.1 The concept of the 'mini-repertory'.

After examining a number of variants of any given song, it becomes apparent that although individual singers tend to substitute vocables so that no two performances are absolutely identical, with most songs there is a restricted number of options for substitution. I have labelled this set of options a 'mini-repertory', implying that there is a finite number of vocables used in conjunction with a particular melody from which a singer selects and arranges his version of a refrain: a totally unconscious process, of course. When a singer varies the vocables he uses he does so with vocables similar to those used previously, most often changing only the vowel or the consonant.

Apart from such minor variations, in some songs there seem to be specific points where the 'mini-repertory' contains two quite different vocables, one of which is selected by each performer. For example, in Lang Johnnie Moore:

Ha reedle a,	hey	din a dee...	ha ri dl a:	hez	dzn	a di
Ha reedle a,	nil	din a dee...	ha ri dl a:	nzl	dzn	a di

The individual performer is less likely to vary between options so different, though he might do so if conversant with both variants. Within an individual's performance, the variation of just one unit of a vocable rather than the substitution of a completely new vocable is the rule.

Although it is difficult to assess what determines the size of a 'mini-repertory', it is very evident that some songs are more prone to variation than others. Popularity, or wide dissemination does not necessarily seem to have the effect of producing more variants (and today the advent of readily available commercial recordings of songs has tended to reduce the variability of refrains). For example, in two widely known songs (of which I examined about 20 variants each), The Wee Toon Clerk and The Barnyards o' Delgaty, the former had a 'mini-repertory' of 13 vocables while the latter had 22. Another song, of which I examined only 7 variants, had a 'mini-repertory' of 37 vocables. These numbers are not, of course, intended to be definitive, but rather to give an idea of the possible degree

of variation.

Although almost all the songs examined exhibited the kind of variation described above, some also exhibited a further ramification of this concept of the 'mini-repertory', namely the substitution or slotting in of whole phrases of vocables at certain points in the refrain. Variations such as were described above occur within these phrases as well, but it is apparent that the order of the phrases is not always optional, and the order of the vocables within the phrases is pre-structured as well. A particularly good example is seen in the chorus of The Barmyards o' Delgaty, a widely known bothy song describing the hardships and rewards of life as an ill-paid farm servant in the north-east of Scotland. Essentially, the singer has a number of options for each bar. In the first bar he may slot in:

$$\left[\begin{array}{cc} \left. \begin{array}{l} l\dot{z}l \\ lzn \end{array} \right\} tp & \left. \begin{array}{l} a \\ a \end{array} \right\} di \\ \text{or} & \left. \begin{array}{l} l\dot{z}l \\ (tp)^1 \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} ta \\ (tp)^1 \end{array} & \left. \begin{array}{l} lu \\ la\phi \\ lo\phi \end{array} \right\} rp \end{array} \right]$$

In the second bar he can use:

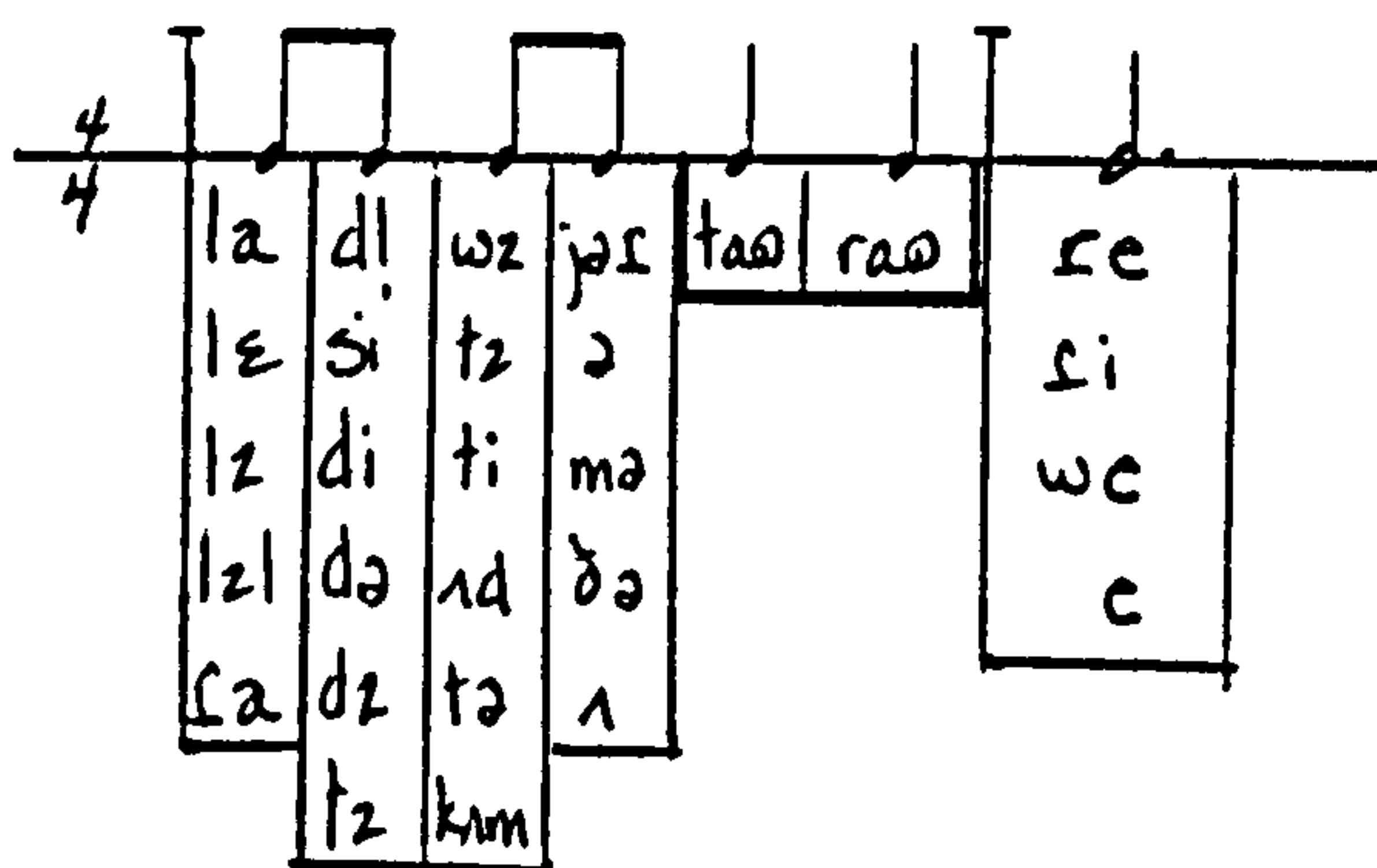
$$\left[\begin{array}{cc} \left. \begin{array}{l} tu \\ lo\phi \end{array} \right\} rp & \left. \begin{array}{l} a \\ a \\ la \end{array} \right\} di \\ \text{or} & \left[\begin{array}{l} la\phi \\ lo\phi \\ lu \end{array} \right] \left. \begin{array}{l} ri \\ rp \end{array} \right\} \times 2 \end{array} \right]$$

Here $[l\dot{z}l \ tzn]$ is an initial or opening unit, so that the phrase $[tu \ rzn \ a \ di, \ l\dot{z}l \ tzn \ a \ di]$ never appears. Within the phrases, $[l\dot{z}l]$ may change, for example to $[lzn]$ (a change in consonant), or $[lu \ to \ la\phi]$ (a change of vowel) as described in the first paragraphs of this section; but the two sets of alternates are not interchangeable; each set has a specific position within the refrain, where one of the alternates within the set may appear. Thus the order of vocables within the phrases is seen in this song to be pre-structured.

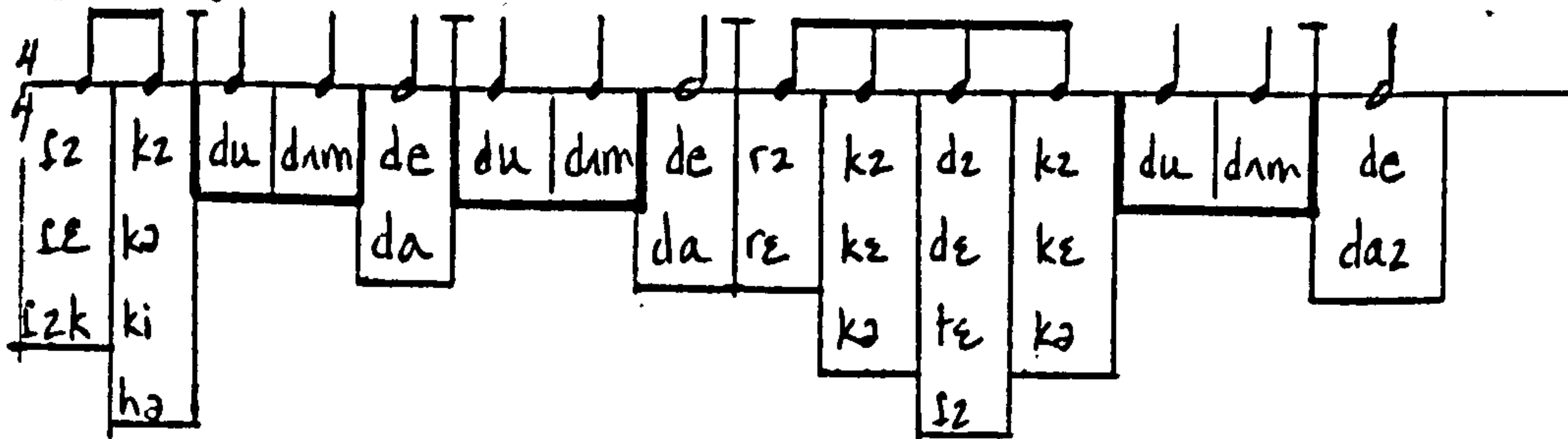
1.3.2 Points of greatest and weakest consistency.

-
1. The vocable $[tp]$ is placed in round brackets to indicate that the appearance of vocables begun with $[l]$ at this point in this tune is much more commonly signified by changing the syllabic p to the schwa.

Although the degree and type of variation of vocables differs from song to song as described above, all the refrains examined exhibited what I have labelled 'points of greatest and weakest consistency.' A strong place, or place of great consistency is one where the vocable changes little or not at all from one synchronic variant to the next; conversely, a weak place is one where a large number of different vocables appears. For example, in eighteen renditions of The Beggarman (Child 280), the following pattern of strong and weak points emerged. (The strongest points are marked with the heavy black line.)

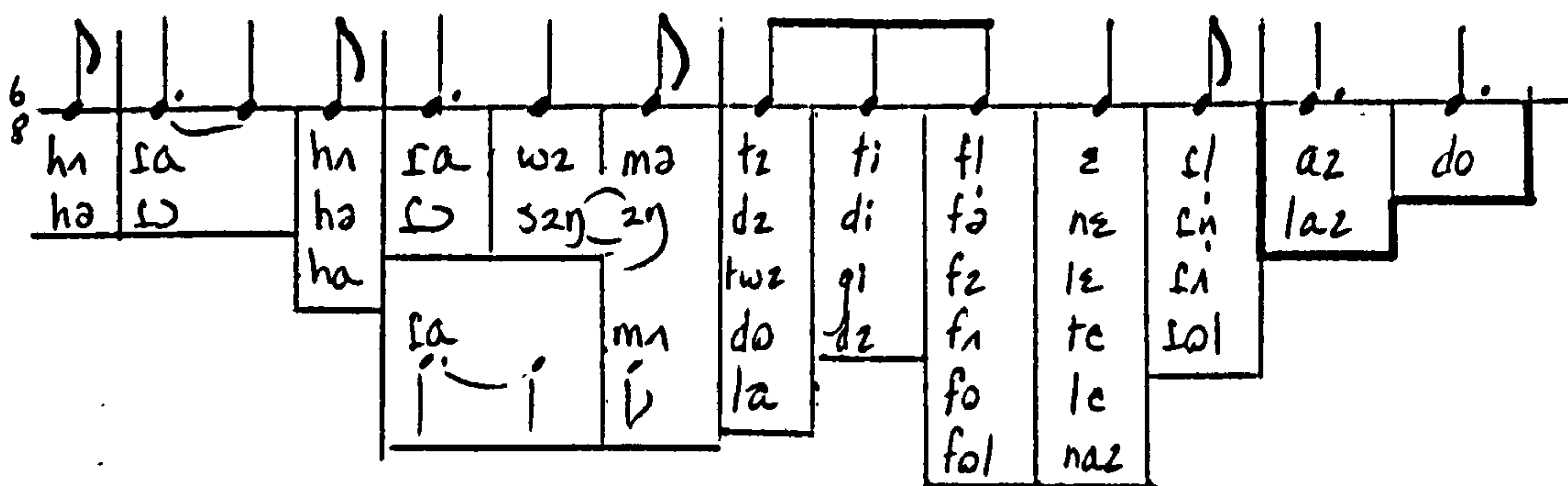


Some tunes and refrains seem to be far more consistent from rendition to rendition than others. In 22 examples of The Wee Toon Clerk and The Overgate (two texts with identical tune and chorus) only a few minor variations occurred, and there were points of complete consistency, i.e. points where 22 different singers sang the same vocable.



In The Forfar Sodger or The Forfar Loon, although only 7 examples were found to be examined, there was a much greater degree of variation, and complete consistency only at the cadence. Although at first glance many places seem to be 'weak', there is in fact great consistency of either vowel or consonant throughout, fitting

in with the statement in the previous section that generally only one sound is varied in any given vocable. In the first four blocks below only the vowel alternates. In the first two notes of the third bar one vowel predominates in each block, while in the third note of the third bar the consonant [f] appears in every version, despite a plethora of vowels, a syllabic consonant and an arrested vocable.



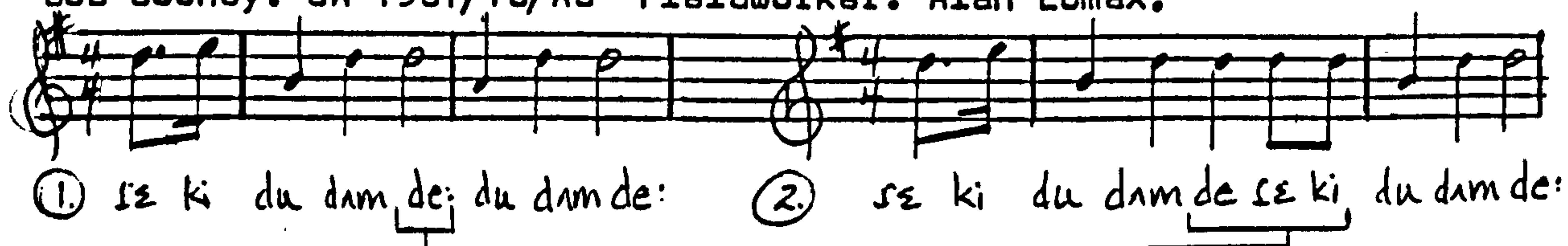
Although I have not indicated it above, at many points where more than one vocable was used there was often a preferred vocable, used, for example, by more than half the singers. The remainder either sang an alternate but also frequently used vocable, or else introduced an idiosyncratic variant.

So, although the choruses showed points of greater and weaker consistency, there was: a. considerable variation in the degree of consistency and b. no observable or predictable pattern of consistent or inconsistent points. For instance, neither the first beat of the first bar, nor the cadence were invariably consistent, nor were stressed or unstressed positions observably more or less consistent. Possibly a larger sample might turn up a pattern, but I would hazard the hypothesis that patterns of consistency are idiosyncratic to each chorus.

1.3.3 Vocabable variation related to rhythmic fluctuation.

Heretofore I have been speaking primarily of variation of vocable between synchronic performances. This is because generally speaking there is only minor variation within one individual's performance of a chorus, as was pointed out in section 1.3.1 of this chapter. When extra vocables are incorporated (or

normally heard ones omitted) such a variation is most often linked to a rhythmic (and possibly melodic) variation of the tune. I am not suggesting a relationship of cause and effect, merely a simultaneous appearance. Of course, variations may be heard from audience members who join in with a refrain and sing a slightly different version without feeling any compulsion to conform with the version presented by the solo performer, but for the moment I am dealing with variation within an individual's performance. An example of a simple rhythmic/vocable elaboration such as I have described can be seen in a variant of The Wee Toon Clerk, sung by Bob Cooney: SA 1951/15/A5 Fieldworker: Alan Lomax.



Another way in which variations may appear within one individual's performance of a song is in relation to lexical words interspersed in the vocable refrain. Thus for example in a rendition of The Beggarman it is not uncommon to find both "lassie" and "laddie" preceding "with your tow row rey." Sometimes such changes arise apparently from the whim of the performer, at others they appear to be caused by the lexical content of the preceding verse. An example of the latter is seen in a text of The Jolly Beggarman (textually but not musically a variant of Child 280), which tells essentially the same story as The Beggarman but is somewhat more explicit and usually pointed with a different moral. This variant was sung by Geordie MacDonald: SA 1965/159/B11, Fieldworker: Hamish Henderson. Taking up the narrative at the third verse, I include first the unadorned chorus, and then the altered version.

The beggar's bed was made at e'en
 Wi' good clean straw and hay,
 An' in ahent the ha' door
 The jolly beggar lay.

Wi' his fine tan ten eeri,
 His eeri eeri an,

wz hzz fazn tan ty e ri
 hzz e ri e ri an,

His fine tan ten eeri,
Sing ho the beggarman!

[hzz fazz tan tñ e ri]

The mistress bid her daughter
Gae forth and bar the door,
When she saw the jolly beggarman
Stand naked on the floor,

Wi' his fine tan ten eeri,
His eeri eeri an,
His long tan ten eerie,
Sing ho the beggarman!

[hzz lɔŋ tan tñ e ri]

He's ta'en her in his arms,
And he's laid her on the floor,
And he played to her a new tune
She'd never heard before,

Wi' his fine tan ten eerie,
His eeri eeri an,
His long tan ten eerie,
Sing ho the beggarman!

The alteration of "fine" to "long" in the second chorus makes clear the implied meaning even to a listener unfamiliar with the Scottish idiom, while those aware of the common metaphor of the pipe chanter as a phallic symbol would catch a further connotation in the musical/sexual image in the third verse. Music example 6b. is a fragment of this performance.

1.4 The relationship of vocable refrain to text and to melody.

Until now I have been considering vocable refrains in isolation from the texts they accompany, but of course in context the two appear simultaneously, and indeed most singers would consider the refrain to be of far less interest and importance than the narrative of the song. After a discussion of vocables appearing in Gaelic song, the uses and functions of refrain vocables will be discussed in Chapter V, so the questions which remain to be considered in this section are a possible correlation between texts of specific lexical content and the presence of a vocable chorus; and the links between chorus and text, and chorus and melody.

1.4.1 The correlation between lexical content and the presence of a vocable refrain.

Fairly early in my researches into vocable refrains in Scots song I began to perceive what I thought was a relationship or correlation between vocable refrains and texts which were either humorous, or concerned the exploits of a 'trickster hero' (a protagonist who triumphs through exercise of his wits rather than his physical prowess: see The Crafty Farmer (Child 283)). In an attempt to establish this as a reasonable hypothesis rather than an intuition I examined the contents of twelve collections of Scots song, as shown in the following table, IV-7. The twelve collections were selected to give a range both in date of publication and type of material presented, as many of the collections of Scots song overlap to a considerable extent. Although slang, the term "straight" was used to indicate a range of texts covering tragic ballads, love songs, songs of farm life and/or hardship, sea songs and etc. since I felt that the term "serious" implied too specific a relationship between these highly varied topics.

The results of Chart IV-7 tend to confirm my intuition, though certainly a larger sample would have to be examined to claim it proved. The results are the more surprising in that by and large editors, particularly the earlier editors, seem to prefer to print "straight" songs, and to avoid songs with vocable refrains. In the five collections printed before 1820 only five songs with vocable refrains appeared, whereas in the six collections printed subsequently 166 songs with vocable refrains appeared. It seems rather unlikely that all these songs were composed after 1820, and far more probable that the earlier editors were either unaware of their existence or else deemed them unsuitable or uninteresting to their public. With the exception of The Merry Muses of Caledonia little of the wealth of Scots bawdry has been printed, thus leaving another vein of songs liable to have vocable refrains untapped in the chart (although a selection of bawdy songs was included in the sample analysed.)

Table IV-7:

<u>Title of book:</u>	<u>"straight" songs:</u>	<u>"straight" + vocable ref.</u>	<u>humorous songs</u>	<u>humorous + voc. ref.</u>
<u>Thirty Scots Songs...</u> <u>A Second Sete of Scots</u> <u>Songs, Robert Bremner</u> <u>(circa. 1785)</u>	35	0	1	0
<u>A Selection of the Most</u> <u>Favourite Scots Songs</u> <u>Napier (circa 1800)</u>	73	0	2	0
<u>Elouis' Selection of</u> <u>Scottish Songs...</u> <u>J. Elouis (1807)</u>	77	2	20	0
<u>A Select Collection of</u> <u>Original Scottish Airs..</u> <u>John Thompson, Vols. 1-5,</u> <u>(1808-10)</u>	302	1	25	0
<u>Vocal Melodies of Scotland</u> <u>John Thompson & Finlay</u> <u>Dun (1810)</u>	143	1	8	0
<u>Folk-Song in Buchan &</u> <u>Folk-Song in the North</u> <u>East, Gavin Greig</u> <u>(1906-11)</u>	449	82	43	21
<u>Last Leaves of Trad-</u> <u>itional Ballads and</u> <u>Ballad Airs, Gavin</u> <u>Greig (1925)</u>	85	8	6	6
<u>The New Scottish Orpheus</u> <u>J. Diack (1922)</u>	155	5	21	2
<u>101 Scottish Songs</u> <u>Norman Buchan (1962)</u>	66	0	20	6
<u>Tocher (Vols. 1-31)</u> <u>edited Alan Bruford</u> <u>(1971-)</u>	66	1	40	10
<u>The Scottish Folksinger</u> <u>Norman Buchan & Peter Hall</u> <u>(1973)</u>	87	10	31	6
	<u>1538</u>	<u>110</u>	<u>217</u>	<u>61</u>

Percentages: 7% of the "straight" songs had vocable refrains.
28% of the humorous/ trickster hero songs had vocable refrains.

1.4.2 The bond between vocable refrain and melody.

There does not appear to be any strict ratio of vocable refrain to text; certainly it is common for a vocable refrain to appear in conjunction with more than one narrative. Conversely, there seems to be a very strong link between vocable refrain and the melody conveying it; they are seldom divorced, and the same tune is seldom used for more than one vocable chorus. Having stated that this is the case for the majority of songs examined, I will discuss the occasional exceptions which did appear.

These usually arose when the melody was slightly altered: even then there was often, though not invariably, a strong 'family resemblance', as can be seen in the following example. In the first two songs, the melody is identical and the vocables very similar. In the third, where the melody has altered slightly, the vocables show a more marked variation.

- a. O Ricky Doo, sung by Mary Simpson (SA 1953/236/B1) Fieldworker: Hamish Henderson.
- b. Maybe I'll Be Married Yet, sung by Lucy Stewart (SA 1960/147/A14) Fieldworker: Kenneth Goldstein.
- c. Long Johnnie Moore (Child 251) sung by John Strachan (SA 1951/17/A1) Fieldworkers: Hamish Henderson & Alan Lomax.

Handwritten musical notation for three songs, labeled a, b, and c. Each line shows a melody on a five-line staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are written below the notes.

a. *haz rz kə du du rz kə dɔ di haz rz kə du du rz kə di*

b. *o rz ɣə du o rz ɣə dɔ di o rz ɣə du o rz ɣə de*

c. *a ri d! a nɛl dɛn a di a ri d! a nɛl dɛn i*

Although the rhyme schemes differ slightly, the overall pattern or structure of phrases is very similar. There can also be noted a 'point of consistency' of vocables at the last two beats of the second bar.

Another way in which the normally strong link between refrain

and melody may be dissolved is in a context where a number of variants of a tune are commonly known, and often used as a vehicle for new texts. In this case the melodic variants may be sufficiently similar that the associated vocable phrases are swapped, or melodic/vocable phrases from one variant are slotted into another. In the following illustrative example I have given first a 'normal', or composite of widely used variants of The Guise o' Tough/ Jock Hawk's Adventures in Glasgow (two texts which share a tune and chorus), and also a version of The Hash o' Belnaoak, a bothy song which has a very similar melody. The third melodic/vocable variant was used both for The Guise o' Tough and another bothy text, Morris o' Fogielloan. It seems vocably to partake of both the first two variants. The fourth example is another variant of The Guise o' Tough where, although the singer has doubled the usual length of the chorus, the relationship to the 'normal' vocables and the melody of the variant immediately preceding it is apparent.

- a. The Guise o' Tough/ Jock Hawk's Adventures in Glasgow (composite)
- b. The Hash o' Belnaoak, sung by C. Murray (SA 1971/30/2)
Fieldworker: Peter Cooke.
- c. The Guise o' Tough/ Morris o' Fogielloan (composite)
- d. The Guise o' Tough sung by John Scott (SA 1953/248/A3) Fieldworker: Francis Collinson.

(a) tim a haz dam do tim a haz do de haz dam do tim a haz du di

(b) (wz a) rzg dam de rzg dam a de wza rzg dam dz dl kum a dan di o

(c) tim a haz du du haz du de haz kum a dz dl kum a dan di o

(d) (szg zg) haz dam dz dl i hao dam dz dl i haz dam dz dl i de (szg)

haz dam dz dl i hao dam dz dl i du du da du de

Just as it became apparent in section 1.3 of this chapter that for no obvious reason certain refrains had a larger 'mini-repertory' than others, or were more prone to variation of vocables, it is also apparent that some choruses are more prone to the swapping or phrase-slotting process described above, particularly those which appear in songs with similar melodies. The tune chosen above was selected because of its propensity for swapping, and because it is well known, but its popularity cannot be considered to be the cause of its variability. Other equally widely disseminated tune/vocable refrain pairs used for more than one text retain their individuality far more tenaciously.

2. Vocable Refrain in Gaelic Song.

Introduction.

This section is intended to be no more than a preliminary survey of the genre of Gaelic vocable refrains, rather than the in-depth discussion and analysis concentrated on improvisatory vocabelising, and to a slightly lesser degree on the vocables found in Scots song. There are several reasons for this; the first and perhaps foremost being that I am not a Gaelic speaker, nor more than moderately conversant with the genre of Gaelic song, apart from being an appreciative listener. Restrictions of time and particularly finance made trips to the Highlands and Hebrides impracticable. There is, of course, a wealth of Gaelic material in the archive of the School of Scottish Studies, however the difficulties of extracting a sample of song including vocable refrains, while not insurmountable, nonetheless made the task time consuming. Although in contrast to Scots song, printed sources of Gaelic vocable refrains are plentiful they cannot very usefully serve as the basis of a sample.

My solution to the problem of obtaining a sample of Gaelic song with vocable refrains was to take 85 songs from one informant, Nan MacKinnon of Vatersay (whose vast repertory ranged over every conceivable topic and type of song), and 82 songs from informants from Barra, Skye, South Uist, Benbecula, Harris and Lewis. Nan MacKinnon's repertory has all been transcribed: the Gaelic by James Ross and the

music by Francis Collinson. I had of course to do the phonetic transcriptions myself, and I chose to do musical transcriptions as well. Using this data I have made a preliminary survey of the inventory of sounds used in Gaelic vocable refrains, their syntagmatic relationships, the structure of the refrains, the frequent appearance of certain "vocable words", and the correlation between song type and presence and type of vocable refrain. It is my hope that this information might provide a stepping stone for some future scholar with a background of experience with Gaelic song.

The refrains in their cultural context:

Some of the earlier references which include a mention of the vocables in Gaelic songs are of a wry or humorous nature.

He [Dr. Samuel Johnson] said he could never get the meaning of an Erse song explained to him. They told him, the chorus was generally unmeaning. "I take it (said he) Erse songs are like a song which I remember: it was composed in Queen Elizabeth's time, on the Earl of Essex; and the burthen was 'Radaratoo, radarate, radara tadara tandore...' When M'Queen began to expatiate on the beauty of Ossian's poetry, Dr. Johnson entered into no further controversy, but, with a pleasant smile, only cried, "Ay, ay, radaratoo, radarate." (2)

An even earlier visitor to the islands relates the following well known anecdote:

...on the island of "Borera" an English ship's Captain... happened to come into a house where he found only ten women, and they were employed (as he supposed) in a strange manner, viz., their arms and legs were bare, being five on a side; and between them lay a board, upon which they had laid a piece of cloth, and were thickening of it with their hands and feet, and singing (3) all the while. The Englishman presently concluded it to be a little bedlam, which he did not expect in so remote a corner; and this he told to Mr. MacLean, who possesses the island. Mr. MacLean answered he never saw any mad people in those islands; but this would not satisfy him, till they both went to the place where the women were at work, and then Mr. MacLean having told him that it was their common way of thickening cloth, he was convinced, though surprised at the manner of it. (4)

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2. James Boswell, Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Dr. Johnson (1773), Ed. R.W. Chapman, Oxford (1924) Wednesday, September 22nd.
 3. As the women in question were waulking cloth there can be little doubt that the songs they sang included the extended vocable choruses characteristic of the genre.

Perhaps there was some excuse for the English captain's reaction if the following comment on the atmosphere of a waulking can be relied upon.

I have seen the islanders while singing seem to get hypnotised with their own rhythm, working themselves into a frenzy with it, and no one who has not witnessed it can realise what an intoxicating power strong rhythm can exercise over the Celtic temperament... (5)

There is a tradition that certain well known composers of songs had assistants to compose the vocable refrain for them, though it seems doubtful that this was a widespread practice.

Among a number of outstanding poetesses in Gaelic, there are two, both of whom were born in the 17th century and died in the 18th... both of them, it is said, went around accompanied by a woman who seems to have acted as an assistant, one of whose functions was to make up choruses of vocables or to set her mistress' song to a melody. (6)

[after speaking of Mary MacLeod, the 17th century Gaelic poetess:]

...the late Rev. Kenneth MacLeod used to tell of a tradition that there was another woman who used to compose the tunes for Mary MacLeod's songs... [and the author adds in a footnote:] William Matheson comments: "I have heard this tradition in South Uist, but it applies only to the provision of vocables for her waulking songs." (7)

Apart from references such as these, there has also been a detailed study of the vocables heard in waulking songs in recent years: I refer to the chapters, "The Meaningless Refrain Syllables and their Significance" and "The Meaningless Refrain Syllables" in, respectively, volumes I and II of Hebridean Folksong⁸. Although I approached

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4. Martin Martin, A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland (circa 1695), Glasgow (1884)57.
 5. M. Kennedy-Fraser, Songs of the Hebrides I, London (1909)xxiv.
 6. John MacInnes, "The Oral Tradition in Scottish Gaelic Poetry", Scottish Studies XII 1 (1968)41.
 7. Francis Collinson, The Traditional and National Music of Scotland, London (1966)54.
 8. J.L. Campbell & Francis Collinson, Hebridean Folksong: A Collection of Waulking Songs made by Donald MacCormick in Kilphedir in South Uist in 1893, Oxford (1969)227-237 and Hebridean Folksongs Vol. II:Waulking Songs from Barra, South Uist, Eriskay and Benbecula, Oxford (1977)267-68.

my analysis in a somewhat different manner from these scholars, it is satisfying to report that we frequently reached the same conclusions, which I will refer to in more detail during the ensuing technical discussion.

2.1 Inventory of sounds

2.1.1 Phonetic Analysis.

In Chart IV-1 in the first section of this chapter the sounds heard in Scots and Gaelic vocable refrains were illustrated, though the latter were not discussed, nor the two compared. Several points of interest arise when such a comparison is made.

The first is the shift from reliance on [d] as the principle releasing consonant in Scots vocable refrains, to [h] in Gaelic refrains: a change which ties neatly in with the major differences between diddling and canntaireachd (the latter being traditionally a Gaelic phenomenon.) Similarly, a greater reliance on open syllables (syllables with no arresting consonant) is seen in Gaelic refrains, as well as a much greater use of the vowel [o] which by itself accounts for 25% of all the vocables counted in Gaelic refrains, (as compared to about 5% of the vocables in Scots refrains.) Some slightly less obvious and/or more general points are listed below.

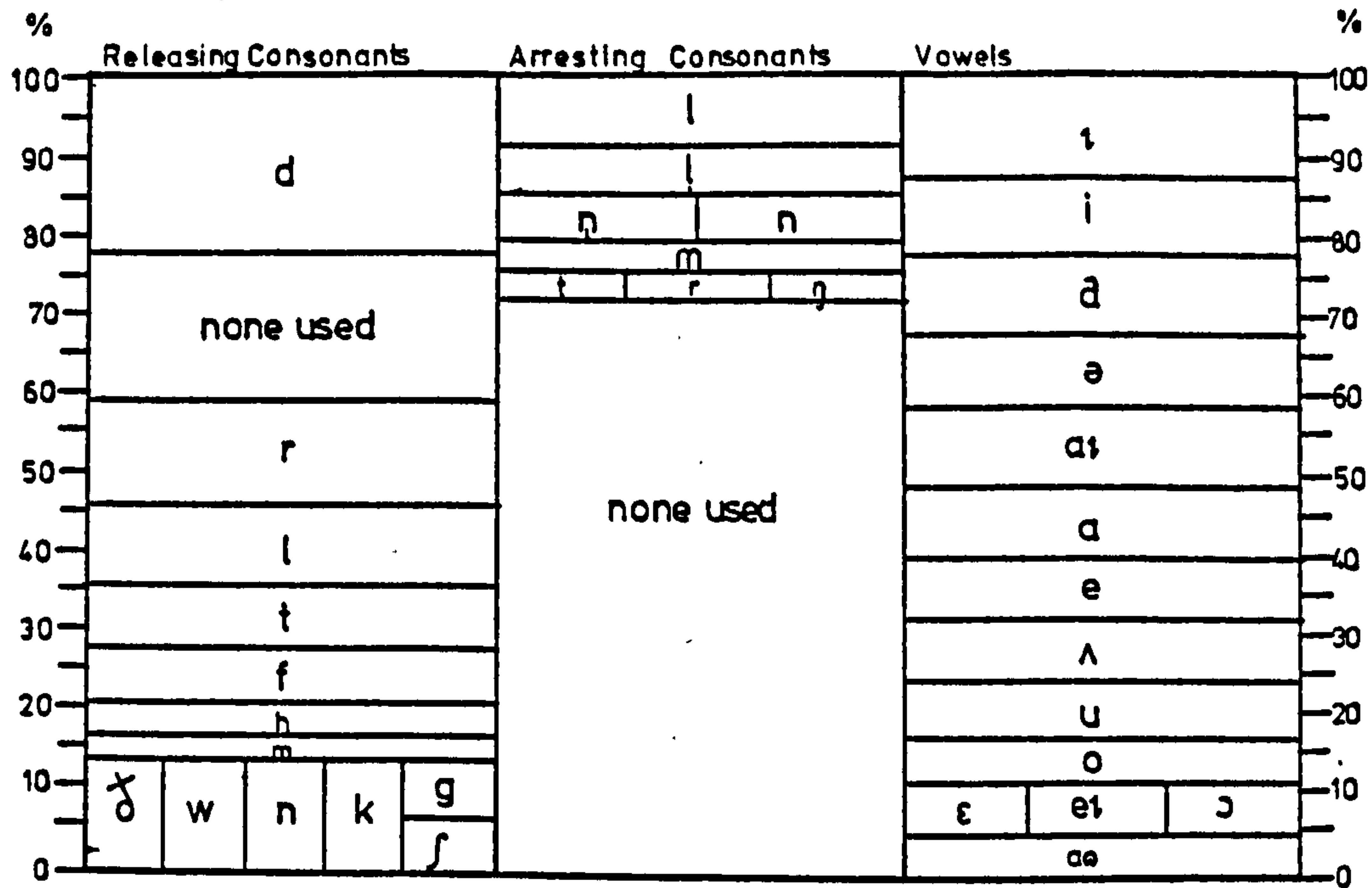
Several sounds appear in syllable initial position in Gaelic vocable refrains which do not appear in that position in Scots refrains, namely [x, dʒ (9), ʒ, s, b, j, and v] while conversely some sounds heard in Scots refrains do not appear in syllable initial position in Gaelic refrains: [w, ɣ(10), ʃ, and t].

In syllable arresting position, the sounds: [ʃ- (11), v, s, and ʒ] appear in Gaelic but not in Scots refrains.

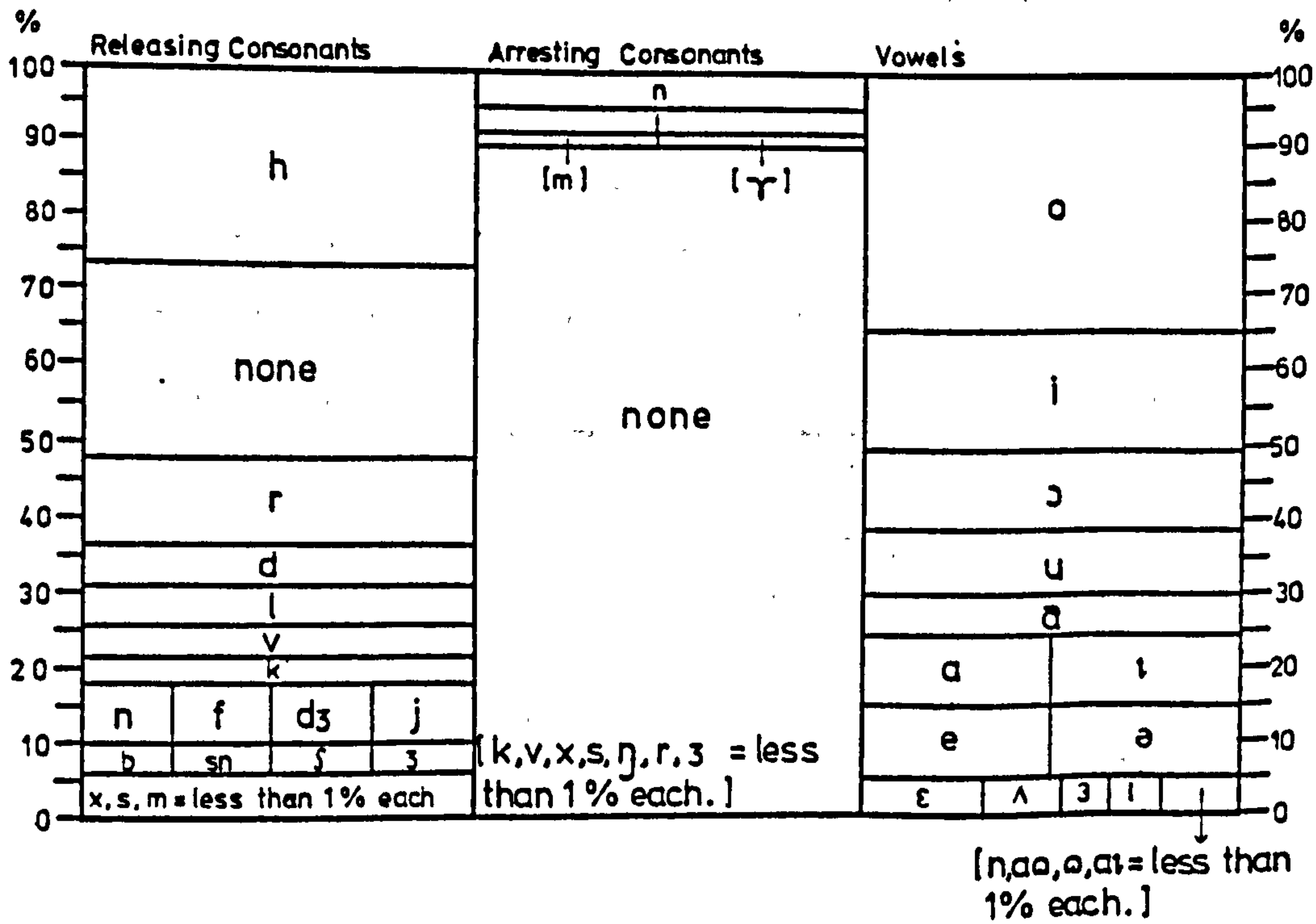
-
9. The sound [dʒ] is not generally considered to be a Gaelic phoneme, but it must be remembered that my analysis has been at a phonetic rather than a phonemic level. The sound [dʒ] appears as a realisation of an /r/ phoneme in Nan MacKinnon's dialect, in such vocables as: "hóireann ó." See: NM 24 A Mhic a Mhaoir.
 10. A devoiced [g] appears as an intermediary sound between Gaelic vocables, as a kind of homorganic juncture. For ex: the syllable [ho] is arrested with an unexploded voiceless velar stop [k'], which is then released without aspiration to form the initial sound of the next vocable: [gu]. I have transcribed this as: [hok_u]. In the charts the unaspirated [k] has been considered to be a releasing consonant.

Chart IV-1

Vocable Refrains in Scots Song



Vocable Refrains in Gaelic Song



There is a much greater reliance on a small selection of vowels in Gaelic refrains, namely [o, i, ɔ, u] (which account for 70% of the vocables counted). In Scots refrains the use seems to be spread quite evenly throughout the range of vowels.

Several sounds are used occasionally in Gaelic refrains which are not heard in diddling or in canntaireachd: [f, s, dʒ, ɲ, k, ɡ, ʒ, s and ʔ].

Gaelic vocables contain the highest number of sounds made at a velar place of articulation: [k, g; x, ɣ], and ŋ]. Of these, none are used in diddling, one [x] in canntaireachd, and three [k, g, and ŋ] in Scots vocable refrains.

In general the sounds heard in Scots refrains resemble those heard in diddling more than those peculiar to canntaireachd, while the reverse is true of the sounds heard in Gaelic refrains; they bear a closer resemblance to the sounds used in canntaireachd.

2.1.2 The ratio of lexical to vocable phrases.

The ratio of lexical words to vocables in Gaelic song is far less predictable than in Scots song, where only a few well established patterns and their variants were observed. The possibilities in Gaelic song range from the occasional interjection of a single vocable (probably [he] or [ho]) in the text or refrain of a song, to the greatly expanded vocable choruses of the waulking songs, where the text may be no more than a short phrase separating one refrain from the next. The appearance of lexical words within the vocable refrain itself is rather less common than in Scots song while the reverse (the appearance of vocables within the text) is more frequently observed in Gaelic song. In the following section I will set out examples from points along a hypothetical continuum:



The following Gaelic texts are as transcribed by James Ross, and the English translations of the titles are his as well. The phonetic transcriptions are my own. The initials: NM, followed by

11. The voiced velar fricative [ɣ] is not a sound used in Scots, but as we have seen in canntaireachd, it is possible for the sounds of one language to drift into the vocabularies of an individual speaking a different language. For this reason all the sounds are contrasted here, even those which appear only in English or only in Gaelic.

a number indicate "Nan MacKinnon", and the number of the piece in the seven books of transcriptions compiled by James Ross, which are housed by the School of Scottish Studies.

An example of a song where the refrain far outweighs the text is the waulking song Latha dhomh 's mi falbh nam beannan (One Day While Travelling the Hills), NM 29, where the chorus is three times as long as the text. This is not an uncommon proportion among the waulking songs, but unlikely to be found in other types of Gaelic song.

hìrì e ho hì rì he ho
ho ró bha hó hìrì eileadh
ho ró bha hó haorì he ho

[h2 si j2 ho h2 si j2 ho
h3 so va ho h2 si j2 l3j-
h3 so va ho hu di e' ho]

The text and the refrain do not always remain discrete units of the song in Gaelic music. One commonly finds phrases of one alternating with phrases of the other, for example in NM 20, Gura tric is tu bha mi (Often were You and I).

Gura tric is tu bha mi
ho aró hó gù
muigh air àirigh le d'mhartaibh
ho aró hó gù
hì rì hiù o hì hiù
ho aró hó gù

[h3 h3 so h3k u
h3 h3 so h3k u
hi o h3 hi u
h3 h3 so h3k u]

In the previous example the vocables still outweigh the text, however songs where the two are evenly balanced are also known, as in SA 1953/36/B3: Mo nigh'n Donn sung by Mrs. Archie MacDonald of South Uist (Fieldworker: Calum MacLean.)

hó hì rì air mó nigh'n donn
hì rì rì air mó nigh'n donn
hó hì rì air mó nigh'n donn

[hi si -
he ho v. -
hi si -]

It is already apparent from these three examples that repetition of vocable phrases or vocable themes is a commonly used compositional technique. This can be seen even more clearly in the following example, where the same vocable phrase is repeated three times and then concluded with a lexical phrase (a pattern very similar to one often seen in Scots vocable refrains.) The song is Fhir a Shiubhlas feadh a mhunaidh, (A Man who Travels Throughout the Hills),

NM 314.

fail iu ill eó hillinn óro [fa liu e lió, hz liy > eo] x 3
fail iu ill eó hillinn óro
fail iu ill eó hillinn óro
 ochoin a Chia 's cian o'n dh'fhalbh sinn

It is interesting that this pattern (which as I've mentioned is common in Scots vocable refrains) is often found in puirt a beul, where these contain vocable choruses. The repertory of dance tunes (i.e. the tunes for puirt a beul) is largely common to both Scots and Gaelic musicians, a fact which is not true of other genres of Gaelic song. Thus where there is a musical overlap between Scots and Gaelic tunes, there is also an overlap of a less obvious kind in the structure or arrangement of phrases of vocables.

A not uncommon variant of the example immediately above is the triple repetition of a phrase composed of both vocables and lexical words, and concluded with a lexical phrase. An example is seen in NM 50, Fear a Bhàta (Boatman).

Fhir a bhàta 's na hòro eileadh [sna h3 eo e l3j-] x 3
 Fhir a bhàta 's na hòro eileadh
 Fhir a bhàta 's na hòro eileadh
 Mo shoraidh slàn leat 's gach àit
 an téid thu.

On our hypothetical continuum the balance has now tipped from a predominance of vocables towards a predominance of lexical words, as is evident in the last example. A more extreme example (i.e. one with more lexical words in it) is NM 169, Am Breacan Guailleadh (The Shoulder Plaid) where each line of the text is arrested with a short, alternating vocable phrase. The first verse is as follows:

'S fheàrr dhomh 'm breacan guailleadh, i dhiu a bhi [hi u: vi]
 thilgeil far mor ghuailleadh, ho ro am bo [so m v3]
 dìreadh ris na bruachan, i dhiu a bhi [hi u: vi]
 Shealltainn air a ghruagaich ma bheil an othail.

This pattern also appears with a single vocable replacing the short vocable phrase, as in NM 347, Thogainn fonn air m'urradh hó (I Would go Joyfully to Buy Cattle)¹²

12. Dr. John MacInnes of the School of Scottish Studies questions the translation of m'urradh as 'cattle'.

Thogainn fonn air m'urradh hó [c:]
 hu ill eò air m'urradh hé [c:]
 's dh'fhalbhainn-sa le m'urradh hó [c:]
 's thogainn fonn fun ceannaichinn spreidh.

There are also songs where the single vocable appears releasing rather than arresting the phrase. In a slight variation on this pattern, both the single vocable and the short vocable phrase may appear in the form AAA, i.e. with no alternation of the middle phrase.

Finally there is the case where a short vocable phrase or a single vocable appears in the text or refrain only once, as in NM 306: Oran na Raiders (Song of the Raiders), in which the first verse runs as follows:

hù o hó gum b'éighinn leam [hu o ho]
 a chluinntinn mar a dh'éirich dhuibh
 's ann labhair thu n' Duneideann riuth
 ratreut nach biodh nad champa.

This brief selection of examples should have served to illustrate the range of possible ratios of vocables to lexical words in Gaelic song, and to demonstrate the point that possibilities are more numerous and more varied than in Scots song.

Before concluding this section I will mentioned briefly the lexical words which are occasionally interspersed in vocable choruses, though these seem to be less common than in Scots song, and to appear more randomly in the refrain. A word which appears fairly frequently is the Gaelic for "sing" (seinn), also the word for "and" (agus). For example, on SA 1953/11/A1 Mrs. Annie Arnett of Skye sings Seinn o ho rò seinn (Sing o ho ro sing). (Fieldworker: Calum MacLean).

Seinn o ho rò seinn [o ha so]
Seinn o ho rò leannan
Seinn o ho rò seinn

In his article "The Choral Tradition in Scottish Gaelic Song" John MacInnes summarises the kinds of appearance which lexical words make within a vocable refrain.

...we find refrains composed entirely of meaningless vocables...quite often—in this section of Gaelic song,

probably more often than not—words and phrases are inserted among the vocables. Sometimes the phrase may comment directly upon the matter of the song...or it may be more or less detached...or it may express a general comment in tune with the mood of the song. (13)

2.2 Syntagmatic relationships

2.2.1 Combinatorial restrictions.

It is hardly surprising, since combinatorial restrictions of various sorts have been found in all the other types of vocables so far discussed, that they should be apparent in the vocables found in Gaelic song as well. That this is the case has been apparent to other workers as well:

An important aspect of these meaningless refrains is that by no means all the possible sequences of monosyllables seem to be acceptable. (14)

Chart IV-8 sets out the possible combinations in the same format as was used for improvisatory vocables (Charts III-11 and 13) and Scots refrain vocables (Chart IV-2): i.e. so that the most commonly used vocables appear in the upper left hand corner. As well as showing all the possible combinations, various "favoured combinations" are also illustrated. For example: [d] combined with [i] accounted for a third of all the vocables released with [d]. Another example is the association of the consonant [f] with the vowel [a] and the arresting consonant [l]. Of all the vocables released with [f], 86% had as their syllabic element the vowel [a] and 25% were arrested with the consonant [l]. A third illustration of "favoured combinations" is the preference for combining the fricative [ʒ] and the affricate [dʒ] with the vowel [i], and many other similar examples of associations of consonants and vowels can be seen.

As with improvisatory vocabellising, the number of 'acceptable' combinations was far smaller than the number of 'possible' combinations, while the number of vocables that were used frequently,

13. John MacInnes, "The Choral Tradition in Scottish Gaelic Songs,"
Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness XLVI (1966)46.

14. Campbell & Collinson, op. cit. Vol. I, 230.

Chart IV-8 Gaelic Vocable Refrains

Key: 2% = % of sample. X = appeared more than 10 times / = appeared less than 10 times

	o	i	u	a	e	ɛ	ɪ	ʌ	3v	ɛɪ	3	aɪ	əʊ	n	o	ɪn	ən	ɛn	ən	ɪl	əl	il
h	7%	5%	4%	4%	1%																	
none	7%	2%	4%	3%	2%	1%	1%															
r	6%	2%																				
l		1%			1%																	
d		2%						1%														
v	2%																					
k																						
j																						
n																						
f																						
dʒ																						
b																						
ʃ																						
ʒ																						
x																						
s																						
m																						

Vocables arrested with a nasal segment " with a lateral segment

i.e. accounted for more than 1% of all the vocables counted, was smaller still:

Possible combinations:	Used combinations:	Combinations accounting for 1% or more of the sample:
558	64	23

Thus 11% of the 'possible' vocables were actually used, and of those actually used, 37% were used 1% or more of the time.

2.2.2 Preferred combinations of vocables into phrases.

In the previous section I charted and then briefly discussed the syntagmatic relationships of sounds combining to make the vocables heard in the refrains of Gaelic song; in this section I will discuss some of the preferred, or commonly used patterns in combining the vocables into phrases. Section 2.2.3 will also be devoted to discussing these two levels of syntagmatic relationships, however there the relationships are at least in part dictated by musical factors, while here the governing factors, while probably non-random, are also non-musical and so the two discussions have been split.

It was apparent during the discussion of Scots song (see section 1.2.1) that in vocable phrases, vocables released with a certain consonant were likely to be immediately followed by a vocable released with another specific consonant. Sometimes there was a preferred order, and at other times they could appear in either position, but were frequently associated. The same kind of preferred combinations of vocables are seen in Gaelic song, as is illustrated in chart IV-9, which shows the proportionate range of consonants used to release a vocable following a vocable released with [h or s]. It is readily apparent that the two consonants are very commonly associated, and may appear in either order. Next in preference for either is to be followed by a vocable which has no releasing consonant. Third in preference for [h] is a vocable released either with [h] or one released with [d]. Third in preference for [s] is a vocable released with [v].

Another example, and one where the preferred combination has a specific order, is the association of [f] with [l]. In all the songs I examined, when a vocable released with [f] appeared it was more

i.e. accounted for more than 1% of all the vocables counted, was smaller still:

Possible combinations:	Used combinations:	Combinations accounting for 1% or more of the sample:
558	64	23

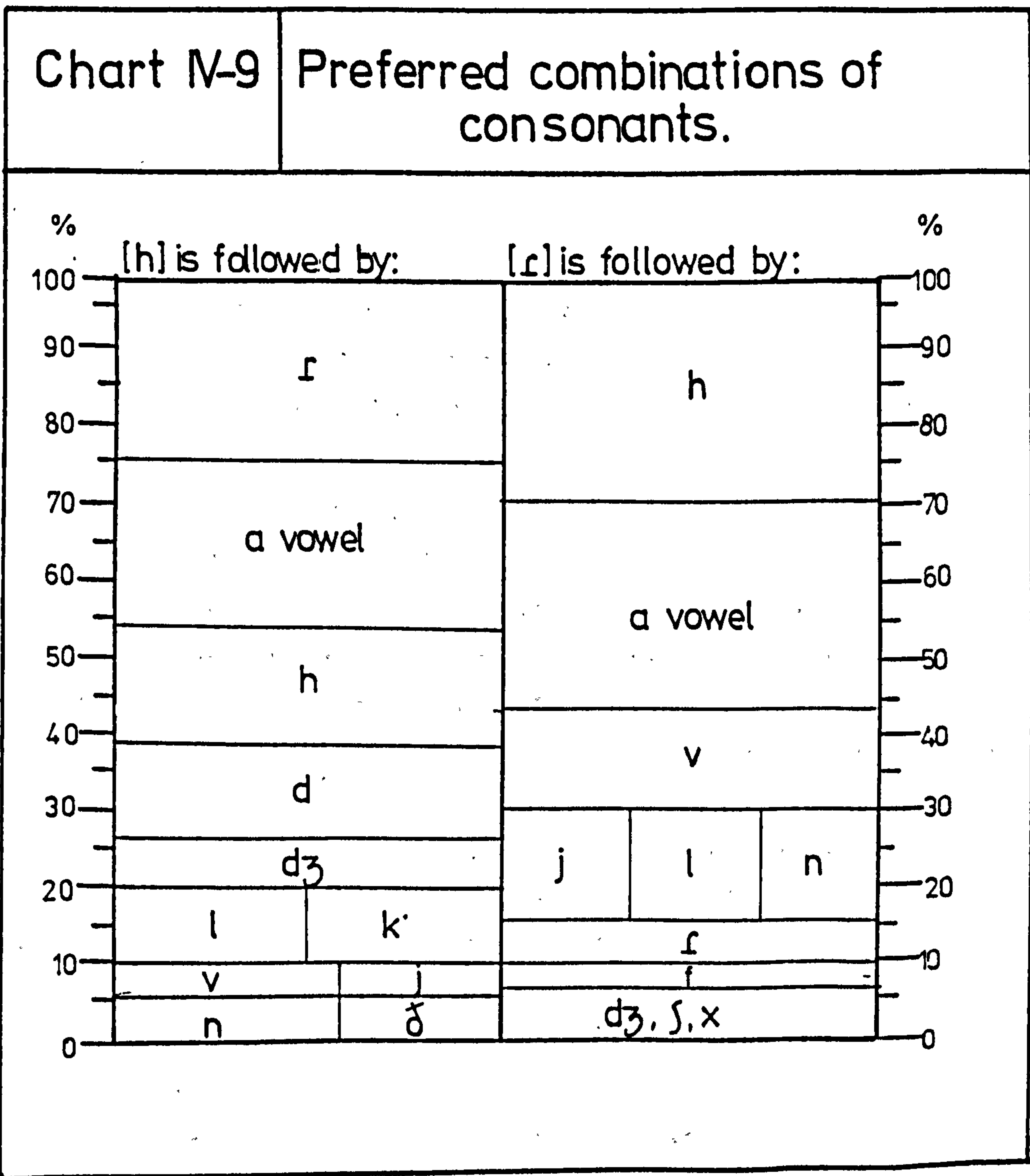
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Another example, and one where the preferred combination has a specific order, is the association of [f] with [l]. In all the songs I examined, when a vocable released with [f] appeared it was more



likely to be either arrested with or followed by [l] than any other consonant. In 23 songs, 19 (82%) followed this pattern. Three (13%) had vocables begun with [f] arrested with another consonant formed at an alveolar place of articulation (as is [l]), while in the final example the vocable released with [f] was followed by a vocable released with a palatal sound, which second vocable was arrested with [l]. Further research would, I am sure, turn up more of these 'preferred combinations' which are unconsciously used as guidelines in the composition of these refrains.

2.2.3 Syntagmatic relationships affected by musical factors: pitch, stress and melisma.

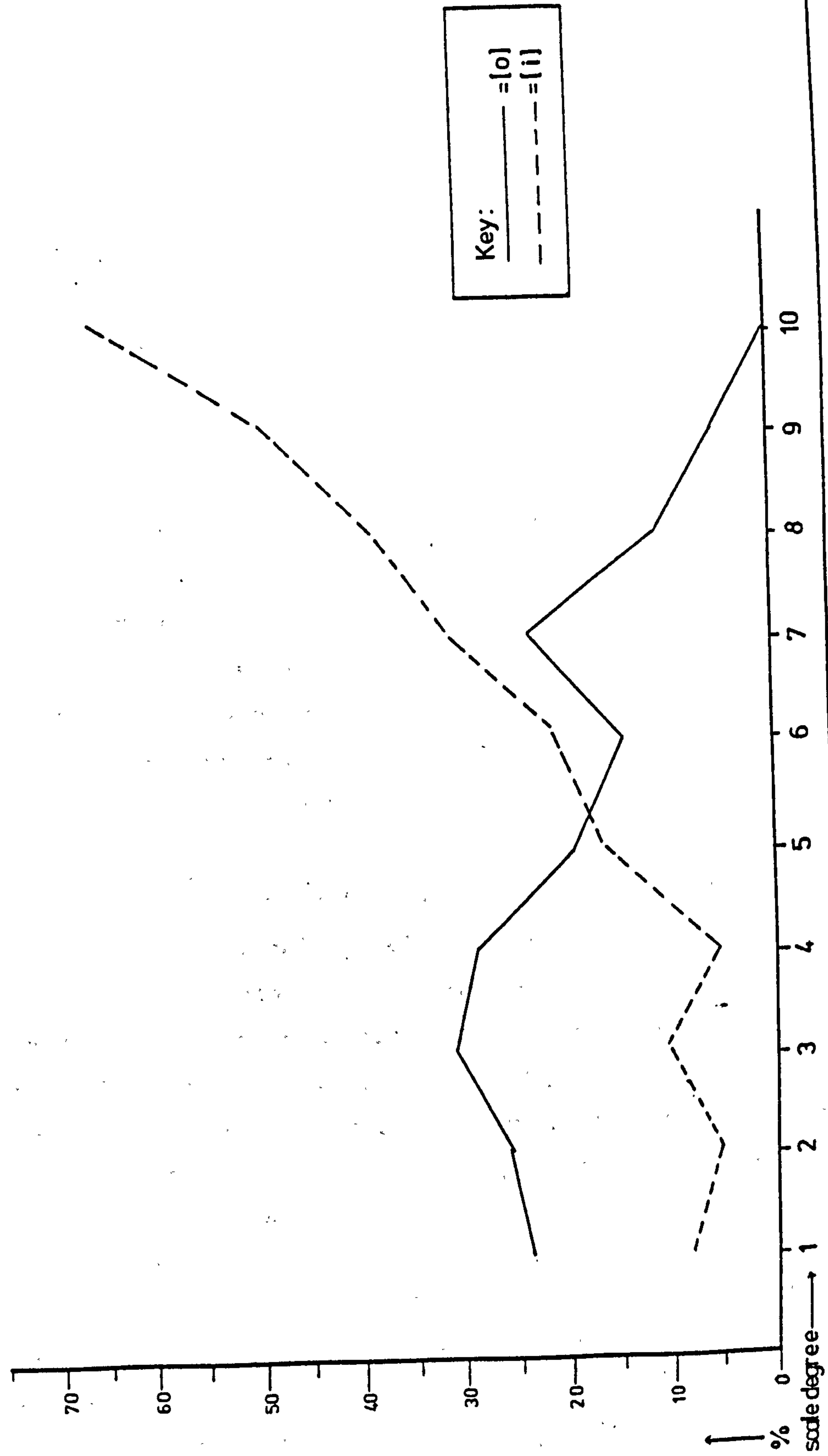
In previous sections on improvisatory vocabellising and on vocable refrain in Scots song, it has been demonstrated that musical factors do have an effect on the selection and arrangement of both the sounds composing the vocables, and the vocables themselves once constructed. In Gaelic song the same is true, and three musical features which seem to effect the composition and arrangement of vocables in Gaelic song (to varying degrees) are pitch, stress and melisma.

It may be remembered that while pitch was definitely shown to have an effect on improvisatory vocables, it was not apparent as a factor governing syntagmatic relationships in Scots vocable refrains. It does make an appearance affecting the vocables found in Gaelic refrains, however, and in an interestingly similar fashion. Chart IV-10 illustrates the relationship of the two most commonly heard vowels to pitch. If pitch had no effect on the selection of vowels, the line representing the sound [o] would remain on top throughout the chart since it is the most commonly used of all vowels in Gaelic vocable refrains. It can be seen, however, that instead the vowel [i] takes precedence as the scale degree rises, just as was the case in improvisatory vocabellising. The vowel found to be so common in the lower scale degrees in improvisatory vocabellising is not much used in Gaelic vocable refrains; its place seems to have been taken over to a large extent by [o].

What could account for this discrepancy between Scots and Gaelic vocable refrains? It is difficult to be positive, but it seems possible that the comparatively greater emphasis on rhyme schemes

Chart IV-10

The relationship of pitch to vowel in Gaelic vocable refrains



in the former may be the determining factor. As will be discussed later in section 2.2.5 rhyme schemes as such are not particularly evident in Gaelic refrains (just as they were not in improvisatory vocabellising), although both internal rhyme and patterning of phrases are very much in evidence. Rhyme, when it does appear in Gaelic refrains, is usually the result of a phrase being repeated so that a rhyme scheme and a phrase pattern are identical. So, it seems that in Scots vocable refrains the apparent necessity of rhyme overrides the widespread urge to sing close, front vowels on higher pitches. It is also, of course, possible that a much larger sample would turn up a pattern that was not discernable in the 196 variants which I examined.

The second factor mentioned above was that of stress, which again plays a discernable part in determining the syntagmatic relationships of vocables in Gaelic refrains. Chart IV-11 illustrates the effect of stressed and unstressed position in relation to the music on the selection of a. consonants and b. vowels. While [h] and 'no releasing consonant' take roughly equal shares in stressed vocables, the latter gains considerable predominance in unstressed positions. Of the other consonants, [v, j and b] appear more frequently in stressed position, while [r and l] appear more frequently in unstressed position.

Of the vowels, [o] predominates in stressed position, as might be expected from its overall popularity, but it drops back considerably in number of appearances in unstressed position. The vowels [a, u, e and ε] all follow a similar pattern, though with less drastic changes. The vowels [i, ɔ, a, ɹ, ɔ, ɪ, ʒ, au, ɔɔ, ɔɹ] appear about equally in either position. As could be predicted from the previous chapters, syllabic consonants [ɹ, ɱ and ɸ] and the schwa appeared only in unstressed positions.

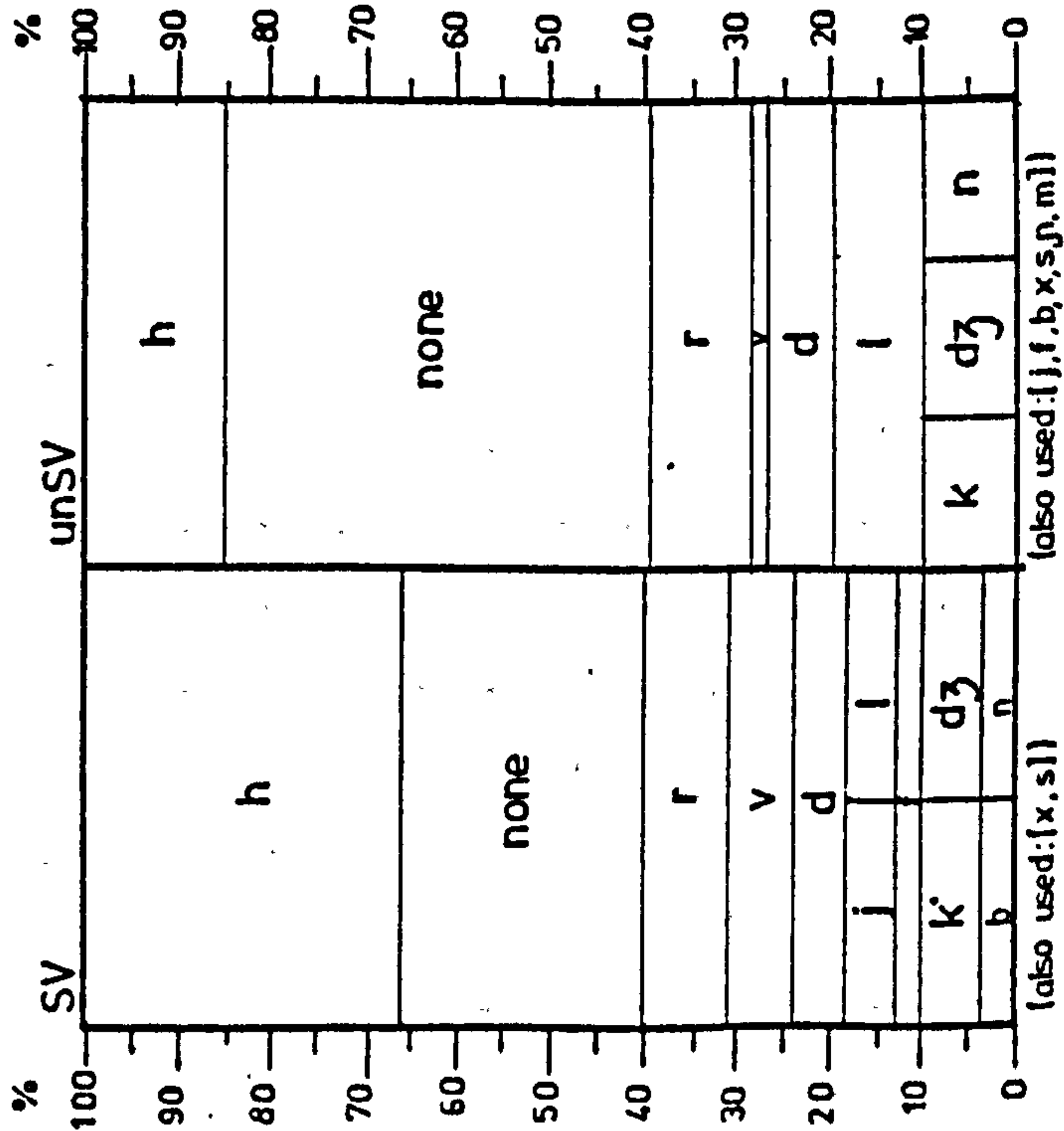
An interesting point is Francis Collinson's comment on the effect of note duration as related to the selection of vowels (though he does not combine this with an examination of stress). He links long vowels with "notes not usually shorter than a dotted quaver in two-four time or a crotchet in six-eight," while "a short vowel can vary from a demisemiquaver to a quaver in two-four time."¹⁴

14. Campbell & Collinson, op.cit. Vol. II, 230-231.

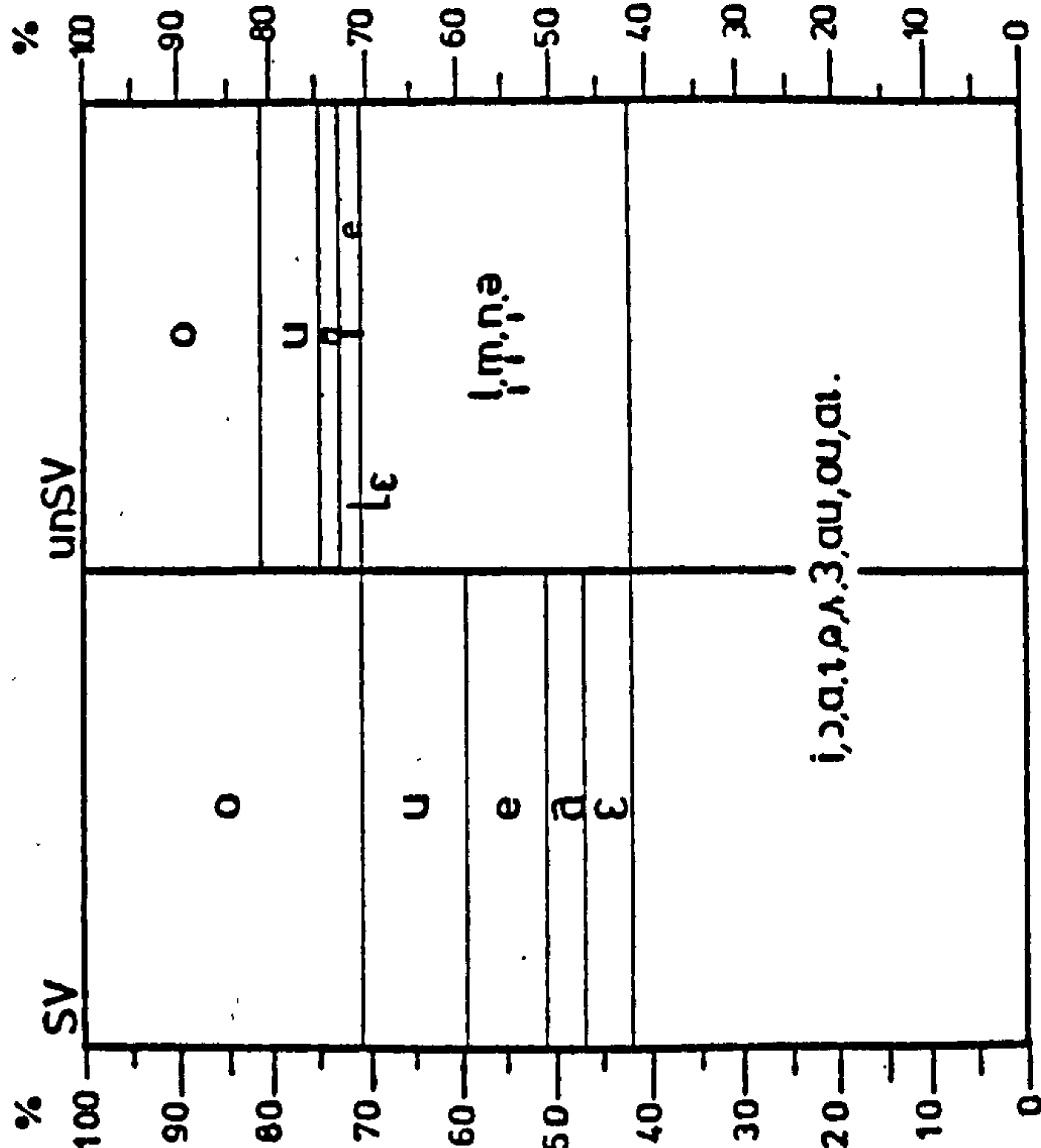
Chart IV-11

The relationship of stress to releasing consonant & vowel in Gaelic vocable refrains.

Consonants



Vowels



His conclusion ties in well with my remarks on the effect of stress and duration on the vowels heard in improvisatory vocabelising (see Chapter III: 4.3).

The use of melisma in Gaelic song and vocable refrains is one of the main features of contrast between it and Scots refrains, where melismas appear so rarely as to be virtually unused. In comparison, I counted 250 melismas in my sample of Gaelic song, the great majority being two-note melismas.

two-note:
216

three-note:
35

four-note:
5

Overall, the melismas appeared most frequently with the vowels [o and i] (particularly the three-note melismas, 50% of which appeared with [i]). However, as these are two of the most commonly used vowels in Gaelic vocable refrains this is to say the least an inconclusive result. Certainly melismas appeared more frequently with vowels thought to be 'long' in language: between them the vowels [i, o, u and >] accounted for 84% of the melismas observed. An interesting side note, which arose when I attempted to see if ascending or descending contour had any effect on which vowel was chosen, was that descending melismas are favoured in the melodies by a ratio of three to one.

2.2.4 Vocable words.

While commenting on "...the extreme rarity of duplication of a whole phrase of refrain syllables" Francis Collinson mentions the existence of "short, conventional groups of up to three or even four syllables..."¹⁵ I have labelled these 'conventional groups', "vocable words" and they are the subject for discussion of this section. I have selected three vocable words to see if they are connected to any specific musical feature, such as rhythmic motif, melodic contour or position in the phrase. The words in question are:

[ho dʲ:n o] (commonly written hóireann ó), [e lʲ-] (eileadh) and [hok_u] (ho qu). These appeared, respectively, in 25, 24 and 9 songs.

15. ibid. 233.

Of course, these "words" are realised slightly differently in different vocable environments and by different dialect speakers. Below is a list of the more common variations of each word.

hóireann ó

ho dzan ɔ
 ho dzan ɔ
 ho dzan 0
 ho dzan ɔ
 ho dzan 0
 ho dzan 0
 ho dzan ɔ
 ho dzan 0
 hu diɲ 0
 hu dziɲ 2
 ɔ dzan 0
 ho danɔ 0

eileadh

e	107-
e	131-
e	127-
je	137-
je	136-
ja	137-
le	137-
ne	137-

ho gu

hok → u
 lok → u
 hok → u
 ok → u
 ok → u

It was noted in Scots vocable refrains that certain vocables appeared more frequently at certain positions within the refrain, and I examined these three "words" to see if they appeared more often in any specific position within the phrase since, as has been demonstrated in section 2.1.2, it may be difficult to define exactly where a refrain begins or leaves off. Of the three "vocable words", all appeared most frequently at the end of a phrase:

	<u>Beginning</u>	<u>Middle</u>	<u>End</u>
hoireann ó:	8	5	16
eileadh:	3	6	18
ho gu:	1	3	10

Thus, as with some of the vowels in Scots refrains (see section 1.2.2) these units or "words" tend to act in a punctuating fashion, indicating a comma or full stop in the flow of the music.

The next point I examined was whether or not these "words" had a connection with any specific melodic contour, the four broad categories examined being; rising contour, falling contour, mixed (i.e. both rising and falling within the same word) and steady contour.

The results were as follows.

	<u>Rising:</u>	<u>Falling:</u>	<u>Mixed:</u>	<u>Steady:</u>
hóireann ó:	7	8	9	0
eileadh:	8	11	2	13
ho gu:	12	0	0	0

While all three "words" show preferred and avoided contours, (for example, hóireann ó, while appearing quite equally in the other three categories does not appear with a steady contour), perhaps the most striking example of a "vocal word" attached to a specific melodic contour is the association of ho gu with a rising melody.

The vocal "word" ho gu appeared with a rising interval of:

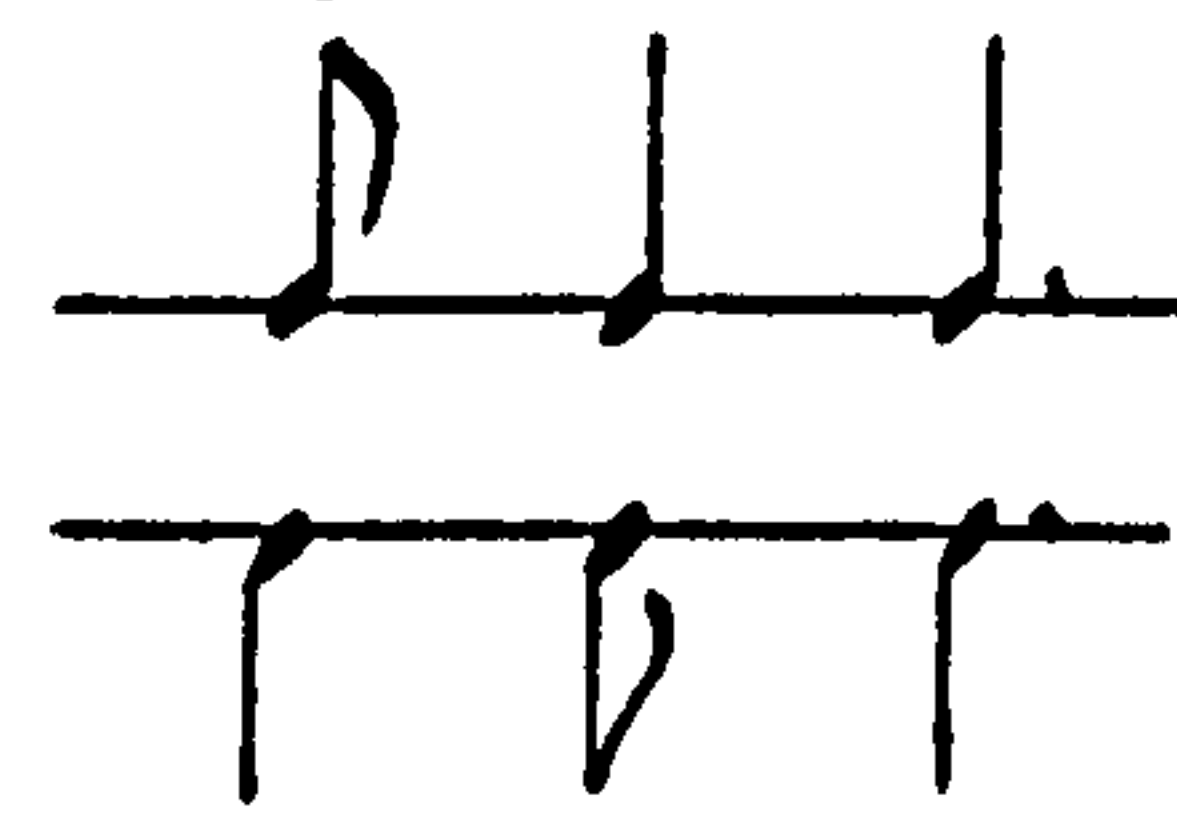
a 2nd twice
a 3rd twice
a 4th twice
a 5th once
a 6th five times
12 appearances.

As can be seen from this, not only does ho gu appear only with a rising melodic contour (within the sample of songs I examined), but it appears most frequently in connection with large intervals, the fifth and the sixth.

The third question was whether or not the "vocal words" could be associated with any specific rhythmic motif (although whether the "word" dictated the rhythm or the appearance of the rhythm in the melody inclined a composer to select and insert the "word" is difficult if not impossible to determine.) There did in all three cases seem to be a correlation between the "word" and a related range of rhythmic motifs.

hóireann ó:

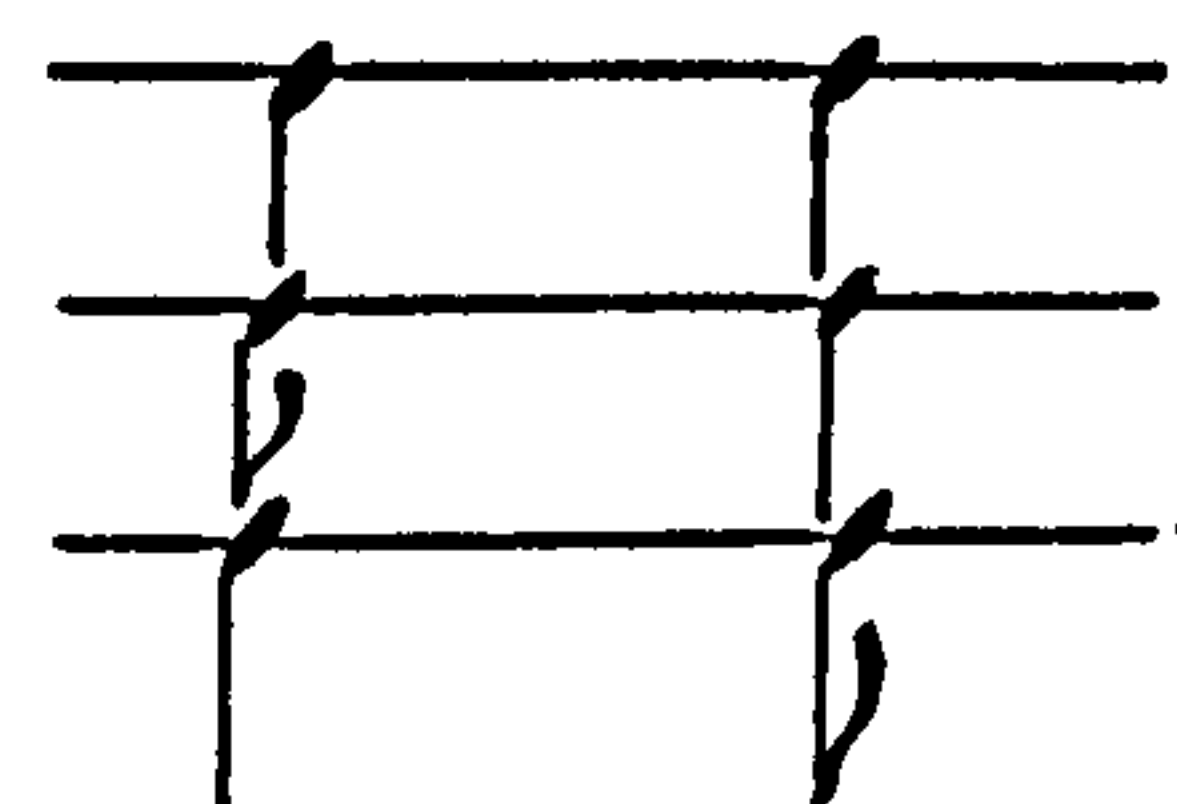
[



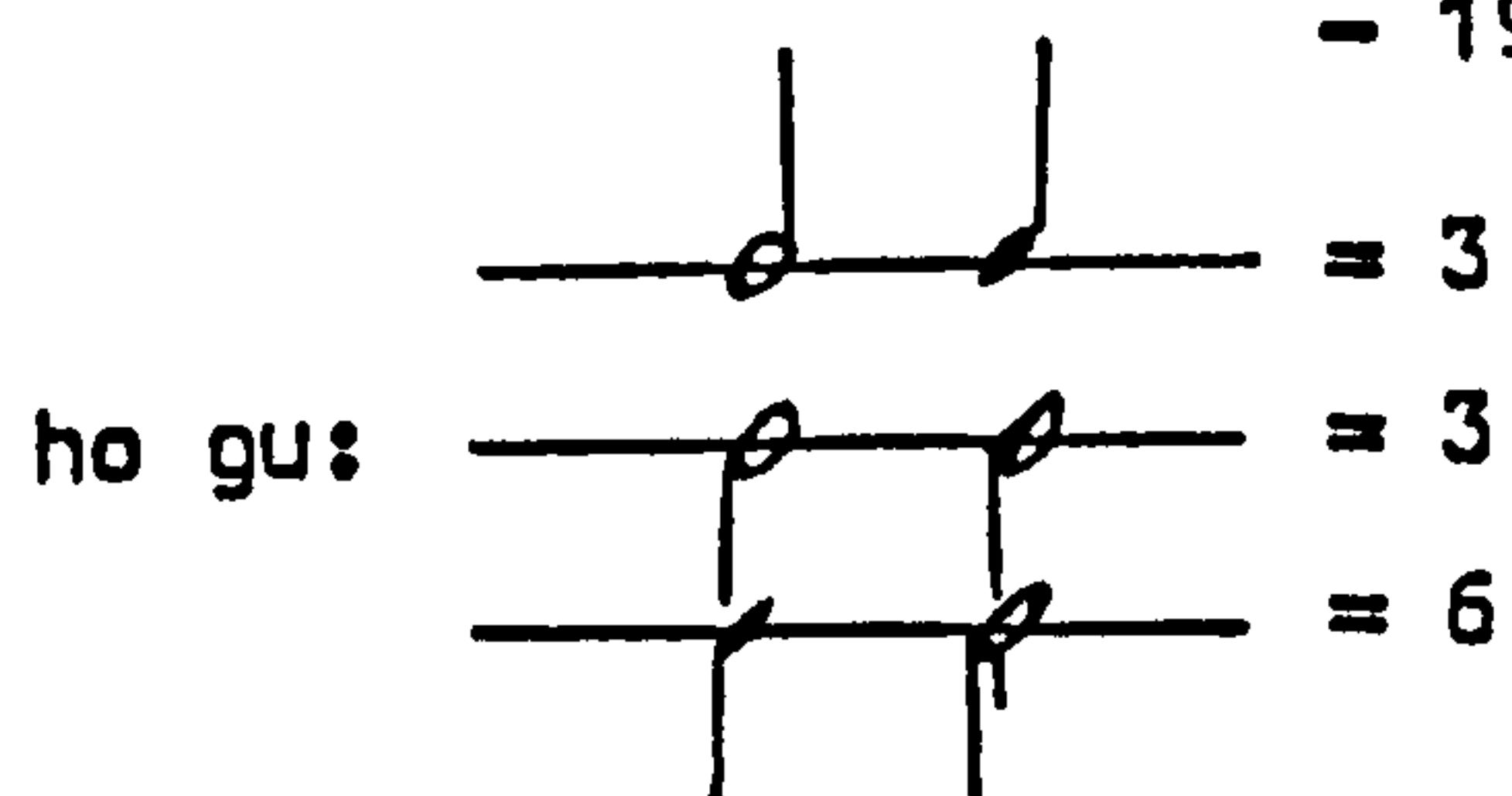
= 6
= 19

eileadh:

[



= 7
= 7
= 20



Thus, while no one rhythmic motif was selected in preference to all others, only a fairly small range of options was used for each "word", and in each case one option appeared to be much more popular, i.e. much more frequently used.

A greater selection of "vocable words" and a much larger sample of songs and variants would almost certainly expose further patterns and compositional techniques, a few of which have been illustrated in this short section.

2.2.5 Patterns of phrase structure.

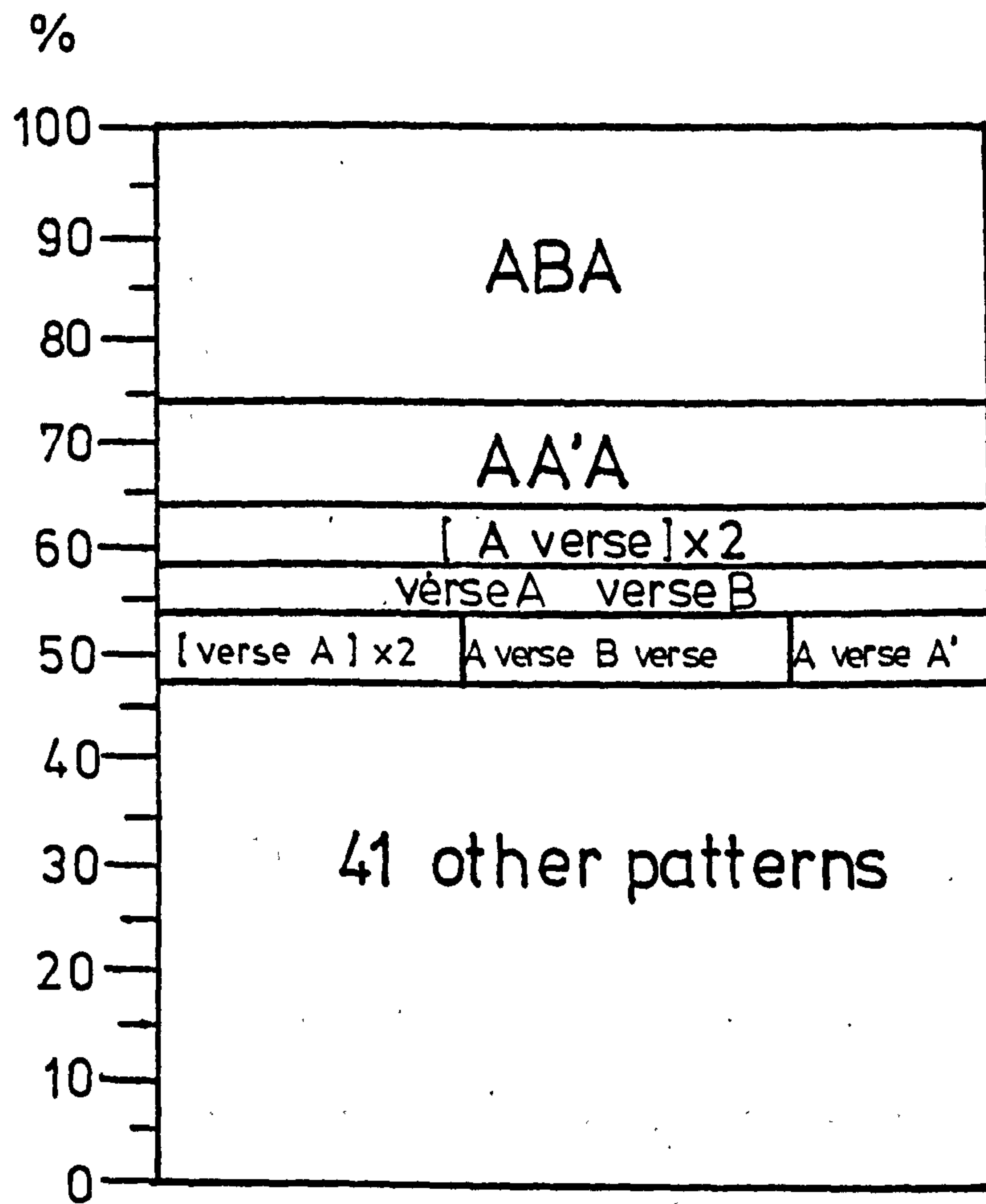
As was described in section 2.1.2 in this chapter, there is a great variety of structures in which Gaelic songs with vocable refrains appear. It is not, therefore, particularly surprising that an examination of the patterns of phrases used in vocable refrains in these songs turns up a large range of possibilities as well. Chart IV-12 illustrates the proportionate use of the most common of these patterns of phrases and it can be seen there that one pattern and its variant (namely ABA and AA'A) account between them for just over a third of all the songs. Variations of a pattern of alternating lexical and vocable phrases account for another 17%, while the remainder of the songs exhibited what were virtually idiosyncratic patterns, though some relationships between them can be seen. In Scots vocable refrains there was a somewhat smaller range of options (as well as a much more limited range of song structures), however those most commonly used show a similarity to the two mentioned above:

Scots:	ABAC	AAAA
Gaelic:	ABA	AA'A

It is as well to mention, however, that such patterns could well be pan-European, if not of even wider dissemination.

Chart IV-12

Structure of Gaelic Vocable Refrains



2.3 Song Type and Vocable Refrain

2.3.1 A correlation between song type and the probable presence of a vocable refrain.

In Scots refrains it was seen that the semantic content of a song had an effect on the probability of appearance of a vocable chorus: that a humorous song, or one which featured the exploits of a trickster hero was more likely to have a vocable refrain than songs on other topics. In Gaelic song the correlation seems to be between the use of the song and the likelihood of the presence of a vocable chorus. Work songs, particularly waulking songs (including songs which have been appropriated from other contexts and used at waulkings) are more likely to contain vocable choruses no matter what the topic of the text. It has been suggested, both by Campbell and Collinson and by others, that as well as for other purposes the refrains of waulking songs serve as a mnemonic for the singers, in much the same fashion as I have described pipers using canntaireachd as a mnemonic rather than a solmisation system.

...furthermore, the refrains, which are nearly always sung to fixed meaningless syllables, are what serves to identify the songs in the minds of the singers, as the opening "verse" or first line can be quite different in different versions of the same song. (16)

...but while in Lowland Scots such refrains are more or less 'throw aways' in Gaelic they are the song, quite as much as the verse lines that tell the story; so much so that it is by the meaningless syllables of the refrain that a singer will remember and identify a song, and particularly the tune of it... They form a rough mnemonic system for tune finding somewhat akin to the pipers' "Canntaireachd" but in much less exact form. (17)

This is possibly too strong an emphasis on a use which it seems may have arisen almost incidentally; because the refrains are the only fixed part of the songs, it is only natural that they should be the reference point for singers. At another point in Hebridean Folksong Campbell and Collinson describe this purpose of the refrain in a waulking song in a poetic and at the same time

16. Campbell & Collinson, op cit., 200.

17. Francis Collinson, The National and Traditional Music of Scotland, London, (1966) 71.

particularly precise and apt fashion.

The importance of the refrain is emphasised by the fact that there is no standard version of any of these songs, and that most of them embody different sections on different topics, many of which are part of a floating oral tradition that could be drawn on for the purpose of extemporisation at will. One may therefore compare the refrain of a waulking song to a thread upon which differently coloured beads, i.e. different sections on different subjects, have been strung at different times by various improvisers... (18)

2.3.2 A correlation between content and the type of vocables used.

The preceding paragraphs have made it clear that vocable refrains are closely linked to waulking and other work songs. But of course vocables, either singly or in refrains, appear in connection with many other types of Gaelic song as well though not usually as extensively. It seems that the semantic content or type of song can often determine the type of vocable or selection of vocables to be used. For example, Gaelic lullabies are often characterised by the vocable [ba], usually repeated twice in succession; [ba ba]. Another example can be heard in those puirt a beul which have vocable refrains attached: they are frequently much more like diddling than like a waulking song chorus in that they have a high proportion of [d] as a releasing consonant, and make much use of syllabic consonants. So, while all the types of Gaelic song may share a repertory of sounds and vocables composed with those sounds, certain sounds and vocables are much more likely to be emphasised depending on the use, or sometimes the semantic content of the song. Chart IV-13 attempts to illustrate this phenomenon. The largest box, in which all the others are enclosed, indicates the totality or entire repertory of sounds used in vocable refrains. The smaller boxes within it indicate the overlapping repertories of vocables in several types of Gaelic song in which vocable refrains are found.

As I mentioned before, this section on Gaelic vocable refrains is intended to be a preliminary survey, suggesting

18. Campbell & Collinson, op. cit. Vol. I, 228.

Chart IV-13

Repertory of sounds used in vocable refrains

Waulking songs

Laments

Lullabies

Puirt a beul

lines of approach or direction for research by someone more qualified to discuss Gaelic material. This last point, the relationship between song type and/or content and specific vocables or sub-categories of vocables strikes me as particularly intriguing, and likely to lead toward a rewarding area of research.

CHAPTER V: The Functions of Vocabalising

1. The Concept of Function.

Until now this has been a largely descriptive study in which I have tried to outline the complex structure of vocabalising as it can be seen in Scottish traditional music. Now I wish to turn towards the less accessible but equally intriguing area of the functions of vocabalising. The concept of 'function' has come to ethnomusicologists from the anthropological emphasis of our discipline, and is at once a crucial, and a troublesome concept since it seems to have as many meanings as there are researchers and fieldworkers to expound them. Lucy Mair sums up the situation succinctly, and proposes a useful working definition of a 'functional study.'

It may seem that the concept of function has been given too many different meanings to be really very useful. But the attitude towards the study of society which gave it currency is fundamental to modern social anthropology...that what one is primarily interested in is how a system works rather than how it came to be what it is.

What people mean by a functional study today is selecting a particular problem for intensive examination and looking at it in the context of a wider whole, the structure of which must be understood in its essentials. (1)

In the chapter on use and function in The Anthropology of Music, (Northwestern University Press, 1964), Alan Merriam comments:

We wish to know not only what a thing is, but, more significantly what it does for people and how it does it. (p. 209.)

He also clearly defines the distinction between use and function:

'Use' then, refers to the situation in which music is employed in human action; 'function' concerns the reasons for its employment and particularly the broader purposes it serves. (p. 210.)

Based on these three statements then, the problem selected for 'intensive examination' in this chapter is to look among

1. Lucy Mair, An Introduction to Social Anthropology, Oxford (1965, 2nd ed. 1972) 39-40.

Scottish musicians and audiences at what vocabelising does and how, viewing this in the wider context of Scottish traditional music and (as far as possible) Scottish culture in general. In Chapters I through IV I have already described what vocabelising is, the contexts in which it appears and the uses to which it is put in Scotland (i.e. "what the thing is..."), now I will attempt to look further into these contexts, into the motivations which prompt the selection of vocabelising as a medium of performing traditional music and the functions this medium is made to serve (i.e. "the reasons for its employment...").

1.1 Merriam's outline of the functions of music.

In his chapter on use and function mentioned above Merriam outlines ten proposed functions of music, functions which are not necessarily exclusive to music, (though in some cases exclusive to the arts) but which indicate the scope and magnitude of the purposes music may serve in human culture. Obviously no one musical phenomenon is going to serve all ten of these functions, even a phenomenon as all-pervasive as vocabelising. Of the ten functions proposed, seven seemed relevant to this study: emotional expression, aesthetic enjoyment, entertainment, communication, elicitation of physical response, contribution to the continuity and stability of culture, and contribution to the integration of society.

Useful as these distinctions are, there appears to be a serious problem in considering functions as distinct categories; particularly in isolating the function of communication, which might be used as a heading under which all the other functions could be considered. For example, the elicitation of a physical response (Merriam's number six) is presumably an external, physical expression of an internal feeling or emotion (number one) which has been communicated to or stimulated by the performer (number four). Or, if one considers the function of emotional expression; as soon as even one person is listening to a musical event, then this personal expression of emotion must be considered to be communicative as well. Again, how does music entertain? By providing a catalyst for social interaction (i.e. communication among the audience members); by gratifying

an aesthetic sense (communication from the performer to the individuals comprising the audience); by reference to extra-musical phenomena (stimulation by the music of the listener's memory), and so forth. It is virtually impossible to talk about the functions of music if we disregard their interdependent nature.

1.2 The essentially expressive/communicative nature of music.

In "An Inquiry into the Original of Our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue" (1725) Frances Hutcheson indirectly commented on the crucial communicative nature of art:

...since the most accurate knowledge of what the External senses discover often does not give the Pleasure of Beauty or Harmony, which yet one of good Taste will enjoy at once without much knowledge; we may justly use another Name for these higher, and more delightful Perceptions of Beauty and Harmony, and call the Power of receiving such Impressions, an Internal Sense. (2)

The ability to receive an impression obviously implies that an impression is being communicated, whether by a painting, a stanza of poetry or a phrase of music.

Most relevant of all to the emphasis I wish to place here on the emotionally expressive and communicative powers of music in general and vocabelising in specific, is Leo Tolstoy's theory and definition of art in What is Art? (1898).

There is no objective definition of beauty. The existing definitions...amount only to one and the same subjective definition which...is, that art is that which makes beauty manifest, and beauty is that which pleases.

In order correctly to define art, it is necessary, first of all, to cease to consider it as a means to pleasure, and to consider it as one of the conditions of human life. Viewing it this way, we cannot fail to observe that art is one of the means of intercourse between man and man.

Art is a human activity, consisting in this, that one man consciously, by means of certain external signs, hands on to others feelings he has lived through, and that other people are infected by these feelings and also experience them.

2. reprinted in What is Art? Aesthetic Theory from Plato to Tolstoy, Ed. Alexander Sesonske, New York (1965)213.

...the stronger the infection, the better is the art...

...the artist should be impelled by an inner need to express his feeling...this same sincerity will impel the artist to find a clear expression of the feeling which he wishes to transmit.

All human life is filled with works of art of every kind—from cradle song, jest, mimicry, the ornamentation of houses, dress and utensils, up to church services, buildings, monuments and triumphal processions. (3)

Although it is perhaps impossible ever to define either term, no one would disagree that music is art; and therefore, according to Tolstoy's theory, a means of intercourse between man and man, a condition of human life encompassing expressions of emotion from a mother lulling her child to sleep to a master's representation of the crucifixion.

1.3 The inseparability of meaning and cultural context.

One more quote should suffice to finish the outline or list of concepts which guide the following discussion of the functions of vocabelising.

Meaning and communication cannot be separated from the cultural context in which they arise. Apart from the social situation there can be neither meaning nor communication. An understanding of the cultural and stylistic presuppositions of a piece of music is absolutely essential to the analysis of its meaning. (4)

This firm statement is virtually parallel to Lucy Mair's direction to look at a problem 'in the context of the wider whole, the structure of which must be understood in its essentials.' In the following discussion of the functions of vocabelising in Scotland I will look at each of the contexts discussed in the first two chapters and pose the questions: what is the music doing for the people involved? What is being expressed by the performer and what message is received by the audience? (Possibly something quite different.) Some of the functions proposed by Merriam will

3. ibid. 407-411.

4. L.B. Meyer, Emotion and Meaning in Music, Chicago (1956) ix.

obviously be of importance here, particularly those concerned with how music functions in terms of the individual. His ideas of what music contributes to society as a whole are to some extent based on what music does for the individual, and these will be discussed within the framework of groups of musicians and audiences in social situations as well.

2. The functions of vocabelising in relation to context.

"Diddling should be done with a view to teaching it, I mean, to teach what you heard."

SA 1977/2 Tom Anderson

2.1 The teacher/pupil relationship.

As I have already discussed in some detail, teachers use vocables in various ways to communicate information to the pupil about music and how they wish it to be played. They may do this by condensing melodic and rhythmic motifs into what then become associative vocables, or as is more often the case, the teacher simply imitates the desired instrumental effect with his voice, with which he can in some cases more clearly emphasise the points he wishes to make. By using sound, or direct musical communication, the teacher dispenses with the intermediate step of translating symbols on paper into sound, dispensing at the same time with all the uncertainties and inaccuracies which may appear in staff notation. Many musicians, especially pipers, seem to find that information communicated in this manner is more quickly and better absorbed, and longer and more accurately retained by the pupil. Thus this use of vocables is functioning as a particularly effective and precise medium for the teacher's musical enculturation of the young or inexperienced musician.

Among traditional pipers canntaireachd is considered the most desirable if not the only medium of instruction. Only by learning ceòl mòr through canntaireachd will a piper be able to successfully express emotion and convey it to his audience; and it is precisely this ability to communicate which to traditional pipers distinguishes the merely technically proficient player from the truly musical one.

KC What do you think is conveyed in the singing? Is it

just what they call 'pointing', or the niceties of rhythm or is there more to it than that?

JS I think it's a play with rhythm more than anything...as I say...you can be very good in musical theory, but there's something got to come from the heart which nothing in staff notation, there's no sign or signal or anything in staff notation you can put down for this...
...singing...helps alot to do this.

SA 1977/166 Pipe-Major John Stewart

Its traditional use as a teaching medium makes canntair-eachd a symbol for pipers of their musical and cultural heritage; by clinging so persistently to it they seem to express their desire for the cultural continuity and stability which Merriam speaks of.⁵ Sung canntaireachd is seen as the only 'pure' teaching medium, the only one which will continue the tradition unchanged and unacculturated. This condition of musical stability is prized by traditional pipers, who inveigh against the innovations and distortions which they feel have been worked upon the genre of pibroch by publications where it has been translated into staff notation.

"...and most of the time we talked pipe music..."⁶

2.2 'musicking': communication among musicians of equal status.

Direct musical communication among or between musicians of equal status (as opposed to a pupil/teacher situation) is achieved in a number of ways, most of which have been discussed before. For example, musicians may exchange practical information about a new melody; slight regional variations in a familiar tune; differing bowing techniques; varied placement of ornaments. (Although the kinds of information conveyed are similar to those in a pupil/teacher relationship, in the latter case the information is an instruction whereas among musicians of equal status it is a suggestion.) It seems that when performance vocabelisers are known in a community as well, the kind of vocabelising used for conveying technical musical

5. Of course, pipers use canntaireachd for practical reasons as well.

6. Neil Munroe, "The Oldest Air in the World," The Pipes of War, Eds. Grant and Seton, Glasgow (1926)249.

information is not always considered as aesthetically pleasing (in the traditional or non-Tolstoyian sense) as a performance in the genre specifically aimed at an audience.

...when I attempt to lilt, purely for the sake of passing a tune to someone else, they would know immediately that I wasn't a lilter, and they would say, they wouldn't remark on my lilting abilities in any laudatory manner at all, just dismiss it as purely functional way of passing a tune, they wouldn't consider any beauty.

SA 1978/32 Ruairi Somers

An interesting judgement has been made by the community here, implying the existence of criteria and tacit 'rules' defining what lilting should and should not be, and reflecting the concept that some vocabelising is purely 'functional' (i.e. simply a mode of exchanging musical information) while other examples in the same genre can be heightened by the musician's skill into a musical form which gives pleasure to the listener.

Perhaps the single most important aspect of musicians 'musicking' among themselves is simply that communicative experience felt by anyone who has ever shared music making:

It is probably impossible to convey to someone who has never been a performer the extent to which making music together or moving together in dance is a mode of discourse, a mode of communication. (7)

This music sharing experience can be achieved by musicians vocabelising among themselves, even though the ostensible purpose is but a simple exchange of information. A particularly striking example of this communicative experience is described in the following anecdote of the meeting of two Celtic pipers, one a Scots Gael and the other a Breton in France during World War I.

We sat on the slab, the pair of us, my pipes stretched out between us, and there I assure, folk, was the hour of conversation! "But if you could not speak each other's tongue?", said a girl. "Tach! Two men of the breed with a set of pipes between them can always follow one another... The better half of our speech was with our hands; he had not even got the English; and most of the time we talked pipe music, as any man

7. Mantle Hood, The Ethnomusicologist, New York (1971)218.

can do that's fit to pucker his lips and whistle. The Breton people canntarach tunes too, like ourselves—soft warbling them to fix them in the memory, and blyth that morning was our warbling. (8)

I have already mentioned that the traditional use of canntaireachd for teaching has given pipers a sense of the unbroken continuity of their musical heritage. They also believe it to be the pure, preservative agent of the tradition (and by connotation it tends to become a symbol of Celtic culture in general) which triumphed even in the face of malign political forces which sought to destroy the Highland way of life:

...the Disarming Act of seventeen forty— forty-seven or forty-eight made it a crime for any piper to play his bagpipe. The music was discouraged, everything Celtic was discouraged... and, eh, the canntaireachd brought the music down to us, fortunately, and it's really to John MacKay of Raasay, through his son Angus MacKay, who recorded all the tunes he got from his father...if it hadn't been for John MacKay of Raasay we were lost.

SA 1953/5 Pipe-Major William MacLean Fieldworkers: Calum MacLean and Francis Collinson.

Whether canntaireachd did in fact save the pibroch from oblivion is open to conjecture (the Angus MacKay in question is thought to have recorded all the tunes from his father in staff notation, not in canntaireachd.) But many pipers believe it to be so, and thus canntaireachd appears to them at least in part as a symbol of cultural identity, of an older, 'better' traditional way of life. This link with the past is explicitly stated in Pipe-Major William MacLean's typescript, in the possession of the School of Scottish Studies.

The chanting or singing of the MacCrimmon canntaireachd is sweet and haunting and reminds one of long past days when the clansmen fought so bravely for king and country. It brings again before the mind the forgotten gardens of youth. It stirs the soul in recollection of those ancient musicians who did so well adapt their peculiar melodies to the joys and sorrows and martial spirit of a peculiar people. (pp. 18-19)

Staff notation, on the other hand, links pibroch to 'art' music and the prevailing philosophies and musical concepts of the modern western world, a link which many traditional pipers reject.

8. Neil Munroe, op. cit.

Some pipers feel that the ability to communicate with another piper in vocables marks them as one of an élite, one of the initiated. It gives them a sense of acceptance by the musical community, a sense of belonging and of being a part of a centuries old tradition of standing and worth:

...in style it's inherited yet...it's got to be handed down, it was handed down to my father because he was a piper... there's very few people who get to do it unless they are a piper...

SA 1960/140 Ned Stewart Fieldworker: Kenneth Goldstein.

...how we sing to each other, it's a form of putting the music across that's peculiar only to pipers, I mean you don't hear violinists or cellists, they don't have the equivalent sort of sounds for their music that we have for our piping.

SA 1977/166 Pipe-Major John Stewart

The fact that the non-initiated cannot comprehend what pipers 'talk' about merely increases the feeling of distinction, as witness the World War I piper's high-handed dismissal of the girl who asked how two pipers who spoke no common language could converse. So, musicians 'musicking', or conversing among themselves in vocables, are receiving the satisfactions of shared music making, while among pipers this pleasure of communication is enhanced by their knowledge and comprehension of a complex associative system incomprehensible to outsiders.

"What's a ceilidh without a diddle?"

SA 1977/130 Duncan Williamson Fieldworker: Linda Williamson

2.3 Performers and audiences.

It can readily be seen by the audience's reaction that a performer who stands up in front of an audience and vocabelises is putting across some kind of message, communicating or stimulating some emotion in the listeners. The physical reaction generally takes the form of clapping or stamping in time with the music; swaying of heads or bodies; giving 'heuchs' or loud shouts to express appreciation and encouragement and to externalise excitement; and even, in an

intimate context, of joining in with the performer. Later in this section I will attempt to describe what is being communicated, but first I will expand briefly on the physical responses just mentioned; one visible result of musical affect.

Given that the physical reaction is elicited by a combination of emotions communicated in the music, and by the extra-musical factors of a given situation (i.e. a festive atmosphere, the presence of the opposite sex, degree of sobriety, etc.) the question arises as to whether the responses in question are themselves conditioned, or inherent and spontaneous.

It seems most likely that the emotions which prompt the physical expression are inherent in us all, but that the actual mode of expression is conditioned by society. Thus audiences learn to clap on the beat rather than to applaud at random during a tune (the latter expresses appreciation whereas the former is a limited form of music-sharing with the performer). Individuals learn to 'heuch' in a range of styles considered appropriate, while dancers learn to shout at specific points in a dance (as well as when they are moved to it at other times, of course.)⁹ The urge to share music making with the performer and the urge to shout to externalise exhilaration are deep seated and by no means specific to Scotland or even Western cultures. But the 'appropriate' physical mode of expressing these urges is unconsciously learned by watching and imitating; absorbing the 'rules' guiding the behavior of a community.

Before coming to grips with the question of what is being communicated to an audience, it is necessary first to take into consideration a number of extra-musical factors to which the audience might be responding as well so that these do not obscure the issue. The first of these is that an audience may respond appreciatively to what they see as the singer's achievement, to the fact that he is tackling something which appears to them to be difficult and doing it well. Whether or not the singer in fact finds vocabelising a challenge, the brisk tempo combined with high syllable density of most performances make it appear taxing to an audience, who respond accordingly with

9. These remarks are based on my own extensive observations of present day Scottish Country Dancing.

admiration and encouragement. Another factor which might condition audience response is the apparent dichotomy of someone who appears to be making lexical sense but who is not in fact doing so. This paradox is usually found to be humorous, and the audience reacts by smiling and laughing. A third influencing factor is what might be termed the 'novelty effect' of vocabelising. This is not to imply that the audience will never have heard it before, but rather that the interpretation of a familiar piece from the repertory in an infrequently used (but traditionally accepted) medium has the effect of novelty. The key words here are 'infrequently used'; performance diddling is not necessarily more difficult than an instrumental rendering of a piece, but it poses special problems. Instrumental tunes are not usually suited to the capabilities of the human voice; they have large jumps at frequent intervals, the note density is often very high and there are seldom spaces for breathing. So to be a performance diddler one needs an agile voice, capable of making large leaps in quick succession; well controlled breathing, and an instrumental musician's intimate knowledge of a tune, which may be exceedingly difficult or complex. These requirements rather rarely combine in one individual, hence the infrequency of vocable performances (in comparison to fiddle, pipe or accordion performances) and hence the novelty or specialty effect when they do appear.

Apart from these three factors just described, it is also necessary to bear in mind that in a performance context any audience response will be coloured by the status awarded by that audience to vocabelising (see: Chapter II:3). But, having listed these various influencing factors, I will return to the difficult problem of what the music being vocabelised in a performance context is doing for the performer and for the audience.

It can well be argued that just as the art of composition or creation is in itself an emotional release,¹⁰ the rapid selection of a euphonious arrangement of vocables which enhance or amplify the interpretation of a tune is in itself a creative act, and as such serves the same function. Also, the knowledge that one is communicating

10. Alan Merriam, The Anthropology of Music, Northwestern U. Press (1964) 222

with individuals in an audience, causing them to feel certain emotions and respond in certain ways may give the performer a feeling of heady exhilaration and power, the pleasure of which may well be one reason for his seeking of the limelight. The relationship between the performer and his audience is circular; their response to the message or emotions emanating from him is communicated back by means of their physical response, which in turn escalates his feelings and emotions (perhaps by reassuring him of his acceptance and in some cases importance to the community) which are projected back with increased musical confidence. Of these three functions just mentioned, the method of achievement is unique to vocabelising only in the first; the latter two hold valid for any performer in the same context.

In the various situations in which I've observed audiences listening to performances of vocabelising, they appeared to be receiving emotions/sensations of gaiety, light-heartedness, of exhilaration and excitement. Among the travellers this latter sensation seems to be communicated very strongly, as is testified to by heuchs, stamps and claps, and the frequency with which 'audience' members will join in with the 'performer'; these distinctions not being so rigid and unbreakable in an intimate context as in the more formal situation engendered by the presence of a large audience. In some contexts there is a strong comic element conveyed as well, though this seems largely to be due to reference to extra-musical associations rather than communicated by the music itself. Thus the dolls danced in time to a performer's diddling are usually indicative of an intentionally humorous element, as was the case in the diddling competition described earlier where each contestant, a brawny farm-worker, had to pin a nappy on a plastic baby doll, diddling the while. As mentioned before, contexts where vocabelising is associated with children are usually those where it is also considered humorous and of low or insignificant status as well.

It is clear that within an audience individuals conversant with performances of vocabelising are both able and willing to make value judgements about the various forms familiar (and unfamiliar) to them. What criteria are used for judging is not always clear, but generally

speaking the expressive/communicative function of vocabelising which I have been discussing is not a criterion actually articulated by informants, though its presence is often implied in their statements containing value judgements about vocabelising. In some situations the ability to create a euphonious arrangement of vocables which enhances the interpretation of a tune seems to be highly valued, while among traditional pipers (where vocabelising as a performance practice is less frequent) emphasis is placed on the ability to accurately represent the phrasing and ornamentation of a tune. Among non-pipers singing in a pipe-oriented style, especially among the travellers, the desired effect seems to be achieved by what informants conceive of as imitating the sound of the bagpipe, which to the analytic evaluation seems rather to be an imitation of vocables used associatively by pipers (which, to confuse the issue further, contain many onomatopoeic syllables.) So already we have three different 'indigenous models' or concepts of what goal a musician performing vocables should aim for: a euphonious representation of a tune in neutral and imitative vocables; an accurate representation of a tune in associative vocables; and an imitation of the sound of the bagpipe (by imitating the sounds used by pipers). Not too surprisingly, when these disparate opinions coincide in the same context, they sometimes clash. An occasion which highlights such a conflict is the present day diddling competition held at Kinross, Keith and other folk festivals. On separate occasions two performers complained (one in emphatic and highly coloured language) that their pipe-oriented style of vocabelising was discriminated against by the judges.

Now once I was told that the way I diddled was wrong, was unacceptable...she says, "Diddling is not diddling unless you put in the sound diddle, diddle, diddle...allthrough your diddling." I went into the competition and diddled the way _____ had advised me, which I wasn't comfortable with and it wasn't me and it didn't sound like nothing on earth because it wasn't my natural diddling. And _____ said to me, he said, "I don't know why you were diddling like that because you can diddle perfectly in your own timing," he says, "Just diddle the way you diddle and never mind what anyone else says, to me that's real diddling."

[after imitating the 'accepted' competition style:]

...and to me, it didn't have no sense, it doesn't seem to

rhyme because you're puttin' in the same sounds for every tune— it minds you on the Gaelic Mod; there's a particular style and you must sing with this style and if you're not in the style then it's not acceptable. But I'm sure it's just as bonny ti diddle: [and sings in his own style.]

Informant's name withheld.

On the second occasion, when I was myself kindly dismissed by the same judge for the same 'fault' (i.e. singing too much like a piper), the singer who comiserated with me for my supposed disappointment claimed that she had not bothered to enter the competition when she learned who the judge was that year, knowing that her style of singing was not acceptable in that judge's ears; and that she resented this judgement was very clear. On a third occasion when I entered a 'lilting competition' at the Fleadh Cheoil (or traditional music competition) in County Mayo, Eire, I purposely chose a Scottish pipe tune and sang as closely as possible to the appropriate vocables a piper might use to see what reaction this would provoke from the Irish judge. Again I was informed that I hadn't used the 'right' sounds. Interestingly enough a member of the audience afterwards asked if I had been singing like the bagpipe (meaning the Scottish, not the Irish or Uilleann pipes); obviously the difference in style was not only apparent to him, but he was able to assign the style to its proper context as well.

In each case the judge's concept of the 'right' style of diddling presupposed that all others must be 'wrong'; the concept of equally valid variant styles within a genre is not prevalent in the context of a competition, which by its very nature lays down a hierarchical structure based largely on the subjective likes and dislikes of one or two individuals. In its older, traditional environments; the ceilidh round the campfire or in the bothy, at dances and so forth, the various styles of performance vocabelising seem to have co-existed peacefully, though value judgements about the relative merits of individual performers within a style do seem to have been made.

Another example of a clash of aesthetic criteria concerns basic concepts about what the primary function of vocabelising should be.

TA And as I say...the old diddlers and the true diddlers, they diddled according to what they'd heard. Now today of course you get them bringing in all sorts of fancy syllables and things just because, you know, for fun.

KC Like what?

TA Och, well— [sings a few syllables] And, oh, this is a criticism I have about professional diddling, that it should be just done as you've heard it, that's what the music's inside of you, and it should be done with a view to teaching it, I mean to teach what you've heard—that's what I would use it for.

SA 1977/1 Tom Anderson

Here diddling heard in a performance context is considered aesthetically less pleasing because of the informant's conviction that the prime function of vocablising should be pedagogic. It does seem, however, that it is the modification, the elaboration of the vocables themselves so that they become 'more entertaining' which causes dissatisfaction rather than the transposition of function: i.e. vocables serving the function of entertainment are not necessarily worthy of contempt in themselves.

Finally, I wish to consider vocabelising in the context of a ceilidh during which the guiding principle is ostensibly that each person present must make some contribution to the entertainment; as one informant put it:

Everybody took a chance, some sung, some told stories... one would say, "I cannae play," or "I havnae got an accordion, but I'll gie ye a piece o' the mouth music..."

SA 1977/5 Duncan Williamson

Here, the possession of even the most limited ability to vocabelise allows an individual to participate musically should he lack his instrument, or the ability to play one or sing a song. In this case vocabelising becomes the opposite of a specialist activity; a medium for presenting a piece which is open to any musician, of any degree of skill. Of course individuals may select vocabelising because they are especially good at it, but the former situation is of greater interest here as the use of vocabelising enables the individual to contribute musically, thereby maintaining the continuity of the social event and acquiescing to the social pressure on him to perform. Another way in which vocabelising enhances the social and

musical interaction at a ceilidh is by providing a medium for listeners inspired to participate in an instrumental performance.

KC When your father was having his musical evenings, did he ever diddle then?

BB Yes, oh yes, he could diddle, and then lots of people playing mouth organs and all this sort o' thing, and you got diddlin' along wi' em...

SA 1977/162 Bessie Brown

Thus audience members whose musicality is sufficiently aroused by a performance of a tune might well physically express the emotions communicated to them by joining in the performance, using vocabelising as the most convenient method to hand. This urge to share music making seems to be very widely spread, and is perhaps a universal aspect of human musicality.

"Diddling must have started when the first bairnie was on its mother's knee, and that's a long time ago."

SA 1972/185 Davy Glen Fieldworker: Peter Cooke

2.4 Adults and children.

Whether the tune chosen is lively or soothing, selected with the intent of amusing or lulling the child, the message which seems to be communicated to it is the parent's (or relative or sibling's) loving, caring and protective feelings. The interest and attention of the adult focusing on the child assures him of his importance and place in their affections. He is assured, as well—and this is especially important to a baby, who is totally dependent and unable to function on his own—that his environment is continuing as normal, that he is watched over and protected. As Merriam remarks:

Music's own existence provides a normal and solid activity which assures the members of society that the world continues in its proper path. (11)

This is no less true of an infant than an adult member of the society.

The choice of vocables for a lullaby is particularly appropriate since a tune with a text might, by engaging the child's interest

11. ibid. 225.

in the narration, have the exact opposite of the desired effect; especially considering the notorious reluctance of children to sleep at times considered suitable by their parents. Extra-musical factors play a large part here as well, of course: the warmth of the mother's body and the rocking motion of her arms, if she is cradling the baby, contribute to the soporific effect as well as the repetitive phrases and small range of pitches which often characterise lullabies.

The use of vocables in game songs with children has previously been referred to; a demonstration of such a use was given me by one informant and his family who placed the youngest child on the floor while they joined hands and walked/danced around her in a circle singing their special version of Brochan Lom which included the reiteration of her pet name, so that it itself became a kind of vocable. In this way they reaffirmed both to her and to themselves their solidarity as a family unit, and her special place as the youngest within that unit. By arranging themselves in a circle holding hands they could be said to be symbolising that same family unit, in which each is an individual and at the same time a co-ordinated part; while their placement of the youngest child inside the circle could equally readily be construed as symbolic of placing her within the circle of family protection.

The practice of dandling, or jiggling a child or baby up and down on one's knee is strongly linked in many people's minds with the use of vocables (although of course there are dandling songs with lexical content as well.) Certainly the music accompanying dandling will almost inevitably be vocal as long as one individual is both singing and dandling. The question then arises, does the music elicit the physical response? Although in any given situation one might be able to observe which came first (musical or physical activity) or whether the two began simultaneously, it would be impossible to make any hard and fast rules about it. What seems to be most likely is that the two actions are linked in the mind, so that one activity stimulates the other. Thus the original urge to communicate, to somehow express the emotion inside, might take the form of picking up the baby and cuddling it, or of beginning to diddle

to it. Either way the child's response to the situation would probably be to smile or laugh, and begin to wriggle about; communicating his enjoyment of the activity to the adult, who in turn escalates the event by adding either singing or dandling to the mixture, presuming one ingredient was previously missing. It might be pertinent here to recall Tolstoy's description of art as "a condition of human life," and that his list of works of art in everyday existence began with "a cradle song."

"They werenae diddlin' ti anybody in particular..."

SA 1977/2 Willie Fraser

2.5 Vocabelising when alone: musical expression divorced from communication.

What might prompt an individual to vocabelise when alone? Considering first what might prompt an individual to perform any kind of music when alone, it seems likely that it is a desire to externalise and articulate (either in music, or words and music combined) emotions felt internally. Perhaps this externalisation may clarify a vague mood, or may help to preserve a pleasant one; perhaps musically expressing an emotion may function as a release, an emotional escape valve, so that inner tensions or pressures do not build up beyond a certain point. Depending on his need, then, an individual prompted to musical expression when alone might sing himself one of the long tragic ballads, he might sing a raucous, bawdy song, he might pick up his fiddle, or he might vocabelise a tune. What reasons might lead him to the latter choice?

If he is primarily an instrumental musician, instrumental tunes are probably uppermost in his mind, and if his hands are occupied with a task, the obvious medium for representing the tune externally is to use vocables (or to whistle). But another, possibly more important reason for the selection of vocables is their very lack of specific lexical content which makes them ideal for expressing a mood too indefinite to be put into words; a concept which will be discussed in greater depth later in this chapter.

Actual references to people vocabelising when alone are

rather rare, perhaps because such a musical activity is generally assigned low or insignificant status in the informant's mind; it doesn't appear to him a phenomenon worthy of comment or discussion as opposed to his significant musical contribution. One reference to this use of vocabelising comes from an ex-farm servant, who assigned it the function of self-amusement.

...you would hear them singing...on a spring morning you would hear them oot singing, maybe plowing or harrowing the ground—they would whistle—you could hear them miles away, you know—you'd hear them singing 'n diddling 'n—you know, it was just a source o', for their ain amusement, really, they werenae diddling ti anybody in particular, just for their ain benefit, ti while away the time...

SA 1977/2 Willie Fraser

Of particular interest here is the implied lack of status of a genre which is not concerned with communicating to others: "They werenae diddling ti anybody in particular, just for their ain benefit...": as though this is not as important a reason to diddle as for someone else's benefit.

A similar use of vocabelising was apparently at one time very common in the Hebrides as well:

Och, this was the thing, I mean, it was very common, working outside in a crofting area like that, it was either singing songs or singing light music (12) or pibroch, this was very, very common...all through the highlands, really.

SA 1977/168 Pipe-Major Donald Morrison of South Uist

And a similar comment comes from an early source (also a piper):

"Many a time," says Ross, "have I heard old women, myself, out herding cattle, sing great music (13) in the words of Canntaireachd." (14)

Children, it appears, also vocabelise when alone, though the reasons for it and the functions it serves them may be rather different. Most often children use vocables to amuse themselves,

12. Meaning ceòl beag.

13. Meaning ceòl mór, i.e. pibroch.

14. J. Campbell, Canntaireachd: Articulate Music, Glasgow(1880)34.

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just like the adults mentioned above, but which at the same time function as an experimental tool for learning how to make music. Thus a child's first attempts to reproduce the music of his environment may well be through this medium of vocabelising. My observations of children vocabelising for themselves (which have been largely in public places and extremely sporadic) indicate that especially in the case of younger children they tend to choose one or two vocables and alternate them on a few pitches, which may bear no resemblance to a known tune. Older children may produce a recognisable melody, but the selection of vocables is still extremely limited. The fact remains, however, that many children diddle to amuse themselves, whether or not this leads to any further musical interest or activity as teenagers and adults.

"Come away mistress, and canter for us; the lads
and lassies are wearyin' for a dance..."

Scottish National Dictionary

2.6 Vocabelising for dancers: a musical catalyst.

I am discussing diddling or cantering for people to dance separately from 'performances' of the same genre because in the latter the emphasis is placed primarily on the music itself, and its appeal to a static audience, while in the former the vocabelising is one of several components necessary for a number of people to engage in a combined musical/physical activity, i.e. dance. Thus the reasons for the appearance of vocabelising may differ, as well as the functions it is made to serve. Although it may appear by request in either context, as when an individual is famed and sought out for his skill, in the dance context it is also possible that vocabelising will appear in lieu of an instrument. In the performance context vocabelising is regarded as genre worthy of regard in its own right and is judged for its ability to please and entertain an audience whereas in a dance context vocabelising can be seen as the catalytic agent for the dance activity and is judged as much, if not more, by the criteria, "how good is it to dance to?"

It appears to have been a not uncommon practice for two

people to diddle together at a dance, presumably for greater volume as well as for moral support.

...we were...at this open air dance and somehow or other the melodion went phut, just finished with a wheeze so we—poor fiddler—we went up and started diddling along with the fiddler. He was quite glad o' the help, really, because it, 't was hard work. Well, there isnae much noise attached to a fiddle by itself, ye see. But, oh, he enjoyed it, the fiddler himself...eh, it was good fun.

SA 1977/2 Willie Fraser

Despite the mild self deprecation it is apparent that on this occasion diddling was used to maintain the flow and continuity of the social event rather than let it lapse while another instrument was found. The ability of vocables to replace the instrument functioned here to maintain and even enhance the festive atmosphere, thus fostering a feeling of communal solidarity.

Another occasion where a pair of diddlers sang for dancers was described in a context in Shetland.

...she would go up with some other person who couldn't play but who could sing, 'n they'd have a bit o' fun by singing, 'n the people would dance to them singing.

SA 1977/1 Tom Anderson

The informant mentioned that such performances tended to take place while the fiddlers were resting, so that it seems that the two women were fulfilling much the same function as the men described above, as well as enjoying themselves by basking in the limelight of community attention and (judging by the response described) approval.

Vocabelising for dancers is not always restricted to set dances, of course. Among the travellers it was apparently commonly used for solo (i.e. highland) dances, often for children.

...they seemingly like a bit o' the diddle...they liked ti see young lassies, maybe four or five years old doin' dancin' steps ti the diddle...

SA 1977/5 Duncan Williamson

Here the use of vocabelising is functioning in much the same fashion as with the lullabies and game songs previously described;

communicating the interest and affection of the adult, and here allowing the child to 'show off' and be admired in a socially acceptable fashion.

Vocables are still used by some dance teachers today, often combined with (much abbreviated) instructions interpolated between vocable phrases; it seems likely that this was done traditionally as well. Vocabellising (and sometimes singing of puirt a beul) are used by some Scottish Country Dance groups today in public performances to add variety to a programme and to demonstrate traditional, non-instrumental accompaniment for dancing.

What then is communicated by this music to the dancers in the various contexts listed above? The following hypotheses are based on my observations of modern Scottish Country dancing which has to come to differ rather drastically in style of step and in repertory of dances from the dancing traditionally performed in Scotland. There is every reason to suppose, however, that despite these fairly recent changes in the outward appearance of the dance, the activity itself served the same social functions in both the traditional and modern contexts: entertainment, a physical outlet for tension and excitement, and above all, communication and integration. In any dance context music is the component crucial to the existence of the activity, and can therefore in large part be seen as the agent through which these functions are achieved.

A group of dancers who wish to form a set of figures must co-ordinate the movements of their bodies to accomplish this, and music is the vital ingredient which, by supplying both structural and harmonic clues, becomes the co-ordinating factor. By structural clues I mean simply that the vast majority of dance tunes are designed in eight bar phrases so that the end of an eight bar phrase signals to the dancer the beginning of a new figure. Experienced dancers learn to know intuitively when eight bars have passed, whether or not they label the music in 'bars' in their minds. By harmonic clues (implicit in a solo pipe or fiddle performance, and actually heard with an accordion) I mean, for example, that at the end of the first four bars of an eight bar phrase one will generally find an unresolved dominant feeling implied, which resolves

to the tonic at the end of the eight bar phrase. Although most dancers do not consciously listen to the music as they dance, the fact that they are aware of such clues is proved on the rare occasions when the musicians manage to get four bars out of phase with the dancers (or vice versa, depending on who made the mistake.) When this happens the dancers invariably hesitate, falter, and sometimes stop altogether, unable to find their place and resume the dance. If they were relying on the music only for a metronomic pulse such catastrophies would not occur when the music slipped out of phase with the dance, but only if the pulse itself faltered. Thus the music, whether instrumental or vocable, communicates both structural and harmonic clues to the dancers to allow them to co-ordinate their movements, thereby helping them accomplish a danced representation of community co-operation.

Even more vital to the dancers, though, is the mysterious quality communicated by the musician(s) commonly known as "lift." The term "lift" implies very much what it does in other, non-musical contexts; it refers to the ability of the music to urge the dancers to perform more energetically which, since the direction and duration of horizontal movement along the floor is largely prescribed by the figures of the dance, is usually channelled into increased vertical movement off the floor, and into extra, fancy steps and spins. It seems not unlikely that the term "lift" may also have derived from an emotional lightening and increase in excitement imparted by the music to the dancers and audience, though this is difficult to ascertain.

Dancie Rosie [a well known fiddler for dancers] ...told the young player, "never loose time by trying to get in a note—the dancers won't notice if you leave it out. There are only three things which are important when you are playing for dancing, time, sound, and dird... Dird is the accent given to the notes—that extra something that makes the onlooker's feet tap and gives life and lift to the dancers... (15)

Music with "lift", whether instrumental or vocable, not

15. J.F. & T.M. Flett, Traditional Dancing in Scotland, London (1964)
47-8.

only communicates energy and excitement to the dancers, which emotions are released by them in the physical form of lively movements and loud heuchs, and traditionally (though not today) with vigorous finger snapping,¹⁶ it also increases communication and social interaction among the dancers themselves. This can be seen by the increased eye contact, heuchs responding to or vying with other heuchs, smiles and laughter, elaborate steps from an individual or extra spins (and even improvisatory figures) from a couple, and in general chatter and flirting among the set of dancers. This is the physical evidence of mental harmony among the dancers; a harmony which grows out of common knowledge and experience of performing the dances together, plus familiarity with the musical repertory and the parameters of the social context (i.e. few uncertainties about appropriate behavior, or anxieties about acceptance by the community). This mental harmony is enhanced and amplified by the exhilarating effect of the music and the physical movement of the dance to the point of communicative physical expression, the physical evidence of the integrative processes at work.

" The chanting or singing of the MacCrimmon canntaireachd¹⁷ is sweet and haunting, and reminds one of long past days.

3. The functions of vocabelising for pipers.

Until now I have been considering the functions of vocabelising in relation to context as this appeared to be the most profitable way to set about such an examination. Now, however, in the last two sections of this chapter I will change the approach slightly. In this section I will discuss what vocabelising does for a certain category of musicians, to wit, pipers, without particular regard to the contexts in which they make music since these have already been discussed. In the last section I will deal with the integrative functions of vocabelising, particularly in reference to vocable refrains.

16. ibid. 137-39.

17. Pipe-Major William MacLean, TS in the possession of the School of Scottish Studies, 18-19.

I have already indicated something of the piper's regard for his musical and cultural heritage, as symbolised for him by his music, either piped or sung. It is impossible to analyse what emotions are expressed or communicated by pipers in any context without some further expansion of this idea.

The bagpipe has traditionally been regarded as an instrument capable, in the hands of an expert, of a great range of emotional expression.

But to the true Highlander and to the lover of the pipes every note has its meaning. All the emotions of the human heart—joy or sorrow, love or hate, admiration or scorn, anger or fear—all are within the range of the instrument in the hands of a master. Now he is sarcastic, now he breathes vengeance, then he is despondent, and anon he lifts his audience on the wings of elation. (18)

Another quote states even more specifically the communicative powers which the bagpipe is considered to possess.

Piobaireachd is a class of music second to none as regards its power of moving the Highland heart. It may be compared to wireless telegraphy in that it is the unseen communication between the very inner soul of the Highlander and the outward world. (19)

These are references from fairly modern sources, however older writers also speak of the uses and functions of the bagpipe, the most famous of these being its martial connotations:

Bag-Pipe Musick, well Executed, has a much more Martial Effect than Horn or Trumpets. Their Music and Tone Seem to have a much more pacifick quality, being neither so stimulating nor Furious as the Warlike Compositions of the Bagpiper Besides the Prodigious Loudness of it in a Field, Especially when 3 or 4 are joined [?] and executed by good Hands had a glorious Effect before an approaching enemy. (20)

Angus MacKay covers the ground more thoroughly, referring both to caòl mór and to caòl beag.

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18. C.A. Malcolm, The Piper in Peace and War, London (1927)41.
 19. J.P. Grant, Piobaireachd: Its Origin and Construction, Edinburgh, (1915)18.
 20. J. MacDonald, A Compleat Theory of the Scots Highland Bagpipe, Inverness (1803) This quote was taken from p.22 of his manuscript, in the possession of the Scottish National Library.

The sound of the Highland Pipe has stimulated to heroism, by the sonorous notes of the loud piobaireachd; and by its soft and wailing strains it has subdued the rougher feelings of our natures, it has melted the lion-hearts of sorrowing clansmen as they bore the body of their chief to the resting place of his fathers, or brought back to remembrance the virtues and misfortunes of departed friends. Its sprightly tones have enhanced the happiness of the Highlander at the festive board or social fireside, and beguiled the tedious hours of winter's solitude. Its notes solace the shepherd on the lonely heath, and charm the guileless maid in the occupations of a pastoral life. When assembled on the green, the Highland youth, forgetting the toils of the day, meet from distant hills and straths and mix in the sprightly and exhilarating dance, with an ecstasy which to strangers is surprising. (21).

After his visit to the Hebrides in 1772 Thomas Pennant comprised the following list of emotions and reactions which the bagpipe supposedly could produce, presumably based on the current folk evaluation of the instrument at that time and in the fairly recent past.

The bagpipe has been a favorite instrument with the Scots and has two varieties: the one with the short pipes, played on with the fingers; the other with long pipes and sounded with the mouth: this is the loudest and most ear-piercing of all music, is the genuine highland pipe, and suited well the warlike genius of the people, roused their courage to battle, alarmed them when secure, and collected them when scattered; soothed them during their long and painful marches, and in times of peace kept up the memory of the gallantry of their ancestors, by tunes composed after signal victories; and too often kept up the spirit of revenge, by airs expressive of defeats and massacres from rival clans. (22)

It is clear from these illustrations that such music did not function purely as entertainment, but rather was acclaimed for its evocative powers, its ability to excite or soothe emotion. Ceòl mòr was the genre in question here, rather than ceòl beag, which was traditionally associated with dancing and games with children, i.e. with contexts where entertainment was the primary function apparent to the folk evaluation. Perhaps it is for that reason that ceòl beag was apparently accorded much lower status by the old

21. Angus MacKay, A Collection of Ancient Piobaireachd..., Aberdeen, (1838)15.

22. T. Pennant, A Tour in Scotland & A Voyage to the Hebrides, London, (1776)348.

masters of pibroch:

...strathspeys and quicksteps they looked on as inferior music, and all their attention was devoted to pibrochs. (23)

I have already discussed at some length how traditional pipers consider canntaireachd to be absolutely indispensable to the traditional interpretation of pibroch, i.e. an interpretation capable of expressing emotions such as those cited above. This concept is reflected in numerous quotes in the preceding portions of this work, where pipers refer to canntaireachd; "keeping the pibroch pure," "giving you the song," and "bringing the tune out." According to this concept one must learn the tunes through this "pure" enculturative medium in order to achieve the desired musical result: "tunes must be taught orally to meaning anything," "since pibroch was put into staff notation something's lost, drifted, the rot came in," "the canntaireachd was the real foundation of the pibroch, it wasn't the book," "...nothing gets across to you the way singing can," "unless it's sung it has no music in it, really." It is the distinct lack of such expression which traditional pipers complain of in the playing of musicians who have learned pibroch from staff notation, i.e. have learned without benefit of the "lights and shades" and subtleties of "pointing", and without benefit of knowledge of the background of the genre, the wealth of legend and oral history so often communicated along with the canntaireachd.

How is it then that pibroch (either piped or sung) can communicate such a wealth and range of emotions to (initiated and appreciative) listeners? There seem to be two principle reasons: the first is because of a predisposition on the part of a listener to believe that music can communicate emotion; and the second, that the music refers to the common knowledge of the huge body of piping legend and oral history with which traditional pipers are familiar. In reference to the first point, Leonard Meyer points out:

23. W.L. Manson, The Highland Bagpipe, Paisley (1901)268.

The listener brings to the act of perception definite beliefs in the affective power of music. Even before the first sound is heard, these beliefs activate dispositions to respond in an emotional way. (24)

Thus during its years of use, ceol mór acquired the reputation—probably not without good reason—of being able to communicate and excite emotion. Once acquired, this reputation was escalated to a pitch in piping legends where the pipes were said to "speak" to an (initiated) listener. While few if any pipers believe this today, the less exaggerated version of the idea still remains, predisposing pipers and those familiar with the genre to "respond in an emotional way." In disposing of this myth of the pipe's ability to speak, Manson also refers to the first point mentioned above, the stimulation of emotion in the listener by extra-musical reference to some part of the body of piping legend.

Many of the pibrochs were composed without premeditation, under the influence of exuberant joy or the wildest sorrow or despair. (25) Consequently, when under favorable circumstances they were again played by master hands, they roused up old memories, and did really, though not literally, speak to the listeners. (26)

In this particular case the author seems to be referring to personal memories; that is, the listeners were stimulated to remember an occurrence which happened either to them or during their lifetime and with which they were personally familiar. With the passage of time this occasion or incident celebrated in the pibroch would be absorbed into the larger body of piping legend and history. Accounts of the incident would be widely disseminated along with the music itself so that (in an oral tradition) the music and its composition story become linked in the musician's and the audience's

24. Leonard Meyer, Emotion and Meaning in Music, Chicago (1956) 11

25. It is difficult if not impossible to ascertain whether pibrochs were ever actually composed under conditions of such extreme emotional stress; it seems more likely that only a theme or idea was improvised, which was later recollected and expanded. But the point is that many pipers believe in this inspirational theory of composition, so that the concept is itself a reoccurring theme in the body of piping lore.

26. Manson, op. cit. 89

minds, the one stimulates the thought of the thought or presence of the other in the mind. Without prior knowledge of the story linked to a given pibroch it is doubtful if a listener would experience any of the emotions claimed by pipers to be apparent to them in the music. For instance, Manson describes the communicative intention of one composer:

Most of the old Highland airs were composed on particular occasions, or for the purpose of conveying particular feelings. One, for instance, is designed to express the succession of emotions in the mind of an Ardnamurchan crofter while tilling his soil in an unpropitious season and hesitating whether to emigrate or attempt to pay his landlord the triple rent a rival has offered. (27)

It seems unlikely the point of incredulity that an un-enlightened listener could have divined this 'succession of emotions' without prior knowledge of the composition story, i.e. without access to the body of piping legend and history mentioned above. Thus when Boswell claims that:

The very highland names, or the sound of the bagpipe will stir my blood, and fill me with a mixture of melancholy and respect for courage...; in short, with a crowd of sensations with which sober rationality has nothing to do. (28)

—he is in fact referring to much the same process in which the aural stimulus of the music 'rouses up old memories' which the music has come to represent or symbolise for him. In the case of pipers, the emotional states claimed to be communicated and experienced are rather more specific, but this^{is} probably due in large part to a presumed knowledge of the emotions thought to have been experienced by the composer which provoked or stimulated the creation of a particular piece of music. Meyer comments that:

...emotional states are much more subtle and varied than the few crude and standardized words which we use to denote them. (29)

27. ibid. 90

28. J. Boswell, A Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides (1773), Oxford (1924), the entry on Wednesday, September the 1st.

29. L. Meyer, op. cit. 8

It seems likely that the blend of feelings which their traditional concept of 'music appreciation' predisposes pipers to feel is a complex and varying mixture, comprising both inherent emotions, directly stimulated by the music, as well as referential emotions, that is emotions stimulated by extra-musical reference to specific incidents in piping-legend. To a certain extent this blend of emotions is probably found in any performer or listener of any genre of music, but among traditional pipers, as I have tried to demonstrate, these referential emotions are peculiarly important, so that a knowledge of piping legend and oral history is conceptualised as an indispensable corollary of the ability to express and communicate emotion in pibroch, whether in its piped or vocable form.

Everyone who was at the wedding dancing neatly,
setting in the double reel and shouting, "Hurray,
praise the deed, as long as the pipes and the floor
last us!" (30)

4. Vocabelising as an integrative factor.

Is it possible to consider the genre of vocabelising to be an integrative factor in a musical environment? Perhaps its very prevalence indicates that this is the case. In respect to improvisatory vocabelising, if successful communication leads to integration within a group or between individuals, then vocabelising can be said to serve such a purpose among musicians and musically minded people since, as I have stressed throughout, it enables them to communicate about music in music. It allows people to convey both technical information about aspects of styles, as well as providing a peculiarly appropriate medium for enhancing the expression and communication of moods and emotions which are possibly too abstract or indefinable to be conveyed in words.

In respect to the vocables found in song refrains, the quote from the ethnomusicologist Mantle Hood is again particularly appropriate:

30. John MacCodrum, "Macaskill's Wedding", The Songs of John MacCodrum, translated by W. Matheson, Scottish Gaelic Texts Society (1938).

It is probably impossible to convey to someone who has never been a performer the extent to which making music together or moving together in dance is a mode of discourse, a mode of communication. (31)

Perhaps the most obviously integrative feature of a vocable chorus (which it shares with a lexical refrain) is that it provides an opportunity for the audience to join in, to share in the musical discourse described above. As an earlier writer commented of the refrains (specifically the refrains in waulking songs) of Gaelic song:

This is a practice both agreeable and useful, it alleviates labour, and preserves regularity and uniformity of application... Perhaps no songs can be more happily constructed as labouring songs than the Highland luineags. Every person may join in them, and no one has occasion to sing long without having an interval or breathing time. (32)

Another early writer comments on what he thought was the musical affect produced in the singers who participated in the vocable refrain:

They accompany in the Highlands every action, which can be done in equal time, with an appropriate strain, which has, they say, not much meaning, but its effects are regularity and cheerfulness. (33)

Although Dr. Johnson was speaking in fact of Gaelic music, his description would nowadays better fit the vocable refrains of Lowland Scots songs, and perhaps those Gaelic refrains which most resembled them (such as those found in puirt a beul) for the performers of Gaelic work songs, particularly the waulking songs, sing the refrains with a kind of musical passion or intensity unusual or unknown in the performance of vocable refrains in Scots songs. Perhaps this arises in part from the shared physical as well as musical experience: to Mantle Hood's description of shared music and shared dance as discourse we might add shared musical/physical activity as another dimension of non-verbal communication. And, as I have mentioned earlier, successful communication can hardly help but be integrative. - - - - -

31. Mantle Hood, op. cit.

32. P. MacDonald, A Collection of Highland Vocal Airs, Edinburgh (1750) 10.

33. Dr. Samuel Johnson, op. cit. 56.

CHAPTER VI: Summary and Conclusions

1. Tangible Differences: how does the medium of vocabelising differ from any other?

In this section I have listed a number of ways in which vocabelising differs from other mediums of presenting Scottish traditional music to highlight its particular strengths (and thus perhaps its reasons for development), and to point out the functions which it is uniquely equipped to serve. Although some of the ideas have already been mentioned or discussed, a recapitulation should be useful to clarify and consolidate the points from which I wish to draw conclusions. With one exception, the differences mentioned are all audible (the exception being a visual difference); the criteria for selection was that the difference should be tangible to one of the senses.

1.1 The ability of vocabelising to clarify musical structure and phrasing.

The ways in which vocabelising is peculiarly adept at presenting musical structure and clarifying the phrasing within it have been discussed at length in Chapter II: 2.1 so I will review them only briefly here. The selection of consonants available to the performer allows him great variety of attack (though the options for release are more limited) which he may combine or alternate with dynamic and durational methods of accenting or de-emphasising a note. The association of certain vowels with stressed or unstressed positions and with duration highlights rhythmic patterns, while the association of whole vocable phrases with cadences or musical phrases clarifies not only the overall musical structure but often the individual performer's conception of that structure and the phrasing he prefers within it. Obviously none of these particular options are open to musicians performing on instruments, which are incapable of producing speech sounds. The converse is, of course true: instruments can produce sounds of which the human voice is incapable. But the point in question remains undisputed; the speech sounds associated with the genre of vocabelising provide a musical tool or aid unique to the genre.

1.2 Increased freedom of body gesture.

Another point covered in Chapter II: 2.1 is an individual's increased freedom of body movement or gesture when vocabelising. A performer singing a song is of course equally free to move about (a freedom which is utilised in work songs), but diddling and canntaireachd run parallel to instrumental traditions, so it is with these that the comparison is naturally made. Even an instrumentalist's physical performance is not entirely constrained, as can be seen in the common habit of foot tapping or stamping, and the tendency of players to sway their bodies or upper bodies while performing. But in the contexts where vocabelising is instrumentally linked the performer often takes advantage of the lack of an instrument to wave his arms (for example, during a lesson, to facilitate communication of a point), dance wooden puppets (to entertain children) or to go about his daily chores; all of which would be difficult if not impossible were he holding and playing an instrument.

1.3 Pipe vocabelising: a brief summary.

Apart from the characteristics listed above in section 1.1 vocabelising has a unique importance for pipers because it enables them to overcome difficulties of musical communication created by the structure of the bagpipe itself. By singing a tune, a piper can use dynamic and vocable contrasts as well as tiny pauses to emphasise and clarify the overall structure of a piece and the phrasing within it. This helps to avoid or explain any confusions arising from the continuous stream of sound at an unalterable dynamic level characteristic of the bagpipe, and is of particular importance in a genre like pibroch which is apparently not regulated by a steady pulse (in which case the accents or regularly stressed beats could be predicted.) By compressing complex chains of grace notes into single vocables pipers have devised an extremely useful system of musical shorthand which enables them to highlight the placement of grace notes and ornaments in the melody, and which, by virtue of its complicated associative nature, has acquired special status both among pipers and some non-piping musicians.

1.4 The dimension of variety.

Each method of presenting a piece from the traditional repertory offers its own unique possibilities and has its own identifying characteristics, largely controlled by the physical structure of the instrument in question and the behavior necessary to produce sound from it. Thus bowing technique and slurs in fiddling, elaborate ornaments and frequent grace notes in piping, and harmonic accompaniment in accordion playing characterise the rendition of a tune on each of these instruments. Vocables present a new range of musical options for the performer to experiment with, thus adding a new and unique dimension of variety to a performance of a tune. Although it seems unlikely that the individuals performing within the genre are consciously aware of this, it certainly seems to be the case that in diddling, and in the less esoteric (and more performance-oriented) forms of pipe-vocabelising the "right diddle" (i.e. what is considered a euphonious combination of vocables which enhances the music) is valued, and gives pleasure and satisfaction to both performer and audience. It seems most likely that they are intuitively appreciating some of the variety of options (for example, internal rhyme) which are unique to vocable performances.

1.5 The flexible timbre of the human voice.

This next point is pertinent to all forms of vocabelising in any context, but is particularly relevant and noticeable in any of the performance contexts mentioned. This is, that the human voice has a timbre unlike any of the traditional Scottish instruments, and more importantly, a timbre far more flexible than an instrument. Perhaps the most important aspect of this point is that the emotion felt by a person while singing can actually change or affect the quality or timbre of his voice. Feeling an urge to laugh, or less specifically, simply becoming excited will change the timbre of the performer's voice. While emotion felt by an instrumental performer undoubtedly has an effect on his interpretation or rendition of a piece, it does not affect the actual timbre of the instrument as it can do the human voice. Thus singers achieve an immediacy of emotional

expression different from any instrument.

This mouth music for dancing is characteristic and exhilarating in the extreme... I can quite believe, as old people here [Eriskay] have assured me, that this voice music had a passionate quality exceeding that of any dance music produced by instruments. (1)

The functions stressed in the preceding chapter were those of expression and communication. The point just introduced above, the ability of the human voice to portray and communicate the internal feelings of the performer, is one of two ways in which vocables perform this function in a fashion peculiar to themselves. (The second way is discussed below in section 1.5). In a song, the emotion in question is usually made explicit by the words and/or circumstances of the story, and is often reflected in the music itself, and in the performer's interpretation (i.e. his choice of tempo, use of rubato, etc.) In an instrumental tune, a much less specific (though not necessarily less intense) emotion or mood can be expressed in the music alone, as well as enhanced by the performer's interpretation (and of course by the contextual circumstances and the predisposition toward emotional response on the part of the listeners.) In vocabelising, however, the methods of both song and instrumental renditions are combined: the non-specific mood of the instrumental tune can be heightened and possibly made more explicit by the fact that emotion felt (or possibly imitated) by the performer such as light heartedness, excitement or nostalgia, can to some extent be made apparent in his voice.

The heightened emotional effect achieved by use of the human voice is apparently of particular importance in pipers' concept of pibroch's relationship with its vocable counterpart, canntaireachd. Various quotes from traditional pipers have already indicated their belief that canntaireachd is the only way to express "the extra feeling," or "the song" to a pupil who has grasped only the mechanics of the piece.

1. Marjory Kennedy-Fraser, Songs of the Hebrides I-III, (1909)xx-xxi.

1.6 The suitability of a non-lexical medium for the communication of musical feeling.

The second way in which vocables are an ideal medium for expressing and communicating emotion is by their very lack of specific lexical content. Emotions which are too indeterminate or imprecise to be confined to or articulated in words (or which in our culture are not normally articulated but expressed in art form) can be conveyed vocably, aided by the expressive potential of the human voice. According to Kenney-Fraser (not an invariably reliable source) musicians in the Outer Hebrides use vocables for exactly this reason.

...it is precisely because the Isles folk are so musical that they do not want definite literal sense to unduly deaden the more high emotional effect of pure sound... (2)

Speaking in more restrained terms, C.M. Bowra comments on very similar reasons for using non-lexical vocables in other parts of the world.

...to a people conscious of musical effect they [non-lexical vocables] may even seem more appropriate in so far as they interpret a general temper, but do not make it too particular. (3)

As discussed in Chapter III: 3.1.1 their lack of semantic content also makes vocables particularly useful for insertion in song texts and refrains, where by juxtaposition salacious content can be quite explicitly implied while at the same time no cultural verbal tabus are violated.

2. Conclusion.

My research into non-lexical vocables in Scotland inevitably became a study of Scottish traditional music itself because a style of vocabelising exists for each aspect of the genre of Scottish traditional music. Ballad and song refrain, and the extended choruses

2. ibid. xxi

3. C.M. Bowra, Primitive Song, London (1962)59.

of Gaelic work songs contain "jelled" or fixed vocables. Pipers use the prescribed syllables of manuscript canntaireachd as well as their own idiosyncratic sounds for singing pipe music. Other instrumental musicians, singing a common repertory, use vocables that portray stylistic features which characterise their instrumental renditions. Non-instrumental musicians and musicians who specialise in vocabelising sing much the same repertory, but in different contexts for different reasons so that the resulting musical product is varied yet again. Examination of these genres acquaints the researcher with all the contexts in which traditional music was and is still to be found: at open air markets and barn dances; in the bothy; at feeing fairs and on market days; at home by the fireside during a ceilidh or a piping lesson; out working in the fields or around the croft; during a waulking; around a traveller campfire; at special diddling competitions; and more recently, at folk festivals and in folk clubs.

My research has demonstrated that vocabelising is anything but a random arrangement of sounds randomly selected from the individual's language. Rather, each kind of vocabelising is carefully if unconsciously designed to serve the needs of the user: thus clarity of communication is paramount for pipers, ease and interest of performance paramount for those who wish to entertain or sing for dancers, while vocable refrains are less dense and complex so that they can provide an opportunity for communal music sharing. Apart from the purely internal or purely vocable 'rules' guiding the selection and arrangement of vocables, all the types of vocabelising mentioned above are also affected to some degree by their relationship to purely musical features as well, namely pitch, stress, tempo, note duration, rhythm, melodic contour and position in the musical phrase. Analytic evaluation has provided evidence of the existence of these relationships, although the great majority of users of vocabelising are totally unaware of their existence or effect upon the resulting musical product. As mentioned earlier in this work, questioning of informants usually provokes one of two responses: from diddlers one hears that the sounds they produce are random, that they simply sing

whatever comes into their heads, while from pipers one often hears that the vocables are the same as the sounds which the chanter makes. While neither statement appears to be factually true, both reflect the concepts held by the informant about the nature and purpose of their kind of vocabelising. The diddler's statement reflects the idea that his is a fairly casual and in many cases lightly valued dimension of his musicality. The piper's statement reflects the idea that the major purpose of canntaireachd is to communicate pipe music verbally/vocally, and while in fact this is done primarily by association of musical and speech sound, many pipers conceive of it being done onomatopoeistically, i.e. by speech sound imitating musical sound. Investigations in this avenue of my research have, I feel, demonstrated the necessity for analytic evaluation to be used both in examining the musical product and in conjunction with or in evaluation of the numerous indigenous evaluations received about the musical product.

In conclusion, I would like to stress the most characteristic and possibly unique feature of vocabelising: flexibility. This thesis has demonstrated vocabelising to be a musical phenomenon capable of great variation in style, use, function and, under that heading, meaning. It can portray various instruments and instrumental styles as well as non-instrumental performances; its uses can vary from providing an accompaniment to dancing to lulling a child to sleep; its functions from providing a medium in which to gain the pleasure of purely individual musical expression to providing the opportunity to achieve the integrative effect of communal singing of vocable refrains; while its meaning may vary from indicating quite specific chains of grace notes in canntaireachd to implying bawdry in song texts or refrains to expressing amorphous, purely musical feeling in waulking songs and other types of vocabelising. Thus in Scotland vocabelising can be said to be a "common denominator" among traditional musicians. My hypothesis is that there is no other musical phenomenon which ties together so many branches of a body of traditional music, or which can be adapted to serve such a number of uses and functions, to reflect such a variety of styles or convey such a range of meanings. This flexibility is surely one of the most

unusual and important aspects of vocabelising, for my study of the adaptations and molding processes imposed by each musician on the largely common repertory has yielded information not only about audible differences of style and technique, but has also enabled me to venture towards the mistier realm of musical concept and communication, the functions of music in society and its contribution to the human condition.

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APPENDIX 1: Recordings of Vocabelising examined (listed alphabetically by performer.)

Ainslie, Jock
SA 1957/19/A4 Montgomerie's Rant
B6 a reel*

Anderson, Tom
SA 1970/77/A18 The Fairy Reel (or Lennie)
SA 1977/1/A1 Faroe Rum/ Tulchan Lodge/ Mrs. MacLeod of
 Raasay*
A7 Bonnie Lass o' Bon Accord*/ High Road to Linton
B1 Maggie's reel (his own composition)
B2 Faroe Rum/ The Old Wheel/ Devil in the Kitchen*
B3 Shetland tune/ Ahent the Decks o' Voe
B4 Tulchan Lodge

Auld, Charles
SA 1964/151/A4 Reels accompanied by drumming with sticks.

Bell, Annie
SA 1971/239/A5 Wee Willie Winkie/ Brochan Lom

Boyd, Alasdair
SA 1970/6-7 On the Road to Ballatyne*/ MacLeod of Raasay's
 Salute*/ Cholla nan Run/ The Glen is Mine/
 several pibroch songs and conversation.

Brady, David
SA 1971/239/A10 march/ The Girl I Left Behind Me

Brown, Bessie
SA 1977/162/A5 The Pibroch o' Donald Dubh
A6a. Mrs. Scott Skinner
A6b. The Music o' Spey
A7a. Devil in the Kitchen*
A7b. The Reel o' Tulloch*
B1a. Brochan Lom*
B1b. The Braes o' Mar
B4a. Mrs. MacLeod*/ Bonnie Lass o' Bon Accord*/
 Glendaruel Highlanders/ Leaving Port Askaig
B8 Highland Lennie/ The Hawk that Swoops on High
B11 Geordie's Wedding Day/ The Battle is Over Now/
 Green Hills of Tyrol/ Terribus
B13 John MacFadgin

Brown, Pipe-Major Robert
SA 1960/262 John MacDonald of Inverness' teaching methods
 demonstrated in canntaireachd*, also I Got a

The symbol (*) indicates that I have transcribed the performance.

Brown, Pipe-Major Robert cont'd:

	Kiss of the King's Hand/ Glengarry's March/ Lament for the Union*
SA 1976/264	Lament for the Union*/ Menzies Salute
SA 1976/265	McIntosh's Lament/ The Battle of Waternish/ Lament for Donald MacKenzie

Burke, Duncan

SA 1955/63/829 canntaireachd

Campbell, Angus

SA 1970/309/A4 McIntosh's Lament* (exx. of 2 different ways of
playing in canntaireachd, followed by same on
practice chanter.)

Campbell, J.C.M.

SA 1964/?/3 Harry's Hogmanay

Christie, David

SA 1971/239/A6 Devil in the Kitchen/High Road to Linton

Clark, Annie

SA 1970/271/A7 Meg Merrilies*(performed while dandling her
grandchild).

Dagg, Maisie

SA 1973/27/A1 Hi-mi-ump-ti

Eaglesham, Bobby

SA 1971/239/B3 name not given

Ferguson, Dougie

SA 1976/265 canntaireachd of a retreat march

Findlater, Ethel

SA 1969/53/A4 Bonnie Nellie Gordon* (as for the Bride's Reel)

Fraser, Willie

SA 1956/50/B7	Conumdrums/ Lass o' Levenpark (with fiddle)
B10	High Road to Linton/ Mrs. MacLeod*
SA 1970/184/A5	Brochan Lom* /Mrs. MacLeod*
SA 1971/33/A7	The Smith's a Gallant Fireman
A8	The Mason's Apron
SA 1971/239/A4	The Reel o' Stumpie/ a reel
SA 1977/31/5	strathspey and reel
6	Brochan Lom/ Mrs. MacLeod*
SA 1977/2/A1	The Smith 's a Gallant Fireman/Jenny Dang the Weaver
A5 &	Mrs. MacLeod*
B1	
B3	Bonnie Lass o' Bon Accord*
B4	The East Neuk o' Fife*/ The Old Bog Hole/ The Reel o' Stumpie/ The Mason's Apron

Garven, Eddie		
SA 1963/27/B22	Brochan Lom (with his sisters)	
Glen, Davy		
SA 1971/239/A9	Meetin' o' the Waters/ Bonnie Lass o' Bon	
	Accord/ Muckin' o' Geordie's Byre/ The Girl	
	I Left Behind Me	
SA 1971/240/A9	march/ waltz/Scotland the Brave	
SA 1972/185/A5	reel/ Dovecote Park*/ strathspey	
Grant, William		
SA 1952/31/B10	Atholl and Breadalbane Highlanders*/ Orange	
	and Blue (Brochan Lom)	
Gray, William		
SA 1961/24-25	Salute to Ben Nevis/informant's theories on	
	the religious nature of "shanntaireachd".	
Halcro, J.G.		
SA 1971/266/B8	Earl of Mansfield's March*/Atholl Highlander's	
	Farewell	
Henderson, Hamish		
SA 1951/24/A5	The Bloody Field of Flanders/The Reel of	
	Tulloch*	
	A5b. brief explanation of <u>canntaireachd</u> .	
	B7 Gille Calum	
SA 1953/192/2	Reel of Tulloch	
Henderson, Willie		
SA 1970/266/A9	The Bothy Burn* (Da Foula Reel)	
Higgins, Bella		
SA 1955/150/B8	The Drunken Piper*/The Shepherd's Crook	
SA 1955/152/B14	Mrs. MacLeod	
Higgins, Donald		
SA 1962/26/A2	The Reel of Tulloch*	
Higgins, Isaac		
SA 1953/195/A8	Lovely Ann	
SA 1953/197/A2	two strathspeys/The Reel of Tulloch*	
SA 1954/41/B15	Lovely Ann	
SA 1954/90/A3	"diddling"	
B3	Donald MacLean (performed by 'small Isaac, who	
	is seven or eight years old.)	
B4	jigs	
B5	march and hornpipe	
Hutchison, Jeannie		
SA 1972/101/A13	tune for the Bride's Reel	

Hutchison, Robin		
SA 1953/246/87		strathspey/ Reel of Tulloch
B8		jigs
SA 1953/194/84		"diddling"
Johnston, Calum		
SA 1953/253		Gille Chrìosd*
SA 1964/145/A1		Lament for the Viscount of Dundee
A3		"canntaireachd"
A4		" " "
SA 1964/146/A4		" " "
B1		" " "
SA 1965/48/A5b.		port a beul with fragments of gaelic diddling
SA 1965/63/A7-		pibroch <u>canntaireachd</u>
10		
Johnston, Katie		
SA 1975/99/B13		?
SA 1977/143/A2a		strathspey with bawdy fragments interspersed.
A2b		jig, which turns into a strathspey
A3		Brochan Lom (as jig & strathspey, with Betsy White & Duncan Williamson)
A4		"...one the Johnstons cantered.." (a reel sung slowly)
A7		jig with Betsy White*
Lindsay, Mary Ann		
SA 1976/77/A2		MacDonald's Farewell to Vatersay
A3		The Hills o' South Uist
A4a		strathspey
A4b		strathspeys for the Highland schottische*
B4a		song in vocables
B4b		The Black Bear
B4c		fragment of a reel
B4d		Leaving Loch Askaig
B4e		Mary MacKay's Birthday
B5		tune in vocable learned from her granny*
Laurenson, James		
SA 1959/87/B4		Hjogarvild
SA 1970/246/3		Winyadepla (a trowie or fairy tune)
SA 1972/102/4		For the Laddie Leuched
SA 1972/105/A1		the "treetle-daddle tune" (a trowie tune)
SA 1973/62/B1		The Wind Blew the Bonnie Lassie's Plaidie Awa'
B4		I Wouldna Court a Married Man
SA 1975/102/6		My Son Johnny
MacBeath, Jimmy		
SA 1952/30/A3		The Smith 's a Gallant Fireman
A7		Green Grow the Rashes-o
SA 1954/34/B18		As I Came Doon by Cleth
MacColl, Donald		
SA 1967/10/A2		march* and strathspey (his own composition)
B7		A2 repeated

MacCormack, Barnie
SA 1971/239/B2 The Silver Cushie

MacCormack, Capt. Dugald
SA 1953/70/B4 The Sorrows of Duncan*
B5 "a port"
B6 Tha an Oidche
B7 Cadil Gu Lo

MacCormick, Patrick
SA 1960/51/B4 Fairy song
B8 reel*

MacDonald, Archie
SA 1953/33/B4 Portree Men/Devil in the Kitchen*/James
Stewart Murray

MacDonald, Donald Allen
SA 1963/?/B8 a description of canntaireachd, "rather
confused".

MacDonald, John
SA 1971/207/A2 Bonnie Oslo
A3 Devil in the Kitchen*/Reel of Tulloch
A4 Rigs of Kildare

MacDonald, Hugh
SA 1970/320/A2 canntaireachd info./War or Peace/pipe
ornaments in canntaireachd.

MacDonald, Neil Angus
SA 1976/25/B2 The Big Spree
SA 1976/26/A2 several tunes in canntaireachd
A6 Lament for Ronald MacDonald of Morar
B2 The Fingerlock

MacGillivray, Ian
SA 1971/239/A11 Lark in the Morning

MacGregor, Henry
SA 1955/64/A3 High Road to Linton/?/?/Haughs o' Cromdale
(as a march and as a reel)
B2 Braes o' Balquidder/Devil in the Kitchen/
Inverness Gathering/Hens March o'er the Midden
B7 Lochaber no More
SA 1955/65/A1 canntaireachd of a pibroch

MacIntyre, Donald
SA 1956/36/A9 Maol Dunn

MacKay, Margaret (9 years old)
SA 1957/47 see transcript of conversation in Appendix 3.

MacKenzie, D.A.
SA 1955/128/B6 information about canntaireachd

MacLean, James
SA 1953/171/A1 The Drunken Piper*

MacLean, Pipe-Major William
SA 1953/4/A2 discussion of taorluath movements with cann-
taireachd illustrations
B6 Cronan na Caillich*
B7 canntaireachd of ceol beag: Cailleach a
Mhuilleir
SA 1953/5/ How canntaireachd is used in teaching/a scale
sung in canntaireachd/fragment of War or Peace/
fragment of MacLeod's Salute
SA 1953/6 see also for relevant information.

MacLeod, Donald
SA 1976/264 Lament for the Union*

MacPhee, Donald
SA 1953/32 reel (very poorly recorded)

MacPherson, Angus
SA 1952/119-120 info. on the use of canntaireachd for teaching.*

MacPherson, Calum
SA 1958/102/A1 Squinting Patrick
A2 In Praise of Mary
A3 Pipe ornaments in canntaireachd with examples
from The Bells of Perth.
A4 My King has Landed in Moidart
A5 The King's Taxes
B6 The Old Woman's Lullaby*

MacShannon, A.
SA 1975/74/A14 (part of) The Muckin' o' Geordies Byre

MacVicar, Neil
SA 1970/316 a dandling song (gaelic, and information
about the function of same. Also puirt a beul.

Mathieson, Willie
SA 1952/8/B16 anecdote with diddling

Morrison, Pipe-Major Donald
SA 1976/265 canntaireachd of a tune similar to a gaelic
song.
SA 1977/168/A1 MacLeod of Raasay's Salute
A10 strathspey
B2 canntaireachd exx. from The Blue Ribbon
B3 " " " " The Lament for Donald
Dugal MacKay

Pipe-Major Donald Morrison cont'd:

SA 1977/168/B5a Balmoral Highlanders
b Reel of Tulloch*
c Glendaruel Highlanders*

Morrison, Elsie

SA 1956/52/B28 Braes o' Mar
B31 Mrs. MacLeod

Morrison, Mary

SA 1951/11/B2	The 79th's Farewell to Gibraltar/Reel of Tulloch/ Charles Graham
B6	Gordon Highlanders/Mrs. MacLeod*/Highland Wedding/Paddy's Leather Breeches
SA 1965/12/A6	"canntaireachd"/Seann Triubhas/Conas an Drann-dain/Bec Liath nan Gothas/jig
B6	Tarbh Mhic Eoin/Lady of Glenorchy/also <u>puirt</u> & waulking songs.
SA 1965/14/A5	Creag an Daraich
SA 1965/48/A2	Conas an Dreanndain/ "canntaireachd"
SA 1966/17/B1-	"canntaireachd" and puirt and dandling songs.
B5	
SA 1967/72/A4	"canntaireachd"
SA 1970/164/A3	'S a Chula mo Ruin
A4	two marches

Morrison, Penny

SA 1970/128/A3 dance tunes (for dancers actually performing).

Moss, George

SA 1971/284-5/A6 The Little Spree
A12 The Big Spree
SA 1972/68-70 ? (tapes misplaced?)
SA 1972/288-9 Canntaireachd examples from Catherine's Lament
as well as relevant info. and practical
demonstrations of teaching with canntaireachd.

Murray, G.

SA 1971/203 Brochan Lom

Nicol, Pipe-Major Robert

SA 1972/246 Information about canntaireachd*/Lament for the
Only Son/The Desparate Battle/Donall Dugal
MacKay/Lament for the Children

SA 1976/264 Lament for the 'Union/The Unjust Incarceration/
Marion's Wailing*/My King has Landed/MacCrimmon's
Sweetheart

SA 1976/265 canntaireachd: of a march/strathspey & reel/
The Braes o' Castlegrant/taorluath movements
in canntaireachd/Maggie Cameron

SA 1977/164-5/A6 Canntaireachd exx. from Ronald MacKenzie
A8 " " from Lament for Donald Dugal MacKay
A11 exx. of taorluath variations from " " ".

Pipe-Major Robert Nicol cont'd:

SA 1977/164-5/A14 examples from Glen Arthur

B3 Mrs. MacLeod*/Devil in the Kitchen*/Brochan
Lam/Reel of Tulloch*

B13 Canntaireachd of MacLeod of Raasay's Salute

Nicolson, James

SA 1968/311/B6 Cailleach Liath Ratharsaidh/ Calum Crubach*/
port/waulking songs

Nicolson, Kate

SA 1970/128/A2 gaelic diddling and port a beul/diddling for
dancers after a waulking.

Poleson, Andrew

SA 1972/196/A10 The Bold Ramilly
A11 a sea song "lilted", also shivers.

SA 1977/104/3 Walkin' ower da River

5 Da Oyster*

7 Ladie's Breast Knots

9 Nanny and Betty

11 Da Black and da Brown

16 Da Orange Flower

17 Ladie's Breast Knots

19 Greig's Pipes

21 Da Bonnie Isle of Whalsay

SA 1977/105/4 Gold for the Bonnie Lassies

5 nameless reel

8 The Bonnie Lass of Bekkahill

11 nameless reel

SA 1977/106/12 Crippled Kitty

13 Morris Rant

19 O'er the Highland Hills

20 Da Trip or Sleep Sound in da Morning

22 nameless reel

SA 1977/107/1 Grigor's Ghost

2 Jimmy and Nancy

5b Muckle a Skerry in Three

13b Shakkin Trews (The Shetland 'Reel of Tulloch')

15 Da Black and Da Brown

Poleson, Betty

SA 1972/101/A13 tune for the Bride's Reel

Reid, Martha

SA 1957/8 Killicrankie

Robertson, Anthony (child)

SA 1977/3 experiments in cantering.

Robertson, Davis

SA 1954/98/B1 Back o' Bennachie*

Robertson, Geordie		
SA 1954/94/A7		diddling his own composition*
Robertson, Leeb		
SA 1954/89/A5		diddling
	B2	diddling
SA 1954/90/A3		Hap 'n Row (The Reel of Stumpie)
SA 1954/98/A6		pibroch air/strathspey
SA 1954/99/A5		I'm no your Daddy
Robertson, Stanley		
SA 1977/3/A1		Mrs. MacDonald of Doonah
	A2	Bonnie Lass o' Bon Accord*/Mrs. MacLeod*
	A3	Brochan Lom*
	A4	Dashing White Sergeant*
	A5	Haughton House/The Road to the Isles*
	B1	The Clutie song (Brochan Lom)
	B4	Banjo Breakdown
SA 1979/19/7		Balmoral Highlanders
Scott, Sydney		
SA 1971/260/A7-8		- ? -
Shepherd, Peter		
SA 1971/239/A8		Highland Laddie/Mrs. MacLeod
Somers, Ruairi		
SA 1978/32/A1		Mrs. MacLeod*
	A3b	Glendaruel Highlanders
	A5b	The High Road to Linton
	A6b	Campbeltown Kilty Loch
	A8b	Mairi's Wedding
	A9b	De'il Among the Tailors
	A10b	Devil in the Kitchen*
	A11b	Reel of Tulloch
	B2b	Drowsy Maggie*
	B4b	Rakish Paddy
Steele, Frank		
SA 1952/32/823		The Smith 's a Gallant Fireman
	B24	As I Came up by Auchinlech (fragment)
	B26	Bonnie Brig o' Banff*
	B27	Haughs o' Cromdale
Stewart, Alec		
SA 1953/236/B13		cantering
SA 1953/238/A8		strathspey cantered*
SA 1955/70/A3		cantering
SA 1955/81/B9		High Road to Linton/Boys of Blue Hill
Stewart, Andrew		
SA 1955/152/B9		reel/Mrs. MacLeod*
	B10	De'il Among the Tailors

Stewart, Bella
SA 1955/152 Mrs. MacLeod*

Stewart, Belle
SA 1955/81 High Road to Linton/Boys of Blue Hill

Stewart, Davie
SA 1962/64 The Drunken Piper
SA 1970/185 " " "

Stewart, Jimmy
SA 1955/71/84 Lovely Ann/Meetin' o' the Waters/Rory's Red
Coat/Rory's Red Breeks

Stewart, John
SA 1957/19/88 strathspey*

Stewart, Pipe-Major John
SA 1977/166/A12 Cabarfeidh
A13 Glendaruel Highlanders*
B1 pipe ornaments
B4 The 79th's Farewell to Gibraltar/ How (?)/Among
the Heather/Barney's Balmoral (?)
B5 The Bicker
B9 Mrs. MacLeod*/The Devil in the Kitchen*/Reel
of Tulloch*/Brochan Lom*
B11 MacLeod of Raasay's Salute

Stewart, Maggie
SA 1956/121/A5 strathspey*
A6 the difference between diddling & cantering*.
A7 strathspey

Stewart, Ned
SA 1955/69/A10 slow air
SA 1960/140/83 Paps o' Glencoe/strathspey

Stewart, Lucas
SA 1955/47/A9 Castle Arniston (?)

Stewart, Tommie
SA 1970/203 Inverness Gathering*
SA 1977/146/A9 Balmoral Highlanders
B1 John McMillan/Lament for Loch Nell/gaelic air/
two strathspeys
SA 1977/163/A1 The Fair Maid of Arras
A2 The Stirlingshire Militia
A5 Mrs. MacLeod*
A6 Devil in the Kitchen*
A8 Susan MacLeod
A9 Inverness Gathering
B1a Brochan Lom*
b Reel of Tulloch*
B3 Glendaruel Highlanders

Taylor, Jimmie
SA 1952/32/B14b MacPherson's Rant

Taylor, Victor
SA 1971/239/B1 Scotland the Brave/Tobacco Jar

Townsley, B. Cameron
SA 1976/65/B3 cantering*

Townsley, George
SA 1976/65/B5 Tha mi Sgith* and others, not named.*

Townsley, Jock
SA 1975/42/B5 diddling

Tulloch, Bobby
SA 1977/111/4 nameless reel* (composed by informant)

Turiff, Jane
SA 1974/149/A5-6 pipe tunes improvised by informant.

Watt, John
Mrs. Forbe's Farewell to Bath/Smith 's a
Gallant Fireman

White, Betsy
SA 1952/42/19 Haughs o' Cromdale
SA 1952/43/A3 March in two four
A5 Flowers o' the Forrest
A6 strathspey and march
SA 1973/162/14 The Lads of Ferrydean
SA 1977/151/B9 Lament for Loch Eil (with Duncan Williamson)

Whyte, Bessie and Alasdair
SA 1975/100/A8

Whyte, Elizabeth
SA 1953/196/A6 cantering*

Whyte, Jimmy
SA 1954/101/A3 The Yorkshire Farmer ("mostly diddled")

Williams, J.
SA 1974/13/1 Sally Munro

Williamson, Duncan
SA 1977/5/A1 Balmoral Highlanders/John McMullen of Barra/
Jenny Morrison
A2 strathspey/Bundle & Go/Leavin' Lismore
A5 Loch Duich/strathspeys
B1 Sir Patrick Spens
B2 Skye Boat Song*
B4 Bloody Field of Flanders/Queen Ann/Bonnie

Duncan Williamson cont'd:

SA 1977/5/B4	Hoose o' Airlie
B5	Away in a Manger/The Bumby Tickled Me (Mrs. MacLeod*)
SA 1977/151/B9	Lament for Loch Nell (Eil?) with Betsy White
SA 1977/139/B3	Balmoral Highlanders
SA 1977/143/A1	" " " "
A3	Brochan Lom
B4	Oh My Johnnie
B6	Highland Wedding
SA 1979/19/7	Balmoral Highlanders (with Stanley Robertson)

Williamson, Mary - ? -
SA 1976/204/B4

Williamson, William
SA 1972/198/A5 fragments of sea songs diddled.

Young, Adam
SA 1971/203 Brochan Lom

Anonymous
SA 1951/19/B3 Charles Graham*/Misty Moor/ The Merry Wife
B4 "pibroch"
SA 1953/246/B27 Tullochgorum
SA 1979/16/6 "diddling"

Also: SCO 1/78/F/13-14 Meyers Scotland 1978

13. Jock Weatherstone	} in the diddling competition at Kinross Folk Festival, 9/9/78; recorded by Helen Meyers.
Lindsay Porteous	
Willy Fraser	
14. Kim Chambers	

Appendix 2: Musical transcriptions

Diacritics used in the music transcriptions:

· — indicates a breath taken by the singer.

[3] — indicates a pause or breath taken in addition to the allotted time of the bar.

v — indicates some audience member giving a "heuch" or shout which partly obscures the pitch of the singer.

{ — indicates a short glide or swoop up from, down from, down to or up to a note.

~ — indicates a three-note trill.

— indicates a vocal glide from one note to the next.

x — indicates approximate pitch when a note is more spoken than sung.

↑ — indicates a note sung very sharp.

— the use of raised bar lines indicates a performance in no specific meter; a stressed beat falls immediately after each raised bar line.

— indicates the bagpipe's scale, roughly A major with a flattened seventh degree.

Tape No: SA 1972/185/A5

Title: Dovecote Park

Type: jig

1a.

Performer: Davy Glen

Coll: PC

Trans: KKC

di daz dī dam dau tī az tī dam dau dī az dī dam dau tī di daz dī dam dau dā

dau tñ dam daz dī dz tī dam dau dī daz dī dam ta dñ di dau: sau he

dau dī dam daz dī da dz di daz dī dau dī dam da dñ da da dī di daz
daz dī dam dau dī daz dī dam dau dī daz dī dam da dñ di da dī di se
dz dī dam dez dī la tã di dez dī la tã dam da tñ di dau ti
dz dī dam dez dī la tã dam dau dī le dã dam pa tñ di dau.
dam.

Tape No: SA 1969/53/A4

Title: Bonnie Nellie Gordon

Type: strathspey

ف

Performer: Ethel Findlater

Coll: Dr. BrufordTrans: KKC

Handwritten musical score for a song, featuring five staves of music. The notation is in a stylized, handwritten style, likely a form of musical shorthand or a specific dialect. The lyrics are written below the staves, consisting of syllables and words in a non-Latin script, possibly a form of Chinese or a related language. The lyrics are:

 267

[illegible][illegible]

Tape No: SA 1967/10/A2

Title: "da phort"

Type: march

1d.

Performer: Donald MacColl

Coll: ?

Trans: KKC

A

u: a sa: e san ta di di he di da di ta: a sa san ta s3 di 3 ti a s3 vi
hja: a sa: e san ta da di h3 di da di da: a sa san ta s3 di z ti ha s3 vi

B

ta: a sa: e san ta s3 di h3 di d3 di ta n dr m ta s3 di da di d3 u: san ti
ta: a sa: e san ta sa di h3 di d3 di ta n da s3 di da di h3 u: san ta

sa i da tn ta i da tn ti di a di au san ta sa i da tn di di zu di au: san ta

sa i da tn ta i da tn ti di a di au s3 tn san ta s3 di h3 di da di au: san ta

sa i da tn ta i da tn ti di a di au san ta sai da tn di di zu di au: san ti

ta: a sa: e san ta su di h3 di da di tn da san ta s3 di da di a: [laughter]

269

Tape No: SA 1977/3/A4

Title: The White Cockade

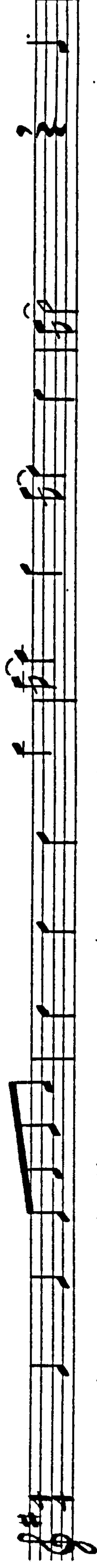
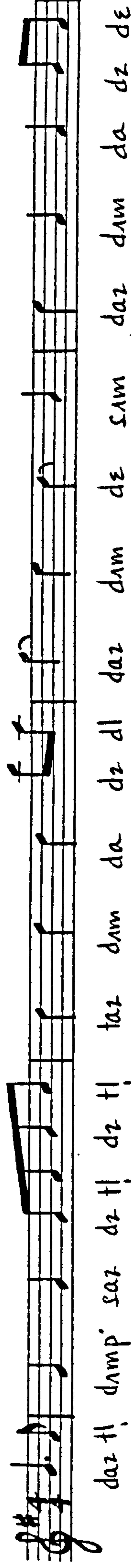
Type: reel

2a.

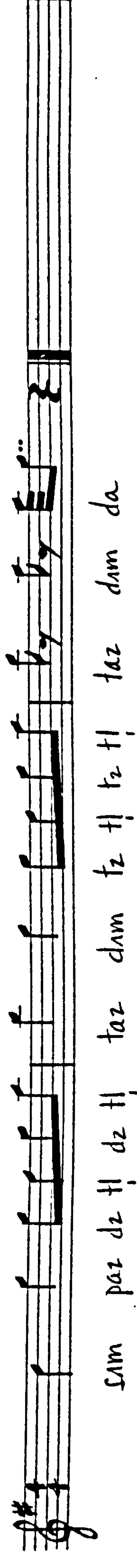
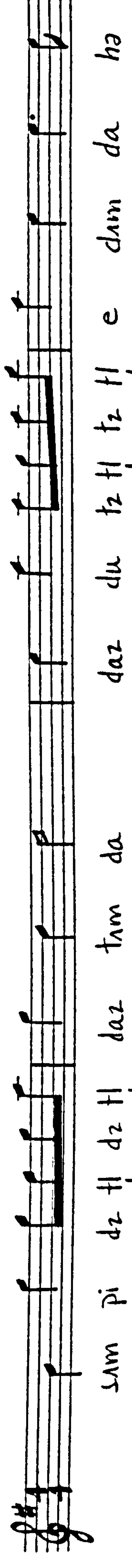
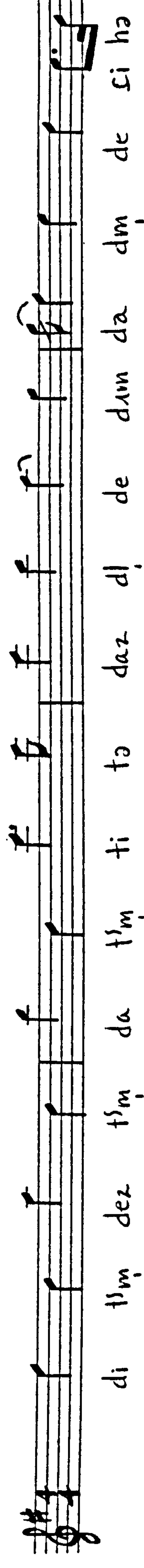
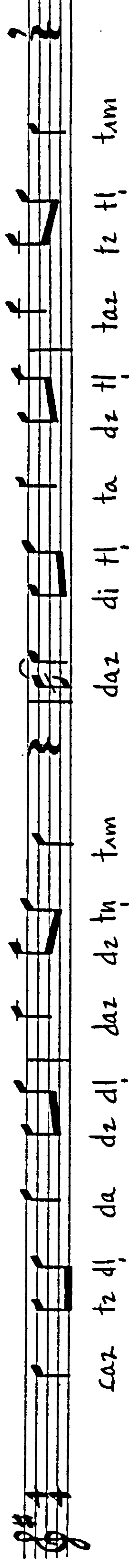
Performer: Stanley Robertson

Coll: KKC

Trans: KKC



- 270 -



Tape No: SA 1977/104/4

Title: Da Oyster

Type: Shetland reel

2b.

Performer: Andrew Poleson

Coll: Peter Cooke Trans: KKC

(A)

Fiddle

Voice

a s! z d! dz d! d! la d! dz d! du sam o dz d! az jum dam o du d! du s!

Fiddle

Voice

a sa l z d! du H! a da du H! dz H! du sam o dz d! z d! du H! dz H! am dz bl

Title: Da Oyster (cont'd:)

2b.

(B)

fiddle

Tape No: SA 1955/71/B4b

Title: The Meetin' o' the Waters

Type: march

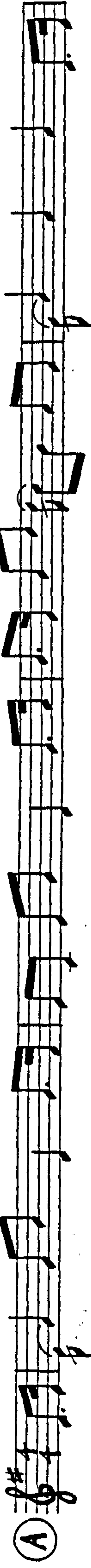
2c.

Performer: Jimmy Stewart

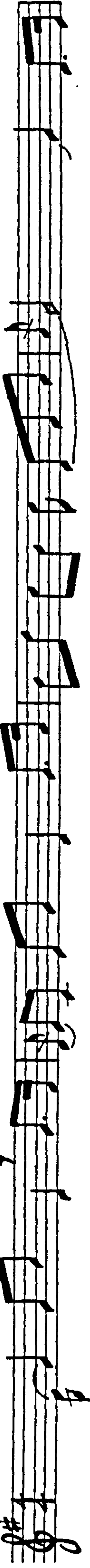
Coll: Hamish

Trans: KKC

Henderson

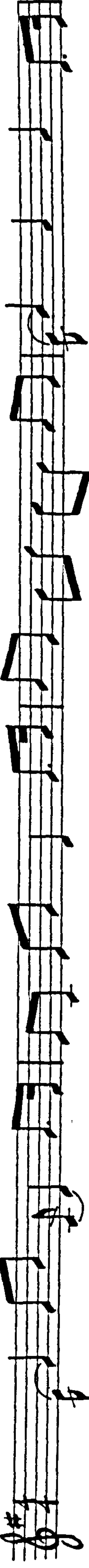
(A) 

hun! dar raz di dum taz do se^o dum ta di dum tai do se dum da di se se di dum da^o dum dez dum to



daz raz di dum taz do se^o dum da di dum pai do be^o di de du si dum da di de: su hun to

273 -



da sa di dum pe do sa dum da di dum taz do se dum de^o di se se de dum dez dum di hun to



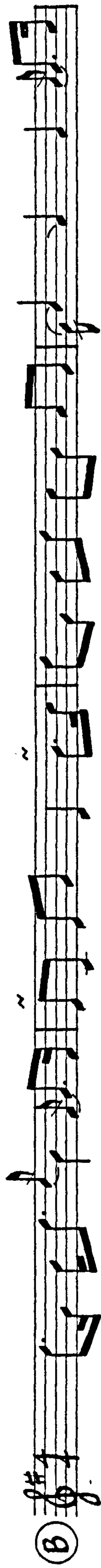
da sa di dum ta do se^o dum da di dum te dum de di de du sa^o dum da di de: si te do

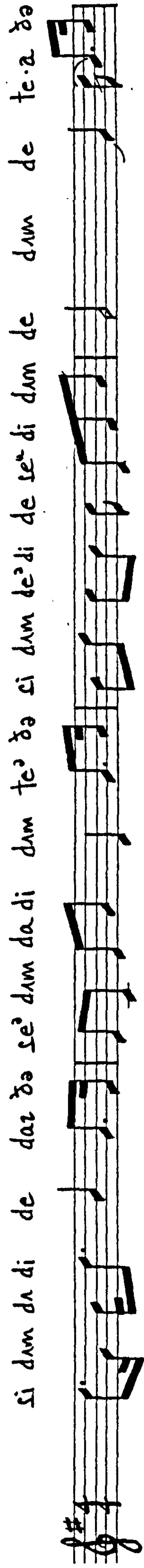


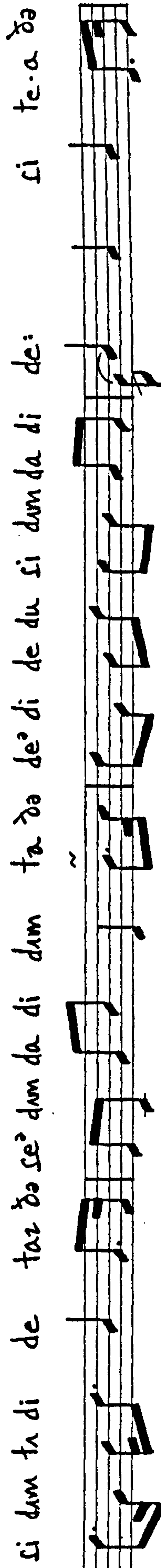


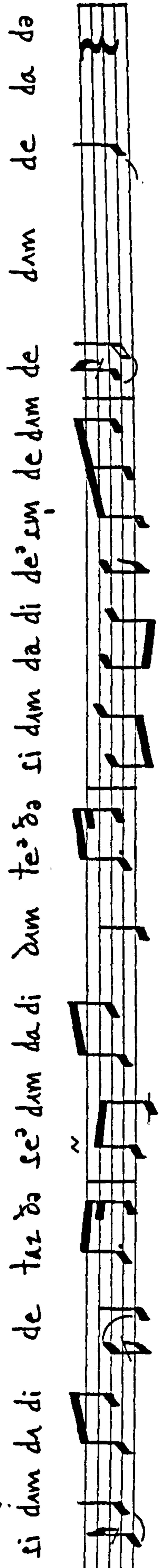
Title: The Meetin' o' the Waters (cont'd:)

2c.

③ 









Tape No: SA 1953/238/A8

Title: none

Type: pipe march

3a.

Performer: Belle Stewart

Coll: Hamish Henderson
Trans: KKC

A

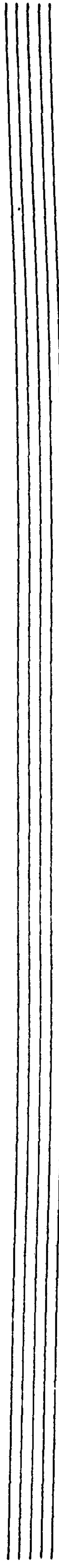
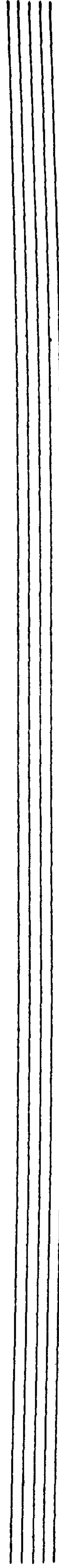
te də hɹ di hʌm bl̩ dʌm bl̩ tɑ rɑ hɑz bə dʒ dʌŋ tʃz si hʌn dl̩ hʌ si he ɔ hɑ bɹ dʌŋ ti bə dɑ də hʌ dʌŋ ti də

hɹ di hʌm bl̩ dʌm bl̩ tɑ sɑ hɑz bə dʒ dʌŋ tʃz si hʌn dl̩ tʃz si he ɔ hɑ hʌm ti ɔ hʌn dʒ dʌŋ ʌn tʌ dʒ si

B

hɹ li tɑ hɑz he i dʌ hʌm bl̩ tɑ di hʌ si hʌ li hɹ si he ɔ hɑ bə dʌm ti bɹ dɑ dʌ hʌ dʌŋ tɛ dʌ

hɹ di hʌm bl̩ dʌm bl̩ tɑ sɑ hɑz bə dʒ dʌŋ tʃz si hʌn dl̩ hʌ si he ɔ hɑ xʌm tɛ ɔ hʌm bɹ sɑ sɑ sɑ



Tape No: SA 1953/236

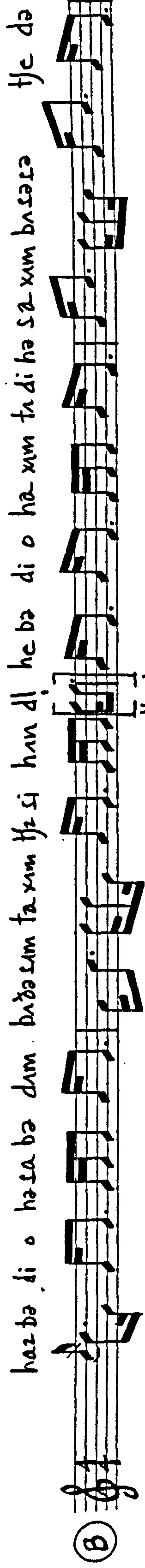
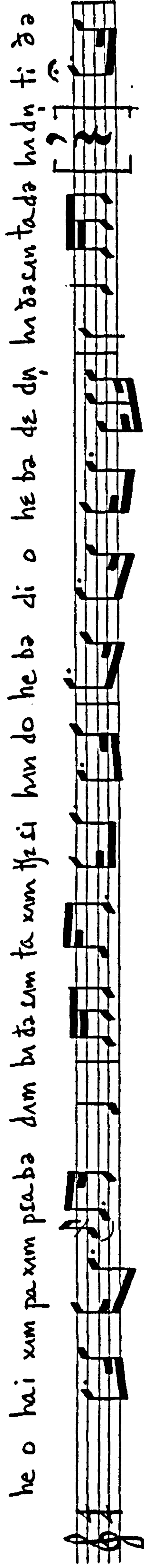
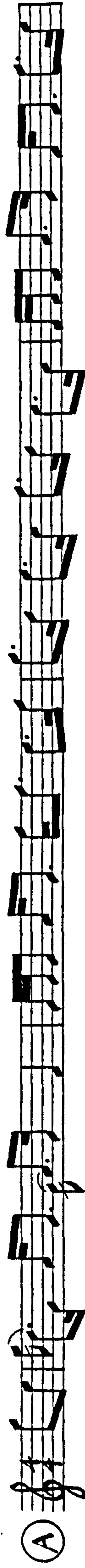
Title: none

Type: pipe march

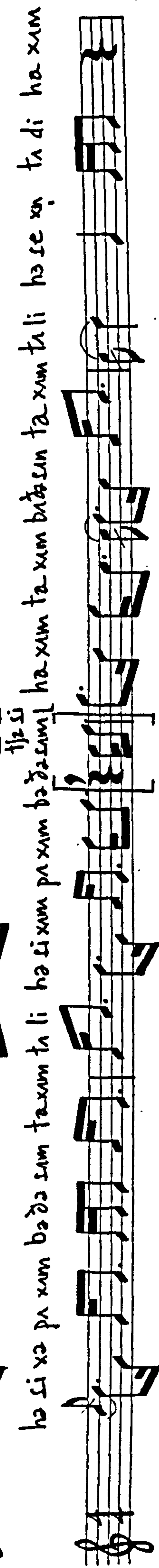
3a.

Performer: Belle Stewart

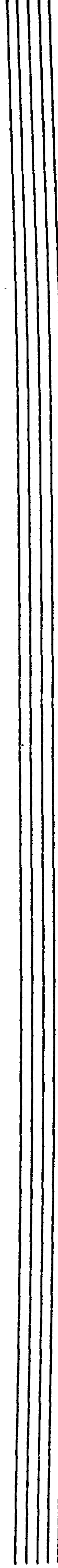
Coll: Hamish
Henderson Trans: KKC



ha z ba di o ha sa ba dam brə ə sum ta xum tʃe si han dʏ he ba di o ha xum ta di ha sa xum brə ə ə tʃe da



pe xum pa xum brə ə sən ta xum ta li he xum pa xum pə se ha li he tʃə ta xum tʃe bə ə z di ha si ɣam br m



**PAGE
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ORIGINAL**

Tape No: SA 1951/11/B6

Title: Mrs. MacLeod of Raasay

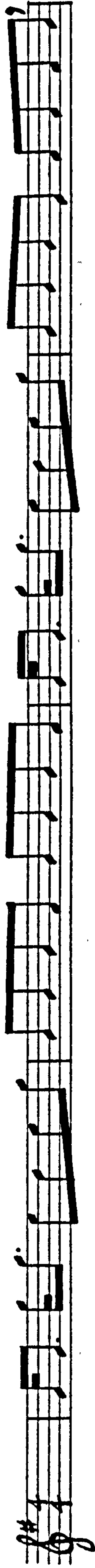
Type: reel

3c.

Performer: Mary Morrison

Coll: Calum MacLean

Trans: KKC



3 n t2 li he u su vi h2 l2 s2 o h2 n2 t2 li e o du vi h2 l2 s2 h2 n2 b2 l2 o s2 o v2



h2 n2 a2 m2 p2 z2 s2 i2 h2 e2 u2 d2 u2 v2 i2 h2 z2 l2 s2 e2 o2 h2 l2 s2 a2 f2 a2 c2 e2 o2 d2 a2 v2 i2 s2 e2 a2 v2 i2 x2 i2: a2 s2 o2 s2 o2 v2 a2

Tape No: SA 1953/4/B10

Title: Cailleach a' Mhuilleir

Type: jig

Performer: Pipe-Major William MacLean

Coll: C. MacLean Trans: KKC
& Francis Collinson

4a.

Musical score for a jig, consisting of four systems of staves. Each system contains a treble clef staff with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a time signature of 8/4. The notes are represented by square symbols, and the lyrics are written below the staves. The lyrics are:
hz bə dɔ hz bɜ di sɔ hɪ pɔ hɪ pɔ hɜ dɔ hz dɔ si hɜ bɔ dɔ hɜ si ə
hz dɔ sɔ hz bɜ di sɔ hɪ pɔ hɪ pɔ hɜ dɔ hz dɔ si hɜ bɔ dɔ hɜ si ə
hz dɔ sɔ hz bɜ di sɔ hɪ pɔ hɪ pɔ hɜ dɔ hz dɔ si hɜ bɔ dɔ hɜ si ə
hz dɔ sɔ hz bɜ di sɔ hɪ pɔ hɪ pɔ hɜ dɔ hz dɔ si hɜ bɔ dɔ hɜ si ə
The score ends with a double bar line and the number 280.

NOTE: the time values are slightly edited;
what is written:

Musical notation showing a single measure of the jig, consisting of a treble clef staff with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a time signature of 8/4. The notes are represented by square symbols.

is actually performed:

Musical notation showing a single measure of the jig, consisting of a treble clef staff with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a time signature of 8/4. The notes are represented by square symbols.

Tape No: SA 1953/253/A1

Title: Cille Chrìosd

Type: pibroch

4b.

Performer: Calum Johnston

Coll: C. MacLean Trans: KKC
& Francis Collinson

1

hi ham h> so b> xi hun t> so p> hi ham h> so b> hi hun t> so p> hi

h> so d> i ham pa h> d> san: hi

2

h> so b> xi ham h> so p> hi ham h> so b> hi

urial

ham h> so b> hi ham pa h> d> san: hi

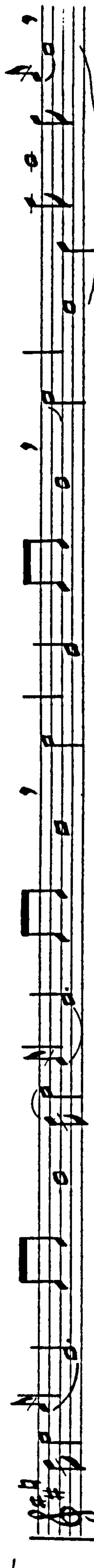
3

ham h> so b> hi ham h> so v> hi ham pa h> d> san: hi

ham h> so b> hi ham h> so v> hi ham pa h> d> san: hi

Title: Cille Chriosd(cont'd:)

4b.

1. 
 hi ham ho so bes hi han to so dzeo hi ham ho so bes hei han to hz li: si u

hi ham po so bes so ham pr dex di: > a han so san:

2. 
 hi ham po so bes hei han to hz li si u hi ham po so bes hi

han to so po hi ham ho so dzeo so ham pr dex di: > a han: so san: hi

3. 
 ham po so dzeo hei han to hz li si hu:

o ha han va san:

Tape No: SA 1953/4/B1

Title: Cronan na Caillich

Type: pibroch

4c.

Performer: Pipe-Major William MacLean

Collg. Maclean Trans: KKC
& Francis Collinson

[Musical notation: Treble clef, key signature of two sharps (F# and C#), 4/4 time signature. The notation consists of a single staff with a series of notes and rests, ending with a double bar line and a repeat sign. The notes are: F#4, A4, B4, C#5, D5, E5, F#5, G5, A5, B5, C#6, D6, E6, F#6, G6, A6, B6, C#7, D7, E7, F#7, G7, A7, B7, C#8, D8, E8, F#8, G8, A8, B8, C#9, D9, E9, F#9, G9, A9, B9, C#10, D10, E10, F#10, G10, A10, B10, C#11, D11, E11, F#11, G11, A11, B11, C#12, D12, E12, F#12, G12, A12, B12, C#13, D13, E13, F#13, G13, A13, B13, C#14, D14, E14, F#14, G14, A14, B14, C#15, D15, E15, F#15, G15, A15, B15, C#16, D16, E16, F#16, G16, A16, B16, C#17, D17, E17, F#17, G17, A17, B17, C#18, D18, E18, F#18, G18, A18, B18, C#19, D19, E19, F#19, G19, A19, B19, C#20, D20, E20, F#20, G20, A20, B20, C#21, D21, E21, F#21, G21, A21, B21, C#22, D22, E22, F#22, G22, A22, B22, C#23, D23, E23, F#23, G23, A23, B23, C#24, D24, E24, F#24, G24, A24, B24, C#25, D25, E25, F#25, G25, A25, B25, C#26, D26, E26, F#26, G26, A26, B26, C#27, D27, E27, F#27, G27, A27, B27, C#28, D28, E28, F#28, G28, A28, B28, C#29, D29, E29, F#29, G29, A29, B29, C#30, D30, E30, F#30, G30, A30, B30, C#31, D31, E31, F#31, G31, A31, B31, C#32, D32, E32, F#32, G32, A32, B32, C#33, D33, E33, F#33, G33, A33, B33, C#34, D34, E34, F#34, G34, A34, B34, C#35, D35, E35, F#35, G35, A35, B35, C#36, D36, E36, F#36, G36, A36, B36, C#37, D37, E37, F#37, G37, A37, B37, C#38, D38, E38, F#38, G38, A38, B38, C#39, D39, E39, F#39, G39, A39, B39, C#40, D40, E40, F#40, G40, A40, B40, C#41, D41, E41, F#41, G41, A41, B41, C#42, D42, E42, F#42, G42, A42, B42, C#43, D43, E43, F#43, G43, A43, B43, C#44, D44, E44, F#44, G44, A44, B44, C#45, D45, E45, F#45, G45, A45, B45, C#46, D46, E46, F#46, G46, A46, B46, C#47, D47, E47, F#47, G47, A47, B47, C#48, D48, E48, F#48, G48, A48, B48, C#49, D49, E49, F#49, G49, A49, B49, C#50, D50, E50, F#50, G50, A50, B50, C#51, D51, E51, F#51, G51, A51, B51, C#52, D52, E52, F#52, G52, A52, B52, C#53, D53, E53, F#53, G53, A53, B53, C#54, D54, E54, F#54, G54, A54, B54, C#55, D55, E55, F#55, G55, A55, B55, C#56, D56, E56, F#56, G56, A56, B56, C#57, D57, E57, F#57, G57, A57, B57, C#58, D58, E58, F#58, G58, A58, B58, C#59, 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C#270, D270, E270, F#270, G270, A270, B270, C#271, D271, E271, F#271, G271, A271, B271, C#272, D272, E272, F#272, G272, A272, B272, C#273, D273, E273, F#273, G273, A273, B273, C#274, D274, E274, F#274, G274, A274, B274, C#275, D275, E275, F#275, G275, A275, B275, C#276, D276, E276, F#276, G276, A276, B276, C#277, D277, E277, F#277, G277, A277, B277, C#278, D278, E278, F#278, G278, A278, B278, C#279, D279, E279, F#279, G279, A279, B279, C#280, D280, E280, F#280, G280, A280, B280, C#281, D281, E281, F#281, G281, A281, B281, C#282, D282, E282, F#282, G282, A282, B282, C#283, D283, E283, F#283, G283, A283, B283, C#284, D284, E284, F#284, G284, A284, B284, C#285, D285, E285, F#285, G285, A285, B285, C#286, D286, E286, F#286, G286, A286, B286, C#287, D287, E287, F#287, G287, A287, B287, C#288, D288, E288, F#288, G288, A288, B288, C#289, D289, E289, F#289, G289, A289, B289, C#290, D290, E290, F#290, G290, A290, B290, C#291, D291, E291, F#291, G291, A291, B291, C#292, D292, E292, F#292, G292, 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F#315, G315, A315, B315, C#316, D316, E316, F#316, G316, A316, B316, C#317, D317, E317, F#317, G317, A317, B317, C#318, D318, E318, F#318, G318, A318, B318, C#319, D319, E319, F#319, G319, A319, B319, C#320, D320, E320, F#320, G320, A320, B320, C#321, D321, E321, F#321, G321, A321, B321, C#322, D322, E322, F#322, G322, A322, B322, C#323, D323, E323, F#323, G323, A323, B323, C#324, D324, E324, F#324, G324, A324, B324, C#325, D325, E325, F#325, G325, A325, B325, C#326, D326, E326, F#326, G326, A326, B326, C#327, D327, E327, F#327, G327, A327, B327, C#328, D328, E328, F#328, G328, A328, B328, C#329, D329, E329, F#329, G329, A329, B329, C#330, D330, E330, F#330, G330, A330, B330, C#331, D331, E331, F#331, G331, A331, B331, C#332, D332, E332, F#332, G332, A332, B332, C#333, D333, E333, F#333, G333, A333, B333, C#334, D334, E334, F#334, G334, A334, B334, C#335, D335, E335, F#335, G335, A335, B335, C#336, D336, E336, F#336, G336, A336, B336, C#337, D337, E337, F#337, G337, A337, B337, C#338, D338, E338, F#338, G338, A338, B338, C#339, D339, E339, F#339, G339, A339, B339, C#340, D340, E340, F#340, G340, A340, B340, C#341, D341, E341, F#341, G341, A341, B341, C#342, D342, E342, F#342, G342, A342, B342, C#343, D343, E343, F#343, G343, A343, B343, C#344, D344, E344, F#344, G344, A344, B344, C#345, D345, E345, F#345, G345, A345, B345, C#346, D346, E346, F#346, G346, A346, B346, C#347, D347, E347, F#347, G347, A347, B347, C#348, D348, E348, F#348, G348, A348, B348, C#349, D349, E

Tape No: SA 1970/7/A4

Title: none

Type: 8 pipe march

44.

Performer: Alasdair Boyd

Coll: Peter Cooke
Trans: KKC
& Morag MacLeod

(A)

ha ha sompa h2 si he u ha ha sompa ha sa he u

ha ha sompa h2 si h2 si h2 si e a ha he u
h3 sa

(B)

ha li gam pa hunam pe hm ha li gam pa hunam pe o ki he a ha sa he u

ha li gam pa hunam pe hm ha li gam pa ha sa he u ha li gam pi h2 li he he a ha sa he u

ha li gam pa hunam pe hm ha li gam pa ha sa he u ha li gam pi h2 li he he a ha sa he u

"that's the countaired."

Tape No: SA 1960/262
SA 1976/264/

4e+f.

Title: Lament for the Union

Performer: Pipe-Major Robert Brown

Type: pibroch

Coll: PM Brown Trans: KKC
Neville MacKay

①



hi jo tra ha saz an de le go he jo lan die a dsa je: go bse a va se an de se go
hi jo va sa i an de se go a no lan i a dsa i e: jo dsu a va sa an de se jo

can do go va i ja mn tra ha saz an de le go he
can ta xo bsa i ja so bsa i an di an da i a e ih o dsa su i an de se jo a

285

jo la di a ds3 i e a ds3 dsui: an i a dsu he jo tra va i an de li go he
jo san di a vsi: e o dsa dsui: an i a dsua hih o den sai an de se go ie

jo lan di a dsa i e: go bse a vse an di li go can ta go bsa i ja mn
jo san die a dsa i e: go dsui a vsi an di se go can ta go bsa i ja so

bse i an do ie n da i: an do ji la hih o tra ha saz an di li go he jo lan die a ds3 i e a ds3
bsui i ih o ie an da i: an do jze a ih o dsa sa i an de se jo (7) ho sa hi a bsa i: je jo

dsue n di ja dsun
(indistinct...)

Tape No: SA 1977/166/A13

Title: Glendaruel Highlanders

Type: 8 march

Performer: Pipe-Major John Stewart

Coll: KKC

Trans: KKC

49.

Chantey

hi gam ba dum ham ba bsa haz ba di ha se xü

voice

gam ba dum pam ba bsa he ba di ha se xü ta xa dum ba di xü

Chantey

hi gam ba dum ham ba bsa haz ba di ha se xü

voice

he se: bse hu di to di o he xa d> xum bse>

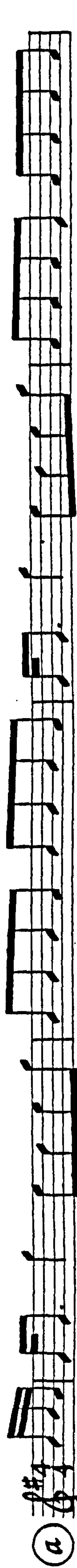
* () = alternate ornament.

See documentation
attached to music
example tape.

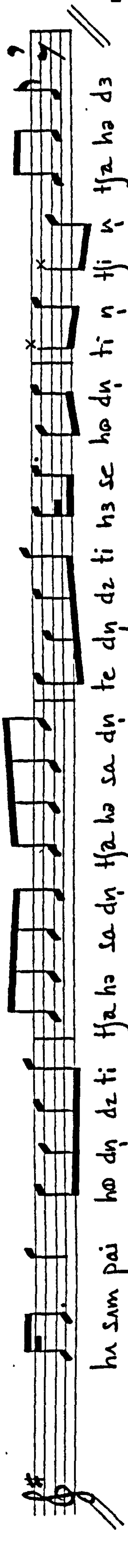
Title: Mrs. MacLeod of Raasay

Type: reel

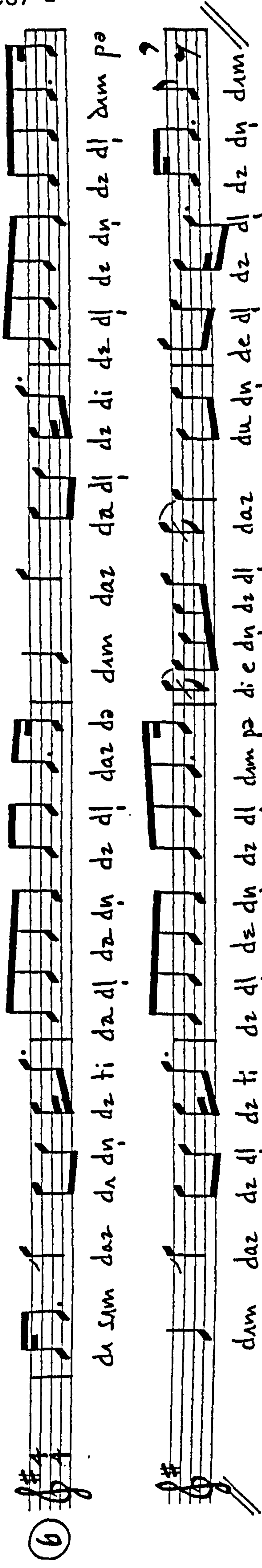
5.

(a) 

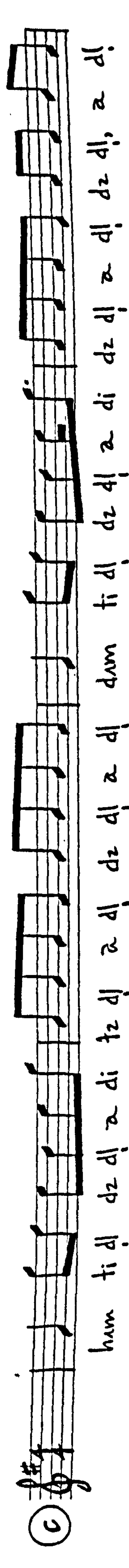
hə sado hɜ sʌm pəi hɔ dɪ dz ti tʃa hɔ sa dɪ hɜ sʌm pəi hɔ dɪ dz ti tʃa hɔ sa hɪ tʃa hɔ sa dɔ

(b) 

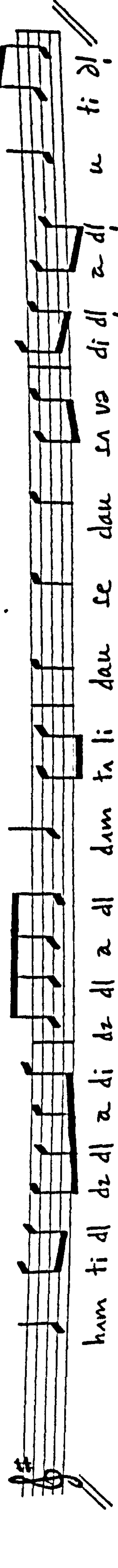
hɜ sʌm pəi hɔ dɪ dz ti tʃa hɔ sa dɪ tɛ dɪ dz ti hɜ sɛ hɔ dɪ ti ɪ tʃi ɪ tʃa hɔ dɜ

(c) 

dɜ sʌm daz dɜ dɪ dz ti dɜ dɪ dz dɪ dz dɪ dɜ dɔ dʌm daz dɜ dɪ dz di dz dɪ dz dɪ dz dɪ dʌm pə

(d) 

dʌm daz dɜ dɪ dz ti dɜ dɪ dz dɪ dz dɪ dʌm pə di ɛ dɪ dz dɪ daz dʌ dɪ dz dɪ dz dɪ dz dɪ dʌm

(e) 

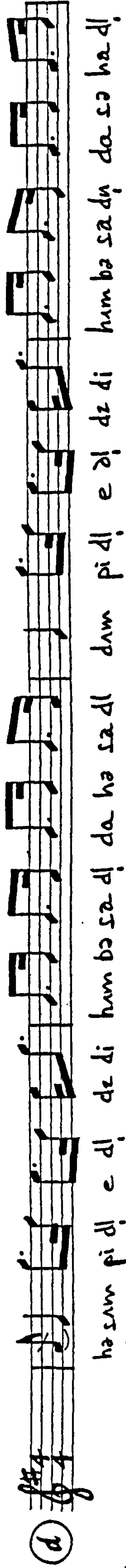
hʌm ti dɪ dz dɪ ɜ di tɜ dɪ ɜ dɪ dz dɪ ɜ dɪ dʌm ti dɪ dz dɪ ɜ di dz dɪ ɜ dɪ dz dɪ ɜ dɪ

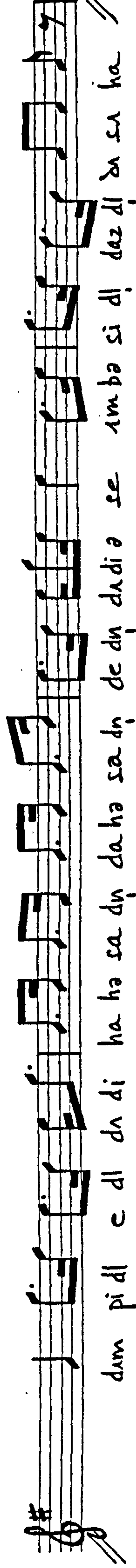
: See documentation
attached to music
example tape.

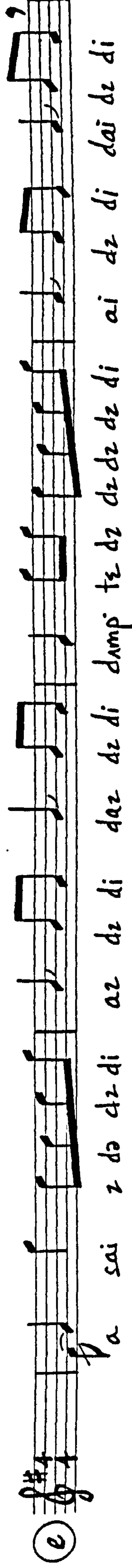
Title: Mrs. MacLeod of Raasay

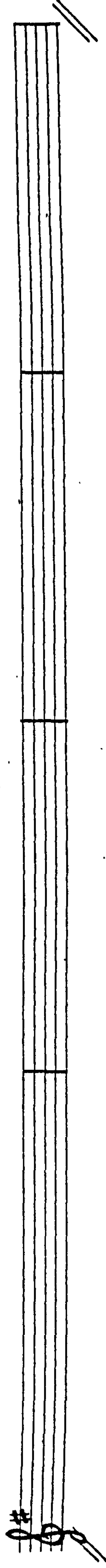
Type: reel

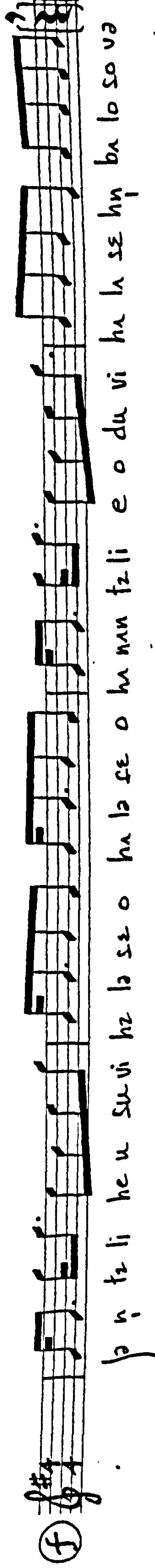
5.

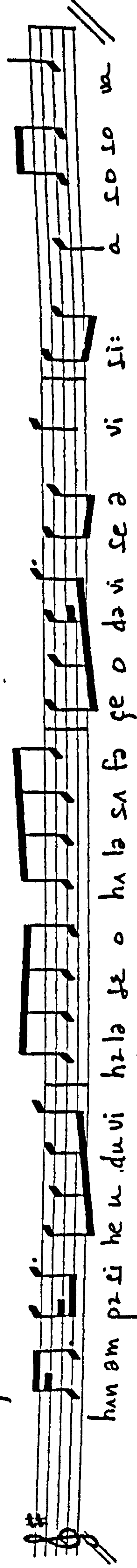
(d) 



(e) 



(f) 



5.

See documentation
attached to music
example tape.

Title: Mrs. MacLeod of Raasay

Type: reel

g

ta se di dam dao ta di da di ta di al da dao da di dam da ta di da di ta di a dao ha

dam dao ta di da di ti di al da dao dam da di an da du di da di di di zt' da dao dz di

h

te di dam tau ta di da di dz di an da de de da dam da ta di da di ta di an da de ta

dam tau ta di da di dz di an da de dam ta di a di du di an da di di zt' da de ta

i

ti he sam pa da si hi di di da sa hi di da da da dz da dam da di hi da di da da di ho sam ta

dam ta di hi di di da sa hi di di da da da dz da dam ta di hi di di da da di ho sam ta

5.

See documentation
attached to music
example tape.

Title: Mrs. MacLeod of Raasay

Type: reel

Handwritten musical notation on two staves. The first staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 4/4 time signature. The second staff is in bass clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are written below the notes.

Staff 1: *hā sam pẓəə si hi ḍu di ḍu ḅa sə ḍə ḍu m pẓəə si hi ḍu di ḍu ḅa ṣa ḍz ḍu ḅa ṣə ḍz ḍu*

Staff 2: *ḍu m pẓəə si hi ḍu di ḍu ḅa ṣə si ḍu ḅa ṣə ṣz ḍu di ḥm ḅa²n ḅa ṣa ḍu ḍu di ḍu ḍa di ɥ ḍə ṣu [ʔ]*

Four sets of empty musical staves, each consisting of five lines.

See documentation
attached to music
example tape.

6a

lzl tn n e rn n u sn n e
o lzl tn n e sn n u sn n e wra

tu: sh a di
tu: sh a di

szst fal al do dz dl az: do:

6b.

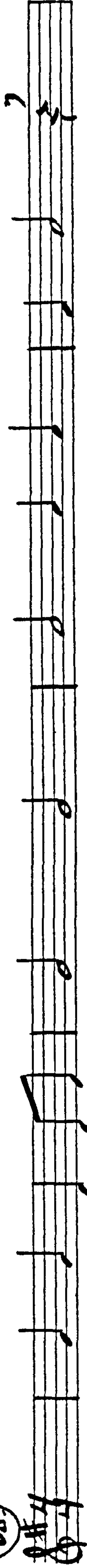
wz hzz fazn [tan.tn e ri] hzz e ri an [hzz e ri] szn ho do bz gas man:

6c.

la di du: la di du la di de he:

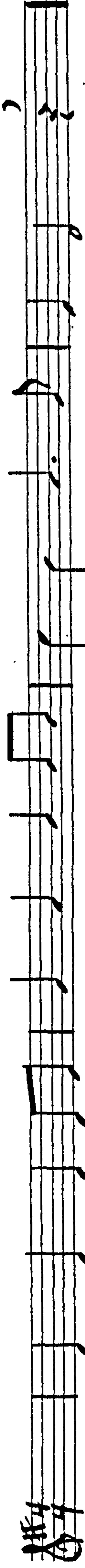
See documentation
attached to music
example tape

(6d.)



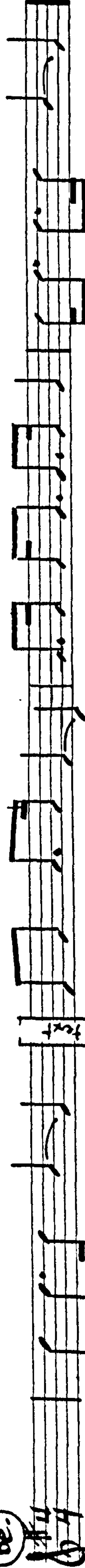
a dñ az dom ə szŋ don do vñ de le:

(6e.)



a dñ az dom ə szŋ dŋ "and a rovin' Sarah Kelly

(6e.)



tan tɜ ri > sam , ʒi dɪ an ʒi an am ʒi dɪ an di > sam

See documentation
attached to music
example tape.

7a.

ho so hi da di: p a ho so ho da a.

hu so ho. zhy e: o a so ho o hu zhy e o a so ho

7b.

ho hu zhy ho su vi: p ho hu zhy ho hi ho hu zhy ho

See documentation
attached to music
example tape.

7c

a za y u

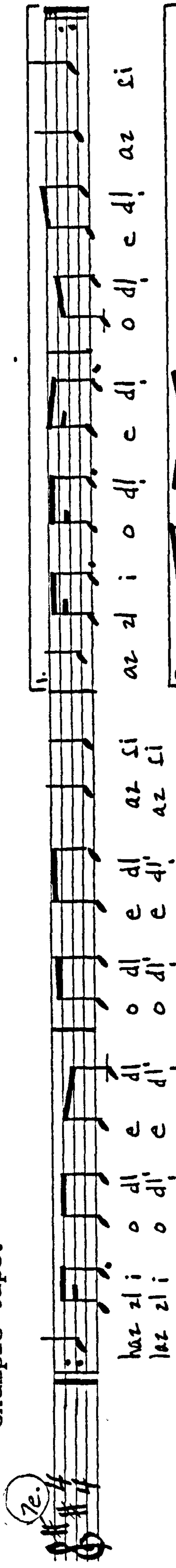
so ho ze he ze

e i u vo hu

7d

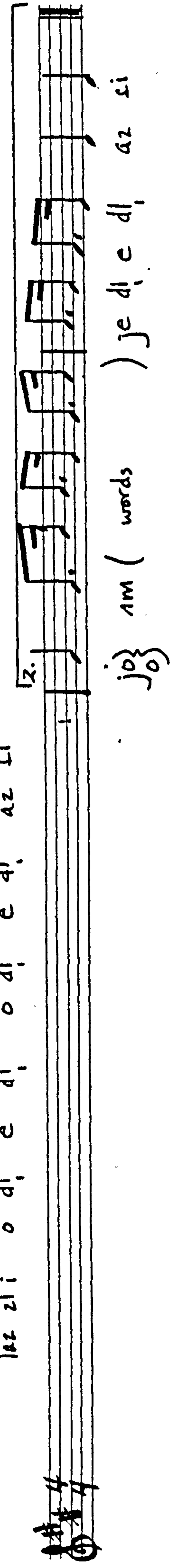
se se ha so se se

See documentation
attached to music
example tape.

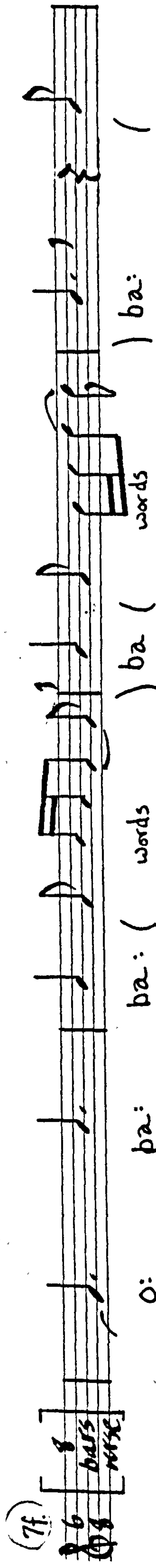
7e. 

haz zi i o di e di o di e di az zi

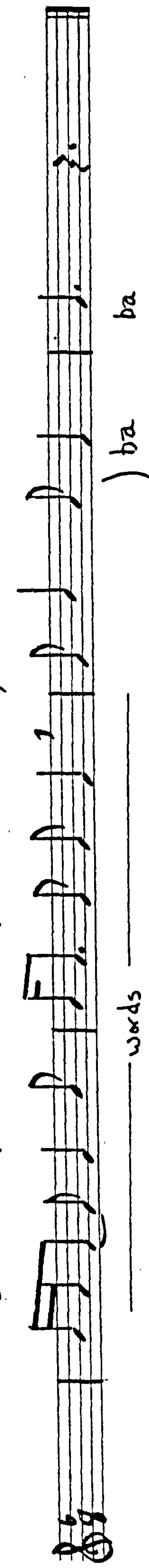
haz zi i o di e di o di e di az zi

12. 

jo} am (words) je di e di az zi

7f. 

o: ba: (words) ba: (words) ba: (words)



ba ba

APPENDIX 3: Transcriptions of conversations about canntaireachd and diddling.

from: SA 1977/104 Andrew Poleson Fieldworker: Peter Cooke

PC Your mother used to do it for people to dance to?

AP Oh aye, yes.

PC Because your father wasn't a fiddler, or because—

AP No, he wasn't a fiddler, see, he had— well, he could sing but he was no musical— and she had the good voice, and she used ti sing to us when we were young boys, 'n we used ti get up on the floor 'n dance away. Shetland reels, like.

from: SA 1978/32 Ruairi' Somers Fieldworker: Kim Chambers

KC While we're still on Scottish music, could you just describe how your teacher used to use lilting— how would he use lilting in a lesson with you? When he was teaching you on the Highland pipes. Would he lilt you a whole tune for you to learn it, or just—

RS No, not really. He'd, em— basically he used to teach me on the practice chanter. But say if he'd ask me to run over a part, and I'd run over a part on the practice chanter and then he'd say, "Ruairi, you're not doing that right, it should be (and diddles)", and it was more for quick reference to pieces just played, rather than a long series of lilting. He never— it was just a short cut for playing the tune as it should be played, rather than him going to the bother of placing the chanter in his mouth and then playing it, he'd just say— if he was probably referring to a bar or two... I must say, I had had a very earlier teacher, a long, long time before my most recent teachers, that's Tommy Moore, it was Johnny Keogh, old John Keogh— and he never, did very little practice chanter work, it was all lilting, basically because he was very old and he was short of breath and wasn't in his good health, and to him it was a much less effort to lilt the tune. And, em, it's a long time ago, about 15 years ago so I can't remember vividly, exactly, but I always associate a lot more diddling, or lilting with him. He would probably have gone through tunes lilting them rather than playing them on the practice chanter.

KC When, um, he would lilt you a coupld of bars to say, "play it this way," would you then be able to play it back to him on the practice chanter the way he'd want?

RS Oh, I'd know immediately, yes— and indeed if anything he could describe as vividly, or convey to me, his, the particular embellishment— it was usually involving an embellishment or a grace note or a grip or something of that nature that I would be leaving out, and he could convey to me as vividly in his mouth, by using lilting than he could on the chanter.

KC (asks about imitative vocables, how onomatopoeitic is lilting?)

RS It's very difficult for me to answer because I've associated so long in my mind these sounds with pipe music, indeed, pipe

music through my mouth music, through lilting it that to me, my immediate reaction is to say it's exactly like piping, but I know that's because I've always used these sounds in front of pipers, and I've always got the...assumed response... but obviously I never tried these sounds on anybody other than pipers...to me they sound terribly alike, (and gives exx.)

RS But em, all the time when I'd be lilting that, I'd be thinking of someone called Jack Stevens who's from Wexford, and who used to teach me a little bit of Irish music. It's not so much he'd teach me, he'd call me aside and say: "Ruairí, I want you to hear this new tune, Jesus, it's a great tune, you must learn it." And he'd be lilting it. And I'd lilt it back to him, and he'd say, "Ruairí, that's not the— no, ye haven't it right." And he'd be saying I hadn't it right not because my musical sounds wouldn't be right, but because I wouldn't be using his mode of lilting.

I used to know his son, and his son was a great piper, a friend of mine, and his son would say, "Ah, my father was a great piper you know, really." But— and we all deferred to the belief that Jack Stevens was a great piper. But my own— particularly the way he lilted and all to me would give me the impression that he never played bagpipes at all because, em, coming to mind, I would expect a different type of lilting from him had he played bagpipes indeed. I would expect a much more, a greater preponderance of 'd' sounds...cause that means, that to me is the use of a 'g' grace note. But he was always (diddles an example) much lighter, fiddle type sounds. I assume its a fiddle the lilters are following, it could be something different.

I've never heard or seen much of the lilters, but I know they're around, and I know, I've heard a lot of people talk about specific lilters, and the way people talk about them, that they themselves have a very vivid concept of what lilting is and what lilting should be. And they, for example, when I attempt to lilt, purely for the sake of passing a tune to someone else, they would know immediately that I wasn't a lilter, and they would say, they wouldn't remark on my lilting abilities in any laudatory manner at all, just dismiss it as purely functional way of passing a tune, they wouldn't consider any beauty.

from: SA 1977/130 Duncan Williamson Fieldworker: Linda Williamson

DW ...what's a ceillidh without a diddle? (And, after singing for a friend to dance:)...that's why mouth music was invented in the first place!

Now, we'll have a wee bit of the diddle...you want canntaireachd or you want diddle?

from SA 1977/5 Duncan Williamson Fieldworker: Kim Chambers

- DW ...diddling was used among local folk when they held their barn dances...
- KC And they danced to it?
- DW They danced to it, aye, I've seen it...I've seen it done in barn dances among— in the olden days when— time o' the bothies when the bothy men used ti gather in the bothies, 'n the farmer's wife 'd come in and the maid 'd come in and they'd all come in and, and have— somebody'd do something else— well, one would say, "I cannae play" or "I havenae got an accordion, but I'll give ye a piece o' the diddle, a piece o' the mouth music."
- KC If you heard someone else diddling would you be able to judge whether those were, that was a good choice of syllables?
- DW I would really, if it was a good choice o' syllables they used for the diddle, I would say, "Well, that's what the diddle's all about." It's not exactly how good the tune is, it's a good, such a way that he does the tune, that's what's good about Ronald. It's the way he does the tunes. I mean, the music's there ti be diddled by anybody. It's the way Ronald puts the tunes off that makes them sae good. As we call it, the way he puts 'em ti the diddle. ...the same wi' the old travellers. Old Sandy Cameron, God rest the old man, he was so slow wi' the canntaireachd, and the way he put the tune ti the canntaireachd was good,...I could listen to him canntaireachd all night, the way he put the tunes ti the canntaireachd. ...he would do the fingering on your wrist just the same way (referring to a conversation not on the tape, where Duncan described how old traveller pipers would teach a tune by diddling it, and fingering the notes on your wrist at the same time). ...ti them, when they moved their fingers the tune seemed ti come better to them when they moved their fingers, especially to a piper. I mean, they say, if, when they moved their fingers up 'n doon, well, they folly their fingers, the tune follied their fingers, from their head, up 'n doon...the music was thought in their mind and travelled doon through their body to their fingers 'n vice versa, it travels from the fingers ti the head when they're doin' the canntaireachd. (This description was provoked by my anecdote of a step-dancer in Vermont who, asked how she improvised so many steps replied, "The music just comes in my ears and goes out my feet.")

from: SA 1960/140/82 Ned Stewart Fieldworker: Kenneth Goldstein

- NS Well, I'll, I'll let you hear how the old pipers used ti diddle, you see. Away back in times— the way the old pipers used ti learn afore they'd got sich a thing as music. Well. A very good tune— and the way they learnt one another to play it this time was ti sit 'n diddle. And this is a, sort of the way they did it (and sings an example.) That's the way they used ti learn one another ti play pipes...that's the road that they learned one another piping in those days,

and they still, even a strathspey, you see (he sings)...it's like you taking up a, a book in shorthand— they passed it from one another, mouth ti mouth... (the fieldworker asks if it's true that the Disarming Act brought about an increase in diddling and Mr. Stewart says yes, quite correct)...in style it's inherited, yet, you see— you'd understand, afore ye could even try ti mock what I'm singing now you've got ti— it's got ti be handed down, it was handed down ti my father 'cause he was a piper...there's very few people who get ti do it unless they are a piper...

from: a recording made by C. Hinrichs, of singer and tin-whistler Miko Rossell of County Clare, Eire. (2/4/77)

...these old women used to be brought to these dances 'specially for to lilt. Long ago they had no instrument. So this, this is the way they used to hum. Well I—a woman can hum differently than the man, but I...I hum, I can hum something like, exactly the same as the concertina...

from SA 1955/64/A3 Hugh MacGregor Fieldworkers: Hamish Henderson and Peter Kennedy

HM (after singing) I'm one o' the best canterers you could get... it was aye tunes we cantered when we were playin' (sings.)
PK Can you, can you explain to us Englishmen something about this cantering, uh, Mr. MacGregor?
(a woman, Mrs. MacGregor?)
Well, it's a Scottish tradition, it's only Scots as can do it, nobody else can.
HM (bursts into cantering, and when he finishes:)
PK And would you be doing this, like when you'd be practising?
HM Aye, aye, when we'd be, when you'd be learning a tune, then, uh, we would a' sing it o'er, d'you see, 'n the like o' that. Then as soon as we'd sing it, we'd try and play it...

from: SA 1977/1 Tom Anderson Fieldworker: Kim Chambers

TA ...a diddler, a man who diddles, he hears music, it's what he hears. He tries to convey it through his mouth, what he's heard from the instrument.. If you listen to some of old Davey Stewart's, who died, now I noticed listening to some of his before, that he's diddling as a melodion player would play it.
KC Is he, and he's a melodion player?
TA He is a melodion player. Also, he diddles as his brother, was it the (?), or whoever it was, the piper: he'll, when in certain pipe tunes he'll try to get the inflection of the pipes and the grace notes. And as I say each diddler, the old diddlers and the true diddlers, they, they diddled according to what they'd heard. Now today of course you get them bringing in all sorts of fancy syllables 'n things just because, you know, for fun.

TA ...it's wonderful how, how you can, because, how you can teach like that because that was the way that the old people did teach, you see, they, they used to, when they couldn't play the tune they would sing it to the pupil. And you get that with the pipes, the canntaireachd, which is the same thing...

TA ...so diddling, really, I don't know, I think diddling was a— my definition of diddling would be the impression that the person had of what he'd heard, or she'd heard. So that they have this in their head, they hear the— the old people who did that, they had the tune exactly as they were being played, you see. There was no music in these days so they had to learn them, and they didn't whistle very much, specially in our place, you couldn't whistle at sea because that was a bad supersti— a bad thing; unlucky, you see, but you could sing of course, you couldn't whistle because you didn't have amplification enough, but you could sing. People could dance to this.

TA ...when you're learning that, I mean you can listen to it, you can take it down, the best thing is to try and sing it like the guy played it. Then you can teach it like that, then you get it correct.

from: SA 1977/3 Stanley Robertson Fieldworker: Kim Chambers

SR ...when I was learning the pipes the Pipe-Major always whistled the tune ti me, an I couldn't whistle, but I could diddle. And I find, when I'm teaching people, I diddle ti them so when I diddle I can make the same sounds as they are looking for. Say I'm wanting them ti play, (diddles, then plays on the practice chanter). An' you find it's the same sort of rhythm, and almost the same sort of, noise, and sound.

KC I see, I see just what you mean. Uh, do you think if you'd learned to be a fiddler first that your diddling would be different, would have different sounds in it?

SR Well, my brother-in-law, Albert, he diddles. And when he diddles he sounds just like the fiddle. Now I've noticed that, there is a slight different. I suppose it's the instrument that influenced you most. See, my father and brother was pipers, so's I grew up I was influenced by the pipes, but also when Albert came along, I used ti hear his fiddle as well

SR ...when Albert diddles it's clearly emphasised which parts to slur and jump and all.

SR ...in the piping diddling you seem to have more a , a louder and guttural sound, more— harder and expressive, in the fiddling diddling there seems to be a more gentle, there doesn't seem to be this 'r's, the, the pronounced 'r' like you get in the piping (sings), see the 'r' comes through very strongly, but in the fiddling diddling you seem to find more of the, I suppose it'd be the 'di's and the 'dum's, that's more emphasised there.

from SA 1956/50 Willie Fraser Fieldworker: Hamish Henderson

HH Did you ever take part in a diddling competition, did ye?
WF Oh yes, uh huh.
HH Whereabouts?
WF Oh, in the Cabrach.
HH Aye.
WF East coast.
HH Oh, aye. Where did you first learn ti diddle?
WF Oh, I dinna ken, I just sort of learned it, I suppose.
HH Aye, did your own people, did your father and mother?
WF Oh aye, uh-huh. They used ti diddle a bit, I suppose.
HH Now this competition that you were telling us about, was that in the (high?) Cabrach?
WF That's right, aye.
HH And, uh, what were the tunes you diddled, d'you mind?
WF Oh, I wouldnae say for sure— I think the Laird o' Dunblair was aye, but...
HH Aye—
WF An', uh, maybe Mrs. MacLeod o' Raasay— I dinna mind.
HH Aye, an' what time o' the day would that start?
WF Oh, in the evening it twas, jist sort o' back o' eight.
HH Aye, uh, and how long would it last?
WF Oh, two hours I suppose. Something like a concert, ye ken, two hours, maybe two and a half hours.
HH But who were the judges?
WF I dinna mind, no.
HH You were saying you'd heard some o' the Highland diddlers, and some o' the East coast diddlers. Uh, could you gie us one o' the tunes, maybe, in the— in the lowland way, and one in the highland? What about The High Road to Linton? Can you try it?
WF Oh, well, I could try it, I suppose, aye. (sings, first in 'lowland' then in 'highland' fashion).
HH Well, that's fine... (he suggests that Mr. Fraser sing Mrs. MacLeod as an even better example of the highland diddler's art.)
HH Tell us, what's the difference between the two, I mean as far as instruments are concerned, how would you describe it?
WF Oh, well, I'd say the West coast follow the bagpipes, more or less, an' the east coast follow, follow the fiddle and piano, I think.

from SA 1977/2 Willie Fraser Fieldworker: Kim Chambers

WF ...oh, I wouldnae like ti (diddle) ti dancers a' the time, I don't think.
KC It's too hard work.
WF Oh, aye.
KC It takes alot of breath control—
WF I havenae got the wind— pardon? } (together)
KC It takes alot of breath.
WF Oh, aye, it's different, besides, if you're younger and you've

got a wind, an' at that time o' day I was playing pipes as well, so of course your lungs is pretty well filled wi' the wind. Twas easier to control your breathing, I think. When you get older, I suppose you just loose, your muscles loose, eh, the elasticity that you need, I think, fer that kind o' thing.

WF (diddling) 's just one o' those things that ye used ti do, you know—

KC Before the war, you were saying.

WF Well, um-hum. It is, it was mair prevalent in those times than it is noo. You never hear anybody diddling at all, you never hear them singing, the young ones... ..you would hear them singing, well, on a spring day, on a spring morning you would hear them oot singing, maybe plowing, or harrowing the ground— they would whistle— you could hear them miles away, you know— you'd hear them singing 'n diddling 'n, you know, it was jist a, a source o', for their ain amusement, really— They werenae diddling ti anybody in particular, jist for their ain benefit, ti while away the time, I suppose. But nowadays, well, wi' tractors, they make their ain noise anyway, you could nae be heard singing in them wherever. There's never a, really, I suppose, need for anything like that now, because, makes nae difference where you go, even in a motor car, because they've all got their stereos and what have you...

WF ...I'd been hearing diddling all the time, you see.

KC From your parents, and just the people about—

WF Aye, well, from the folk about, oh twas not only my parents that diddled, I mean the folk round about diddled. The chap 't was round the back, old Bob Lawson, I think, I think he was one o' the Lawsons o' Nessy Bridge, I never really found oot. But he was good, he was a fiddler, he was pretty good. He taught me, later, ti play the fiddle, and eh, he was pretty good at diddling as well, and he was very good on the tin whistle, exceptionally good for a— I was surprised, I never even knew he played but when I bought this fiddle, he, oh, he said he would teach me the rudiments, you know, so he did, but he was, he used ti accompany me on this tin whistle, my goodness, he was really good at it, aye, something I never knew— and he had an old song that he sang, I took them down as well... ..I got a mouth organ off the Christmas tree at time o' day, you know—

KC When you were very small?

WF One o' those six penny things, before I went to school, and he used ti play a wee tune for me, and I suppose it was that that maybe struck the interest?

from: SA 1953/256 Pipe-Majors Brown and Nicol Fieldworker: Robin Lorrimer

BN ...there's one point in John MacDonald's teaching. He always

impressed us, well, as far as I think, you too (to Pipe-Major Brown). He impressed the importance of disregarding staff notation. That was one thing he did impress.

RL Did he say why?

BN Well, he maintained that the old pipers taught it by word of mouth, and he maintained that that was the only method of teaching pibroch.

RL Yes.

BN And he says that staff notation is most misleading, it's never been perfected, in, eh, pibroch music.

RL But he used the book, he would explain things to you with the book in front of you, for example.

BB Oh yes, we sung it off the book, we sung it along with him—

BN Yes, that was just merely to keep on— it was a reference.

RL So that you could see the tune in front of you—

BB So that you could see the tune—

RL As well as have it in your head.

BB Yes, and he put his way of it. Because, staff notation, eh, well, it can be— well, played off in many ways according to each one's fancy. Just the same as you, you listen to someone sing, oh, Loch Lommond, an ordinary person sing it, and then you get some really good, talented singer— two entirely different tunes. Well, it's exactly the same thing with pibroch.

RL It's the time, really, isn't it, and the accentuation, and the rhythm...

BB & And pointing— the scansion of the thing

BN

BB ...but mostly the big pipe and singing. Singing was the main way of memorising. And he sang all the tunes to us. Many's the tunes I never even saw the music of them.

RL He taught you by singing them to you.

BB By singing, the tune, and eh, all the explanations— he could have a look at the music and explain it's deficiencies, and eh, the brutality of staff notation and that sort of thing, and he was taught by singing, by canntaireachd, and he taught us that way.

RL Now, now did he teach you canntaireachd, or did you just pick it up?

BB Oh, just picked it up, we just imitate, we practically sing the same as he sung.

BB ...it's just the movement of, the grace note. Actually (pause) what you, you can make up a canntaireachd to suit yourself.

RL Every piper does...

BB Every piper does.

RL —in fact, but yours is more or less what Johnny MacDonald—

BB Oh yes, that's what he give us.

BN Yes.

from: SA 1960/262 Pipe-Major Robert Brown Fieldworker: the same.

...I mention all this (a list of John MacDonald's tutors) because the first point I would like to emphasise is that all these old players, John MacDonald many times assured me, played exactly the same, or their techniques was exact in every way, the only difference being an odd note here or there, but, and this is the important point, their tempo or speed, and portrayal of the tunes were exactly alike. Of course, the playing all came from one source, and they were all taught by the singing or canntaireachd method.

John MacDonald taught me in this way also. Staff notation for me was just a very good reference for the initial memorising...

from SA 1977/164 Pipe-Major Bob Nicol Fieldworker: Kim Chambers

KC Perhaps we could start with you describing how old Johnny MacDonald used canntaireachd to teach you the pibroch.

BN Well, eh, he never hardly used, we never used a practice chanter, y' know. Everything was sung. And we more or less had the same canntaireachd as Johnny MacDonald.

KC Because you were singing after he would sing to you.

BN Yes, well, it— was just the accepted thing. And we learned much quicker than if ever with the practice chanter. In fact you just don't learn pibroch with the practice chanter.

KC And why is it that the canntaireachd is so much better?

BN Well, you get the song. You see, when they went to a teacher in the old days, they stayed with their master for, I think it was seven years. They had to learn the tune along with the canntaireachd. So I quite believe they had to stay seven years before they got a quantity of tunes. They relied on a very good memory. Nowadays they rely on a tape recorder. Or the book. Which is all right enough, but you still need an instructor.

KC Absolutely.

BN But, eh, of course, John MacDonald didn't accept anybody unless they had alot of years experience behind them.

KC ...I've heard he was quite a hard teacher.

BN Oh, very. He cut me down to size...but he was a very fine man, and there's no doubt about it, he had the pibroch.

KC How many pibroch do you think he knew?

BN I couldn't answer that one, I never saw him look at a book.

KC Over fifty? Over seventy?

BN Oh, three figures.

KC I see, that many.

BN I know that many myself.

KC That's an amazing amount to keep all in the head, isn't it?

BN Well, this is it.

KC Do you think it was because he learned by canntaireachd that he could keep so much in his head?

BN Yes. And again, in his younger days there were no counter-attractions... well, at the present day you've got this thing (the television) ...they had to make their own amusement, and

- that was it. There's no doubt about it, they had better memories, these bards, what have you, terrific memories. And he was a man who was living in the environment of pibroch.
- KC Yes, he came of, he had many very famous tutors, didn't he?
BN Well, Calum 'Piobaire' (MacPherson) was one...he was his star pupil, and he took everything off him.
- KC We were talking..about how you can make up your own canntair-eachd, just for the use of teaching, and how about, well, you know the manuscripts they have in canntaireachd, the Gesto collection and all, uh, what's the difference do you think, between the kind of canntaireachd that John MacDonald used with you, and the kind of canntaireachd you find in these manuscripts.
- BN Well, some of the variations in the words, some of them are the same, y'know. But, uh, of course, I never studied these canntaireachds very much, 'cause they've one failing. They don't give you the length of the note. We've had new tunes coming out from the Piobaireachd Society, deciphered from the canntaireachd. What we get is a lot of even notes, even quavers or something like that...and another thing, I don't think it was for posterity. ...no, it's for their own self, in case they would forget it themselves.
- KC Did you sing it first before you played it on the pipes?
BN Oh yes, we went across it, and analysed the tune, built up—all that sort of thing, and, eh, then, eh, have a go at it on the pipes, he always used to say, "Never mind supposin' you break down, get a feel of the tune on the pipes." Which is a, I use that method myself when I'm teaching. ...I used to go away for a walk, and put the sheet of music in my pocket. Any bit I was forgetting I just walked (worked?) away until I got it into my head, then I'd pick up my pipes and play the tune. That's the best way o' getting a pibroch. But there's a tendency nowadays...in first class competitions too, the tendency is to play rigidly off the book...there's a lot of un-musical playing now.
- BN (After singing the ground of a pibroch) ...you see, you get your, you get your rhythm, you see...aye, it brings the tune out.
- KC Do you think if one is a well trained piper, say by someone like John MacDonald, and you saw a book of canntaireachd of a kind that was familiar to you, would you be able to tell what the length of the notes should be?
- BN I don't think so, I don't think so... it's a failing it has. But, you see, when the, when you go back to the MacCrimmons, they had to learn the tune along with the canntaireachd, y'see.
- KC And the two were never divided in their minds.
BN That's it.
- BN Canntaireachd— is a method of singing. You see the teachers were few and far between in the old days, you see, when that canntaireachd was made, and that's why they're, it differs, two or three styles from one another. But there's not much difference, when you start and go through them, it's more or

less just the way that that teacher put it...

KC Do you think, um, native Gaelic speakers tend to have slightly different canntaireachd...

BN Oh they, they, I've noticed them away on the West Coast, a slightly different way from me. They bring in the letter 'v' a lot in their canntaireachd.

KC But what you were saying was that it doesn't really matter what the sounds are as long as the musical expression is in the singing.

BN That's it.

KC Do you think, um, even the lighter music is better to be learnt by singing?

BN I do it all by singing...oh, yes, I always— you get a right lift into your tune.

from: SA 1972/246 Pipe-Major Bob Nicol Fieldworker: Neville MacKay

BN I think the worst thing that ever happened to pibroch was the day it was put into staff notation.

NM Yes, yes.

BN Because, pipers would have had to learn the canntaireachd; at the present day it would have been a music that was unique in that it was pri— kept in words, no other music like it. And then I think it would have been a bigger study than ever now.

NM Maybe.

BN You see, the, the, old pipers went to a pibroch master for seven years, but they had to learn the canntaireachd along with the tune.

NM Of course, the only way they could learn it.

BN That's the only way they could learn it, and, it would have taken seven years.

NM Yes, yes, and in learning it that way they would have been really digesting it.

BN ...I think it's a great pity it ever landed in staff notation, y'know? You see, something's lost.

NM Yes.

BN They drew lines, and so many notes have got to go in there, and so many in there, and so many in there. —something's drifted.

from SA 1952/119 Angus MacPherson Fieldworker: Calum MacLean

AM ...now my father (Calum 'Piobaire' MacPherson) in turn taught five of my brothers, including myself, and we were taught of course on the oral system, not by any book. The book was there for a reference if we were forgetting a tune, but the system by which he taught us was entirely oral, or canntaireachd as they, as they call it. And, uh, personally, I maintain that once the oral system was done away with and the book substituted, I think that is really when the rot came

into the teaching of pibroch...

CM ...these pipers came to your father's house at Kirk Lodge, and they stayed for some time with him, did they?

AM Yes, oh yes, they stayed there. And of course they had to be at it in the early morning. There was no getting away from the lesson. You might get off for half an hour, but he was very strict on it. And of course as I said already there was no book...

CM Yes, and then did he, he concentrated always on, on pibroch, on the ceòl mòr, rather than the light music?

AM Oh, of course, the ceòl mòr was his main, he also was a very fine jig player and of course could play the light music just, exactly as well as they can today. But he didn't give it the same attention as he did to the, to the pibroch. But jigs especially, he was very fine on jigs. In the olden times, the olden pipers, they went in a lot for jig playing, but very different jigs from what they're playing today. They were heavier and I think altogether better suited for the bagpipe than some of the light stuff you hear today.

CM Yes.

AM I think the jigs of today are inclined to make the pipers light fingered.

CM Quite, yes.

AM And getting light fingered, they lose the heavier touch for ceòl mòr.

CM So playing these, that type of jig was a good training for a player (words obscured) ceòl mòr player later.

AM Exactly. These jigs were a good training for the, the heavier class of music, because there were a lot of taorluath notes in it, and these heavier notes (i.e. ornaments). Nowadays their jigs are more or less skimming the chanter, and, uh, they play them so fast, too, that there's hardly time to bring out the notes so thoroughly and so soundly as they did in the old times.

CM ...But when, let us suppose that a young piper now came to your father and wanted to be taught. How did your father then go about it?

AM Well, of course, uh, if he was starting at the beginning he would begin with the scale, and then he would go on from the scale to the notes, the different notes. And phrases in the pibroch. There was no tunes being played until they were kept for months doing nothing else but playing notes, the different notes, in the pibroch. After they mastered the notes, then they would start a tune. And of course it was taught by word of mouth, the music was phrased and the time given, as it ought to be. ...Personally I think that, uh, when the pibroch became tied up in quavers and crotchets and....all the rest of it, and bars, uh, I think the, the soul of the pibroch got imprisoned. And, uh, to my mind I think it lost its expression, it's soul to a very great extent. Because I maintain that you, you cannot put a man's, the expression of a man's soul on paper.

CM Quite, yes. So in his teaching your father disregarded printed—

AM Absolutely, absolutely...in the old time, they didn't, they kept away from monotony...nowadays it's either a— it's taped off, so to speak, or as if it were measured off with a foot ruler, and every note is more or less the same, has the same time value. Whereas in the teaching of the, the, in the old style it was like a paint—, like an artists picture. All the small things were there, but in their proper place. And I don't think you can do that by writing quavers and semi-quavers nor yet demisemi quavers.

CM Then there's something lacking when they're learning merely from books, without a teacher who's been taught traditionally?

AM Well, unless you've got a teacher beside you who's been thoroughly taught, I maintain that you can never teach yourself from a book. And of course nowadays there are so many books, and the one book seems to be at variance with the other. And we have good men nowadays, as good men perhaps as ever we had. But they're in a quandry as to which book is the correct one. But give these men the oral teaching from a man who's had it been given to himself orally, and I think we could have the pibroch as beautifully played as ever it was.

CM And then, could, could the pipers who were doing, they were phrasing the tunes, thus learning by canntaireachd, could they, they could memorise the tunes that way, they memorised the canntaireachd?

AM Well, there's no doubt about that. The tunes that I learned as a boy, now nearly seventy years ago, they're as fresh in my mind as ever. And anything I've learned off a book within recent years, I lose it. Shows you the difference. By learning it in the oral system, you never forget it. It's like learning the alphabet in school. ...of course, I think the advantage lies with the man who has got the habit of the gaelic language...so far as canntaireachd is concerned.

from SA 1952/120 Angus MacPherson Fieldworker: Calum MacLean

CM The ordinary day then we will say, started out like this— when you were being taught, say there was someone else with you— you were being taught in the house...where your father lived. Say that, let us suppose that Willy MacLean and you were both learning together.

AM And so we were.

CM You got up in the morning and had your breakfast—

AM Yes, and the chanter were the first thing. And we had to keep to it too, till about midday, then we might get a half an hour's play, then back to it again, all the afternoon. Very little play, it was the chanter all, most of the time. And after Willy and I went to bed at night, of course, we went over the pibroch all in the canntaireachd. And we had it in the morning., That's how we got on.

CM But not on Sunday.

AM Oh, Sunday was prohibited, yes, oh yes.

from SA 1953/5 Pipe Major William MacLean Fieldworkers: Calum MacLean and Francis Collinson

WM And he (Calum 'Piobaire' MacPherson) was very strict in his teaching. He started, we got up at, eh, a little after eight in the morning, we had our breakfast at nine and then we started on the practice chanter at ten o'clock. And I had to keep going with the chanter, himself on one side of the fire and I on the other. No books, just memory.

CM Memory, yes.

WM All from memory. He wouldn't take any pupil that couldn't memorise from his own playing. He said that that was the way the music was handed down and if you couldn't get a pupil that was capable of that he would prefer not to have him at all, if he had to teach him from books. So I'd no difficulty, I was getting one and two a day and I could have taken more if he'd given it to me, but he thought I was doing good enough. And, eh, that went on till dinner time, then he took me out in the afternoon, from eh, two o'clock till three or half past three, for a walk, and then we started the chanters again until it was just about six o'clock. And, eh, the chanters was set aside then, we had a wash up, and, and prepared for our supper which we got, in the old highland style; substantial, good, plain, food. And then everything that I had learned on the chanter throughout the day, I had to play it off on the bagpipe from seven until near bedtime.

FC That was a long day.

WM Oh, a long day. He, he, he wouldn't give you any time for to play, much, no, but he never taught on a Saturday, he gave us a Saturday off. He and his son Angus, who's now my friend up in Sutherlandshire, he's still alive; 'n a good piper also, and he and I used to go away out and hunt for hares and rabbits in the snow, with a stick, and keep the pot boiling with rabbits and hares and things like that, and enjoyed ourselves climbing the hills, and... The same process started again on Monday.

(After 2 months Willy MacLean returns home having learned one hundred pibrochs, more than any previous pupil.)

WM ...there were no use of any pupils coming to (the MacCrimmons) unless they could, had a memory for to, for to record in their brain the music they were being taught in their classes. So that's the tradition of the, of the handing down of the pibrochs we have today, and, uh, it's undoubtedly the best system of learning pibroch, because if you read a pibroch from a book, you're learning the tunes from your eyes, not from your ears, and, eh, the memory doesn't carry so well as well as what you've learned by your ear.

FC Did he, he didn't use this canntaireachd?

WM Oh yes, it was canntaireachd music, words that he used as we sometimes— today, in, eh, in, eh, recording the notes to a pupil, we do that by the word of mouth, yes.

CM And he taught you that way, did he?

WM Oh yes, the real MacCrimmon pi— canntaireachd, yes, oh yes.

CM What was it like, actually, can you remember any of it?
WM Well, it was a— like anything else it must have a key before it could be understood. Anyone who didn't understand the, a key to the written music although he might be quite a good player, he wouldn't know what it was at all. But like everything else it has its own alphabet, and, eh, the alphabet for the MacCrimmon canntaireachd is the 'g, a, b, c, d, e, f, high g and high a'. These in the canntaireachd are symbolised by the written word or the sounded word: "Him" (spells it), h, i, m; "hin", h, i, n; h, o, "ho"; h, i, o, "ho" (tape runs out) (scale continued on track B of the tape..)

WM Without the canntaireachd, Mr. Collinson, the pibroch was lost.
FC Yes, yes.

WM Because the Disarming Act of seventeen forty, forty-seven, or forty-eight made it a crime for any piper to play his bagpipe. The music was discouraged, everything Celtic was discouraged, even the highland dress... ..and, eh, the canntaireachd brought the music down to us, fortunately, and, eh, it's really to John MacKay of Raasay, through his son, Angus MacKay, who recorded all the tunes that he got from his father, that we have today. If it hadn't been for John MacKay of Raasay, we were lost.

But of course, like all other things, it's better to be traditionally handed down, from, eh, an older player to play over the tunes, and, eh, then should he forget he can go back to the canntaireachd, if it's printed, and, eh, correct himself through that. Quite independent of the staff notation.

SA 1955/128 D.A. MacKenzie Fieldworker: Calum MacLean

CM And how did you, he work, then, when he started you first? Were you staying with him? Had you a certain assigned hours, or—?

DM No, he was staying with me.

CM He was staying with you. And I suppose that you devoted most of your time to—

DM Oh, most of the time to, to learning pibroch. John MacDonald, of course, that was a pupil of old Calum MacPherson, and one thing that he always mentioned was that all the pibroch that he got from Calum MacPherson was from his lips and from his fingers, never from a book.

CM Never from a book, yes. And you think that is the best way of teaching pibroch?

DM Oh, there's no other way, there is no other way. There was never any book ever written that can teach a man pibroch. For example, a cadence; there is no way of learning a cadence except from a teacher's lips. There's no music that will teach you a cadence.

CM And, uh, can you give an example now of a cadence, how, how, uh, uh, the teacher does it?

DM Well, you can't very well give an example except this, that it's impossible to get the slur of a cadence by looking at

notes in a book. And it's equally impossible to follow the theme of a pibroch by looking at the score. All the people who've compiled pibroch books qualify their ability by saying that this is only a guide.

CM So you think a person, a player who learns from a book will never be the complete piper?

DM Oh, never, impossible. Tuneful, perhaps, but not what's going to carry on the tradition of pibroch.

CM Now of course John MacDonald himself believed in that system too, did he use books much at all?

DM Never used books, John MacDonald never used books except for reference.

DM I knew Sandy Cameron very well, but I never got any tuition from him. But I played to him many a time, and, uh, he was like the old schoolmasters.

CM Yes, 's interesting—

DM A glance at Sandy's face was plenty worth trying—would tell you whether you were on the right lines or not. His fingers would be on a table or on a chair, and if he was no longer interested, the fingers stopped working.

CM And was he a very hard, was he very critical of other people, was he outspoken in his criticism—

DM Oh, no—

CM Of other pipers?

DM All that Sandy Cameron would say if you asked him, "Was that right?" "Well, it's not the way I play it."

CM So he would never say it was wrong.

(During the same interview, D. MacKenzie Junior also speaks:)

DMjr Somehow when he was teaching you pibroch he put it in such a way that the points he wanted you to remember stuck, you, you couldn't forget them, and since, uh, I, I stopped having instruction from him, I've been away, 'n in the army, of course, and among other pipers, and I've tried to, by just looking at a book, play a pibroch. And then I would come hom, ti my father, and play it over, and like, uh, old Sandy Cameron, he'd say that's not the way old John would play it, or teach it. CM Yes, well, what tuition you've had, it's mainly from John MacDonald you had it?

DMjr Oh, yes, all my pibroch instruction came from him. Of course, after, during the war I missed alot of valuable time with him, and uh, although my father can keep me right on any tunes that John gave him, it's— there'll be something missing, it won't be from the old master.

SA 1970/7 Alasdair Boyd Fieldworkers: Peter Cooke & Morag MacLeod

AB Oh, well, the canntaireachd, you see, Angus MacPherson told them (the BBC) that, you see. The canntaireachd, you see, was the real foundation of the pibroch, it wasn't the book.

MM Oh, of course.

AB It was the canntaireachd...

PC Mary Morrison doesn't sing it like that.

MM No, it's different.
AB Is that the Lewis woman?
MM No, uh Barra. (break) It's the wrong sounds, she uses the wrong sounds.
AB Yes... Paddy's Leather Breeches is (sings in canntaireachd), it's not (imitates Mary Morrison)....Well, excuse me for being so wild— I never could listen to that woman.
MM No?
AB No.
PC You mean, the canntaireachd is wrong?
MM But she's not a— yes—
PC Because she, it's using her own canntaireachd, is that it?
AB I don't know what she's using.
MM Oh, she's just imitating the pipes.
AB You see, well—
PC So there is a 'right' canntaireachd?
AB Uh, Paddy's Leather Breeches is a beautiful tune. See this, this, uh— The way, uh— Now, Mary Morrison could never play, but I could play it.
MM This is it, you see, she's not a piper.
AB I could play it, many's the time I did...I could play the tune, she couldn't.
MM No—no—
AB I never could listen to that woman.
PC Because she sings the canntaireachd wrong?
AB I don't know, I wouldn't say she sings it wrong, but, you see, she doesn't know the tunes.

from: SA 1976/26/83 Neil Angus MacDonald Fieldworker: Emily Lyle

EL Are, are there different ways of doing canntaireachd?
Do you find everyone does it...?
NM No—
EL No, it's always the same.
NM Eh, people have it differently. But, you see, I think Gaelic speakers, they sing the canntaireachd in the same way.
EL Yes.
NM But non Gaelic speakers, they pick up their canntaireachd from the syllables, syllables as written down in canntaireachd notation. And, uh, it's not— there isn't the same similarity to the sound that comes out of a pipe chanter. But I think Gaelic speakers have it much closer, a closer resemblance to the actual sound. Now the MacCrimmons were Gaelic speakers, and that is the way they had their canntaireachd, despite the way it appears in the Nether Lorn canntaireachd, and the Campbell canntaireachd, and the different kinds as written down in the Piobaireachd Society books. Very useful, and very good, but I believe that the MacCrimmons sang the song, sang the canntaireachd. Otherwise when it's flat and dead it's meaningless. (sings) Well, I can't do it without singing it, really, and I don't think the MacCrimmons could either.
EL Some people do it that way, and...?
NM Some people sing it in a flat monotone. And, uh, to me, well, I think it loses, unless it's sung it has no music in it, really.

from: SA 1977/168 Pipe-Major Donald Morrison Fieldworker:
Kim Chambers

DM Well, my father of course was very interested in piping, although he wasn't an expert piper. But my two elder brothers, they were quite good. And, the topic of conversation, when there was no television, and many houses without radio, the topic of conversation was piping. And it wasn't just speaking about tunes, it was speaking about various styles and how John MacDonald had played this, and they used to compare it with how Willy Ross played. Willy Ross had classes in South Uist as well.

KC As well?

DM Yes.

KC It really is a piping island.

DM Yes. But John MacDonald had been there from 1908 right up to 1937. And, eh, he was hailed as the allmighty of piping. Nothing he said was wrong.

KC Uh-huh. How long had Willy Ross been coming?

DM Oh, I think it was just for one or two years, I believe it was after the first World War. So, eh, I was speaking about chanter reeds... (description of chanter reeds made from straw.)

KC Was it your brothers that first taught you to pipe, or how did you start learning to pipe?

DM Well, I think I started, probably when I was about four or five, on my own, and, eh, I remember quite distinctly that we had a croft, and of course there was a lot of outdoor work to be done, and I used to sneak back home and try and knock a tune out of the chanter. And my mother used to hide it.

KC This was the practice chanter?

DM This was the practice chanter. And I used to listen for footsteps approaching the door, and try and hide the chanter, but I was often found out, they used to see the mouthpiece of the chanter wet, so they decided to hide it altogether. So when I was about seven, my eldest brother, he decided that it was just as well to give in and start teaching me. But by this time of course, I could remember all the exercises, having heard other pupils being taught in the house. So it was, I had it in my mind, it was just getting the fingers to do it.

KC You knew the music you were aiming for—

DM That's right, I knew the exercises in my mind, and what it should sound like, but it was just a question of somebody teaching me to do the thing right.

KC When you were, when they were hiding the chanter from you, did you ever sing the tunes over instead—

DM Och, this was the thing, I mean, it was very common, working outside, especially in a crofting area like that, it was either singing songs or singing light music or pibroch, this was very, very common...all through the Highlands, really...

DM ...I made several attempts to write out the phonetic scale—

KC Where did you learn that scale, is that just the one they used in Uist?

DM That's the one that was used in Uist. Now, I'm sure that other islands had other ideas...speaking about Bob Nicol earlier, his phonetics are slightly different to mine...we try and, a Gaelic speaker tries to, or, I suppose anyone does, to make it as similar to the sounds of the chanter as you can possibly manage.

(after a discussion of the old pipers' method of accenting stressed beats while singing canntaireachd by pointing them out on their fingers:)

KC Now, when this is put into staff notation, do those beats all come within one measure?

DM They come in with, in bars.

KC That's the same, that's American for a bar.

DM Yes, yes, that's right.

KC But when you count them on your fingers, you don't feel the necessity to make it absolutely regular the way so many players today when they see it in a bar.

DM Oh no, not at all, no, no, not at all (Over KC's last speech). It's, it's, in fact I think time signatures should be done away with all together...because you get phrases— ...the great thing is to keep the phrasing right throughout the tune to the very, very end.

KC Through all the variations.

DM Through every one of them, right to the very end. And get the emphasis in at the end of the phrase or at the, and indeed at the end of the line especially...

DM If it hadn't been for (staff notation) we would have had nothing at all, or very little anyway.

KC It helped preserve the melodies if not the proper pointing.

DM Exactly, exactly.

KC What do you think of the theory that says that learning your music by singing it, um, by canntaireachd, helps you remember it better?

DM Oh, very much so.

KC You think that's true?

DM Yes.

KC Um-hm...why do you think that should be? What's the difference?

DM Well. It's just like somebody hearing a song, you get the song out of a book and you're capable of reading the music to it, it isn't until you've been practising it for a long time that you've got extra feeling in it, which a learner couldn't possibly do. And it's the same with the pibroch, you've got to have a certain feeling for the thing. ...it could be argued against (memorising by canntaireachd) that you could remember the staff notation, but your piping would then become, as I said before, just in little wee packets, without any rhythm, or phrasing, or song to it at all.

KC Could you have told that she (Mary Morrison) wasn't a piper from listening to her?

DM Yes, that's what I meant before when I said that you can—

KC You can tell.

DM Oh yes, you can tell.

- KC And yet she doesn't use, you were describing earlier how the women would, say, chose a 'd' and put that, she doesn't do that.
- DM No, well, perhaps. You're quite right there. Perhaps that was a very wide sweep, saying that.
- KC No, no, I'm just saying now that there must have been something that gave her away as a non-piper to you, because you are a piper.
- DM Well, it's just the little items like, maybe, taorluath movements...and stuff like that...a piper puts in more detail, and the embellishments are put in the correct place.
- KC In the correct place, yes, of course.
- DM Where, eh, a non-piper would maybe just throw in doublings and taorluaths at random.
- KC 'Cause he'd heard the sound from a piper.
- DM Yes, yes.
- KC Did you ever see people dancing to, either to that kind of mouth music or to diddling?
- DM Och, yes...many, many times indeed. Many times.
- KC At what kind of a situation, would it be in the croft or at a barn dance, or— could you describe a situation like that for me?
- DM Well, in my young days it was sort of— especially if there was youngsters learning dancing. Rather than, you didn't have the facility of a piper all the time. The mother would maybe, eh, strike up, if you might call it that, start singing the tunes.
- KC And how about at a function where everyone did go to dance? Would anyone be called forward to do mouth music, or would it only be if the instrument was broken or someone wanted a rest?
- DM It was done, yes, but certainly not so common in my day. (But) I've seen it done.
- KC But not as an everyday— not all the time.
- DM No, no. Because, uh, well, if it was a situation like that, eh, these highland dancers were very noisy...and one singer would hardly be heard!

from: SA 1977/166 Pipe-Major John Stewart Fieldworker: Kim Chambers

- JS ...Colonel Grant of Rothiemurches, one of my old tutors, he was a great believer in this stuff (canntaireachd), in fact I still have somewhere a complete pibroch, the Lament for Donald Dugal MacKay just written on the front of a post-card, just in sound. It's tremendous. And he vainly tried to pump this into me, and at that time it was fairly new, this is going back to 1948, 49, and he was, it was quite a new idea they were trying to put across to pipers...
- KC Do you think the native Gaelic speakers who are pipers have their own, the sounds of their own language in their canntaireachd?
- JS Oh yes, I'm quite sure they have...I would reckon if, I would

reckon that canntaireachd really was Gaelic in origin, the sounds anyway would be Gaelic in origin, and I would reckon they would have a much better command of it from an eloquent sort of, point of speaking, you know?

Appendix 4:

A paper presented to the International Folk Music Council United Kingdom Branch (IFMC UK) at the sixth annual conference held in Cambridge, March 1980.

Concepts of Canntaireachd:
An Analytic Evaluation of Scots Pipers' Perceptions
of their Solmisation System

A topic of increasing interest among ethnomusicologists today is the need to comprehend the indigenous evaluation of a musical event in order to produce a valid and comprehensive description and/or analysis of that event. In this paper I intend to describe a particular problem which confronted me in my work with non-lexical vocables in Scottish traditional music, namely a bewildering lack of uniformity of concepts about music among informants whom I had perceived of as similar in both repertory and performance style. I intend also to demonstrate how analytical judgement was exercised in organising, inter-relating and annotating this plethora of indigenous evaluations. The end result is intended to be an overview of the genre of canntaireachd (pipe-oriented non-lexical vocables) based on the opinions of the people performing within it, but sieved through the equalising and integrating effect of analytic evaluation.

It is frequently difficult if not impossible to elicit direct statements from Scottish traditional musicians about their musical concepts. Like ourselves they find articulation of their ideas about music elusive, and unlike ourselves they feel no particular interest in trying. However in contrast to this, pipers in Scotland frequently have at least one readily accessible layer of pre-articulated concepts about their music in general and canntaireachd (their method of singing their instrumental music) in particular. These concepts are usually absorbed from their teacher/s and/or piping tradition at large, and the repertory of ideas may vary slightly or widely from group to group within the large body of musicians who designate themselves 'pipers'. Although the piping community is disparate both geographically and socially, what seems to govern a piper's ideas and statements about his music and his method of singing it is his view of the traditional role of the piper in Gaelic culture (pre 1745), and thus his view of the role and uses of canntaireachd. Depending on his (or her: piping is not exclusively a male activity) views or beliefs on these topics any informant is liable when questioned to react in a manner appropriate to the context in which he absorbed both his music and the attitudes and ideas of the pipers around him. Though the musical product itself is liable to be similar in both style and repertory to that of pipers

from differing contexts, the set of attitudes and ideas may differ radically. There are a sufficient number of somewhat varied contexts in which pipe music is learned to produce quite a number of differing and even opposing views about what canntaireachd is (and is not), and what it should be used for. I have divided the various opinions detailed to me into two basic categories; those from pipers and those from non-pipers. It will soon become evident, though, that there is a necessity for further divisions within these groups since, for example, it is possible that a non-piper may have concepts identical to one group of pipers and totally dissimilar to another group of non-pipers.

Non-Pipers.

The first group of non-pipers is largely comprised of the relatives (particularly female relatives) of pipers themselves. These are people who have taken an interest in canntaireachd, who understand it and who have absorbed all the related piping lore while growing up in a pipe-oriented family or community. Stories are told of women sitting at pibroch competitions silently repeating the canntaireachd of the piece being played, or following it in a manuscript. Another, better documented instance is an anecdote told of Jeannie Robertson, the famous traveller ballad singer, who interrupted her brother-in-law's performance of a tune to a fieldworker because she felt he was playing it incorrectly, and proceeded to sing it with sounds indicating what she felt were the correct notes. (It should be mentioned that the fieldworker in question was not conversant with canntaireachd, so it may have been a musically aesthetic improvement rather than a correction of syllables and grace notes which she had in mind; the interview was not recorded). This group of non-pipers tends to view canntaireachd in much the same light as the pipers they know do, i.e. principally as a pedagogic tool and mnemonic device, a view which will be discussed in greater depth below.

The second group of non-pipers who use canntaireachd are those who imitate the repertory of sounds used by pipers, but arrange them in a euphonic rather than systematically associative fashion. That is, whereas a piper sings a particular sound to represent a particular note or note-group at a specific point in the music, the non-pipers in question repeat these sounds without any idea of the particular notes pipers intend them to represent, and say that they are "imitating the bagpipe". This practice seems to annoy some pipers; others tolerate it or simply don't consider it canntaireachd. The performers in question usually do label it canntaireachd, or among the travellers, 'cantering', which it seems fairly

safe to assume is derived from the Gaelic word. The non-pipers singing in this fashion use canntaireachd principally as a performance genre, though if questioned about what canntaireachd is for, they describe it as the method pipers use to pass on tunes and communicate about their music among themselves. Thus while they express a view quite similar to the first group described above, in practice they use canntaireachd differently.

A third group of non-pipers consists of a large body of traditional musicians who are vaguely aware of canntaireachd in one or another of its mutations, but who do not perform or understand it themselves. Many will describe it in terms similar to the groups already mentioned; i.e. as the piper's method of passing on his tunes down the generations, but they may also regard it as something slightly exotic or bizarre, and even somewhat humorous, an attitude which might be labelled the 'hi-derum ho-derum' syndrome. This attitude springs in part, I think, from the lack of understanding of canntaireachd as a rational system, a form of solmisation, and in part from the Gaelic sounds and constructions in it which often strike the mono-glot English speaker as peculiar. A fairly prevalent example is the practice of beginning a vocable with /x/, the voiceless velar fricative heard as the final segment in 'loch'; a phoneme which does not appear word-initially in Scots-English.

Pipers.

There are many bodies of opinion and stylistic factions within the piping world, but the split concerning us here is between pipers who have been taught by (and uphold the idea of) canntaireachd, and those who have learned from staff notation only and who are unconcerned with or even dismissive of canntaireachd. I have yet to meet a piper who has been taught by canntaireachd who was not a staunch upholder of the method, however it should be mentioned that since my study has been of non-lexical vocables rather than of a lack of them I have principally talked to and read about the former category of piper, and only occasionally come across the latter, though many of them certainly exist in the present day.

A handy, if somewhat 'tongue in cheek' label to describe the first group of pipers who use canntaireachd is the "apostolic" pipers, a term supposedly coined by John MacDonald of Inverness. This term refers to pipers who can trace the line of descent of their piping tradition (and

tuition) through a series of illustrious performers right back to one of the famous piping schools or piping families of the 18th century. These include, first and foremost, the MacCrimmon's collage at Boreraig on Skye, as well as the piping families of MacKay, MacArthur, Campbell, Rankin, MacIntyre and etc. These "apostolic" pipers have all been taught principally with canntaireachd, and seem to regard both it and the piped version of their music as a living link with and symbol of the now greatly declined Highland culture and its values. Canntaireachd itself is regarded as the best, indeed the only viable way to transmit and preserve not only the melodies of the repertory of pibroch (the "classical music" of the Highland bagpipe), but more particularly the associated aesthetic so necessary for a "meaningful" performance in the genre. A complaint commonly made by the few remaining "apostolic" pipers is that performers today, who have learned from staff notation, play their tunes too squarely and without the essential "lights and shades" and "pointing" (pipers' terms referring to subtle phrasing achieved through the delicate use of rubato). Both the instrumental and the sung version of a pibroch are viewed by "apostolic" pipers as capable of arousing emotions ranging from those of patriotic pride and martial valour to bucolic bliss, plus a host of others which seem to the modern eye not unmingled with nostalgia. Writing in 1838 Angus MacKay rhapsodises to the effect:

The Phìob Mhor, or Great Highland Bagpipe...therefore is sacred to Scotland, to whose inhabitants it speaks a language which no others can appreciate, and excites a feeling in their breasts to which others are strangers. The sound of the Highland Pipe has stimulated to Heroism, by the sonorous notes of the loud piobaireachd; and by its soft and wailing strains it has subdued the rougher feelings of our nature; it has melted the lion-hearts of sorrowing clansmen, as they bore the body of their chief to the resting place of his fathers, or brought back to remembrance the virtues and misfortunes of departed friends. Its sprightly tones have enhanced the happiness of the Highlander at the festive board or social fireside, and beguiled the tedious hours of winter's solitude. Its notes solace the shepherd on the lonely heath, and charm the guileless maid in the occupations of pastoral life... When assembled on the green, the Highland youth, forgetting the toils of the day, meet from distant hills and straths and mix in the sprightly and exhilarating dance, with an ecstasy which to strangers is surprising. (1)

Speaking in particular of canntaireachd, Captain Neil MacLeod of Gesto puts the following statement beneath the title of his book of MacCrimmon canntaireachd:

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In the hope that these ancient relics may be thus preserved for future generations, and tend to keep up and foster that spirit which they have in former times and are still so well calculated to excite. (2)

The somewhat romanticised view expressed above is not always acceptable to pipers today, some of whom prize canntaireachd ^{more} for its usefulness and effectiveness as a pedagogic tool and a mnemonic than for its ability to symbolise a once proud culture. Such pipers tend to see staff notation as a useful corollary to canntaireachd: instead of clinging to the concept of canntaireachd as the one and only method of learning as in days before pipers had ever heard of staff notation, they tend instead to learn the notes of a new piece from a printed source and then proceed to their teacher to get a "proper", traditional interpretation through sung canntaireachd. It is considered to be essential that the canntaireachd be sung (though not necessarily live in this day of cheap cassette machines). Written canntaireachd is useful to remind one of a tune once learned and then forgotten, but it cannot, unaided, pass on a "meaningful" interpretation; or such is the view of most pipers using canntaireachd today.

I have already stated that for status in the "apostolic" piping world you must have learned your pipe music through canntaireachd passed on from a known and accredited piping source who can trace his own line of transmission back through the centuries to the MacCrimmons (or other piping family) in a kind of piping genealogy. Because of this glorification of piping heroes it is important to pipers who wish to uphold the tradition that they should play as much like these old masters as possible. Since they perceive canntaireachd to be the primary method of transmitting and preserving this tradition, it is important to them to think of it as unchanging or at least, changing as little as possible, so as to preserve the music as much as possible in its original form. This concept causes what the analytic eye sees as a split between the ideal and the real: between what such pipers would like to think they sing and what they actually do sing. Despite their insistence on having received the music just as their tutor passed it to them (and he from his tutor and so on back to source), many pipers also volunteer other, contradictory statements.

For instance, although it is considered crucial to learn an interpretation from an acknowledged master (thus tapping in to the centuries old traditional way of playing), pipers say that to become such a master you must have or develop the musical ability to produce a fresh (or perhaps

freshened) interpretation of your own. This would, presumeably, be composed within the stylistic confines of the genre, but it is still evident that mimicry alone is not enough to establish a reputation.

Another contradiction can be seen in pipers' descriptions of themselves as "picking up canntaireachd off several tutors," as well as incorporating sounds and methods of representing the music which they evolve individually. This is virtually a direct contradiction of the concept of learning a piece verbatim, from the lips of the master. To the analytic eye it seems rather that the two methods combine: a large proportion of the sounds (and general interpretation) from various tutors is blended with the individual's own methods to emerge as an idiosyncratic system with sufficient common elements to communicate successfully with a broad spectrum of pipers.

Another problem with the idea of playing and especially singing like the old masters is that only one of the old systems of canntaireachd is in use today (that of the Nether Lorn, or Campbell canntaireachd), revived by the Piobaireachd Society in their publications. The MacCrimmon canntaireachd (and it is principally to the MacCrimmons that pipers trace back their genealogies) survives only in MacLeod of Gesto's book of twenty tunes (a work which still presents many riddles and inconsistencies to pipe scholars today); in a setting of The Cameron Gathering in the Laing Collection of manuscripts (Edinburgh University Library) which was also transcribed by Capt. MacLeod; and in Simon Fraser's manuscript (National Library of Scotland). Although the latter describes both an "old" and a "new" MacCrimmon canntaireachd, it seems most likely that the "new" system is an intelligent and systematic development of Simon Fraser's own, based on and perhaps influenced by the MacCrimmon canntaireachd he claims to have been taught.

To a piper who upholds the idea of canntaireachd, and views it as expressive of Gaelic culture, the sounds used and the interpretation rendered through the medium of canntaireachd should ideally remain within the boundaries of a style which represents to him the golden age of piping, the heyday of the MacCrimmons. Realistically it is not necessary for the sounds or interpretation to remain unchanged, but only for them to communicate the music effectively and memorably so that the repertory survives. Indeed, it seems likely that a mere parrot-like mimicry from one generation to the next would long since have resulted in the stagnation and disappearance of the genre. So, although the "apostolic" pipers' conception of canntaireachd

means that they tend to perceive it as largely unchanging, its use by a large body of individuals as a means of musical communication makes it extremely unlikely that it could remain static, especially as it was and is still primarily an oral tradition.

"Apostolic" pipers in particular and some other canntaireachd-using pipers as well tend to draw a distinction between their own kind of canntaireachd, which is used principally but not invariably to represent pibroch (the 'big music' in theme and variation form), and the vocabelising used by other pipers who lack the benefit of training from an illustrious tutor, and whose repertoires favour ceol beag (literally, 'small music'), i.e. jigs, reels, marches, strathspeys and airs. Despite the similarity of the sounds in question, and the presence in both groups of pipers of the idea of the one-to-one ratio between vocables and notes, the former do not consider the vocabelising of the latter to be "real" canntaireachd. The following statement comes from a piper more perceptive, perhaps, than many.

...this type of canntaireachd, well, what some pipers mistakenly refer to as canntaireachd, isn't necessarily the Nether Lorn or something else, it's just a sort of guttural shorthand for notes they've picked up themselves, and some of them mistakenly call this canntaireachd.

Later in the same interview, he continued:

...again, I stress that this isn't true canntaireachd, but it's just a style of— any piper, if I was trying to get something across would know exactly what I was getting at, you know? So in a way, I suppose it serves the same purpose.

(Pipe-Major John Stewart on School of Scottish Studies Sound Archive tape 1977/166. Fieldworker: Kim Chambers)

This discrimination arises in part, I think, from the same split described earlier, between what "apostolic" and some other pipers think they sing and what they actually do sing. I would hazard the guess that labels like "guttural shorthand" are not assigned on the basis of the use of different sounds and constructions (for they are all quite similar), nor because of the lack of an associative use of vocables (since in general it is only non-pipers who use them non-associatively). Instead such terms are assigned to the vocabelising of pipers whose repertoires favour ceol beag, sometimes to the exclusion of pibroch, and who lack the distinction of training under an illustrious tutor. In short, though ostensibly making a judgement of the music and vocables themselves,

the pipers are actually basing their criteria for judgement on musical background, or context of musical upbringing.

Another reason for this attitude might arise from the "apostolic" piper's view of canntaireachd as a phenomenon which, to be effective, must have been handed down from an acknowledged master. It would reasonably follow that a piper who sings canntaireachd without the benefit of this tuition cannot be properly attuned with the tradition, and so is not singing "real"canntaireachd. In actual fact it appears that in most canntaireachd performed vocally, by any piper, there are both minor 'inaccuracies' (for example, a vowel assigned to one pitch being used for another, or for several others), and also sounds which are not representative of anything the bagpipe can reproduce (for example, slides between one note and the next.) These 'inaccuracies' (which do not in any way diminish the effectiveness of the musical communication) are not regarded as mistakes, in fact they are generally not regarded at all, and are often repeated in diachronic performances of the piece along with the subtle vocal-musical nuances which help to comprise the all important "interpretation", so dear to the hearts of "apostolic" pipers. In short, both the piper's learning process and his subsequent internal refashioning of a piece until it re-emerges stamped by his individual musicality, seem to take place in precisely the same fashion whether the original canntaireachd was drummed in by one tutor, or absorbed from piping tradition at large.

Although one of the most frequently expressed views of canntaireachd is that it represents the instrumental version of a piece in a one-to-one ratio, to the analytic eye there seems to be a real question as to how far a piper is, at the time of singing, relating in his mind the notes on the pipe to the vocables he is producing, and how far the original translation of instrumental music to vocables (however received and modified) has solidified or 'jelled' in his mind. It seems to be that the melody, the vocables, and the physical action of fingering the chanter all become inextricably intertwined. Evidence for this can be seen in the piper's ubiquitous habit of fingering whatever is handy when he sings canntaireachd, whether it be a walking stick, a poker, his own thigh, someone else's wrist or a rolled-up paper handkerchief; and also in statements from informants who say that they hear the canntaireachd of a piece in their mind as they play the tune on the pipes. Further evidence for this blending and solidifying process is that a performance of

canntaireachd is regarded as a musically expressive, autonomous whole running parallel with and not subservient to the instrumental version.

How is it, then, that canntaireachd is simultaneously considered to be an autonomous, musically viable medium for expressing a piece and a practical, pedagogic tool? The confusion only arises because these attitudes have been divorced by my analysis from their respective contexts. To a piper, snatches of canntaireachd used during a lesson by his tutor convey information about both notes and fingerings, and any bridging material or purely vocal musical expression is either disregarded or translated into musical expression on the pipe. The same piper, giving or listening to a performance of canntaireachd, adapts his attitude with the change in context, and regards the canntaireachd as the performer intends it: as a unified, musically expressive whole. Thus the two ideas co-exist without conflict because the contexts from which they arise seldom overlap.

Lack of space prevents me from touching on some other concepts about canntaireachd, as held, for instance, by pipers who have learned it entirely from a printed source, such as the Piobaireachd Society publications, as well as from more exhaustive discussion of the ideas and concepts introduced above. I have tried to show how the exercise of analytic evaluation enabled me to understand that what I first perceived as a bewildering and conflicting variety of opinions were in fact the necessary product of my individual informants' musical backgrounds and contexts. Further analysis of these backgrounds, and of the motivations for performing the music helped to elucidate the reasons for the occasional gap between what pipers say they sing and what they actually do sing, as well as suggesting reasons for the somewhat élitist attitude held by a minority of pipers.

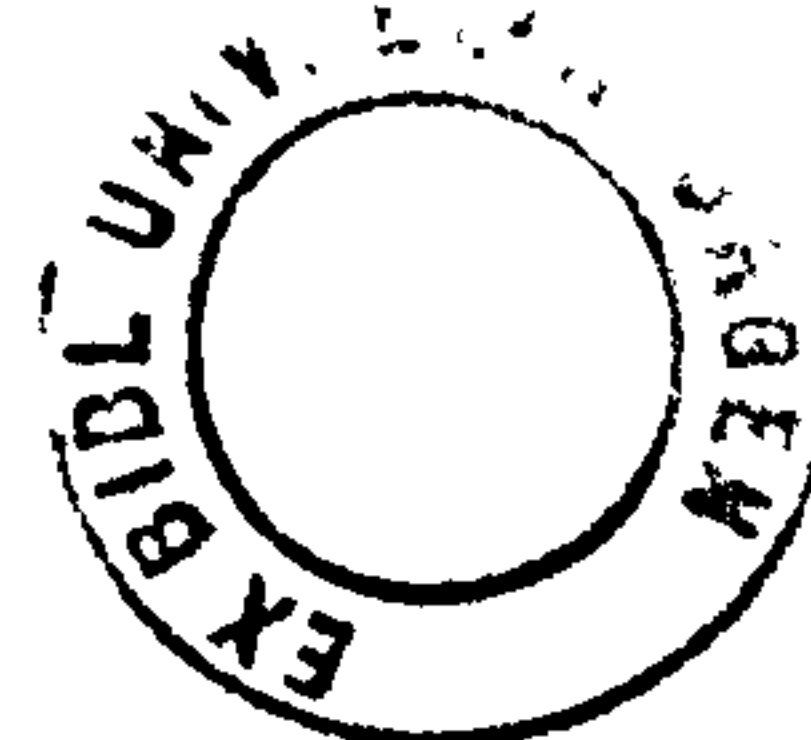
It is certainly clear that comprehension of the varying and sometimes conflicting "indigenous musical models" of Scottish pipers can only be achieved by the exercise of analytic evaluation. It is also clear that in this study, as in any study dealing with informants unused to analysing their own concepts and attitudes (which must surely include the great majority of ethnomusicological projects), the exercise of analytic judgement is essential in assessing, equating and integrating the "indigenous models" once these are understood, so that the end result is as near as possible an unbiased and balanced view of the complex of phenomena surrounding the music in question.

- 1 Angus MacKay, A Collection of Ancient Piobaireachd or Highland Bagpipe Music (Aberdeen, 1838) p.15
- 2 Captain Neil MacLeod of Gesto, A Collection of Piobaireachd or Pipe Tunes as Verbally Taught by the M'Crummy Pipers in the Isle of Skye... (Edinburgh, 1826) National Library of Scotland MS 9615

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Chambers, Christine Knox

Ph.D. 1980
INDEX OF MUSICAL EXAMPLE TAPE:

Side A:

	<u>SA number</u>	<u>Performer</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Fieldworker</u>
1a.	SA 1972/185/A5	Davy Glen	Dovecote Park	Peter Cooke
b.	SA 1969/53/A4	Ethel Findlater	Bonnie Nellie Gordon	Alan Bruford
c.	SA 1977/2/B4	Willie Fraser	East Neuk o' Fife	Kim Chambers
			Reel o' Stumpie	
1980 ✕ d.	SA 1967/10/A2	Donald MacColl	"da phort"	-?
2a.	SA 1977/3/A4	Stanley Robertson	The White Cockade	Kim Chambers
b.	SA 1977/104/4	Andrew Poleson	Da Oyster	Peter Cooke
c.	SA 1955/71/B4b.	Jimmy Stewart	Da Meetin' o' da Waters	Hamish Henderson
3a.	SA 1953/238/A8 and 236/	Belle Stewart	two pipe marches	Hamish Henderson
b.	SA 1953/196/B5	Betsy White	a pipe march	-?
c.	SA 1951/11/B6	Mary Morrison	Mrs. MacLeod	-?
4a.	SA 1953/4/B10	PM W. MacLean	Cailleach a' Mhuilleir	Francis Collinson & Calum MacLean
b.	SA 1953/253/A1	Calum Johnston	Cille Chrìosd	Calum MacLean
c.	SA 1953/4/B1	PM W. MacLean	Cronan na Caillich	Francis Collinson & Calum MacLean
d.	SA 1970/7/A4	Alasdair Boyd	pipe march	Peter Cooke & Morag MacLeod
e.	SA 1960/262/	PM R. Brown	Lament for the Union	PM Brown

Side B:

f.	SA 1976/264	PM R. Brown	Lament for the Union	Neville MacKay
g.	SA 1977/166/A13	& PM R. Nicol John Stewart	Glendaruel Highlanders	Kim Chambers
5a.	SA 1977/3	Stanley Robertson	Mrs. MacLeod of Raasay (pipe)	Kim Chambers
b.	" " "	" "	" " " (fiddle)	" "
c.	SA 1977/5	Duncan Williamson	Mrs. MacLeod	" "
d.	SA 1977/164/B3	PM R. Nicol	" "	" "
e.	SA 1977/1	Tom Anderson	" "	" "
f.	SA 1951/11/B6	Mary Morrison	" "	-?
g.	SA 1970/184	Willie Fraser	" (fiddle)	Peter Cooke
h.	SA 1977/2/B1a.	" "	" (" ")	Kim Chambers
i.	SA 1956/50	" "	" (pipe)	Hamish Henderson
j.	SA 1977/2/B1b.	" "	" (" ")	Kim Chambers
6a.	SA 1962/66/A5	Elizabeth Ireland	When First in London I Arrived	Hamish Henderson
b.	SA 1965/159/B11	D. MacMartin	The Jolly Beggar	" "
c.	SA 1961/40/A2	Ina Allanson	The Gypsy Laddie	" "
d.	SA 1952/22/B15	John Strachan	Rovin' Sarah Kelly	" "
e.	SA 1960/56/A1	Gavin Castle	The Souter's Feast	" "
7a.	SA 1954/142/2	Kate Buchanan	Thog mi n'oidche ga b' fhad i	Calum MacLean
b.	SA 1955/47/2	" "	Cairistiona	" "
c.	SA 1953/8/A2	Annie Arnott	Hi u o ra hu bho	" "

INDEX OF MUSICAL SAMPLE TAPE CONT'D:

7d. SA 1953/11/A1	Annie Arnott	Seinn, o ho ro seinn	Calum MacLean
e. SA 1956/86/8	Nan MacKinnon	Tha mi dol a dheanu bainis	" "
f. SA 1957/15/A3	Jessie MacKenzie	Ba Ba mo leanan	" "
