IRISH TRADITIONAL DANCE-MUSIC,

a sociological study of its structure, development and functions in the past and at present

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PART I: INTRODUCTION TO THE SUBJECT OF STUDY AND TO THE MODEL USED

THE SUBJECT OF STUDY.

In present day Ireland, many different social groups of people use a certain kind of music in different ways, in different social settings. The various users refer to the music concerned as 'traditional music', Irish music' or 'ceili music'. Although these users may indicate that the music used is not always in all aspects the same, they contend that basically one single kind of music is used under all these different circumstances. I will refer to this music as 'Irish traditional music' since this label is accepted by all as the most general for the music concerned. More precisely, I will label the music under study as 'Irish traditional dance-music', a label which excludes certain categories of musical items with which the present study is not concerned.
This dance-music, according to the users referred to, consists of a large amount of tunes, which can be placed in a few categories on the basis of certain common elements of musical structure. According to many users the tunes from these categories may be referred to as 'ceili music'. However, since according to others this label indicates a rather special social setting, and a special way of playing the tunes, I prefer to refer to the tunes as belonging to the categories of Irish traditional dance-music.
The subject of this study is this music and its various users and settings. Some basic questions which this study tries to answer are : Why is this music used in so many different settings, by different social groups? Which processes have caused the creation, acceptance and use of this music?
As has been indicated already, the various users do not contend that the music concerned is the same in all aspects, within all the various social settings. In relation to this other important questions are : Why are there musical differences between the various settings, and why is the music still regarded as basically the same? Which processes have caused these differences?

MUSICAL STYLE AND MUSICAL CHANGE.

The main questions raised in this study thus have to do with social diffusion of the use of specific categories of music, and with musical changes within these categories which, according to the users, do not basically change the musical assumptions on which the classification of tunes in these categories is based. In other words, we have to do with radical

[illegible] of musical styles by specific social groups which did not use these styles before, and other musical change which does not radically change the style used by specific social groups. The concept of <u>style</u> needs some elaboration here.

<u>Style</u>, one may say, is a system of musical assumptions which governs musical experiences. These musical assumptions act as norms, which regulate both the creation of music belonging to the style and the experience of this music by users(1,2). Music belonging to a certain style may be thought of as a codified message, while the musical assumptions of this style together form the key to decode the message(3). But although in these metaphors music is seen as subject to 'assumptions' or 'norms' which are present in the mind of the user, such norms are only activated by certain aspects of musical structure. One recognizes sound patterns as belonging to a certain style because they have these aspects in common. Such aspects may be seen as basic characteristics of the style concerned, or as musical characteristics 'required' by the style concerned. The categories of Irish traditional dance-music referred to under the previous heading are stylistic categories; all tunes which belong to one category exhibit the characteristics of that category. In <u>part II</u> a number of these characteristics will be analysed. They will be classified at two different levels; as <u>invariable aspects</u> of musical structure (such aspects have to be present in the tune concerned [illegible] recognizes as belonging to the category concerned) or as <u>variable aspects</u> of musical structure (the variation may affect the character of the tune without affecting its categorical position). A certain hierarchy is implied; variation of a variable aspect [illegible] its musical importance when the invariable aspects [illegible] [illegible] that they may be socially very significant (as will be indicated in part IV). But the presence of the invariables is a necessary condition for this social significance. [illegible] music which exhibits the invariable aspects which characterise this style.

In the same way, musical change which does not do away music [illegible]

the style of Irish traditional dance-music leaves most invariables of the music belonging to the stylistic categories intact. Such changes may enlarge the breadth of variation of the variable aspects or, the other way around, reduce this breadth and even turn variable aspects into invariable aspects. On the other hand, invariables may be 'challenged' individually, without disrupting the whole stylistic system. Such an invariable then becomes a variable aspect. Such processes will be described in parts III and [illegible].

THE MODEL USED.

1. The concept of social genre.

Up to this point the music with which the present study is concerned has been approached as pure sound. Music however is created, performed and otherwise used in 'social situations', i.e. it involves human behaviour, and results from human behaviour. Hence we do not have to do with pure sound only, but with human behaviour of participants in socio-musical situations, which results in sound patterns, but also in dance patterns for instance, and in other social patterns. Still the word music in common language indicates pure sound as abstracted from these processes of behaviour from which this sound results. And this concept of music exists not only in my personal language community but in many other language communities as well, including Ireland. While musical sound is generated by processes of human behaviour, as product it is experienced as being to some extent independent. 1) Socio-musical situations [illegible] of complexes of human behaviour, at a specific time and place, which result in music or are related to this music. These situations [illegible] which can be observed immediately, the music – [illegible] stylistic category – and the complex of behaviour [illegible] a certain group at a certain time and place.

[illegible] stylistic category, and [illegible] times and places. [illegible] actualizations of a specific social genre. Although this is an abstraction, I assume that it exists in the minds of the [illegible] (e.g. 'last night of the proms' refers not just to one particular [illegible], but to a category of socio-musical occasions). A social genre consists of the same components

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1). In general people even aim at this independence of the product. [illegible] musical cultures exhibit a seperation in tasks between musicians and other participants in the socio-musical situation. Only the musician is immediately involved in the process. Radios etc. even have de-humanized [illegible]

as can be observed in its actualizations, but only in abstracto. In the Irish situation we may speak about different social genres of Irish traditional dance-music, each involving different users, different forms of behaviour in relation to the music, and often different forms of behaviour resulting in music, and each involving different settings.

2. Relations between social genres and social organization; the concept of meaning.

A radical change in musical style, or a gradual change of a style, thus involves changes in social genres. What makes social genres change? Many writers have assumed that such change is in one way or another related to social change within other fields of interaction within the society concerned. I assume that there is a certain relationship between social genres and social organization (10) of societies in which these genres may be said to exist, and that therefore change of social organization may cause changes in the social genres. Change of social organization affects the participants of social genres in one way or another, and this may induce changes within the genres.
What then is the nature of the relation between social genres and social organization? The model used within the present study assumes that musical activity, as taking place within socio-musical situations, has a certain meaning for the participants. The musical activity is by the participants experienced as meaningful, as sensible; and we may say that the need for meaningful musical activity arises as a social need from the social organization. People with a similar social background (in this study indicated as social group or social category of people, regardless of whether or not the people concerned have in addition interaction [illegible]) [illegible] social needs for specific meaningful musical activity. [illegible] are shaped and moulded by the social organization. The [illegible] will be used in a metaphorical sense, which [illegible] in the word 'meaningful'. At the present [illegible] are not able to tell what a certain musical activity [illegible]. Rather: meaning will be used as a correlative concept: specific musical activity is meaningful to participants in specific social genres who share a specific social background and outlook.

Nevertheless, let us [illegible] the linguistic connotation of meaning. If musical activity has a certain meaning to participants we have to ask: what is the relation between musical activity ('signifiant') in

linguistic terminology) and meaning ('signifié') is meaning a quality which is inherent in specific musical activity. If this is the case, then a specific social group or category would be very likely to select a specific musical activity, since that particular musical activity would be inherently meaningful to the people concerned, in relation to their social backgrounds. Eventually an aim of musicology could be to forecast what social genre will prevail if we know the social organisation and the social background of the participants. Another possibility is that there is no such inherent relation between musical activity and meaning. The meaning of a musical activity, as experienced by participants, would be the result of historical processes of association. In linguistics this assumption is usually adopted.

Without rejecting the first assumption outright, I believe that musicology at present does not have the sophisticated tools and methodology to test this assumption of inherent meaning as a hypothesis.1) I assume that we have to do with historical processes of association of meanings with specific musical activities, but that these musical activities have some basic a-historical components as well. In other words, at one level a certain musical activity may be meaningful because of its intrinsic relations with processes in the human body and mind; at another level meanings may be 'ascribed' to musical activities because of certain processes of learning.

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1). Some writers have suggested that intrinsic relationships may exist between tonal structures, emotional structures, structures of patterns of thought and/or social structure in general:
'...and he (the fieldworker) must be looking all the time for patterns of thought or of social interaction that seem to be related to the patterns of music which he hears and performs'. (Blacking (4)).
'We must also (record)...correspondences between [illegible] relationships that are expressed in other fields of social life'. Blacking (5).
'The contrasts in styles of fiddling [illegible] strings, one one would like to know if the ornamentation [illegible] from [illegible] southwards...can be [illegible] of social [illegible], as the continuity of social groups in [illegible]'. Blacking [illegible]
[illegible] in England', A.L. Lloyd [illegible] [illegible] movement in England [illegible] the [illegible] agricultural [illegible] by [illegible] driving them from the [illegible] of the common [illegible]. [illegible] with a stylistic change in the folksongs. The [illegible] style displayed 'emphasis on the strong notes of the mode', 'melodic movement which is not held up by hesitating progress or undue overlay on ornamental [illegible]'. The new style displayed 'wavering and unemphatic movement, lingering on weak tones'(7). Lloyd interpreted this as follows: '[illegible] plight and its effect on what they sang, not merely on the [illegible] the [illegible], but also on the way they expressed their tunes. If this is [illegible] so, then the hovering, meandering qualities of so many of our [illegible] tunes...may be seen as the product of emotional disarray'.(8).
The present writer assumes that it takes more than such 'common sense' experience of melodic patterns to understand their meaning for the groups concerned.

kinds of [illegible] associated with musical activity by historical processes of [illegible] social genres on the part of potential participants. These meanings are in fact abstractions from these social genres; they are 'images' of the typical group of actors, of their attitudes and backgrounds, and of their behaviour within the socio-musical situations in which the genres are actualized. Such meanings may be said to be associated with the components of social genres, both with the behaviour of the participants (generally called use by musicologists) and with the musical component, which belongs to certain stylistic categories. The potential participant may select those genres which are adequate for him, in relation to his personal background and attitudes. Because these meanings are adequate, in the same way he may reject other genres. So when a certain group or category initiates a particular genre of Irish traditional dance-music we may look for similar social genres of this music with which these new participants were acquainted, and try to understand why those genres had adequate meanings for the new participants. Here processes of learning and communication are involved, which may be studied.

On the other hand, when meanings as conceived by potential participants are not altogether adequate for them, they do not necessarily have to reject the integral social genre. They may change aspects of meaning by changing aspects of use or of the musical component, in order to make the meanings more congruent, more suitable, in relation to their attitudes. As we will see in parts III and IV, both aspects of use and of musical structure may change. If change of aspects of musical structure does not radically alter the characteristics of the style, i.e. if the invariables (and the broad lay-out of variation of the variables) do not change thoroughly, the musical component may be seen as still belonging to the same style of music. For such a judgement about the nature of musical changes in research one has to rely on the various participants. Whether such changes occur, processes of learning and communication are involved as well, and may be studied.

Meanings are present within any social genre; they are one of the components, together with use and music. Of course there are intricate relations between these three components. Human behaviour in socio-musical situations of a genre generates both patterns of use and patterns of musical sound. Meaning is associated with both types of patterns, and correlates these patterns and the social backgrounds and attitudes of the participants.

3. Processes of communication.

As I mentioned already, processes of learning and communication play an important role within processes of changes in musical activity. The model of social genre thus is not complete but has to be completed with potential communication channels between social groups or categories. Some of these channels may be 'local', e.g. when a new generation becomes acquainted with existing local social genres. Here communication is the basis for socialization of the potential participants. Local channels also may be involved in enculturation, e.g. when the social background of a local social group changes (because of changes in social organization); this group may start to take part in genres which existed locally but were not experienced as suitable by the group concerned, under earlier circumstances. Other channels are not local, but link social groups which are not acquainted with each other's local social genres. Again socialization of a new generation or enculturation of a group which experienced social change may be involved. Such channels may be formed by travellers, collectors, conquerors, or media like radio, discs, television etc.

All components of a social genre may be 'transmitted' through such channels. They may however be distorted because of special qualities of the communication circuit. The channel itself may only be fit to communicate specific information; and the receiving party may only be prepared to receive specific information.

We have seen that sound patterns are generated by human behaviour within socio-musical situations, but are often experienced as having a considerable degree of independence. Sound patterns seem to be easy to transmit, and easy to receive. Distortion is most likely to affect the other components, the patterns of use and the meanings. This may affect musical development. When transmission is very complete - as may be the case through some local channels - the receivers may evaluate the various components according to suitability. When transmission is less complete - usually transmitting the sound patterns with relatively the least amount of distortion - we may say that the receivers are more free in their evaluation of what has been transmitted. In the first case, radical rejection of a musical style, or acceptance of a new style, either indicates that the style used before (in relation to its use) had meanings which are not at all suitable for the receivers, or that suitable meanings could not be created by minor changes in the style (or in use). Minor changes in style (or use) indicate that the style as used before (in relation to its use) had

meanings which were not completely suitable but only needed a small adaptation of the style (or use) to become adequate. In the second case, radical rejection or acceptance of a style is less or even hardly related to meanings existing within the 'genre of origin'; the receivers base their evaluation on distorted meanings; the meanings ascribed by them may hardly be related to the original genre. The musical history of urban middle classes in part III will offer a good example. In this case minor changes of style can also not be explained as adaptations to make the meaning as present within the original genre more adequate. In this case only a close examination of the socio-musical backgrounds of the receivers can give an explanation of such stylistic change.

It may be clear that musical stasis or stasis of social genre - the absense of change - is a rather peculiar kind of musical development. Such stasis requires completely undistorted communication and complete acceptation of the style (and use) as being suitable. Theoretically this might happen within a small, completely isolated community completely unaffected by social change. It also may happen where the genre is regarded as sacrosanct, and is protected in monasteries or related institutions, where it is practised and taught.

4. Availability.

The number and quality of communication channels may limit the possible variety of musical activity within a certain community. Similar limitation may be caused by the development of technology - e.g. absence of suitable musical instruments, accommodation for socio-musical situations, drink or whatsoever - or by the development of local social organization - e.g. absence of enough local potential participants, lack of money, negative sanctions etc. Indeed communication channels are also governed both by technology and social organization. We may say that in this way the availability of elements necessary for specific musical activity is limited.

5. Summary of the model, in relation to the study.

The model used in the present study shows musical activity as taking place within social genres, with as components patterns of use and patterns of sound; the patterns of sound belong to certain stylistic categories. Meanings of these components correlate the social genres to the attitudes and social backgrounds of the social groups or categories of participants; such meanings may partly be inherent in the sound patterns and/or patterns of use, but are seen as to a large extent resulting from historical processes of association. As such they

imply processes of communication through certain channels. Changes in social genres indicate that the meanings as perceived by the receivers of the communication are not adequate. Possible changes are radical rejection of a style and the adoption of a new one, or minor changes which do not radically alter the style. Of course changes in patterns of use are possible as well. The development of technology and social organisation limits the availability of elements necessary for musical activity: this may force potential participants to engage in musical activities of which the meanings are not altogether adequate.

This study is concerned with social genres of Irish traditional music, and more specifically with radical rejection or acceptance of music belonging to categories of dance-tunes and gradual change of the characteristics of the tunes belonging to these categories. These characteristics of the various categories will be analysed in part II, and will be classed as invariables or variables. While invariables are seen as necessary condition for experience of the music as Irish traditional dance-music, specific variation of the variables may be socially very significant; they depend however on the realization of the invariables.

Part III is concerned with Irish history, and focuses on the development of various social genres of the music concerned, in relation to social developments of categories of people. In this description the main processes of communication will be discussed; important meanings which seem to arise from this development and communication will be mentioned, and changes in aspects of the musical structure of the sound patterns will be dealt with.

Part IV is the result of fieldwork done by the present writer in a [illegible] [illegible] the development of social genres will be followed [illegible] in relation to the development of local social groups [illegible] in Part III, information can be given on the [illegible] involved, and on patterns of use. Channels between the local genres and channels with genres elsewhere, will be [illegible] of availability will be dealt with. Considerable attention will be given to the local 'traditional musicians'.

MODEL AND THEORY

Strictly seen, a model is not a theory. However, as nearly all models, the model presented in the previous paragraph implies certain theories. One is, that meanings are at least not completely inherent in patterns of sound and patterns of use, but that they are at least partly the result of historical processes of association.

Another theory which is implicit in the model needs some discussion here. It is assumed that specific meanings are associated with sound patterns, and that music may be communicated partly together with these associated meanings.

Sound patterns, generated in processes of human behaviour, become separate entities as products. They are easily communicated and quite communicative. They can be recognized as belonging to a specific social genre by those who are acquainted with the genre, since they exhibit the invariables and significant variables which are characteristic of the style concerned. Hence they signal the genres; they are the 'jingle' of its socio-musical situations. Depending on the qualities of communication channels, this music may be communicated together with meanings which are abstractions of the social genre: of the prevailing patterns of use, and of the participating social groups and their attitudes and backgrounds. In this way they do not signal but symbolize the genre concerned. This music, associated and communicated with abstractions from the social genre, will be referred to as musical genre. The quality of the musical genre as perceived limits its suitability for application within other social genres. Of course the musical genre of one specific kind of music is not conceived as the same by all to whom it is communicated; this depends first in all on the quality of communication.

A third theory is that meanings - as associated with sound patterns - may become more adequate by change of certain aspects of musical structure. This of course is related to the first theory mentioned as well. If the aspect of musical structure has specific inherent 'aspects of meaning' before and after the change, such a change indeed may make the 'total meaning' more adequate. Otherwise, if meaning is not at all inherent, such change must be related to previous musical experiences of the people concerned. At present, this subject seems rather too difficult to deal with. The impossibility of predicting the direction of change makes this 'theory' rather unsophisticated.

These theories probably can not be tested in a 'scientistic' way, i.e. by formulation of hypotheses which after operationalization can be falsified. However, the present study may enable us to arrive at some conclusions regarding their plausibility.

The model itself does not have to be rejected when these theories are not plausible. The model has to be evaluated on its sophistication, on the elegance of description it allows for, and most of all on the

insight it generates when applied. Rejection of the above mentioned theories may cause its reformulation or rejection eventually, since such theories determine to a large extent what sophistication or insight is, in relation to the subject matter.

REFERENCES

1., 2. See L.B. Meyer, Music, the arts and ideas, Chicago 1967. On p.8 musical style is described as an 'internalized probability system'. p.9: 'In short, the probability relationships embodied in a particular musical style together with the various modes of mental behaviour involved in the perception and understanding of the materials of the style constitute the norms of the style'.

3. A. Willener, Music and sociology (Cultures I, nr.1, UNESCO) Paris 1973, quotes P.Bourdieu on p.240:'Each individual has a defined capacity to appreend the information in a work of art, a capacity which is determined by his knowledge attached to the generic code attached to the type of message under construction.'

4. J. Blacking, Fieldwork in African music, in Review of ethnology 3-23, Vienna 1973, p.178

5. J. Blacking, op.cit. p.178

6. J. Blacking, Review of Folk music and dances of Ireland by B. Breathnach, in Irish folk music studies nr.1, Dublin 1972-1973,p.56-59.

7. A.L. Lloyd, Folksong in England, London 1967, p.230.

8. A.L. Lloyd, op.cit. p.230.

9. A.L. Lloyd, op.cit. p.231.

10. See about the concept of social organization: R. Firth: Social organization and social change, J.R. anthrop. inst. 84 (1954) p.1-20.

II. THE MUSICAL STRUCTURE OF THE TRADITIONAL DANCE-MUSIC

Introduction.

In the next paragraphs an analysis will be presented of the common aspects of musical structure within the various form-categories of Irish traditional dance-music. I will start with concepts and descriptions used by the musicians and their various audiences, and I will add some observations of my own.

This analysis serves various purposes. One is to present the basic ideas of the musicians to the reader, and also those ideas which seem to play a very important part in the music, but are hardly mentioned verbally. Another is to give a description of the basic elements, the basic characteristics of the style, of the tunes belonging to the various categories; these, as indicated in the previous chapter, may be the necessary conditions for the music to be meaningful to various social groups of people. A third purpose is to indicate that, alongside these basic elements, other elements play a role, not so much in defining the tunes concerned as belonging to a particular stylistic category of tunes, but in relating the music to the social use made of this music and to the ideas of the people who use the music. The music under discussion here is referred to as dance-music both by players and other participants, although the music is very often used for listening to, not for dancing. Some structural elements are more likely to figure in the dance-music when it is used for listening purposes, others when it is used for dancing. And there are various kinds of dancing, the most important division being between stepdancing (which is a solo exercise, although in some stepdances more than one dancer dance at the same time) and set dancing (which is done by a number of couples); different kinds of dancing are related to different kinds of musical elements within the dance-music. Thus, the less 'basic' elements vary according to use, and according to social occasions when music is used, and the social backgrounds of the people who prefer a certain pattern of usage, since as we will see social background and patterns of usage are related. But the 'basic' elements do not vary: they enable the music to be meaningful, although it is quite possible that the varying elements are much more directly associated with meaning within the various social groups concerned.

It must be stated explicitly here that the method of analysis of the music used has nothing to do with procedures of segmentation as have been applied e.g. by N. Ruwet to monodic music. Such procedures start from notations of the music concerned, which subsequently are cut in fragments which are regrouped on various levels; the aim is to find out what the characteristic elements of the music are without using such undefined and subjective concepts as motive or theme. Indeed the procedures of segmentation referred to depart from a series of rules, or prescriptions, which have been formulated in advance. I do not feel at ease with that approach. There is no guarantee at all that the rules followed are correct; moreover fragmenting melodic lines causes neglect of elements which have to do with absolute continuity. The analysis as presented in the next pages is the result of many discussions with musicians, and of information gathered in situations of musical participation like learning. The aim is to find the characteristics as experienced by the participants in socio-musical situations, especially by the musicians.

In relation to this method used, the reader should be informed of two possible sources of bias. The first is that most material was gathered in Feakle. Certain characteristics may be Feakle pecularities. I have however been able to check at least a part of the data against information gathered in other areas, especially in Dublin.

Another possible bias is related to my participation as a musician. This participation led to certain problems, which are discussed in part IV. Among these were problems of conceptualization in relation to aspects of musical structure (especially where the 'head-structure' is concerned; see pages 36 and 45-46 about this concept). These problems will be considered again in part IV (see p.158-159).

The musicians comment on the following aspects of musical structure:

A. Time
B. Tune
C. Formal structure
D. Names of tunes
E. Variation
F. Musical instruments used
G. Other personal elements

In fact C (formal structure) is an aspect of B (tune) but it is often discussed indepently.

Within paragraphs A–E we will encounter the invariables of the music concerned, together with some variables; the remaining paragraphs deal with variables only. Paragraph H deals with creativity, which is often mentioned but is not an aspect of musical structure proper.

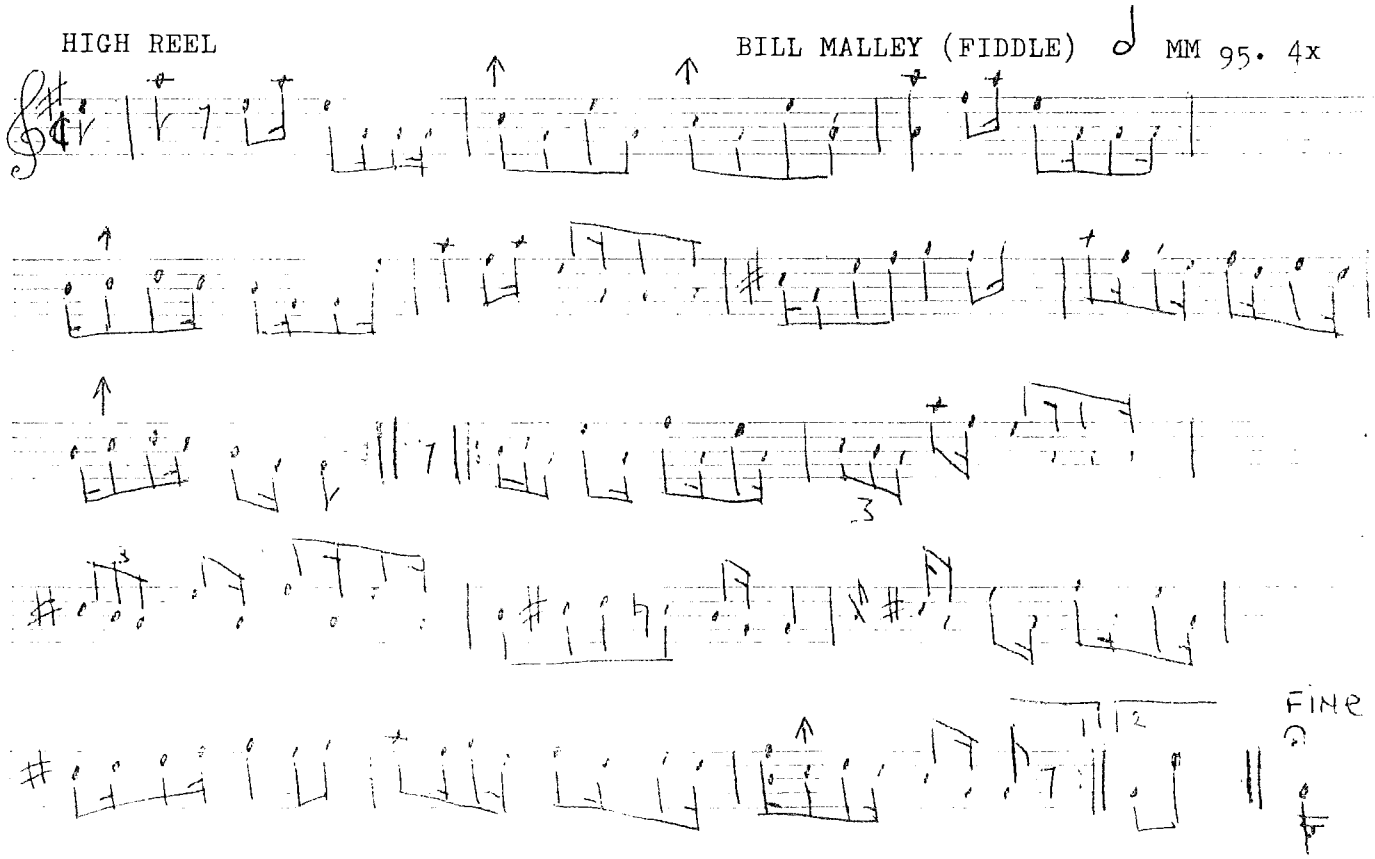
A. 'Time'. The concept of 'time' as used by the musicians has three implications, which are interrelated. Bill Malley, a fiddler from Glendree near Feakle once mentioned two implications, when he said about the old plainset: 'You need jigtime music, fast time like' (referring to quadrilles and special locally used jigs).

A1. 'Reeltime','Jigtime'. Probably the most important 'categorical feature' of a tune is its time, or basic rhythm, which is called xxx-time: reeltime, jigtime, polkatime etc.

A1.1. A reel basically consists of a flow of quavers (according to the usual notation), interrupted by crotchets or dotted crochets as part of the phrasing-design (Fig.1).

(In all transcriptions ↑ means: slightly higher than indicated, and ↓: slightly lower. The rhythmical motive ♪♪ has the same duration as a crotchet, but the first note is slightly longer than the second. Numbers in the upper right corner indicate tempo and number of repetitions of the tune as a whole)

Fig.1



Although it is not suggested by the staff-notation, each 1st, 3rd, 5th and 7th quaver in a bar is often slightly longer, and the next slightly shorter, than a quaver. Sometimes this is so obvious that it should be indicated in the transcription; therefore I sometimes use the symbol ♫ . These two notes take the length of one crotchet, but the first is slightly longer, the second slightly shorter than a quaver; the symbol ♪♪ would be not far from the mark, but it

suggests a strict 2 to 1 relationship, while the two notes which have to be represented are a bit more equal in size; moreover, the use of the $\overset{3}{\overset{\frown}{\text{♪♪}}}$-symbol would cause confusion within the context of so many quavers and crotchets. The symbol ♩♪ represents the opposite relationship; it occurs less often.

The exact rhythm is, in Feakle at least, very personal. Some players favour a rhythm which comes close to $\overset{3}{\overset{\frown}{\text{♪♪}}}$ $\overset{3}{\overset{\frown}{\text{♪♪}}}$; sometimes this comes out even more clearly when they play slowly. Others play much more with a '1 to 1-ratio'. The difference is incidental, since it does not affect the basic reeltime, jigtime etc. notion. But it is a clear feature of personal style, which sometimes is discussed (by players) as 'a kind of swing'. No verbal statements were made about this rhythmical distinction outside the context of 'personal style'.

The possible substitution of two quavers or one crotchet by a triplet might be related to this aspect of time. This substitution will be discussed under E.

Upbeat-phrasing is very common in reeltime: the rhythm may start with e.g. ♪♪♪, ♪♪♪♪, ♩♪, ♪♪ (Fig.2) . Some reels do not have such an upbeat.

LORD GORDON (first part) VINCENT GRIFFIN (FIDDLE) MM 108

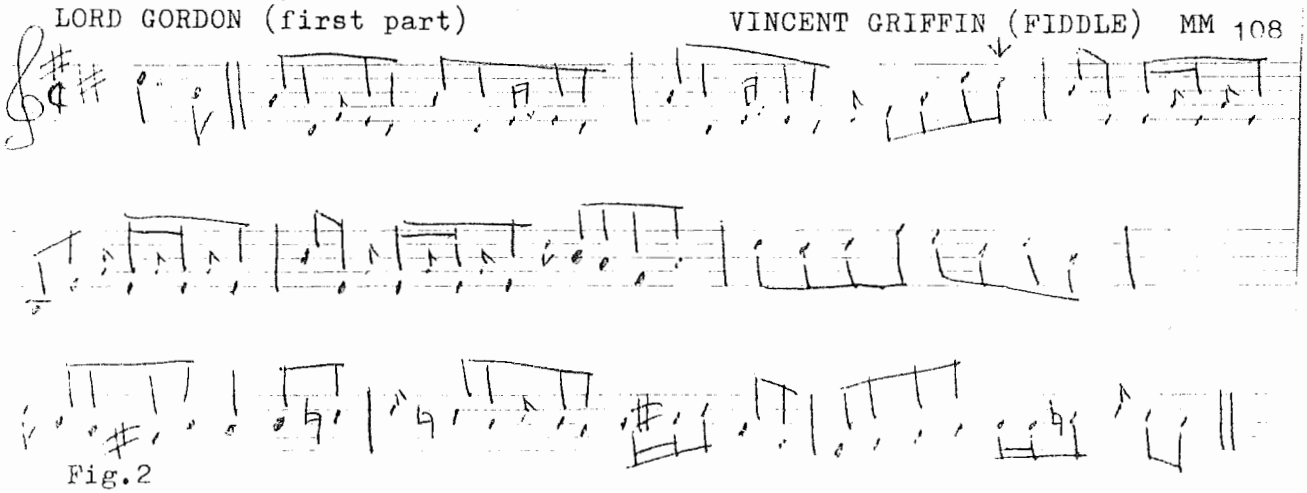


Fig.2

As is clear in the examples, the usual notation of reels is in bars of eight quavers, divided into two groups of four. Indeed every first and fifth quaver-place is accented. Some set dancers favour an emphasis on the 3rd and th quaverplace at the start of the 'first strain' of a reel, and this is obvious in the playing of some musicians. In fact some musicians favour a continuous tension between the strong 1st and 5th, and the 'syncope'- 3rd and 7th quaver-places. Modern forms of accompaniment, like the bass and chords on the accordion or the piano often standardize this tension: the bass-note is sounded on the 'strong' places, the chord on the 'syncope'-

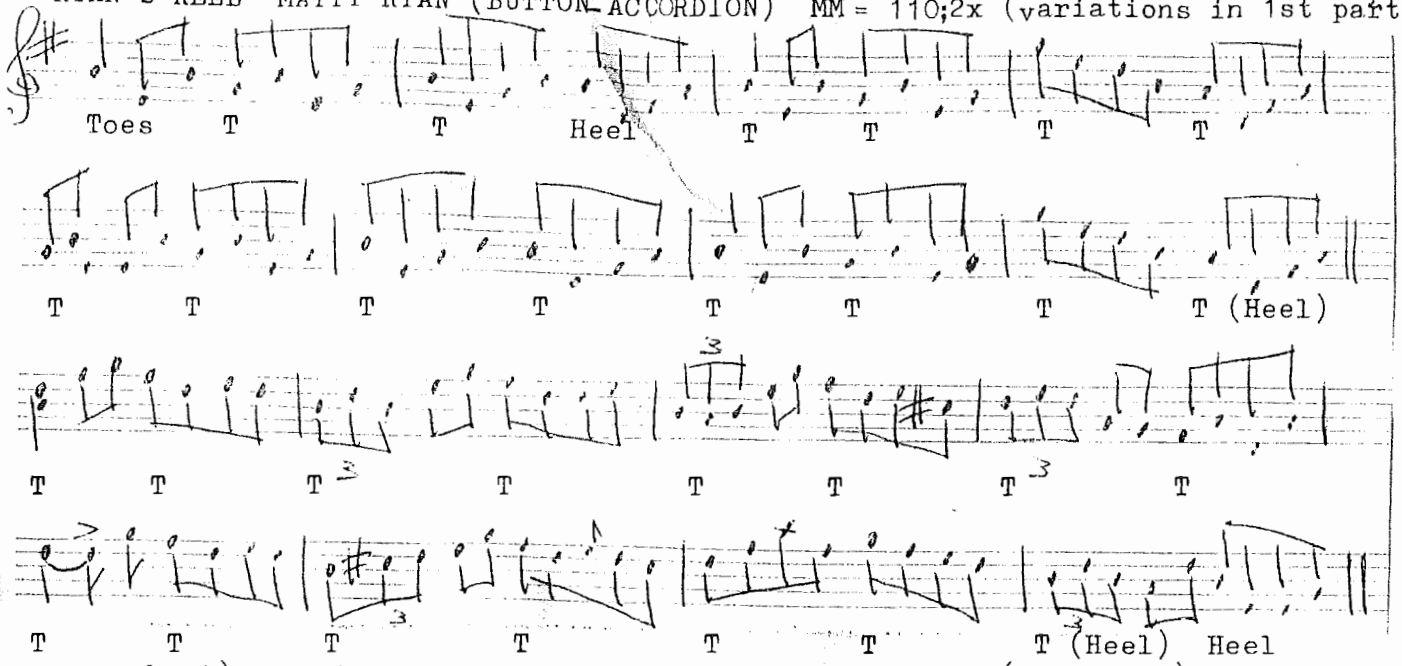
places. Such music is only used for dancing, especially set dancing.

The use of alla breve - bars for the transcription of reels is customary, though often rather haphazard, I think: in many reels 16 quavers to the bar would be more likely, because of the idiomatic 'return of the head' (the main theme of the tune) after 4 beats of 4 quavers. (See page 45)
These beats are made visible and audible in the foot-tapping of the musicians. This is an 'obligato' part of the music. The tapping is completely regular (the common tap divides the alla breve bar into two half notes) and it seems to be the basic framework on which the player builds his music. Somehow it is the key to the musical experience: the player does not play well, nor does he feel at ease, when he is not tapping his foot; and active listeners enter the musical experience by tapping the foot as well. It is the completely regular tapping of the foot of the musician which relates the rhythm of the particular tune to the tempo and also functions as a balance for the time of the dance (e.g. reeltime) and the particular pattern of stresses (both agogic and dynamic) that the musician brings into the tune. Thus the foot tap is a bridge between the various aspects of 'time'.
Most players start tapping one or two beats after starting the playing. They are not conscious of the tapping at the same level on which they are aware of the tune-playing; but aware of it they are, and sometimes they comment on tapping habits. When somebody records their music, some musicians offer to tap without 'making noise', by taking off a shoe for instance. Of course it is up to the one who wants to record to cope with this adequately. Personally I preferred to record the tapping as a part of the music, because the tapping seems necessary for the playing, and because there are audible relationships between types of tapping and 'time'-aspects of the tunes. But when musicians offer to make the tapping inaudible, they suggest that the sound of the tapping should not be a part of a proper recording. This is possibly the result of previous recordings, in which the taps are not heard: indeed many of the commercially available records of this music lack the sound of the tapping.
There are many ways of tapping the feet. The musicians usually sit when playing, and tap with the front part of the foot, in most cases the right one, but often enough the left. Some use both together, especially when spirits are high. Some use the heel, and many will substitute the ordinary tap with an incidental heel tap, especially before the first 'return of the theme' in jigs or reels (in east Clare anyway) and when the whole first part of the tune starts to be repeated. This may be related to some figures in the east Clare set, which change at the same spot (see Fig.3).(See for a description of this set page 139.)
Although the usual tapping for reels that I observed in Ireland is one tap for a half note, a slight majority of the local Feakle musicians tap their feet twice as fast in relation to the time. This often coincides with a specific 'jumping' quality of their music. This tapping is done by alternating the feet, or by alternating heels and toes.

A1.2. A jig has only three 'quavers' to the usual tap (and three to two taps in the older Feakle style: two to the first and one to the second). Jigs are usually transcribed in 6/8 time, as a flow of quavers, again sometimes interrupted by a crotchet (usually at the end of a phrase) or a dotted crotchet (often at the beginning, after the up-

Fig.3

RYAN'S REEL MATTY RYAN (BUTTON ACCORDION) MM = 110;2x (variations in 1st part



beat). Nearly all jigs have an upheat-structure. (See Fig.4)

JIG P.JOE HAYES (FIDDLE) MM 118 3x

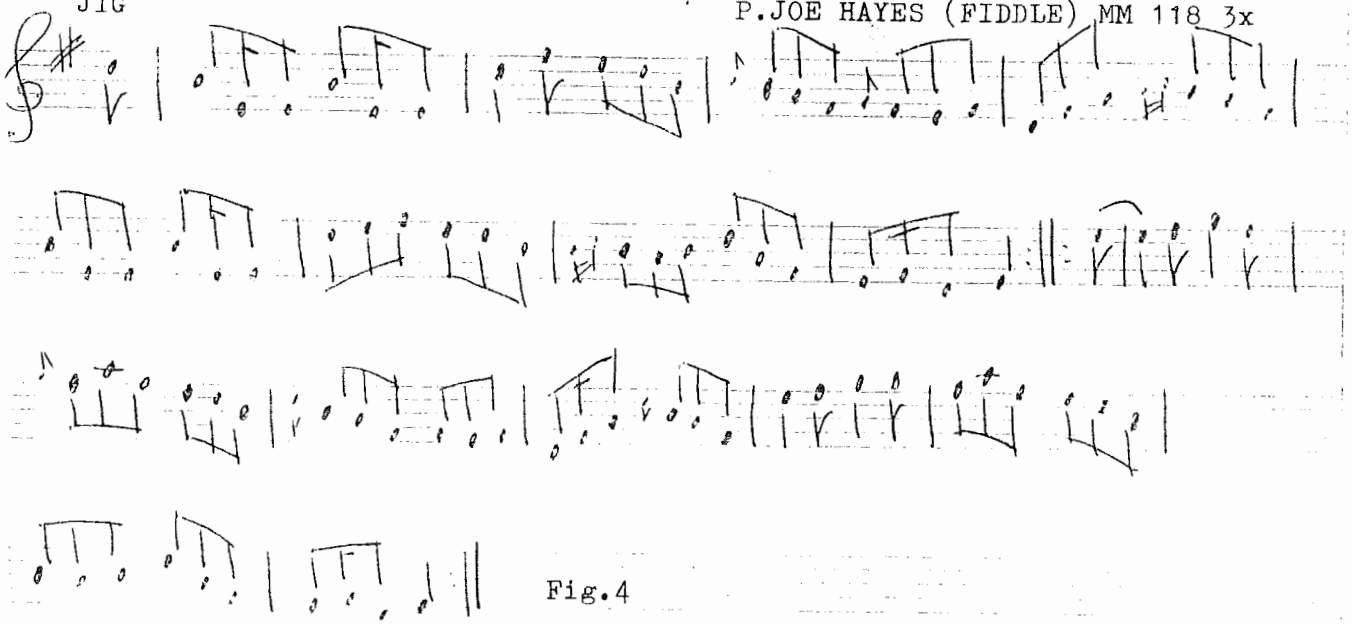
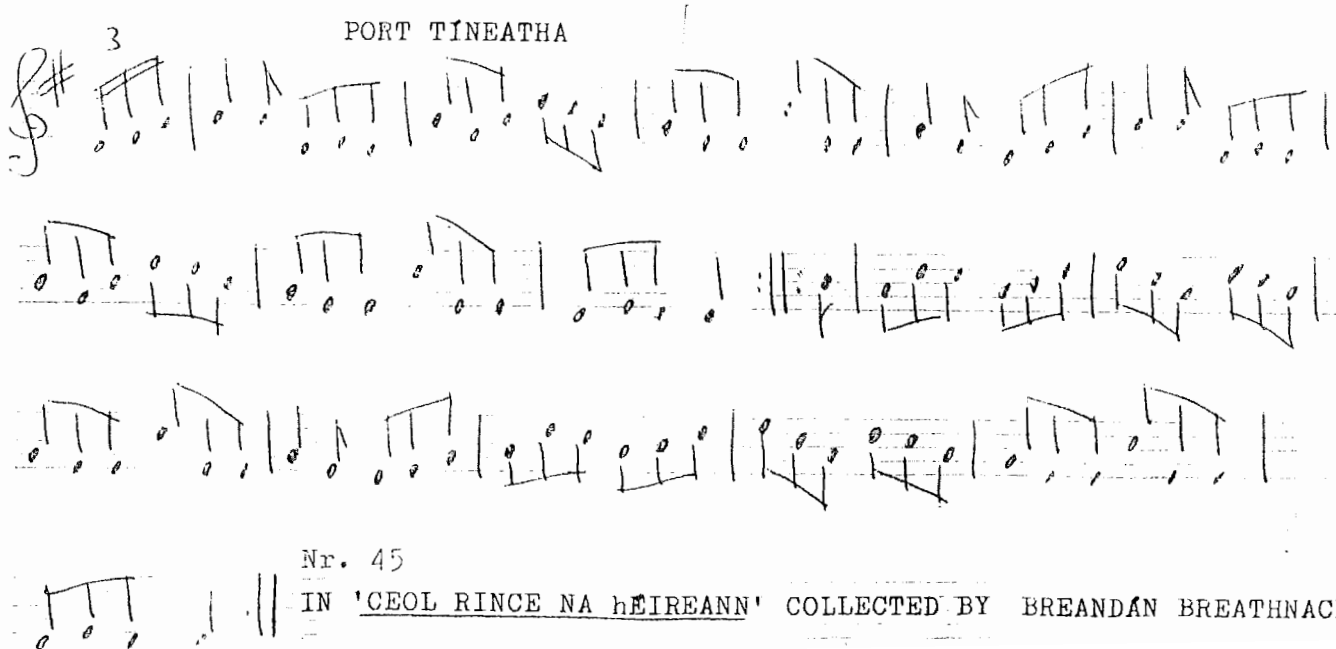


Fig.4

PORT TÍNEATHA



Nr. 45

IN 'CEOL RINCE NA hÉIREANN' COLLECTED BY BREANDÁN BREATHNACH

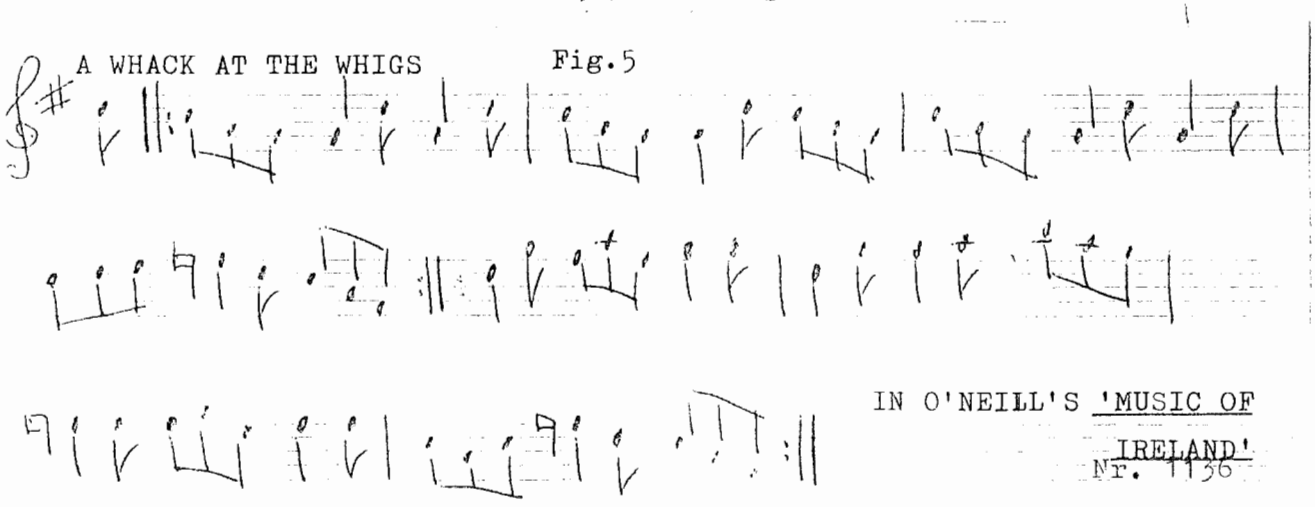
As with the reel, the 'quavers' are often not all of the same length. I use the symbol  to indicate that the three notes have the same <u>total</u> duration as a dotted crotchet (like three quavers) but that the second one is considerably shorter than the other two; usually the first is longer than the third. Although (as in the case of reel-transcriptions) this symbol will only be used if differences in length are rather large, hardly any musician plays jigs with quavers of equal length: the first is usually longer than the second (in very few cases the opposite happens, represented by the symbol ). This is so basic in jigtime that three quavers of equal length sometimes function as a <u>variation</u> in the music of the uilleann pipes.

This type of jig, the <u>double jig</u>, is used for stepdances, sets and for listening to. While reels form a large majority of the repertoire of present day traditional musicians, the jigs come second.

Two other types exist:

The <u>slip jig</u> (or <u>hop jig</u>): three common taps of three 'quavers' are grouped together. There is no upbeat structure. The number of bars in the phrases of double jigs is twice the number of bars in the phrases of slip jigs (see page 51). See Fig.5.

A WHACK AT THE WHIGS Fig.5

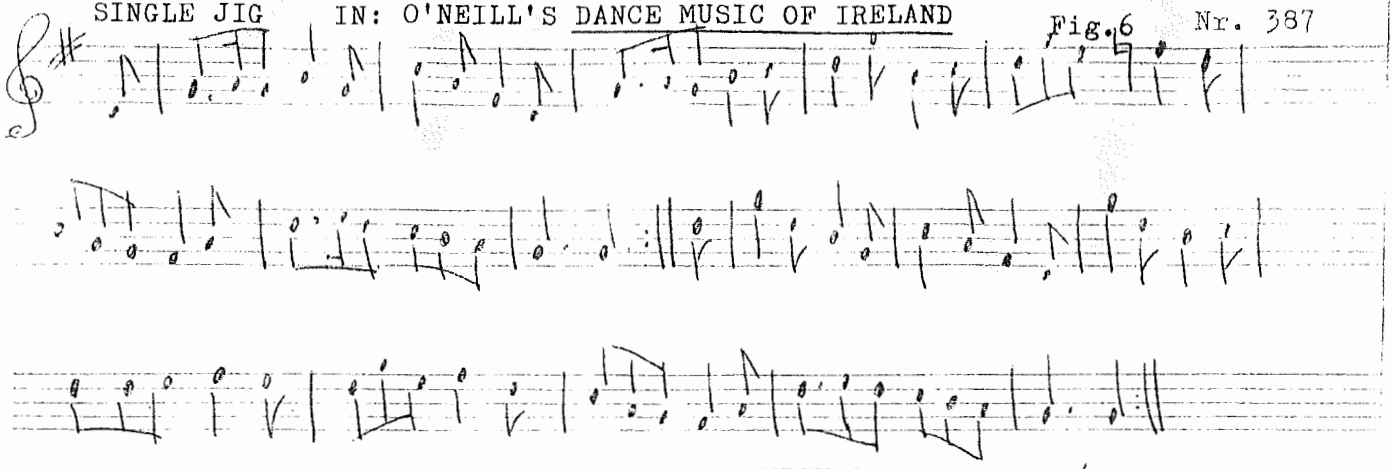


IN O'NEILL'S <u>'MUSIC OF IRELAND'</u> Nr. 1136

I only once heard a slip jig played by a musician of the Feakle group of musicians. No informant mentioned slip jigs as a part of the older Feakle social genres. Slip jigs are tunes for the slip jig stepdance; as far as I know they are never played for sets.

The <u>single jig</u>: in this type of tune the rhythmical motive  is the basis of the time. Single jig is also the name of the stepdance for which these tunes are used. The name 'single jig' is hardly known among the Feakle musicians. They will refer to this kind of tune (which they do not play) as <u>slides</u> (see fig. 6 and 7).

SINGLE JIG IN: O'NEILL'S DANCE MUSIC OF IRELAND Fig.6 Nr. 387



SLIDE IN: 'TUTOR FOR THE FEADÓG STÁIN' MICHEAL O hALMHAIN/SEAMUS MACMATHUNA

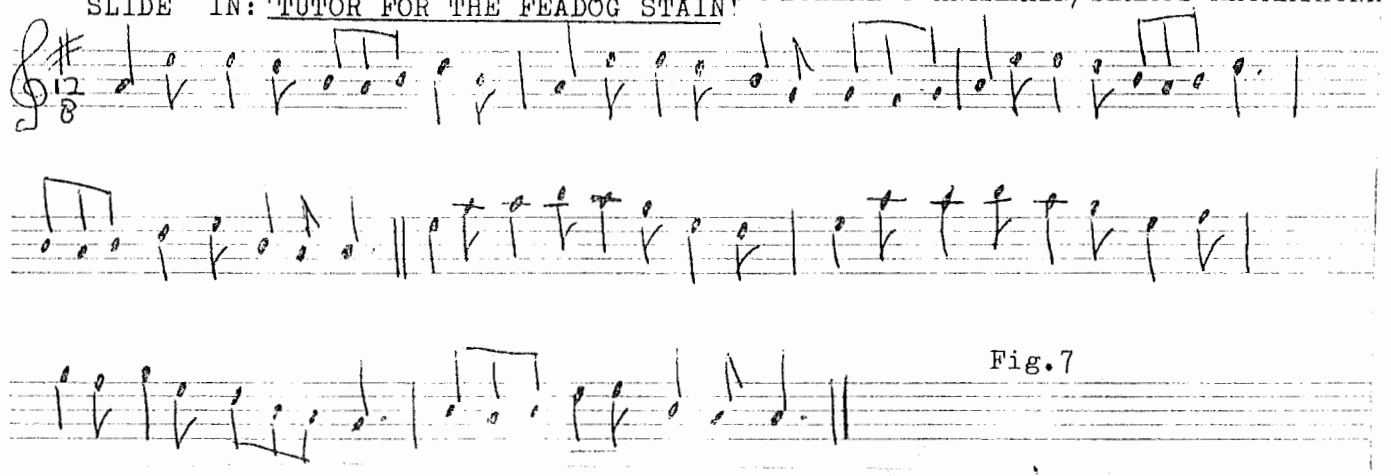


Fig.7

Slides form a class of tunes from Kerry, in the south-west of the country, with a basic rhythm familiar to that of the single jigs, although the tempo is a bit faster, and the dances associated with both classes of tunes are completely different.

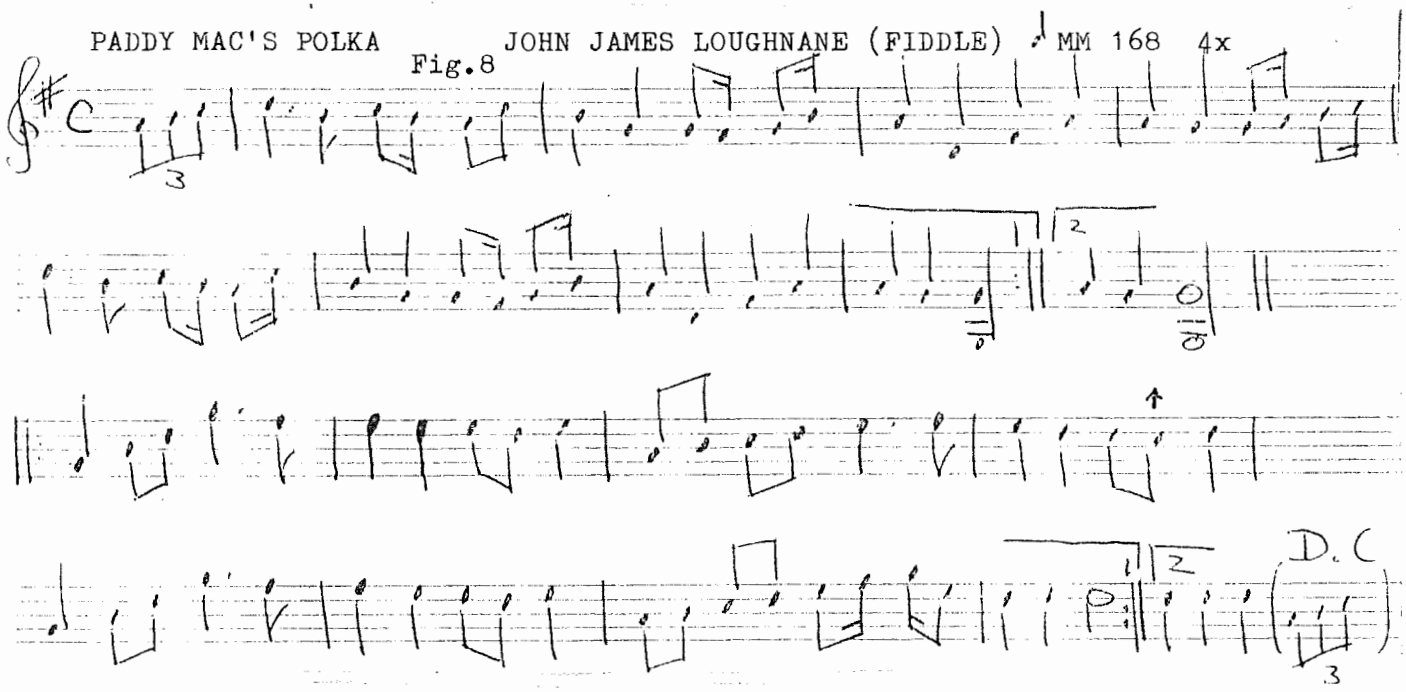
In Feakle circles (and elsewhere as well) quite an extensive confusiom exists about the tune-classes single jig, slide, polka and single reel: Kerry slides are also referred to as polkas (and Kerry is, in Feakle, often mentioned in association with polkas). Both slides and polkas are regarded as 'alien'. But at the other hand polkas are a class of tunes which, in East Clare at least, were used to finish some of the sets with; and these polka time tunes don't bear resemblance to slides (see Fig.8). Quite often marches are used for this polkatime (see Fig.9).

Other informants speak about a special class of reels, 'single reels, also called polkas' (and then they immediately mention Kerry). Indeed quite often polkatime tunes were functionally used as reels, as tunes for dances usually danced to reels, like the present day East Clare reel set (see fig.10). Breandàn Breathnach (Folkmusic and dances of Ireland) gives three transcriptions of tunes which were, by the player, called 'single reels' (West Clare), and describes them

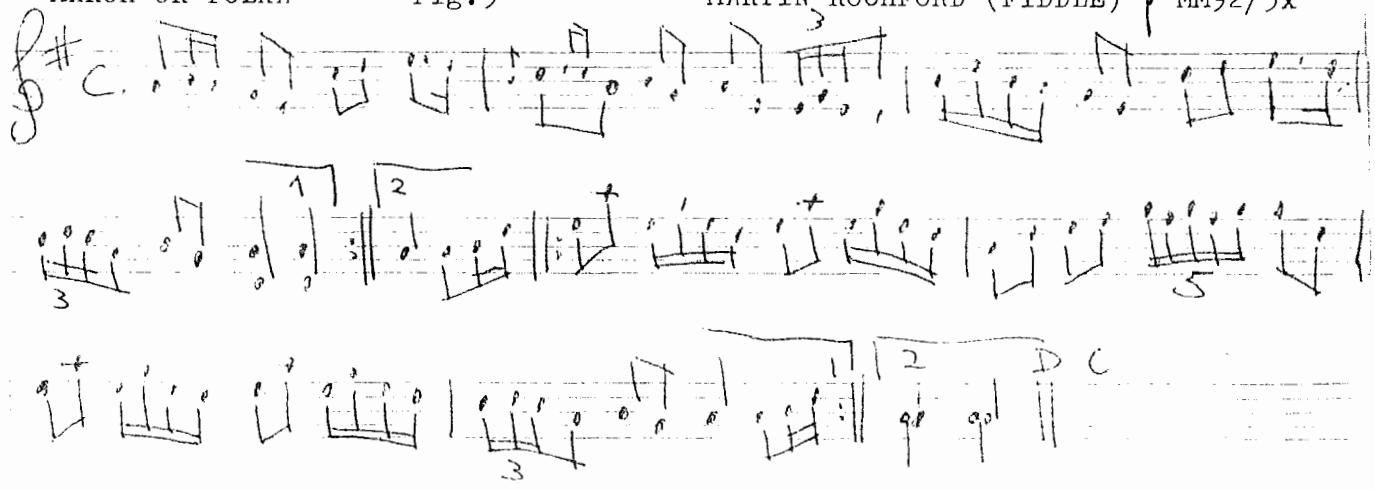
as having a 'boldly accented rhythm' (p. 65). Two of the three 'single reels' among his transcriptions (among which the one of Fig.11) have the formal structure of the C1.2-type (see page 39).
Many of the reels of this type have quite a number of crotchets, which gives them this boldly accented rhythm. I suggest that they are called 'single' because of these crotchets, as analogy to 'single jig'.

PADDY MAC'S POLKA JOHN JAMES LOUGHNANE (FIDDLE) ♩ MM 168 4x

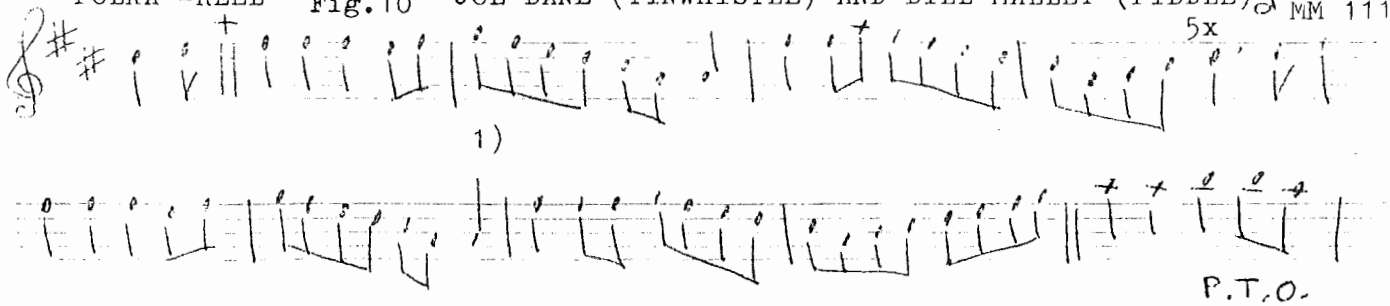
Fig.8



MARCH OR POLKA Fig.9 MARTIN ROCHFORD (FIDDLE) ♩ MM92/3x



'POLKA'-REEL Fig.10 JOE BANE (TINWHISTLE) AND BILL MALLEY (FIDDLE) ♩ MM 111



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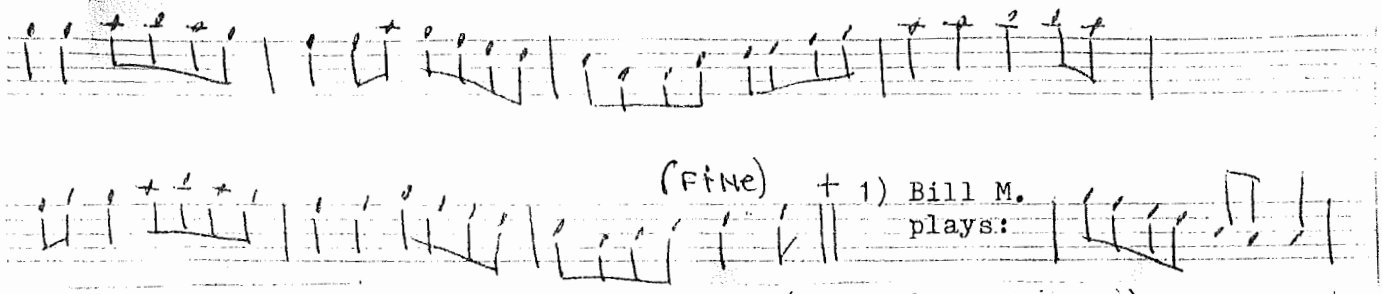
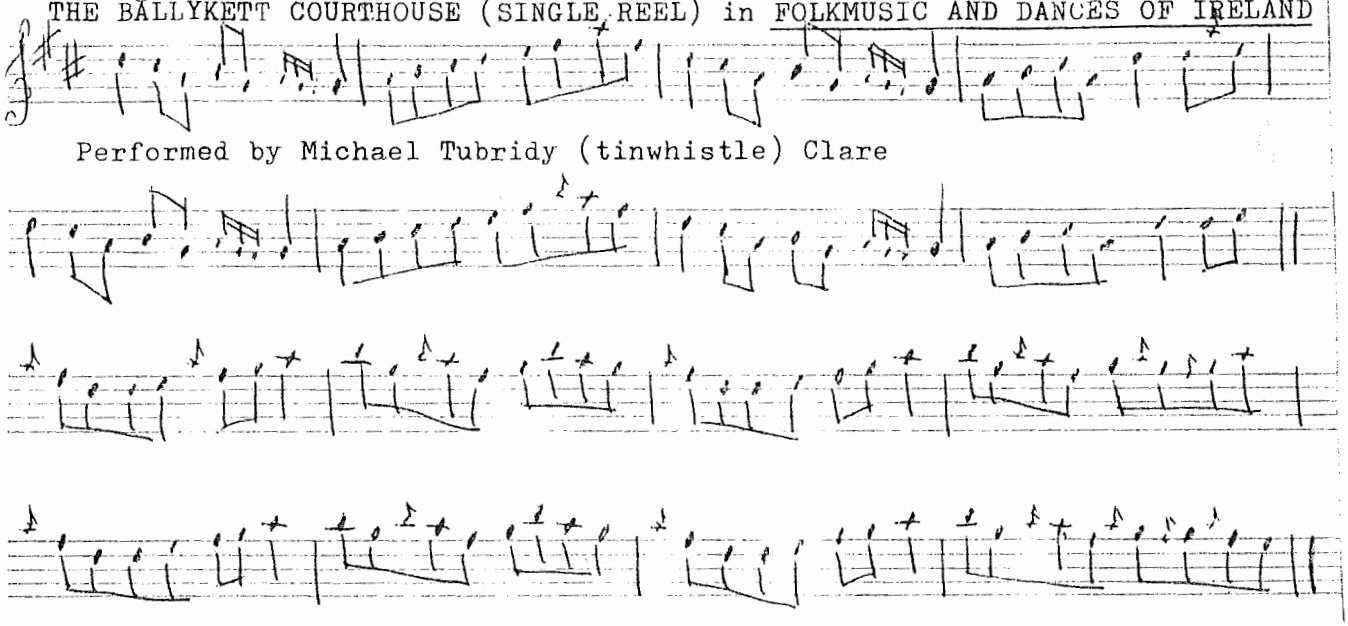


Fig. 11
THE BALLYKETT COURTHOUSE (SINGLE REEL) in FOLKMUSIC AND DANCES OF IRELAND (BREANDAN BREATHNACH)



Performed by Michael Tubridy (tinwhistle) Clare

Although single jig tunes and stepdances seem to have been unfamiliar in Feakle, special tunes were used in the old plain set, which bear resemblance to the single jigs, but were only associated with these sets; Bill Malley was talking about these tunes when he said 'you need jigtime music, fast time like'. (See Fig. 12).

PLAIN SET JIG JOE BANE (TINWHISTLE) AND BILL MALLEY (FIDDLE) MM120 4x

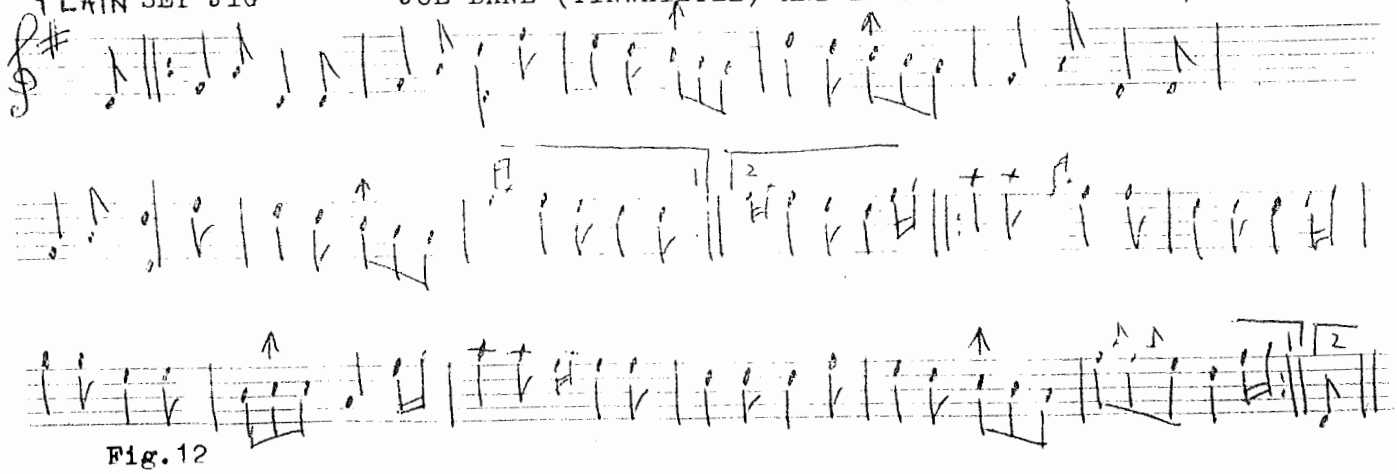
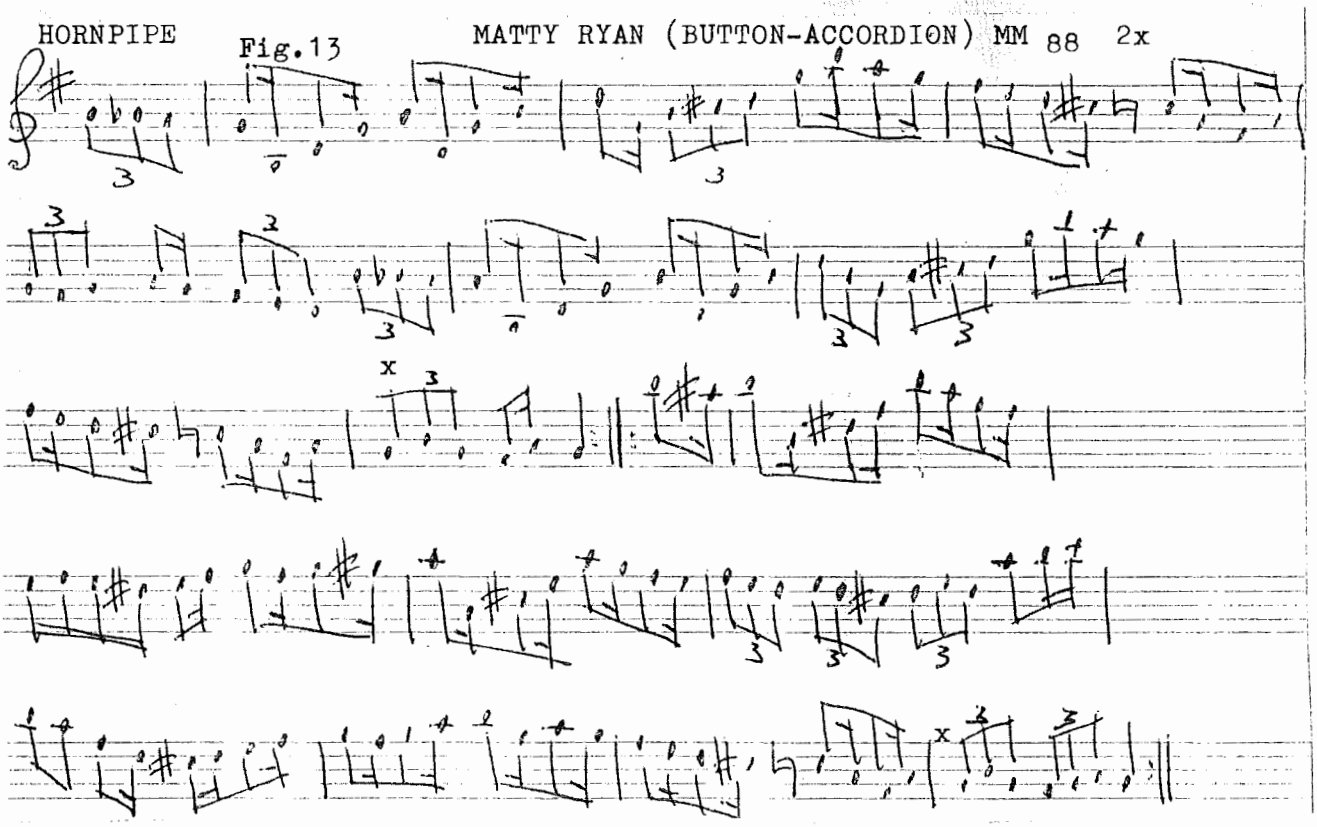


Fig.12

A1.3. The hornpipe has a basic rhythm much like that of the reel, the tempo however is slower. The  motive is more emphasized than in reels, and in common transcriptions appears as  , which is much

too sharp. The most correct symbol would be  , or  , but the score would look too much like a single jig or slide.
Another rhythmical feature of the hornpipes are the three crotchets at the end of phrases, all of the same pitch. While in Scotland this is a feature of tunes from many classes (reels, Scottish measures, hornpipes, marches, see G. Emmerson: Rantin' pipe and tremblin' string, 1971), in Ireland it is more restricted to hornpipes. The three crotchets are often varied, as in the example in Fig. 13, where the bars concerned are marked with x.

HORNPIPE Fig.13 MATTY RYAN (BUTTON-ACCORDION) MM 88 2x



A2. The basic rhythm of the tunes is one of the most important qualities which assist the musician or other participants in defining or recognizing the tune as an Irish traditional dance-tune, belonging to a certain time-category. However, another aspect of 'time', in which the basic reeltime, jigtime etc. is related to the real time (in the every-day sense) is tempo, which was pointed out by Bill Malley when he said 'fast time like'.
Most people in Feakle know 'You need fast time music for dancing, not for listening'. And indeed the speed of the 'common'foot tap for reels in the East Clare set is between MM 110 and MM 121, for jigs between MM 116 and MM 128 (although the set figures are the same for jigs and reels nowadays!). Listening time is between MM 92 and MM 112 for reels and between MM 102 and MM 116 for jigs. Of course for the older Feakle type of foot tap the tapping time is

twice as fast.
Hornpipes, polkas and marches are hardly played nowadays, be it for listening or dancing to. The time for hornpipes varies between MM=82 and MM=96 for the common foot tap. The polkas which I recorded had a common foot tap between MM=80 and MM=120, a very wide range: but most were not far from MM=108. The marches were a bit slower sometimes, but often they were played as a polka, according to the musicians. Highland flings and Schottiches were only played for me by players with the 'double' foot tap with a speed of ± MM=90 for the accented taps (or MM=180 for all taps).
The difference between dancing time and listening time is often commented upon by musicians. Playing fast without need (e.g. MM120 for reels) is not appreciated, especially when it is done by one of the local musicians.
Although the Feakle musicians clearly discriminate between dancing time and listening time, some will always play fast (and they do or did prefer dancers rather than an audience of listeners; these are generally the players of open reed instruments, and some of the fiddlers), while others prefer to play slow (for a listening audience, especially many of the fiddlers). But in general they adapt their time to the situation.

A3. 'Time' has another aspect, which is different from either basic rhythm or tempo. This has to do with the particular performance of a particular tune: 'The most important thing is to bring in the right time' means that, once a suitable speed is chosen for a reel or jig, or an other tune, the player has to balance emphases, gracenotes and other ornamentations, in order to get the right pattern of phrasing. I have the impression that every tune has only a limited scope for this rather personal effort and interpretation of the player.
Once I was playing the fiddle, and young Martin Hayes wanted to perform a stepdance; his father P. Joe insisted on playing the fiddle himself, because he 'knew what time the boy needs'. Now his speed was the same as mine, and the tune which I played was a jig, as Martin wanted it; but I could not give the right stresses and 'lifts' which a stepdancer needs.
Thus it is clear to the players what time a stepdancer needs, and how this can be brought into the tune. In fact many stepdancers have their favourite tunes, because the time-pattern suits their dancing: they also have their favourite musicians, who bring in the time the way it suits the dancing the best.

To a large extend this aspect of time is rather personal. As such it is not considered to be one of the basic, constant conditions of the traditional tunes. The rhythmical form varies from player to player like does the dynamic phrasing, even if the same tune is played. This is not to say that this aspect is relatively unimportant: the most honoured musicians are famous because of their personal time-interpretation, and a performance without this aspect is rather dull, according to most listeners from many social groups. However, in that case the music is still considered to be traditional dance-music. And other social groups, whose relation with the music is different, do not mind about the lack of personal time-structuring at some performances (see page 146).

B. Although 'time' may be the most important quality that defines this music as dance-music, there is no music without the sequence of pitches, usually plainly referred to as 'tune'.

The dance-tunes are single melodies; counterpoint 'ruins the music' (such statements are often made by traditional musicians about the music of Sean O Riada and his followers, like the group The Chieftains. These groups often use countermelodies, which is a horror to the traditional musician, who wants one melody at a time).

Fig.14 is an example of such counterpoint, as used by the group Nafili. The reel is first played unisomo, the song tune is later introduced by the pipes. Then the reel is played again, with the two parts, the tune and the turn (see'formal structure') in counterpoint. After this the reel and the song tune Foggy Dew are played in counterpoint, in which two reels have the same length as one time Foggy Dew.1)

In fact the traditional musician objects to all 'gimmicks' which distort the continuous flow of music: the instrumental colour may not change, and thus they react to the modern practice of playing one phrase with a fiddle, the next on a flute for instance, and so on; this is quite usual among the younger urban groups. And, as I will point out again under 'formal structure' every tune has to be played at least twice. This rule is often not followed by those urban groups; sometimes they use only fragments of tunes, as part of larger musical constructions.

To know a lot of tunes is a reason for pride to the traditional musicians; and when he learns a tune, either from print or by ear, he

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1) However, other forms of accompaniment are often appreciated by the traditional musicians. The simplest form of this is the 'drone' of the bagpipe. And the regulators of the uilleann pipes enable the musician to use incidental chords. Some pipers rely quite heavily on this form of accompaniment, though others reject extensive use of regulators. With the melodeon and accordion, and with the growing impact of the piano, regular chordal accompaniment became accepted by 'traditional musicians', since with this kind of accompaniment the tune still clearly stands out; according to some it strengthens the motoric elements in the dance-music. I will give a few indications of chords later on.

often concentrates on the 'tune'-elements (the pitches) to the complete neglect of the 'time'-elements; time is a quality of the whole categories while the tunes vary. When I was rehearsing with fiddlers in Feakle, and concentrated on the time and on bowing, they would stop me immediately when I used one 'wrong' pitch:'You're not playing the tune right!'.

Sometimes a player rehearses a tune softly, before playing it for dances or listeners; he will play all the notes quickly, lingering on places where he does not immediately remember the next fragment. For the untrained listener it is very difficult to recognize the tune which will be played, when it is rehearsed this way (it is even more difficult because the player usually doesn't start at the beginning of the tune, but at other points in the tune which act more as a clue to his memory: the last bars of the first part, or, more often, the last bars of the second part or 'turn').

When two or more players play together they often decide which tune to play next without speaking a word; one of them plays the beginning of a tune , often without a pronounced time. When the others join immediately or nod, they will stop and start anew, now with the proper time. If the tune-indicating is not joined, another tune will be proposed in the same way, usually by one of the others.

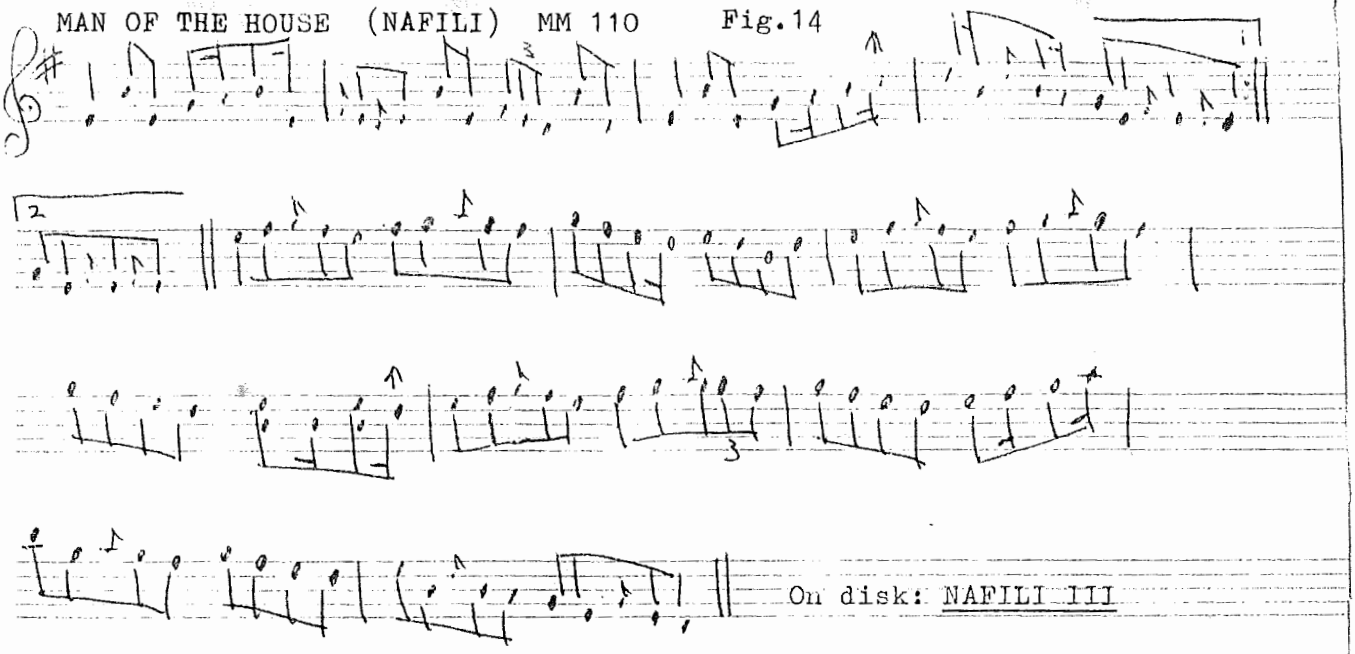
The 'tune' is restricted by-'accepted pitches'
-'modality', scales, 'key'
-formal structure
-variation and its limitations (which is a matter of instruments, person, situation, tune-structure)

B1. The accepted pitches: The pitches used are referred to as d-e-f-g-a-b-c. Here f stands for f sharp, and c for c sharp. C sharp is more common than c, and c is always called c natural. If f occurs, which is even more rare, it is called f natural, or sometimes f flat. In Feakle c and c sharp, and f and f sharp, are hardly interpreted as different tones (within the context of a tune). However, some musicians who rely on printed scores will make categorical statements about the use of one or the other within a specific tune; but in other tunes they themselves do not interprete the use of either c (sharp) or c natural as 'not playing the tune right'.

The lack of discriminating opposition between these tones is related to instrumental practice. Tinwhistlers often favour the easy high c, and they often play this c (sharp) when the accordion at the same time plays c natural (see Fig. 15).

Many fiddlers in Feakle use a pitch slightly below c' sharp on the a'-string. This probably is the most comfortable position of the second

MAN OF THE HOUSE (NAFILI) MM 110 Fig.14



FOGGY DEW (NAFILI) MM110

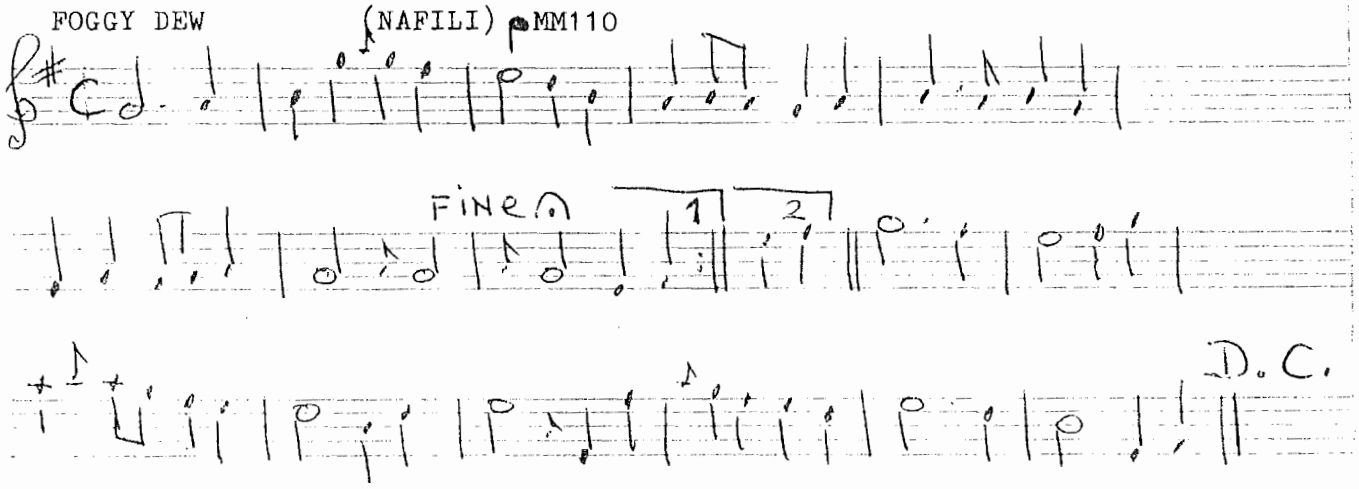
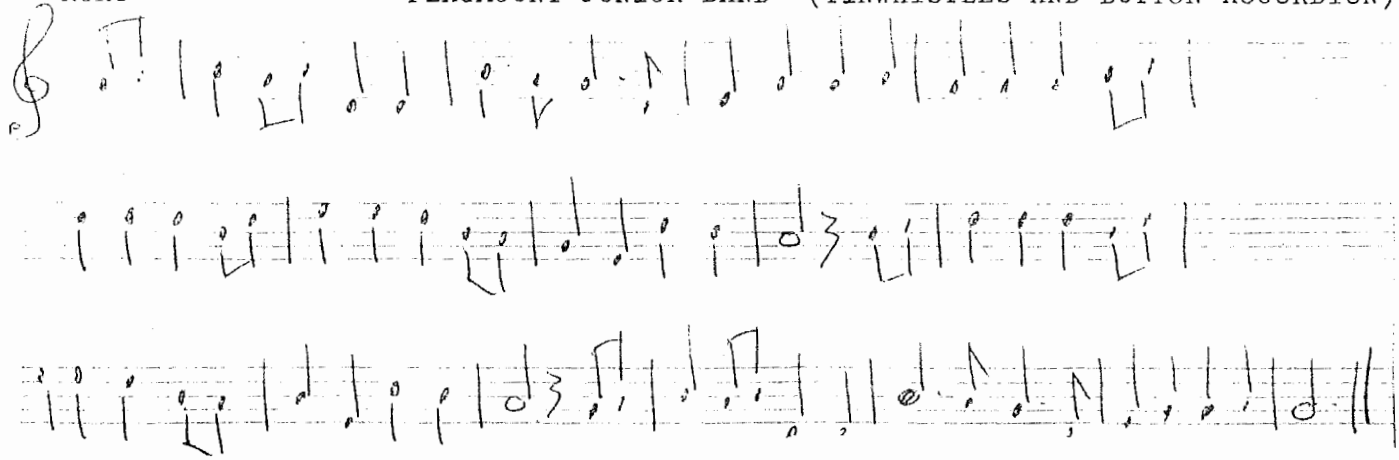


Fig.15

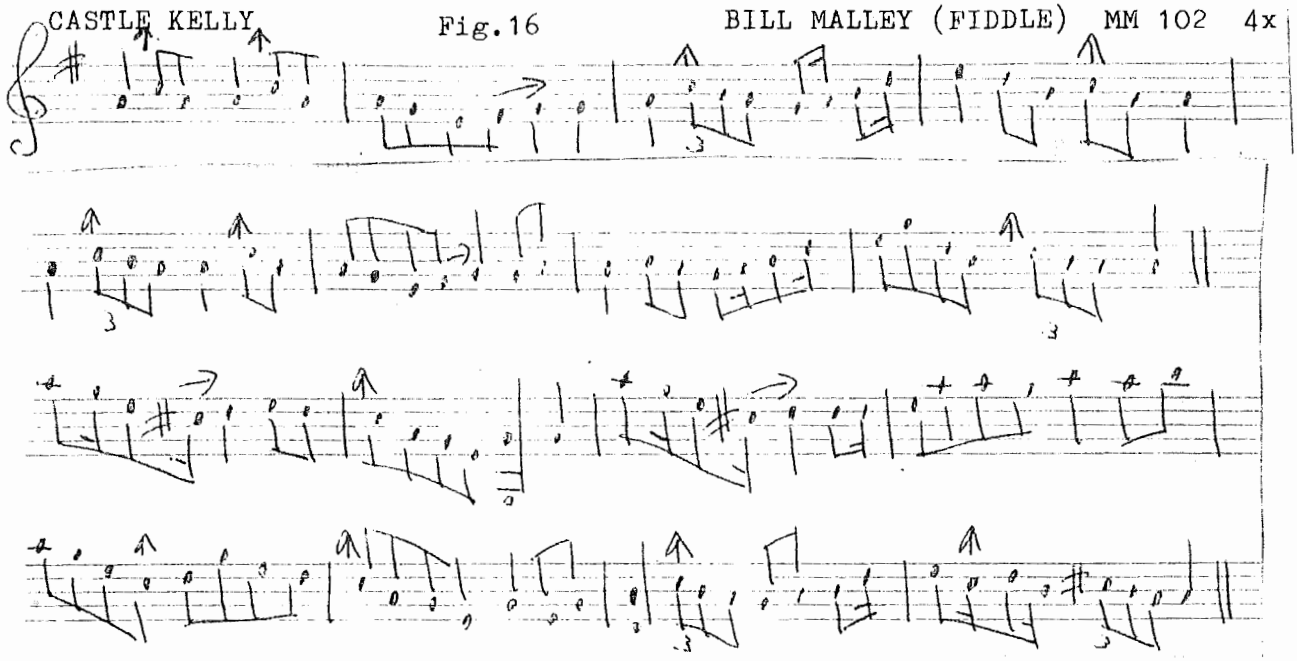
MM 120 The tinwhistles play c sharp wherever c appears

RORY FLAGMOUNT JUNIOR BAND (TINWHISTLES AND BUTTON-ACCORDION)



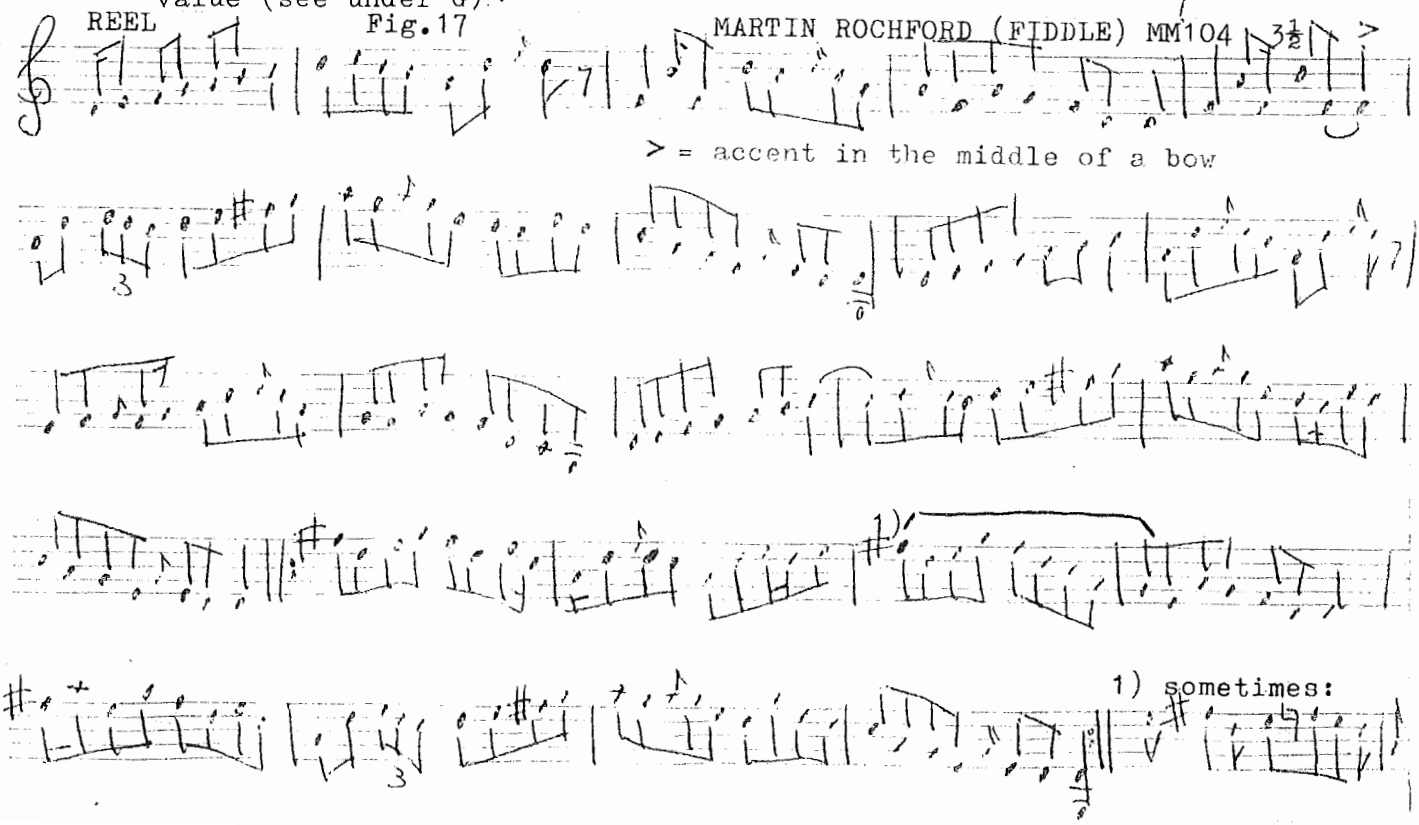
finger. Especially in tunes which according to 'classical' music-theory are in the key of A, intonation is very ambivalent (see Fig.16).

CASTLE KELLY Fig.16 BILL MALLEY (FIDDLE) MM 102 4x



Many fiddlers use the same model of fingering on both d'-string and a'-string. So when f' (sharp) is used on the d, they will favour a c'' (sharp) on the a. But when c'' natural is used, this often coincides with an f' natural on the d-string. But often the same model is also used on the e''-string (especially when the second finger-position on the lower strings is low, as in the latter case) which results in f''-sharp on the top-string and f natural on the d-string (see fig.17). This is an important personal element, with a certain emotional value (see under G).

REEL Fig.17 MARTIN ROCHFORD (FIDDLE) MM104 $3\frac{1}{2}$



> = accent in the middle of a bow

1) sometimes:

F natural (or 'f flat') on the e-string is only realized by sliding with the first finger from the nut upwards (e''-f''). Often the final stop, after a slide, is again nearly f'' sharp. Uilleann pipers use a similar slide for that pitch, and also their c'' natural is as ambiguous as some of the fiddlers'.

According to the prevalent tonal centre of the tune, the exact intonation often varies. If this centre is A (on the fiddle) the only 'correct' intonations (according to western standardized notions) are often a', b', e'', f''sharp and a''. The g'' is in these tunes often slightly higher than in tunes with G as tonal centre.

Open reed instruments are not able to sound the various pitch-shades. Fiddlers, tinwhistlers or fluteplayers often do not adapt their intonation to that of the open reed instrument with which they are playing in unison (or rather heterophonically, since no one has exactly the same tune).

Some musicians experience these intonation-characteristics as basic elements in the dance-music, but many do not. This may have been different at a time when instruments with fixed pitches were not used frequently in this music. But although intonation may be not a basic element, it can carry a lot of meaning, especially (in the Feakle group) the opposition f' - f''sharp on the fiddle (see pages 70, 163, 167, Fig.22, Fig.52, Fig.65).

B flat is hardly used and, if played by fiddlers, comes close to b natural. In some of the music collections we find a number of tunes with one, sometimes two flats; for instance in the various O'Neill's collections. A number of these may have been played by melodeonists when these transcriptions were made: melodeonists often transposed tunes to centres which suited this diatonic instrument; often theee are C or F. At the other hand, some of the famous Scottish fiddlers preferred keys with one or two flats.

Although the d-e-f-g-a-b-c - system suggests a notion of absolute pitches, the d varies between b and e flat.[1] In the past a low 'd' was favoured by players of the different instruments. Nowadays concert pitch is favoured, although many pipers still prefer low chanters (melody-pipes), and many whistles have a 'd' near d flat. Some fiddlers use a high tuning, in which the d is an e flat. So the d-e-f-g-a-b-c - system is a limited relative system.

The ambitus of the tunes is usually ± 1½ octave or a bit wider. The ambitus of the whole categories is ± 2 octaves (when we do not consider the various 'possible pitches' of the d): b'' is de facto the highest pitch: it is quite difficult to reach the c''' on the pipes or flute. The fiddlers only use the first position, which limits the pitches to those under b''. Though most tunes have the bottom d' as lowest tone (the lowest possible pitch for flute or pipes), fiddlers often go as

1). But whatever the pitch is, the musicians call it a d.

low as g, under this d'. The whistle plays one octave higher than the other instruments, the banjo usually one octave lower.
The ambitus (and especially the widening of the ambitus in the second part of a tune, the 'turn') is a distinct aspect of the categories of the dance-music, and thus it is discussed by musicians as a necessary element.

An important feature in 'tune' is the octave. Although the octave is often used as a distinct melodic interval, in many cases tones or fragments of melodies are suddenly transposed one octave higher or lower. This is very clear in the music of the pipes, whistle and flute. Here the second octave is reached by increasing the air-pressure. When this pressure leaves off in the middle of a phrase, the melody falls down to the first octave. This happens so often that we are hardly able to speak about a 'defect' in the technique of the player, although sometimes a player will say that it should be played higher (see Fig.18).

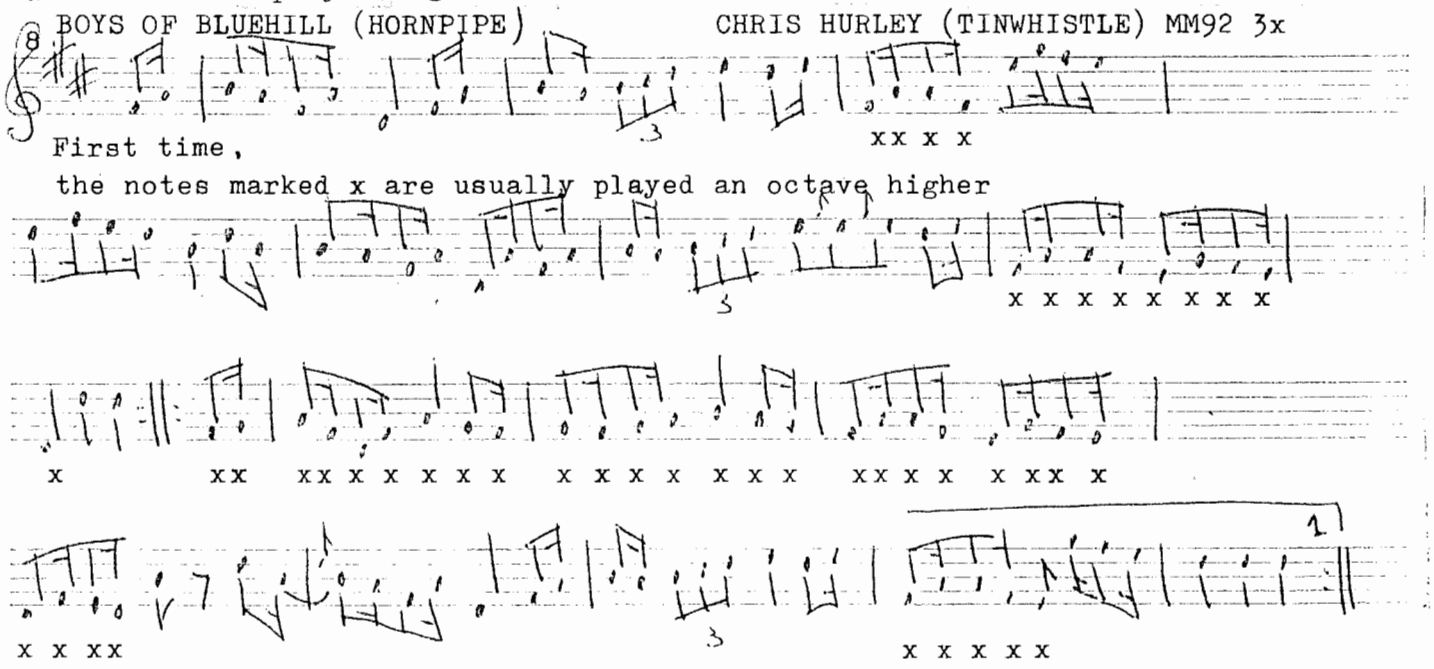
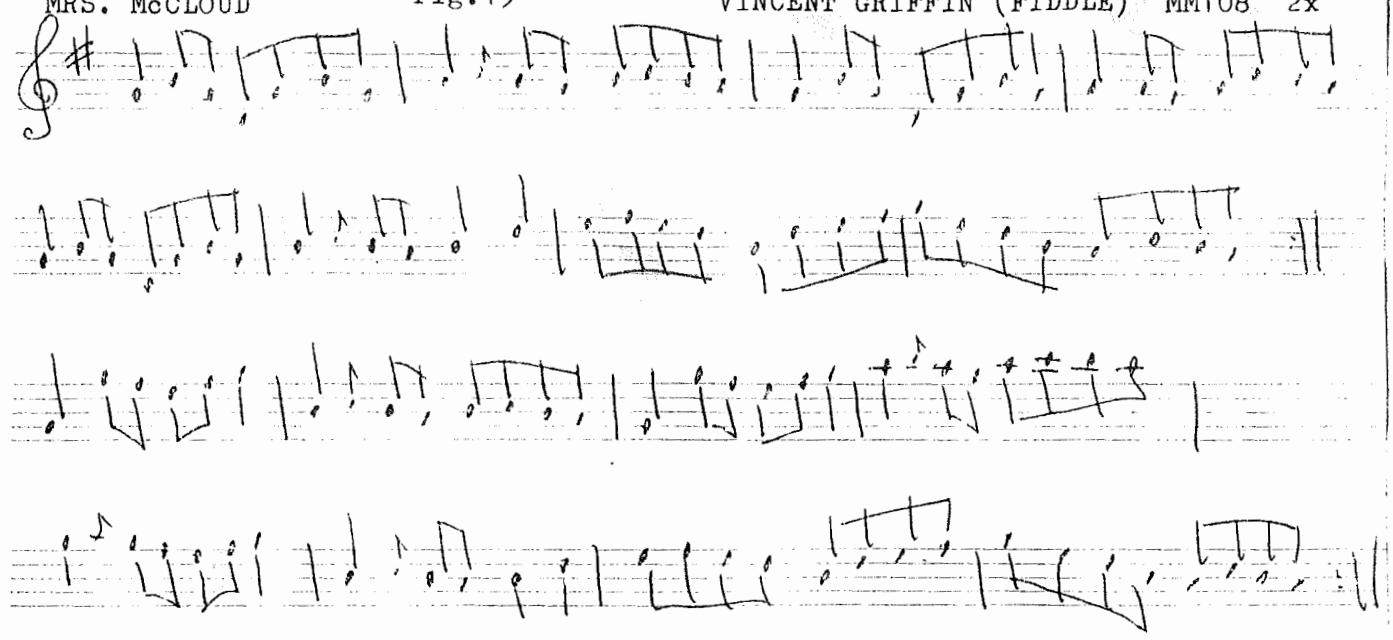


Fig.18

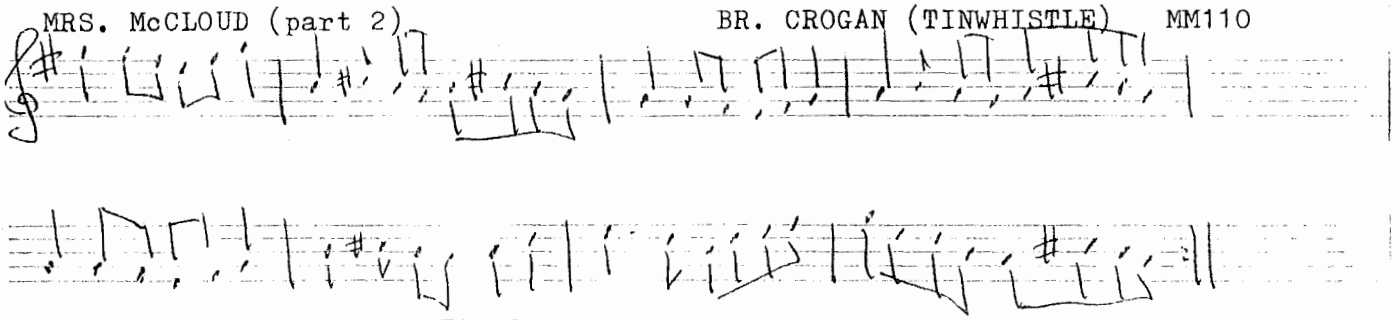
during the 2nd and 3rd time the melody drops one octave (according to the usual performances of this tune) when f''' sharp is reached, and returns to the high level when the melody line goes down again, below the bottom d of the whistle (d' , which would be d'' in a usual tinwhistle-performance.

Some fragments of the reel Mrs. McCloud (the Scottish reel Mrs McLeod) illustrate octave transpositions of single tones. Brendon Crogan is a pupil of Vincent Griffin, and his teacher told him to correct the first g of part 2; but he did not comment on the lower line later on. After a while Vincent did not comment on this tune any more, although his pupil did not change the tune.
M. Hayes plays this reel the way it is usually played in Scotland, and indeed in Ireland. (See fig.19 and 20).

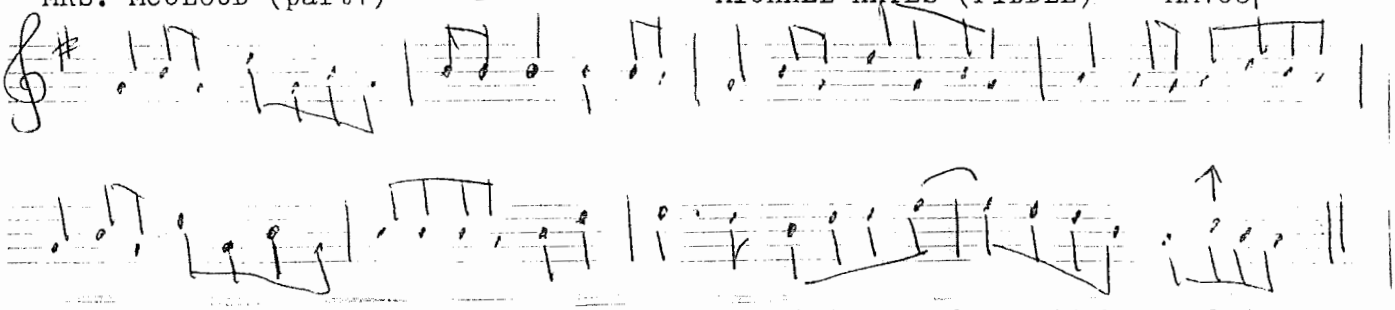
MRS. McCLOUD Fig.19 VINCENT GRIFFIN (FIDDLE) MM108 2x



MRS. McCLOUD (part 2) BR. CROGAN (TINWHISTLE) MM110



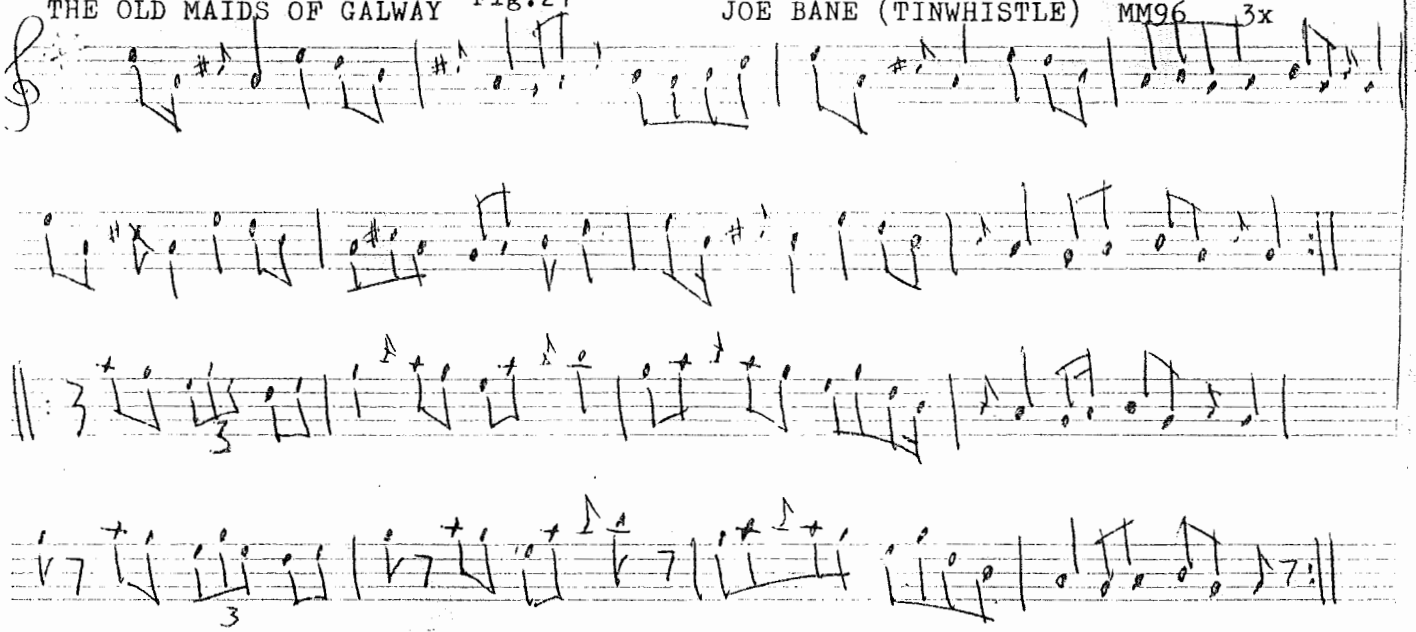
MRS. McCLOUD (part1) Fig.20 MICHAEL HAYES (FIDDLE) MM108



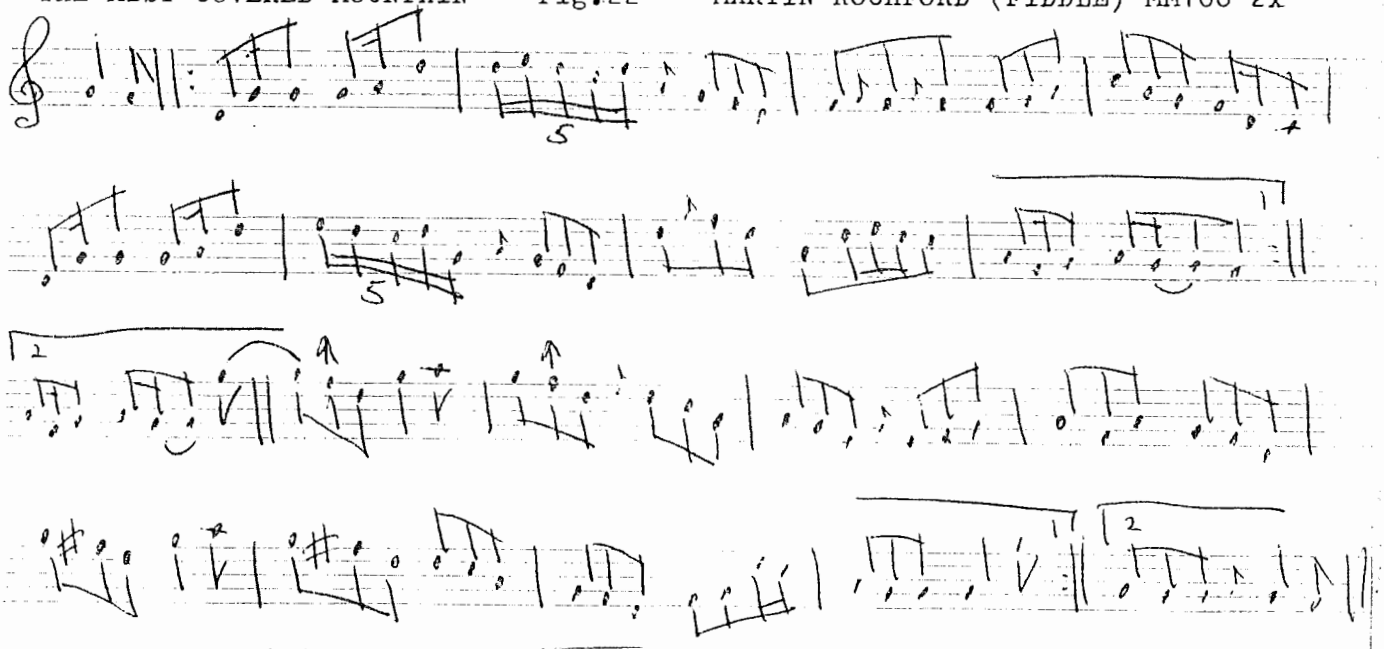
B2. Modality, scale, 'key': Occasionally students of Scottish and Irish traditional music describe the tunes as displaying 'church modes' with scales in which there are particular places for semitones. F. Collinson (The traditional and national music of Scotland,1966) classes tunes as pentatonic (no semitones), hexatonic (one semitone) and heptatonic (two semitones) in combination with a classification according to mode (see chapter I: The native idiom). According to such a classification Fig. 21 is a pentatonic tune in a mixolydian mode (pentatonic tunes are rare in Ireland, but in many hexatonic tunes the semitone is only presented towards the end of the tune. Fig.22 is a dorian example of this). Most dance-tunes are hexatonic, like the ionian jig in Fig.23. Fig.24 shows a heptatonic tune (dorian).

As I will explain, I am not altogether happy with these ideas, since there is evidence that the musicians themselves class tunes according to other characteristics, in relation to their instrumental practice, Nevertheless Collinson's method may have some merits.

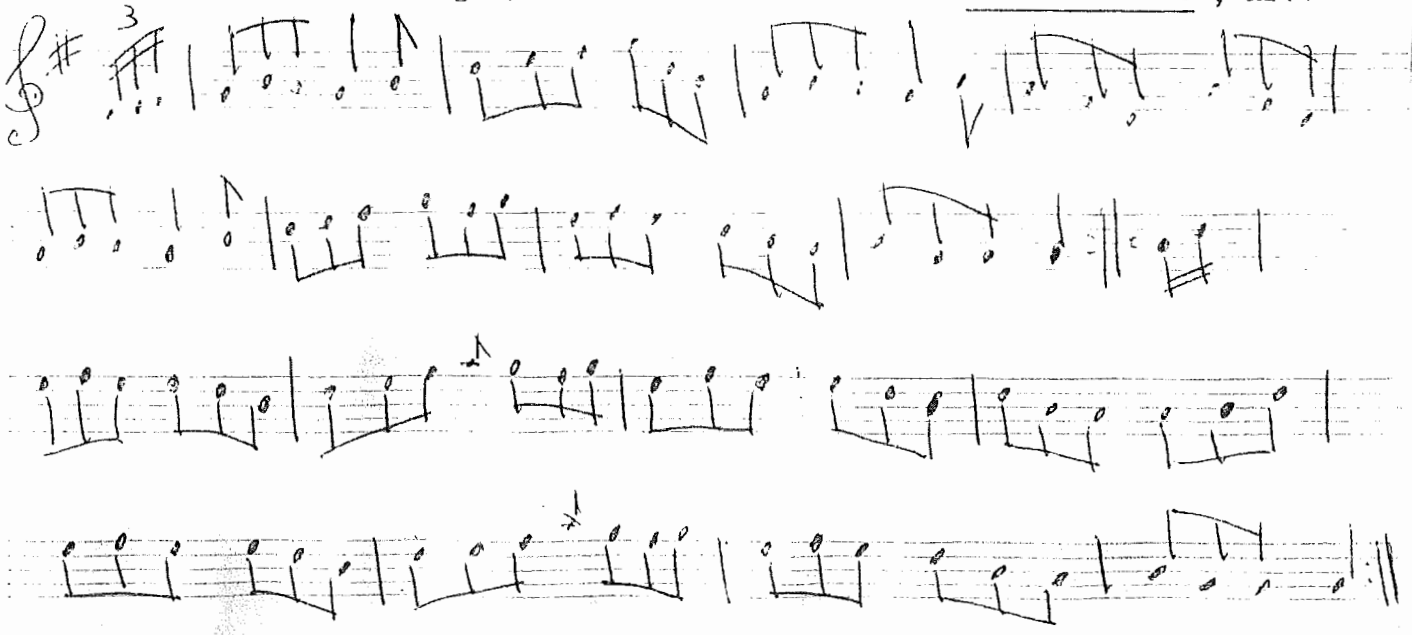
THE OLD MAIDS OF GALWAY Fig.21 JOE BANE (TINWHISTLE) MM96 3x



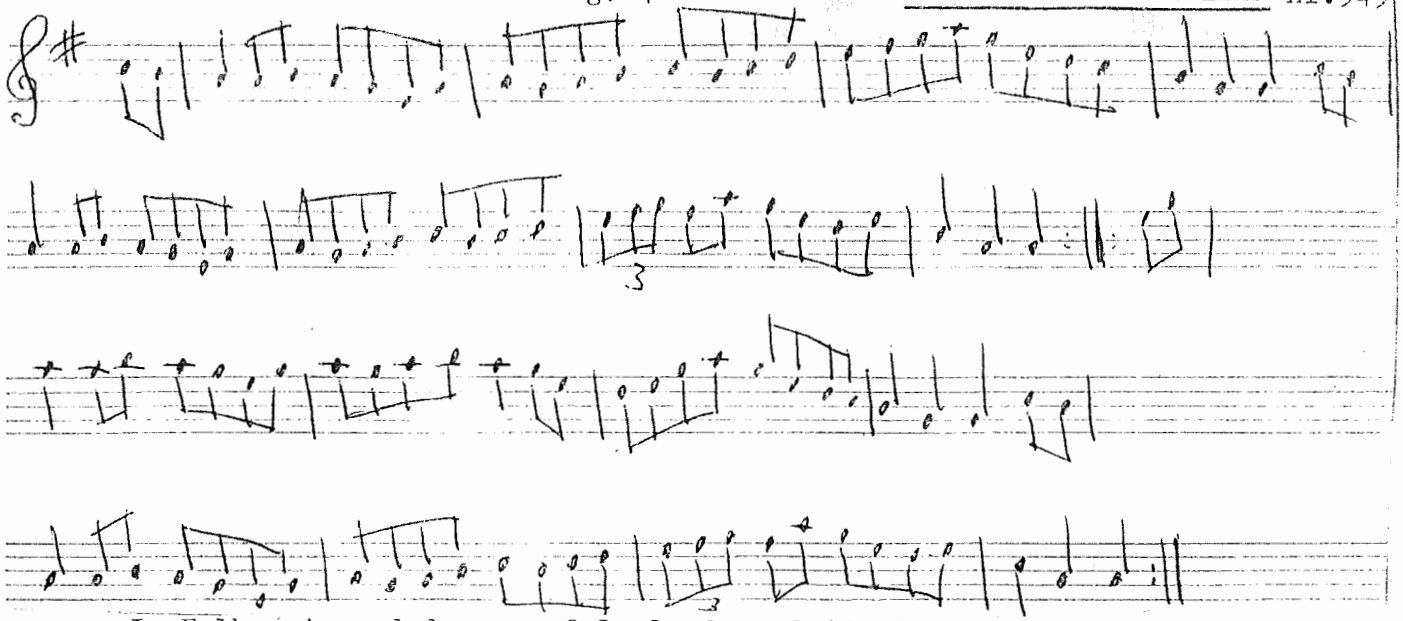
THE MIST COVERED MOUNTAIN Fig.22 MARTIN ROCHFORD (FIDDLE) MM106 2x



SADDLE THE PONY Fig.23 ALLAN'S 'IRISH FIDDLER', nr.1



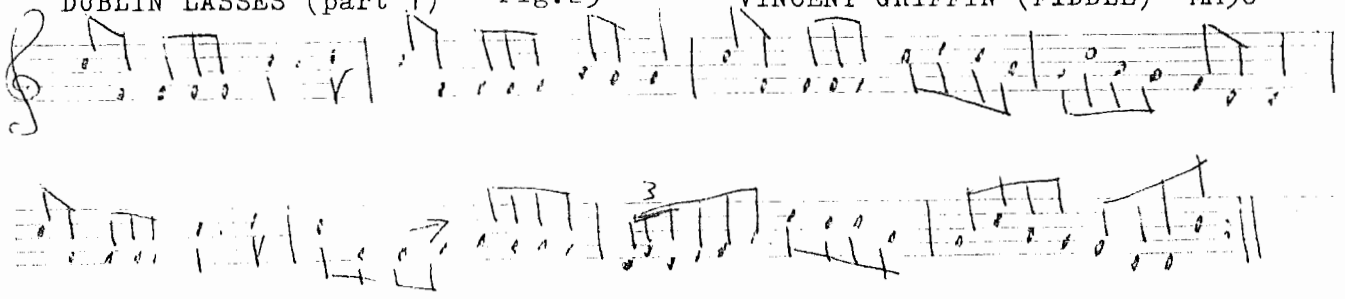
TOMGRANEY'S CASTLE HORNPIPE Fig.24 O NEILL'S 'DANCEMUSIC OF IRELAND' nr.949



In Folkmusic and dances of Ireland, p.8-14, Breathnach presents another system of modes and scales. His classification (which uses doh-, ray- etc. modes) equates Collinson's, but it has a very good point: the system is linked up with instrumental (uilleann pipes) practice (p.13), thus restricting the scholarly implications of the classification. But even this system is not wholly applicable; e.g. it can not deal with the tune of Fig. 22, in which we find an f'-f'' opposition.

Some remarks should be made about the concept of key, before the merits of the mode idea will be considered. While for the classical musician the number of flats or sharps at the beginning of the line together with the final note reveal the key of the melody, most Feakle musicians use 'key'as another concept: When they say: this tune is in the key of c, they mean: the tune starts with a c, like the reel in Fig.25.

DUBLIN LASSES (part 1) Fig.25 VINCENT GRIFFIN (FIDDLE) MM96

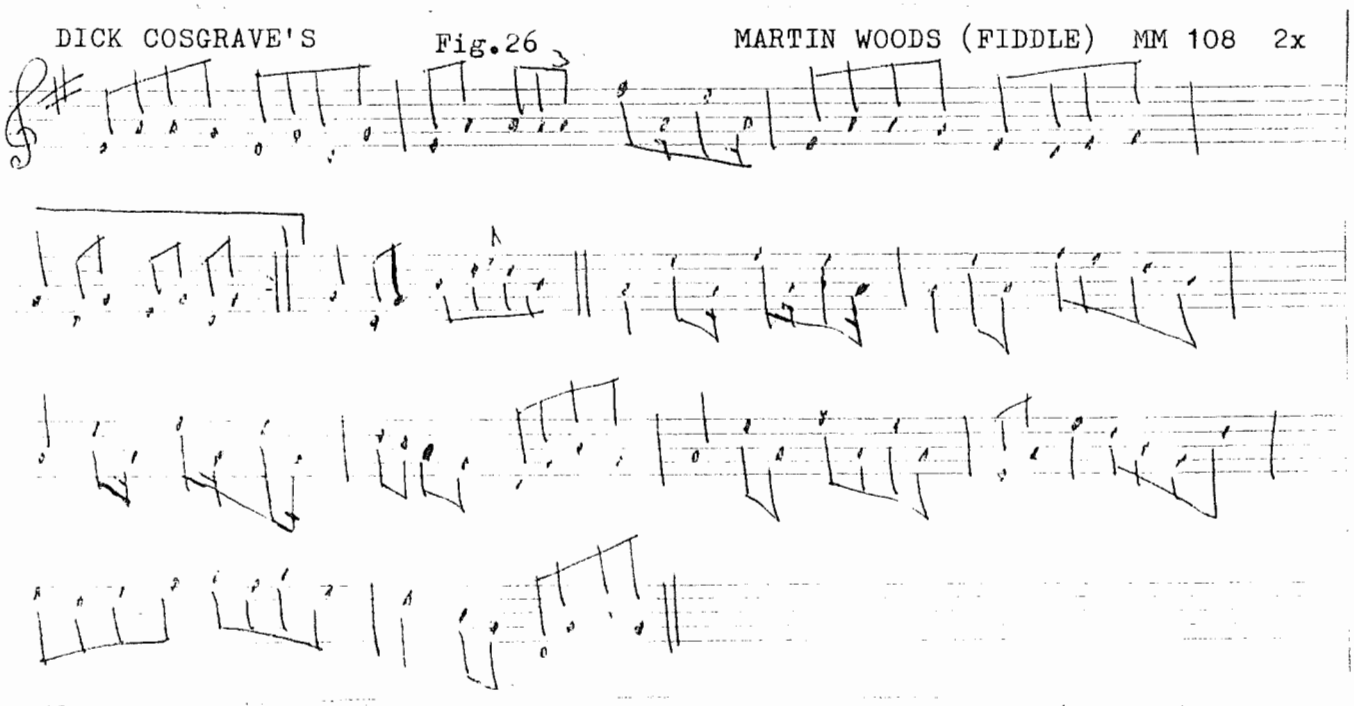


Many musicians asked me for information about keys and musical symbols. More, however, were satisfied with their way of working.

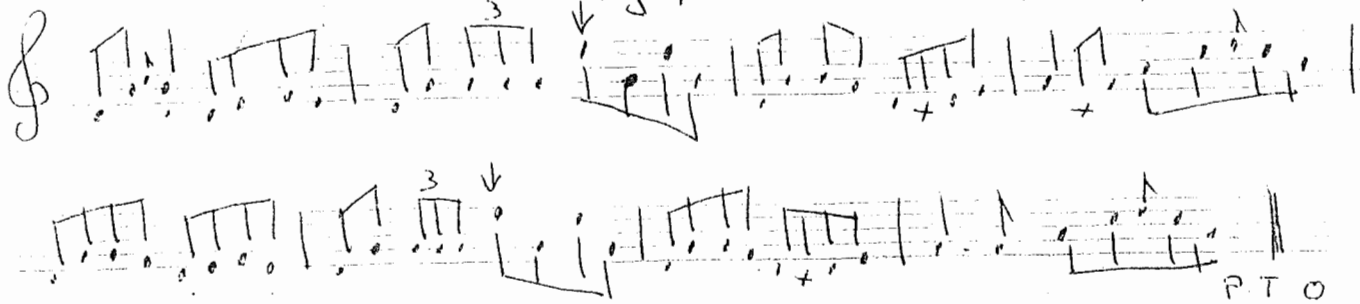
Many of todays traditional musicians use printed music, and when they do, they neglect flats, naturals and sharps but adhere to the d-e-f-g-a-b-c - system. Tinwhistlers will always use c sharp (and f sharp), as I explained, and so do many pipers and fiddlers; sometimes they substitute one or both by naturals after a short while (this happens almost immediately when they already know the tune. Many fiddlers

have a preference for a certain 'model' of fingering, especially when the tonal centre is very clear (for instance the f-f'' sharp opposition if G or D is the centre, and a high second finger when E is the centre, resulting in f' sharp and sometimes g'' sharp.
The treatment of modality in studies like Collinson's presents the mode of a tune as one of the most important characteristics (often related to a special emotive capacity). I suggest that at least in the Feakle tunes the choice of 'key' (in relation to instrumental habits, like the fingering models) . . is responsible for what is described as modality, while this choice is made not because of internal modal characteristics of the tune, which the player wants to realize, but because of characteristics of instruments and instrumental technique of the player. In relation to the lack of opposition between c natural and c sharp (and likewise with f) in many tunes, a difference in 'key' does not cause a difference in tune, and the difference in 'key' is usually discussed in terms of instrumental technique or of 'what is traditional' but not in terms of what suits the tune itself. The next examples show 'the same tune' in a different 'key' (Fig. 26 and 27).

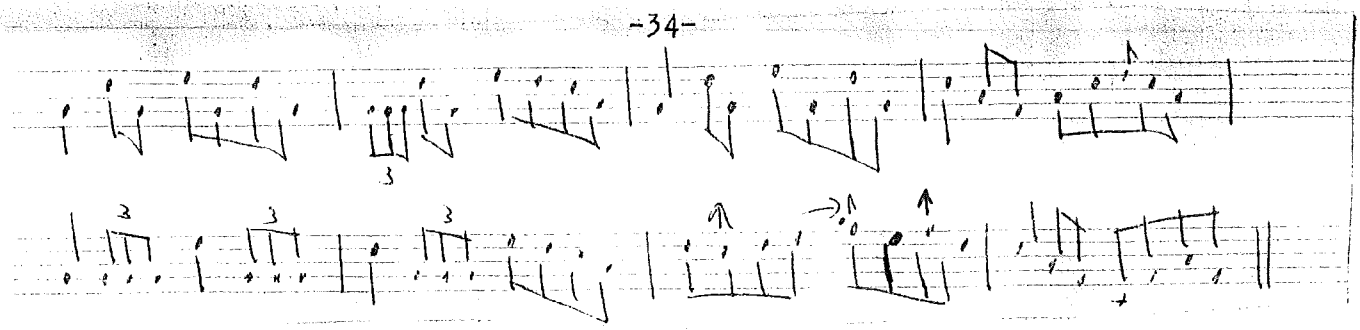
DICK COSGRAVE'S Fig.26 MARTIN WOODS (FIDDLE) MM 108 2x



DICK COSGRAVE'S Fig.27 VINCENT GRIFFIN (FIDDLE) MM104 2x



PTO



I once played this tune (in the first version) with an f'' natural for Martin Rochford (who knows the tune but does not play it) and Vincent Griffin. The former said I played the tune right, the latter said that it was the same tune but I played something differently. When Martin Rochford plays the pipes he often selects A as the tonal centre. He will play tunes this way which are played with G as tonal centre by others (on the fiddle). He says that it suits the pipes.

So the modal element is not recognized by the musicians, and I doubt if it is important in their perception of the tunes. Differences are always presented as differences in 'key', with only technical advantages or disadvantages.

But the 'modal ear' exists:usually the fiddlers have two fingering models (one with a high and one with a low position for the second finger), and they use these in relation with the tonal centre of the tune. Some fiddlers use both in one tune (for instance to avoid the f'natural-f''-sharp'-opposition). And it is quite possible that M. Rochford selects A as tonal centre on the pipes because this means that there is a whole tone on the pipe-scale beneath the a' (g'); and he prefers tunes with a whole tone under the tonal centre, also when he plays the fiddle (with f'natural under the g'); but he says that it may have to do with the drones.

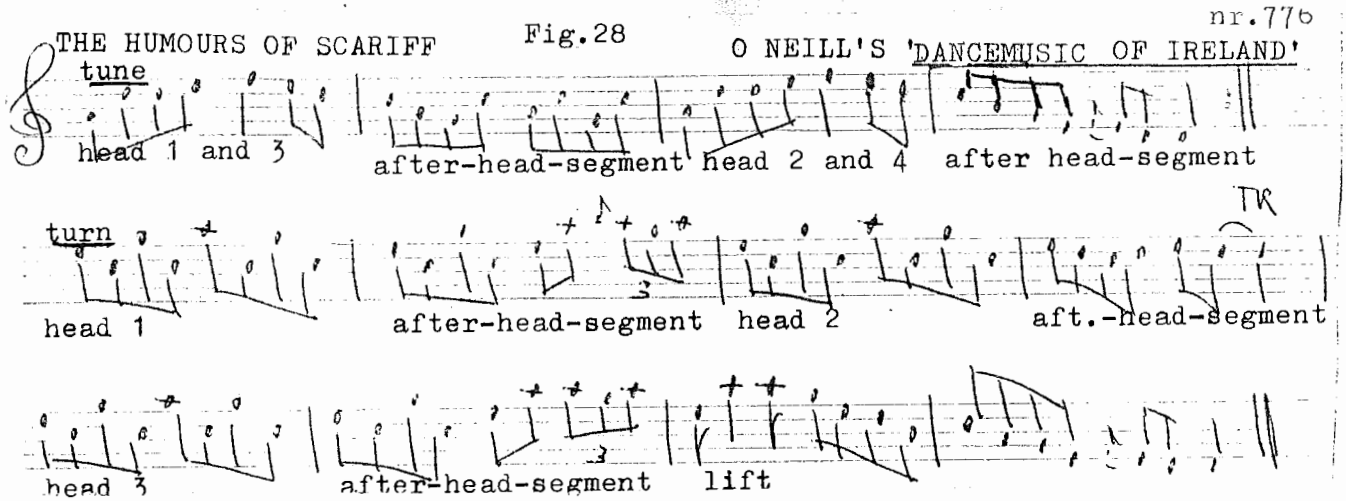
I do not know if the situation is different outside the Feakle area. The subject will be touched again under G (p.70) and in the paragraph about various players of the Feakle group (see pages 158-172, especially 163).

B3. Formal structure. Although the formal structure of the dance-music will be discussed under C, it is important to notice that the form also influences the 'tune': for the form becomes manifest in the tune.

Most dance-tunes consist of two parts, the second, which is often in a higher register, often called the 'turn'. The first is sometimes called the 'tune' (as with 'time', 'tune' has at least three meanings). In nearly all tunes the 'tune' starts with a melodic segment which I call the head. This head is repeated at the start of the second half of the 'tune'; and since this first part is usually repeated, we find

this tune-head often four times within the first part.. The turn often has the same structure as the 'tune' but with a different head, and in a higher register. Often the head at the end is absent, because most dance-tunes end with a specific 'lift' (although this word is sometimes used by musicians, it is no standard concept). (See Fig.28). 1)

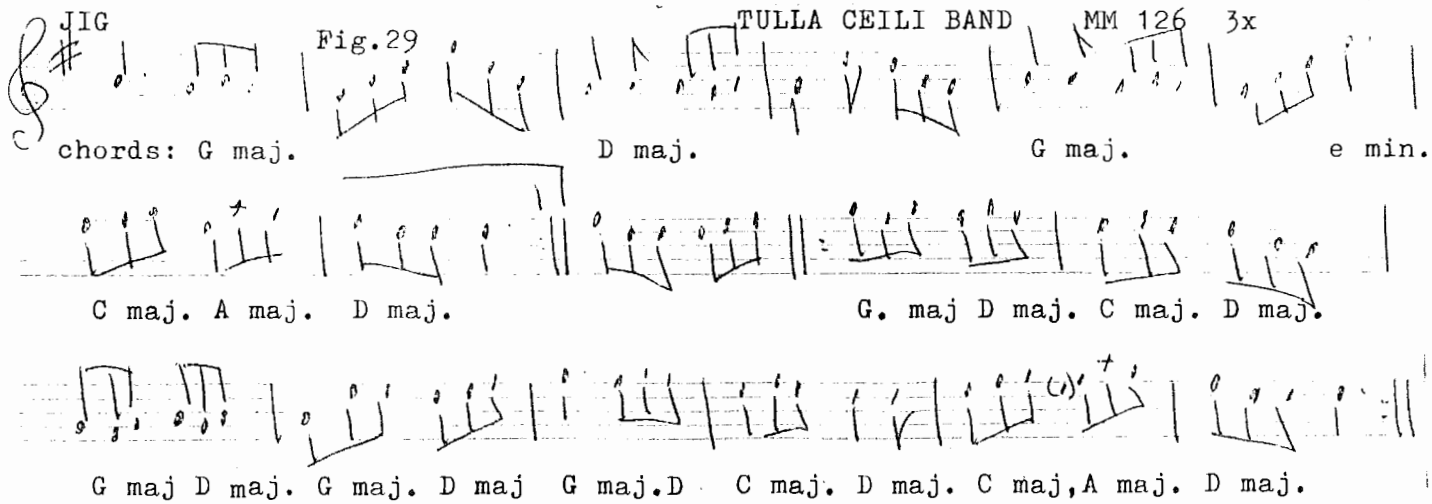
Fig.28



The melodic segments between the heads vary, but here there are also repetitions: in the tune the first and third are the same, and often the second and fourth. In the turn the first and second usually are the same. The fourth is here often part of the lift, although in many cases the lift is a variation on the fourth head, while the segment after the head is the same as that after the second turn-head.

Often the heads seem to indicate a tonal centre of the tune. The tonal centre of the tune-heads is not necessarily the same as that of the turn-head, and though the lift often confirms the main tonal centre this too does not have to be that way. But in a majority of the tunes tune-heads, turn-heads and lifts point to the same tonal centre. When chords are used (accordion, electric piano in ceilibands) this centre is usually emphasized (see Fig.29, in which the lift has a different one).

Fig.29



1). The word tune thus has three meanings: 1. A dance melody 2. A sequence of pitches played in such a melody, under abstraction of the time-element 3. The first part of such a melody. This may be rather confusing.

I will postpone the discussion of other aspects of the formal structure to paragraph C, starting at the bottom of this page.

B4. Variation. In her article 'Southern American fiddle styles' (Ethnomusicology XIX-1 pp.47-65), Linda Burman-Hall cites S. Bayard. She writes:(p.49) 'Bayard feels that each traditional player has several alternative and equally acceptable ways of playing certain passages in mind for at least some of his tunes, and observes that those informants insisting on the authority and merit of one particular note-sequence have nevertheless been quite as likely to introduce these alterations in their renditions'. Both writers mean by 'way of playing' the note-sequence, or in the terminology of the Irish musicians:the'tune'. Indeed one will find hardly any two musicians with the same 'tune' for the same tune (' e.g. 'he hasn't the same tune for Mrs. McCloud'.).
But many a musician will insist on his version as the right one. This does not inhibit ensemble-playing at all: it results in heterophony. But even a single musician will not often play the same tune exactly the same as he did it during the previous performance (a tune is never played just once, but at least two times in a row). Heads, and sometimes the after-head-segments, are suitable places for this type of variation, while the lift is often a signature of the musician: when two musicians play the same tune it is often the lift which is the most clearly heterophonic, although within the playing of the single performer it does not vary often.
A further discussion of these structural elements will be pursued under the headings of variation and of personal elements. Although many players stake their name on their personal versions and variations, and are often appreciated by the social groups concerned because of the character of these variations, variation is not considered to be a conditio sine qua non for the dance-music. Some social groups experience music without these elements as rather boring; others don't mind; this depends on their relation to the music. I will consider this situation within the Feakle context,(see pages 66, 142, 171).

C. Formal structure: As said (page 13, 34) the formal structure becomes manifest in the tune; because of this it should be dealt with under that heading. For several reasons I prefer to make it a separate heading. One reason is that the musicians often comment on formal structure, especially on the sequence of parts, without reference to 'tune'. Another is, that considering the formal structure, especially the repetion patterns, may give us some understanding of the musician's experience of the tune; although this exercise is strictly related to

the study of 'tune' it is not at all clear to me whether 'tune' appears as an aspect of formal structure or, the other way around, this structure appears as an aspect of 'tune'. For I have the impression that we have to do with structural models for the division of time with the help of 'tune'; these are used in the process of composing tunes, either consciously or unconsciously.

A third reason is that under this heading attention will be payed to other aspects of formal structure which are more or less outside the universe of 'tune': repetition pattern of tunes as a whole, and sequences of tunes.

As will be clear from the examples already given, the tunes consist of at least two parts, the tune and the turn. This is the case for all tune-categories: reels, jigs, hornpipes, polkas, marches etc. There are quite a number of reels and jigs with more than two parts. According to Breandán Breathnach (Op.cit. pp. 58-59), a part, or strain, consists of eight bars (in the common notation); the parts of jigs are usually played twice; those of the reel are either repeated or played single, depending on the preference of the player: Breathnach suggests that in the 19th century reel-parts were never repeated, and that this was due to the form of the (step-)dance. Indeed Petrie (The Petrie collection of the ancient music of Ireland, 1855, reprinted in 1967) quotes Joyce: (p.49)'The common, or 'double jig',....usually consisting of two parts of eight measures each... each part being always played twice'; and: (p.59) '..in the reel they dance only every alternate part, moving round the room when the other parts are played. Thus, the first eight bars are danced, the movement around the room...occupies the next eight...'. This suggests that the eight-bar parts of the reel were not repeated, hence Breathnach's suggestion: (Op.cit. pp.58-59)'Formerly the reel was played single to match the dance, but now, when the music is played more often for listening to than for dancing, it is customary to double the reel, that is, to play each part twice over, unless the two phrases which comprise a part are identical or almost so, in which case, to avoid monotony, that part is singled or played only once.' This statement is based on information from one of his informants, who said that in the time of the teacher of his teacher reels were played single, while nowadays he 'doubles' the reel, since there is usually no dance any more that has to be matched.

It will be clear to the reader, however, from the various quotations, that repetition of reel-parts is more the rule than the exception: 'when the two phrases of a part are identical, there is no repetition'. But when the two phrases are identical, there is a repetition of that

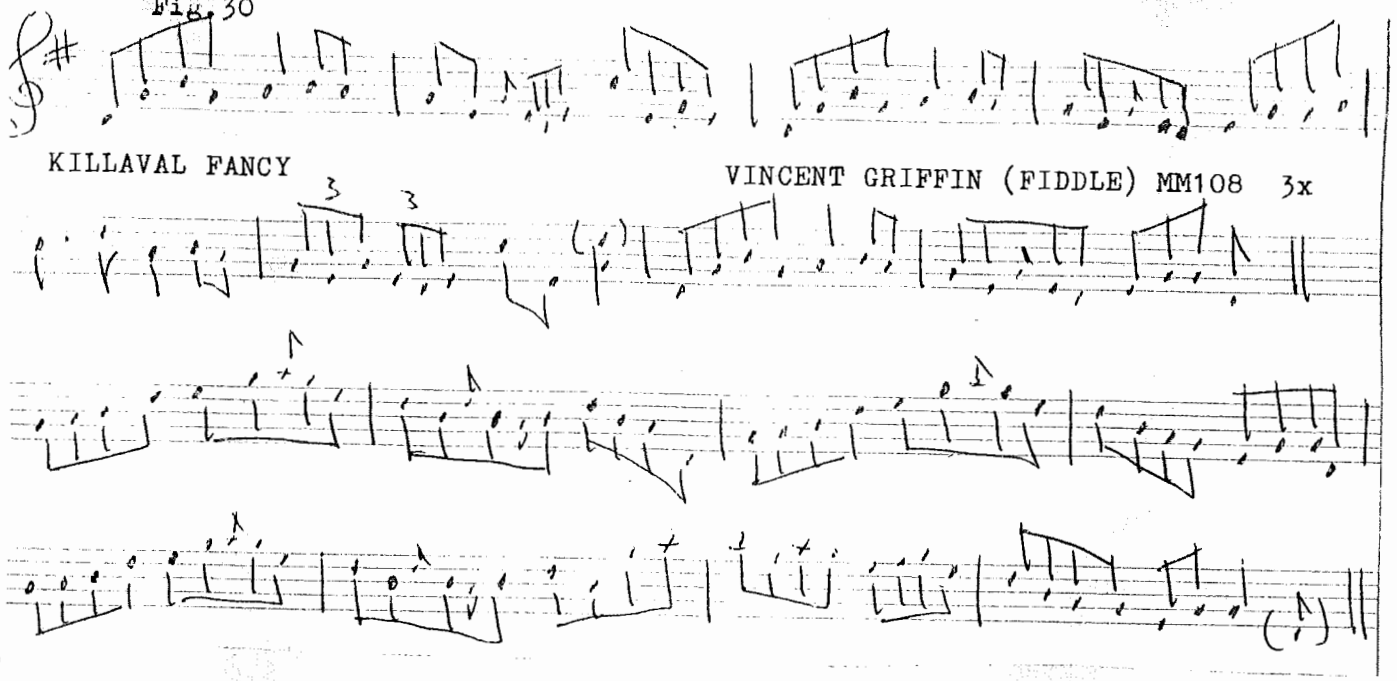
one phrase! Breathnach even writes (p.58): 'The common pattern (of a part of eight bars, according to the writer) is a single phrase repeated with some slight modification'. (In the present paragraph and the next we will trace this 'slight modification' back to forms of 'lifts' and of variation). And Petrie writes (Op.cit. p,58):'...the reel is a tune...consisting of two parts, of eight bars each, or - to speak more accurately - of four bars, which are played twice' (but often again with a modification).
After analysing the structure of the reels played by the musicians in and around Feakle, I formulated some rules which seem to govern the repetition pattern and the length of the strains (either 8 or 16 bars) of a reel.

I analysed all 264 reels which I recorded. Altogether among these 264 there were 179 different tunes; the other 85 are some of these 179, played by the same musician on another occasion, or played by another musician. This was very helpful: I was able to compare approaches by different musicians, or in different settings. Remarks of musicians about mistakes made by others were very useful, and I got the impression that the choice of the repetition pattern is not up to the individual musician, but is governed by certain rules. This may well be one of the basic elements of the dance-music (one of the invariable aspects). But in practice the pattern is not constant: there are differences between performances of different musicians, and even within one performance the musician may change the repetition pattern of one tune. This gives the impression of correcting a mistake, and occasionally a musician would make a statement about having made a mistake in this pattern. But since the patterns do vary in practice. These 'rules' will be presented as probabilities which may be one of the basic elements of the category of reels (at least at present; and since reels are at present by far the most popular category, the analysis might be well worth the effort).

C1.1. Of these 264 reels, the largest group (80) has a structure which will be described with the help of Fig.30. Here both tune[1] and turn take eight bars. As usual the turn is in a higher register. In the tune we find four 'heads' (the third is a variation, as I will explain later on), and four after-head-segments, of which the first is nearly identical with the third (a slight variation, which is often not played by many musicians); the second equals the fourth. Thus, the 8-bar tune consists of one part, which is repeated with a slight modification. But the turn-head is only played thrice; the 'lift' starts in the 7th

1). As opposed to tune or 'tune', tune indicates the first part of a tune.

Fig. 30

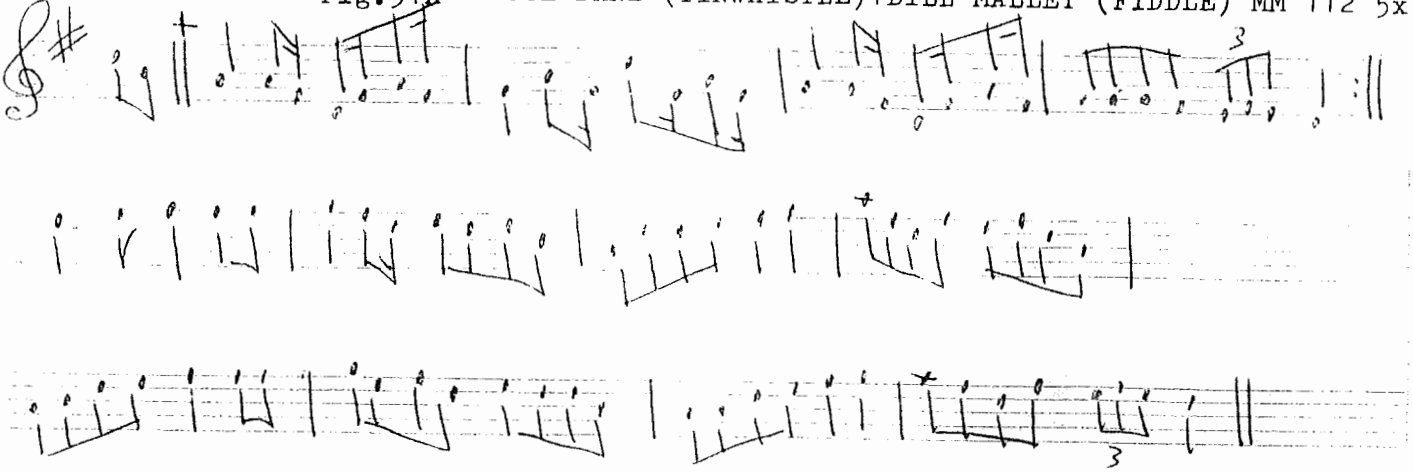


bar of the turn. Because of the lift there is no internal repetition within the turn.

C1.2. In 15 other reels the structure of tune and turn is similar: four heads, and an internal repetition, while each part takes eight bars (see Fig.31A). Sometimes the reels of this sub-category develop a small lift (Fig.31B). The alteration of the last turnhead in this reel was taught to the pupils by Vincent Griffin in a demonstrative lesson, for a radio program about social developments in Feakle. See also the small difference between Joe Bane's and Bill Malley's performance at the end of the turn.

Ci.3. In 31 other reels both tune and turn have a lift instead of a fourth head, while each part has 8 bars: in neither part is an internal

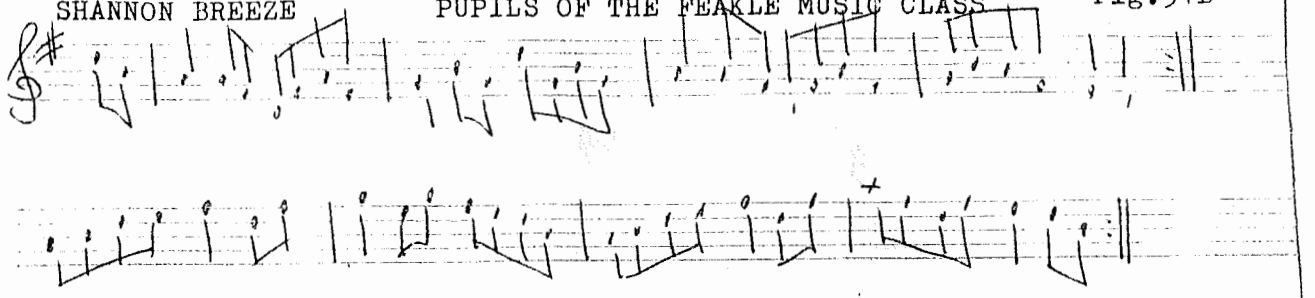
SHANNON BREEZE Fig.31A JOE BANE (TINWHISTLE)+BILL MALLEY (FIDDLE) MM 112 5x



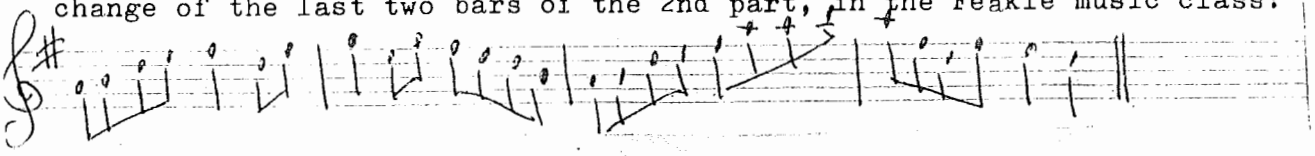
occasionally Bill finishes up the 2nd part with:

instead of playing the last two bars as above

SHANNON BREEZE PUPILS OF THE FEAKLE MUSIC CLASS Fig.31B

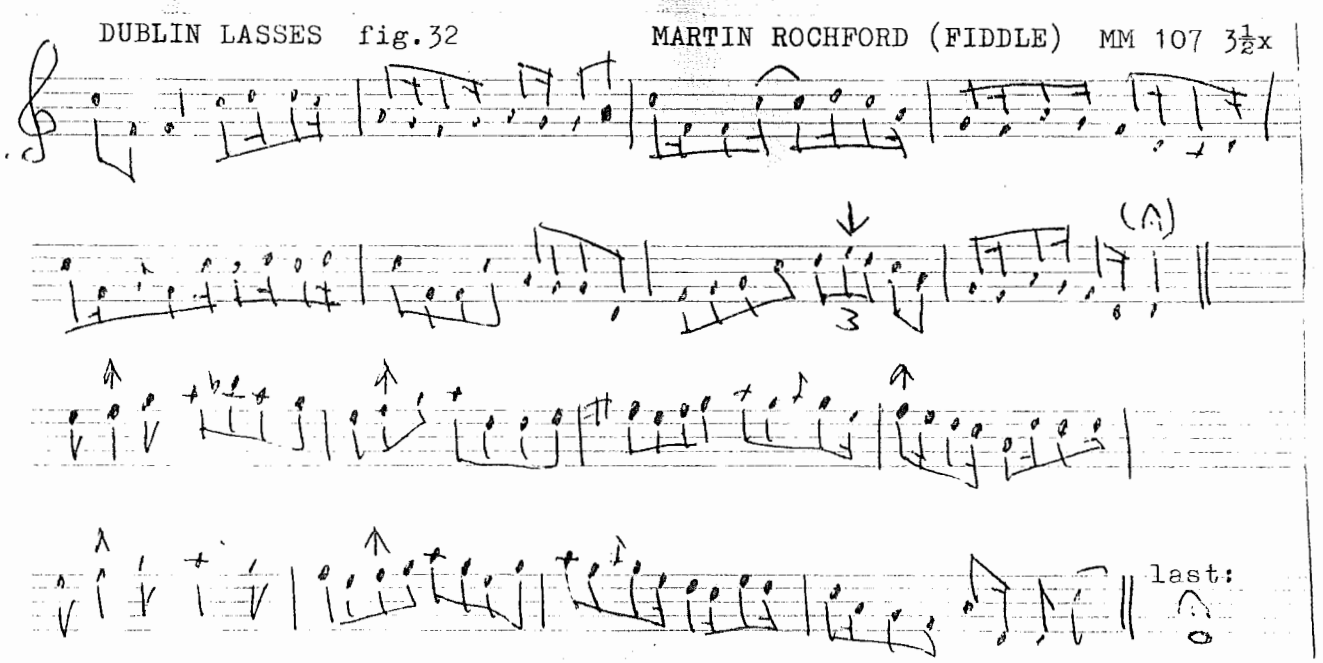


change of the last two bars of the 2nd part, in the Feakle music class:



repetition. Under C2.1. I will consider a group which has the same structure except for the fact that each part is repeated, giving parts of 16 bars. This may be related to the lift of the first part, the tune. See as an illustration of C1.3. Fig.32.

DUBLIN LASSES fig.32 MARTIN ROCHFORD (FIDDLE) MM 107 $3\frac{1}{2}$x



When Vincent Griffin studied this reel (which he had not played before) he 'doubled' the parts (and thus the structure became that of C2.1.); but later on he singled them again. This may be due to his familiarity with the three-part reel Boys of Ballysedare (see p.57), which has 8-bar parts and small lifts. In that case the initial doubling' may have been due either to the strong lift at the end of the tune or to the fact that he was still studying the tune.

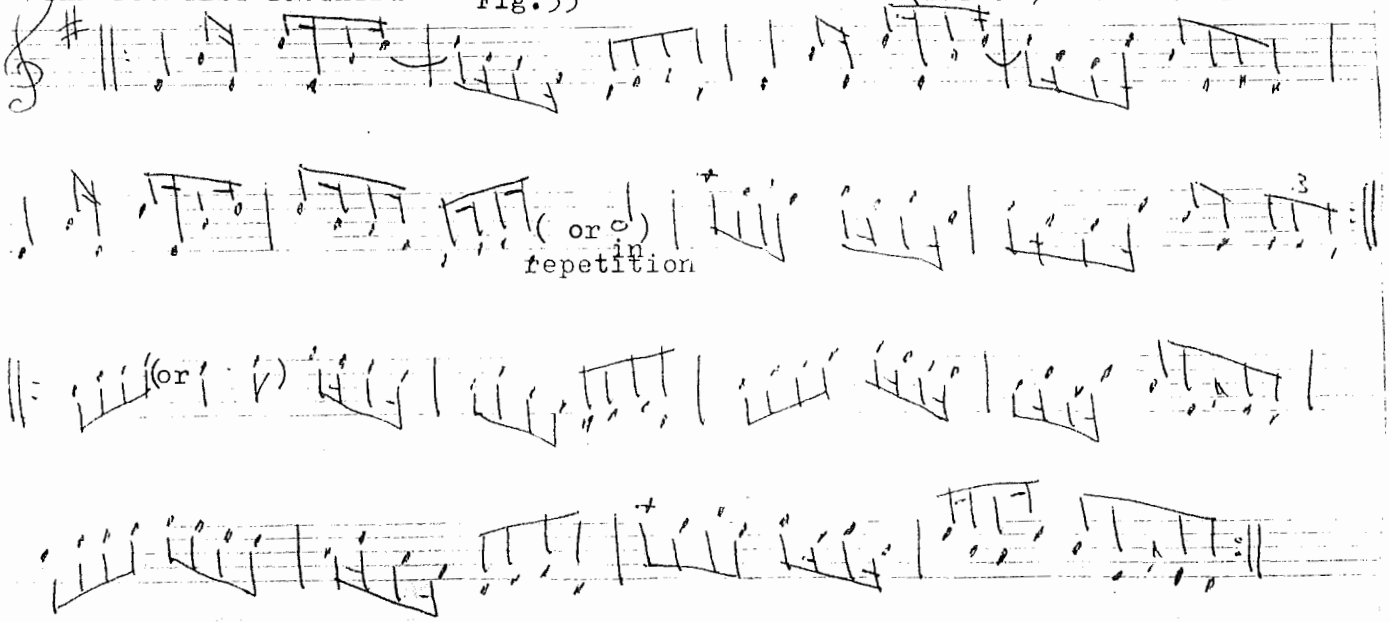
All together C1 furnishes some evidence for these probabilities:
--In an 8-bar-part tune consisting of two parts we often find an internal repetition, especially in the first part or tune. In the cases discussed this tune often had four heads.
--The turn has the same length as the tune. But there is a stronger

tendency for lifts to be 'developed' in turns than in tunes. These lifts 'take the place' of the fourth turnhead. But a considerable number of 8-bar-part tunes have only three heads in both tune and turn, and a final lift in each part.
Three reels with two 8-bar-parts have a lift in the tune but not in the turn (the turn has 4 heads). Thus it seems that in the 8-bar-part reels the tune more often has an internal repetition than the turn, and maybe therefore 'enables' the player to do with the 8-bar-part structure:
--Lifts are more easily 'developed' in the turn, while the structure of the tune or first part defines the repetition pattern (and length).

> When I speak about 'development' of lifts I do not want to suggest that a certain evelution is taking place; and if such an evolution indeed is taking place, I have not enough evidence to prove it.
> I think, however, that certain aspects of the tunes, certain 'structural places' are more apt to personal interpretation than others. The form of the lift is in many tunes quite personal, but the form which is chosen eventually may influence the repetition pattern. Indeed among the Feakle musicians some prefer elaborate lifts while others hardly vary the final head. See Fig. 33 and 34, and 35 and 36.

C2.1. A group of 17 reels has lifts in tune and turn, with three heads before the lifts, like in the C1.3.group,; but in the present group the parts are repeated again (Fig.33)

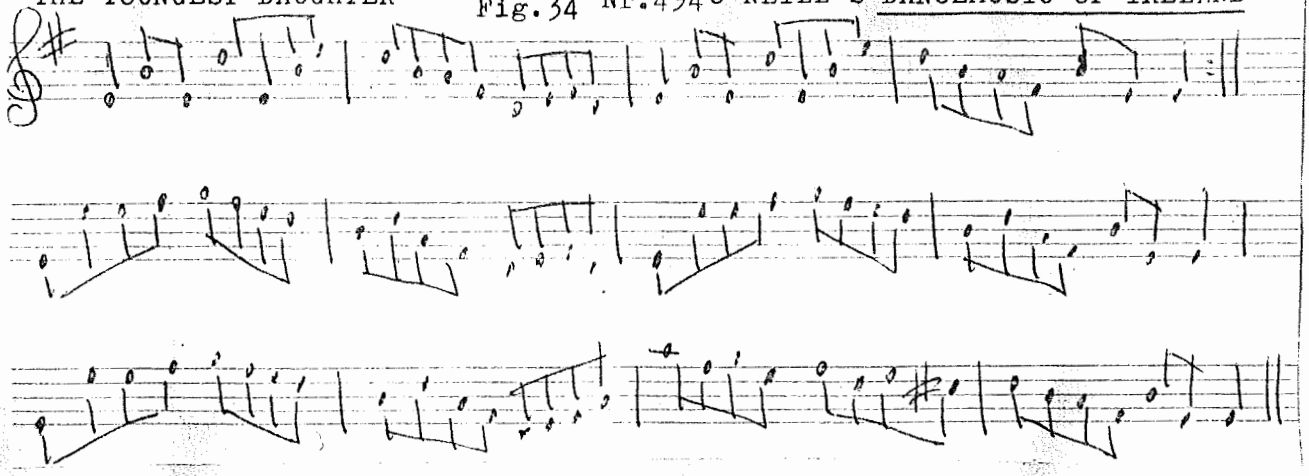
THE YOUNGEST DAUGHTER Fig.33 P.JOE HAYES (FIDDLE) MM 111 2x



When we compare this reel with a tune with the same name in O Neill's collection 'Dancemusic of Ireland' (1910, but often reprinted), we see that in P.Joe's reel the lift of the turn (O Neill's) is played in the tune as well, while in O Neill's reel the tune has 4 heads. The parts of the latter reel have 8 bars (in fact the C2.1.-group hardly

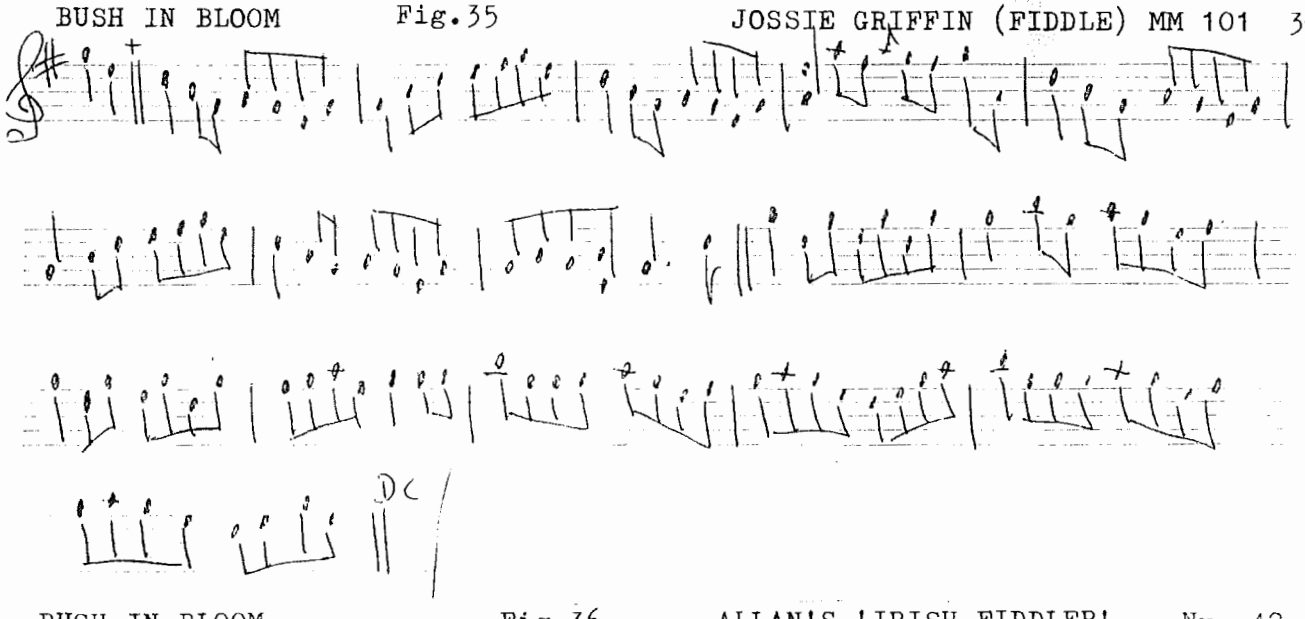
exists in O Neill's, while the C1.3.-group is quite large; this may be evidence for . Breathnach's statements, or lack of correctness in transcriptions) while P.Joe's reel has 16-bar parts (see Fig.34)

THE YOUNGEST DAUGHTER Fig.34 Nr.494 O NEILL'S DANCEMUSIC OF IRELAND

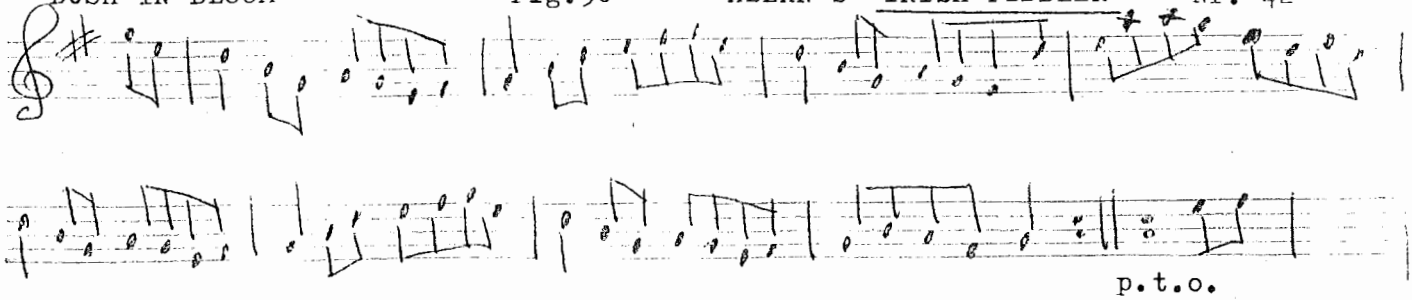


I have the impression that reels can travel between the C1.3.-group and the present group, especially if the lift of the tune is not very strong. An example of this is the reel Bush in Bloom (which has a lift that already starts in the bar of the third turnhead), as played by a Feakle fiddler (Fig.35) and in Allan's collection (without year but recent; Fig.36) 1).

BUSH IN BLOOM Fig.35 JOSSIE GRIFFIN (FIDDLE) MM 101 $3\frac{1}{2}$ x

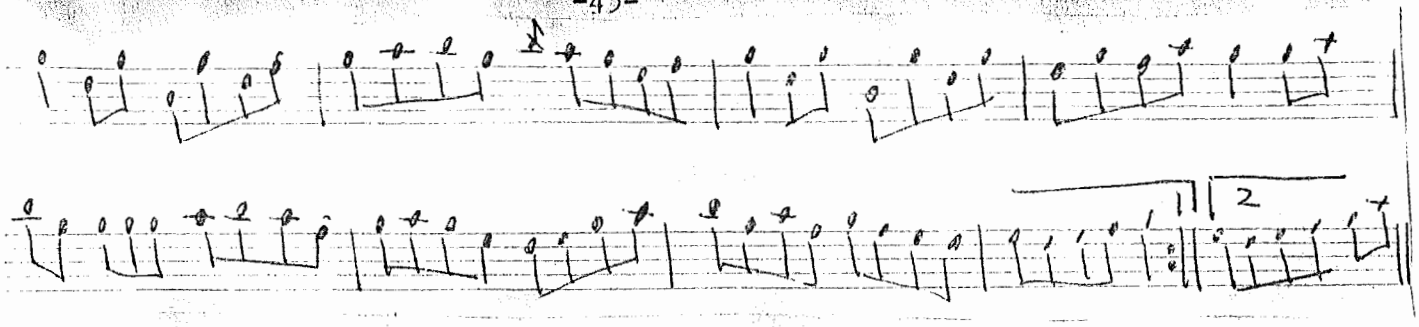


BUSH IN BLOOM Fig.36 ALLAN'S 'IRISH FIDDLER' Nr. 42



p.t.o.

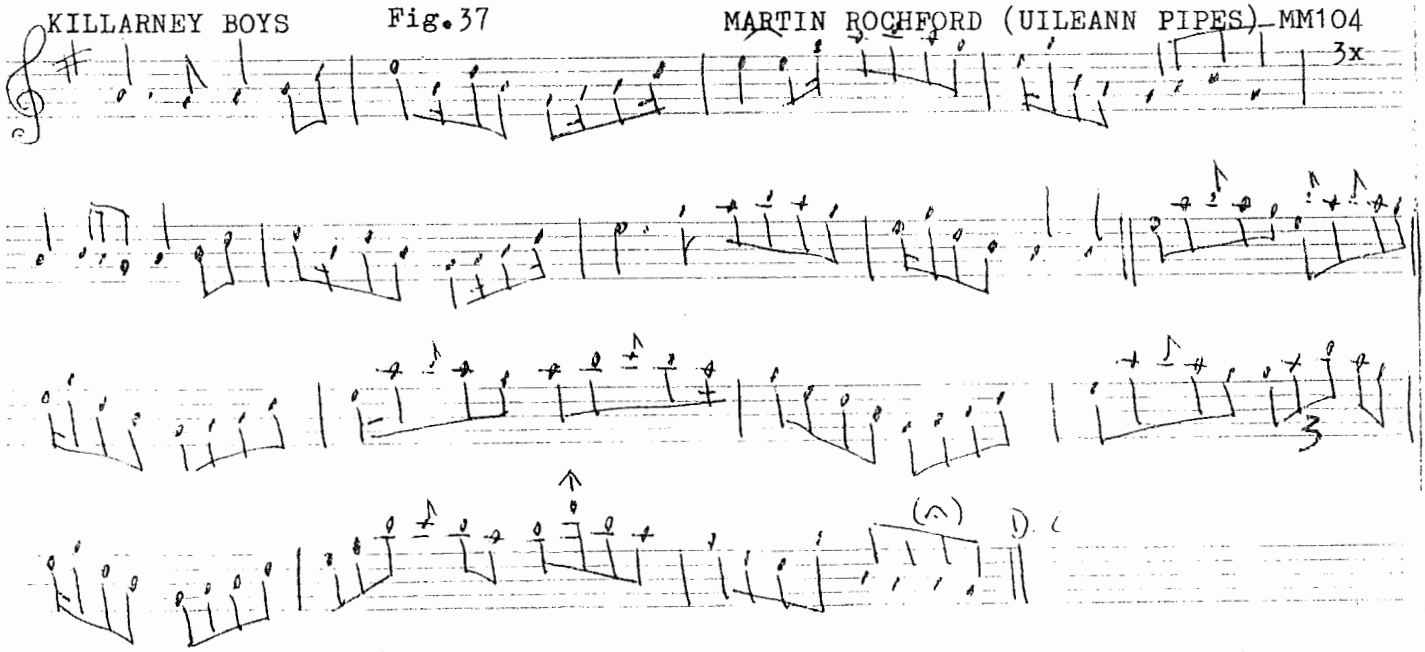
1). Among the groups of young Urban players in Ireland and Britain C2.1 is more common than C1.3.



C2.2. In 5 cases of 16-bar-part reels there is a double repetition in the tune. The reel of Fig. 21 was also recorded without this double repetition, by the concertina player Paddy Crogan, who called this reel 'one of Joe Bane's'. Another example is the reel Dowd's favourite, as played by Mick O'Donoghue on the concertina. A transcription of this reel will be presented on page 160, in the paragraph about the present musicians of the Feakle area. Joe Bane (Fig.21) 'singled' the reel the last time. It is possible that the C2.2.-group is a group of exceptions, of 'mistakes'. These reels also do not follow Breathnach's statement that parts of 8 bars are not doubled when within these parts already identical phrases are found. (op.cit.p.59)

C3. In 9 reels we find an 8-bar-part structure with internal tune-repetition but only two heads in each part (instead of 4 as in the C1.1.-group). The turn has a lift (Fig. 37)

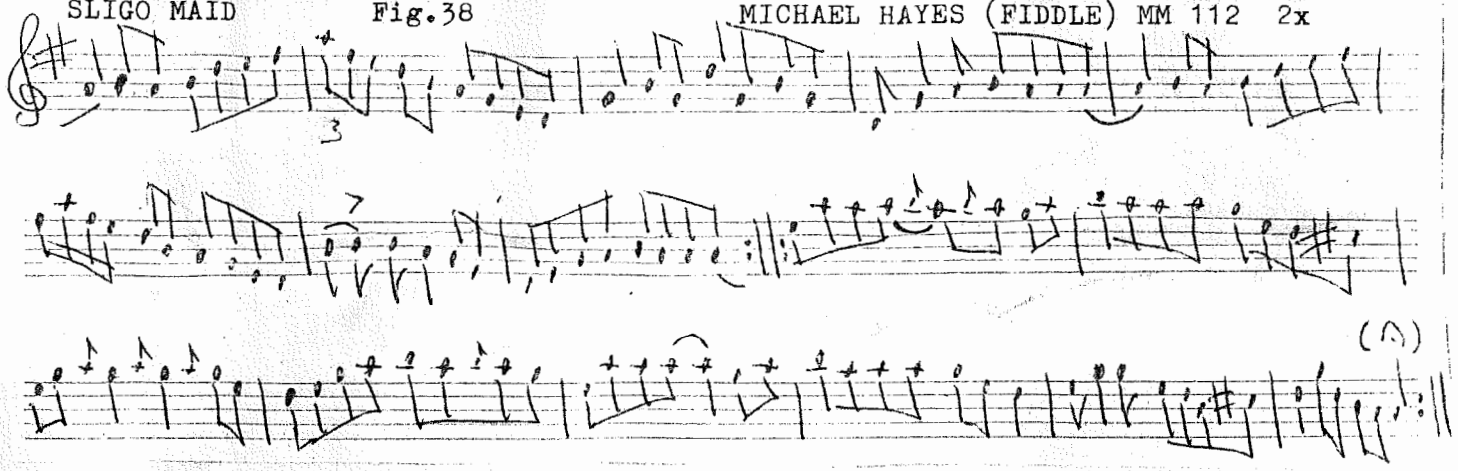
KILLARNEY BOYS Fig.37 MARTIN ROCHFORD (UILEANN PIPES) MM104



So here we see that the probability of 'tune-repetition' is stronger than that of '4 heads in the tune'. In only three reels I found the same structure as in those of this C3.-group but with a repetition, resulting in 16-bar parts with 4 heads in each part (like in the C4.-group). (See the reel of Fig.4o).

C4. Another large group (65 reels) has a 16-bar-part structure with internal repetition in both parts, and with four heads in each part. (See fig. 38)

SLIGO MAID Fig.38 MICHAEL HAYES (FIDDLE) MM 112 2x

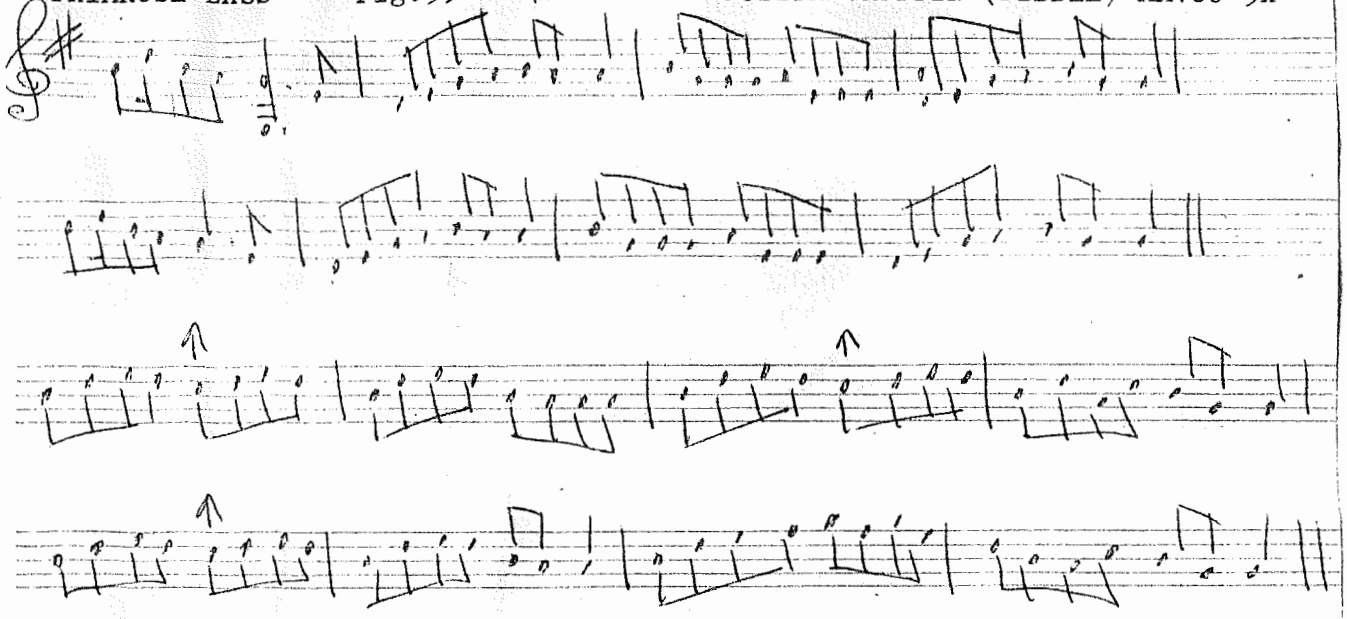


Usually these reels do not have a lift, not even in the turn. Three reels in the sample have lifts at the place of the 4th head (Breathnach symbolizes some reels as $(AA')_2$ -which is the tune- BBBA' -which is the turn, (Op.cit. p.16); I suppose that he is thinking of reels like these three; the last 4 bars of the parts are identical).

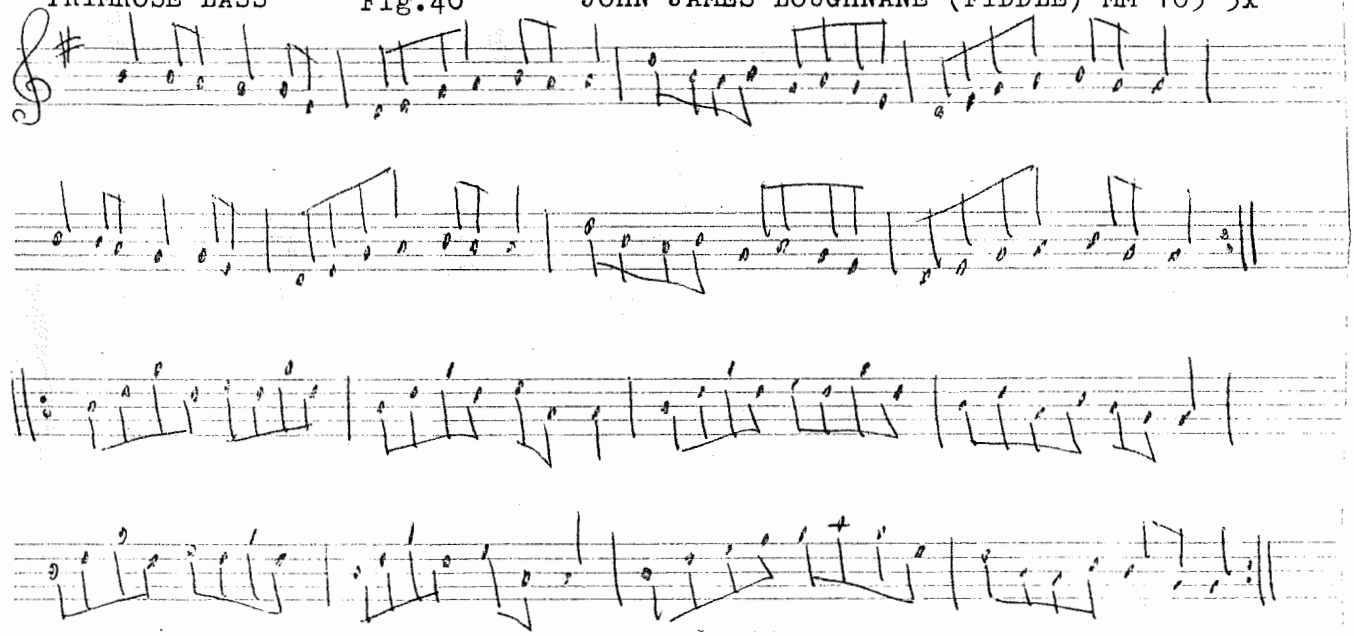
The main difference between the groups C1-C2 and C3-C4 is the number of foot taps or bars between the start of the various heads: in C3-C4 this number is twice as large as in C1-C2. But it is often difficult to decide whether a tune should be placed in C2 or C4. The only difference is the number of heads: C2 has an 'extra' head in the 3th bar, which occurs again in the repetition of the part. And it might be the case that not every head is experienced as head. When we compare the reels of Fig. 39 and Fig.40, we might class the first as C1 (with a head-variation) or as C3, and the second as C2.2. (again with a head-variation) or as C4. But the 'head-variation' seems to be stereotyped: it always returns at the place of the 'second head' and therefore it seems likely that the player experiences this fragment as an after-head-segment rather than a head with a variation. This of course is a matter of speculation.

In Fig.40 we may have an example of a 'mistake' as suggested under C2.2. . J.J. LoughNane does not pretend to be a good fiddler; and other musicians say about his playing that he 'messes up parts'. He played the reel three times, as indicated, and during the last he played the first part (the tune) not twice, but three times. This may indicate that he tried to follow a rather rational repetition device, but could not remember how many times he had already played this part, since he did not follow or trust his intuition that might have suggested him to 'single' the parts. I wonder what the relation of this is with his teacher, the famous Johnie Allen (see the paragraphs about J.Allen and J.J.LoughNane , pages 124 and 170).

PRIMROSE LASS Fig.39 JOSSIE GRIFFIN (FIDDLE) MM100 3x



PRIMROSE LASS Fig.40 JOHN JAMES LOUGHNANE (FIDDLE) MM 103 3x



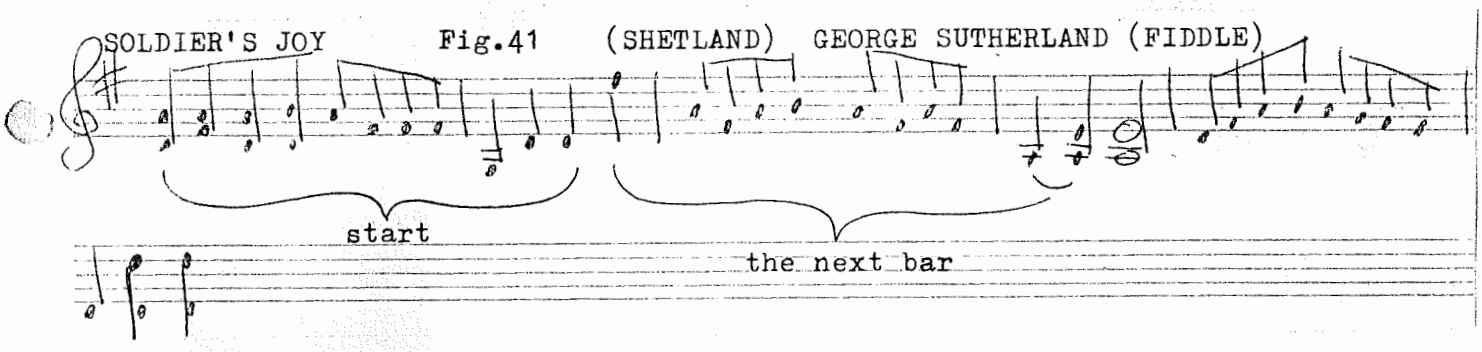
Even to state that heads as such are a part of the conscious experience of the musicians is to a certain extent a matter of speculation. When a player breaks up a tune in fragments, he doesn't necessarily use the start of a head as a suitable place to stop, though he will always stop when a repetition starts.

When I was working with Bill Malley, trying to understand the right positions for head-variations in the Shannon Breeze (see Fig.31) I once played a long note 1) on the third head (at the beginning of the internal repetition, which is a usual long-note-position). I asked Bill if that could be done, a long note in the 'second time', and he answered that it could be done,'in the sec...., the third bar'. This indicates that Bill (who does not use printed music) divides the tune in bars which are twice as long as those in the

1). A 'long note' is a variation device. See under E, page 53.

usual notation; and these bars coincide with heads+segments: indeed I had put this long note at the beginning of the third head! This is the only evidence that I found in Feakle, that heads indeed are quite consciously experienced as heads.

I heard a similar idea about the structure of reels on the Shetland-fiddlers record of the School of Scottish studies, where the fiddler George Sutherland describes a Shetland variation of the reel 'soldier's joy' (which is also common in Ireland). He says: 'we start with--(and plays the first two noted bars)' 'and the next bar starts with a touch' (the high f sharp. Upbeats are never separated from the main bar) ,and in this 'next bar' the second head is played. Although he doesn't state this explicitly, I think that this could mean: the second bar (Fig. 41)



But the often severe judgements about repetition patterns by musicians suggest that that aspect of formal structure is experienced on a conscious level, sometimes at least. The final proof for this should be statements of musicians about repetition patterns of reels which they have never heard before. I have not gathered such evidence.

With the help of the structures we considered up to now, we may state the following probabilities in relation to the repetition-patterns of two-part reels:

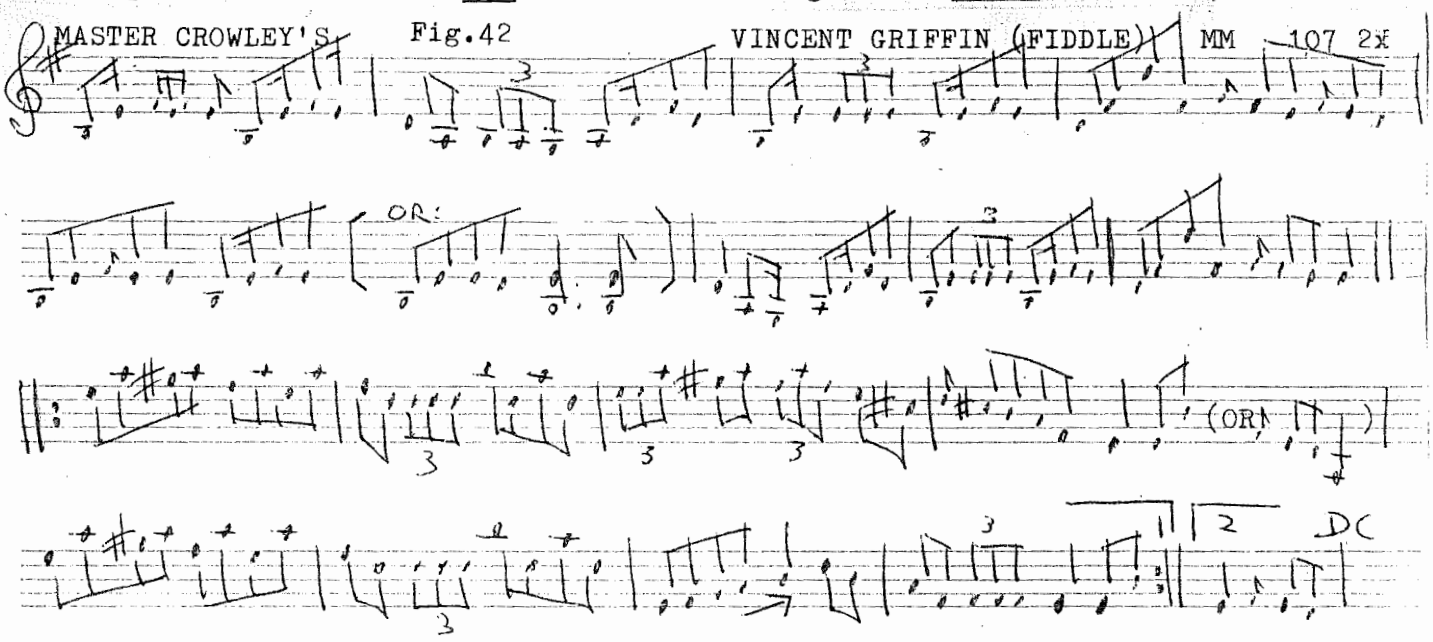
1. Tune and turn have the same length: either 8 or 16 bars.
2. Especially the tune is usually repeated internally. This influences its length, and because of probability 1 also the length of the turn. However, we found a considerable amount of reels without internal repetition in the tune.
3. A lift is more likely to be found in the turn than in the tune; when the tune has a lift then the turn has a lift as well.
4. Especially in the tune we tend to find the same motive (or head,1) a term which is not used by the musicians) 4 times. This is often less in the turn.

Since these are probabilities, we might count them under the basic elements of the category of reels. But we should not forget that the repetition pattern is an abstraction from the tune. Some aspects

1). The musicians do not have a particular term, like head. The word lift is occasionally used to indicate the high run at the end of the turn.

time and 'tune' are invariably seen as basic elements of the various categories, but such statements are hardly made by musicians when commenting on formal structure.

I recorded 14 exceptions to the presented probabilities. Together with these recordings I often found clues for the correctness of the probabilities. An informative example is 'Master Crowley' as played by Vincent Griffin (Fig.42). In this reel Vincent did not follow probability 1: the <u>turn</u> is twice as long as the <u>tune</u>.



This may have to do with the very <u>strong lift in the turn</u>. But three months later I recorded the same reel again. This time Vincent had also doubled the first part. He might have done this consciously (now the reel belonged to the 'exception'-group C2.2.): on the same occasions he played the reel 'Roscommon' - in fact the two reels are often played together, in imitation of the player that made them famous, Hugh Gillespie. This is a three-part reel (see C5), and only the second part was doubled. Now multipart reels have the same probability 1 (parts of the same length), and at the second recording he also had adapted this reel to that probability: he singled every part.

Another interesting example is found in some performances of the reel 'The humours of Scariff' (which was recorded 11 times; it is by far the most locally 'known' tune). This reel usually belongs to the large C1.1.-group (Fig.43, see also Fig.28). Several players (who have often played together) play 'the same reel' differently (Fig.44). Here the <u>usual turn</u> is the <u>tune</u>, the first part. Because of the lift this part is repeated (C2.1.). But now probability 2 conflicts with probability 3: the present turn has no lift! The consequence is that

the turn is played single.

HUMOURS OF SCARIFF Fig. 43 MICK O'DOYLE (FIDDLE) MM 113 5x

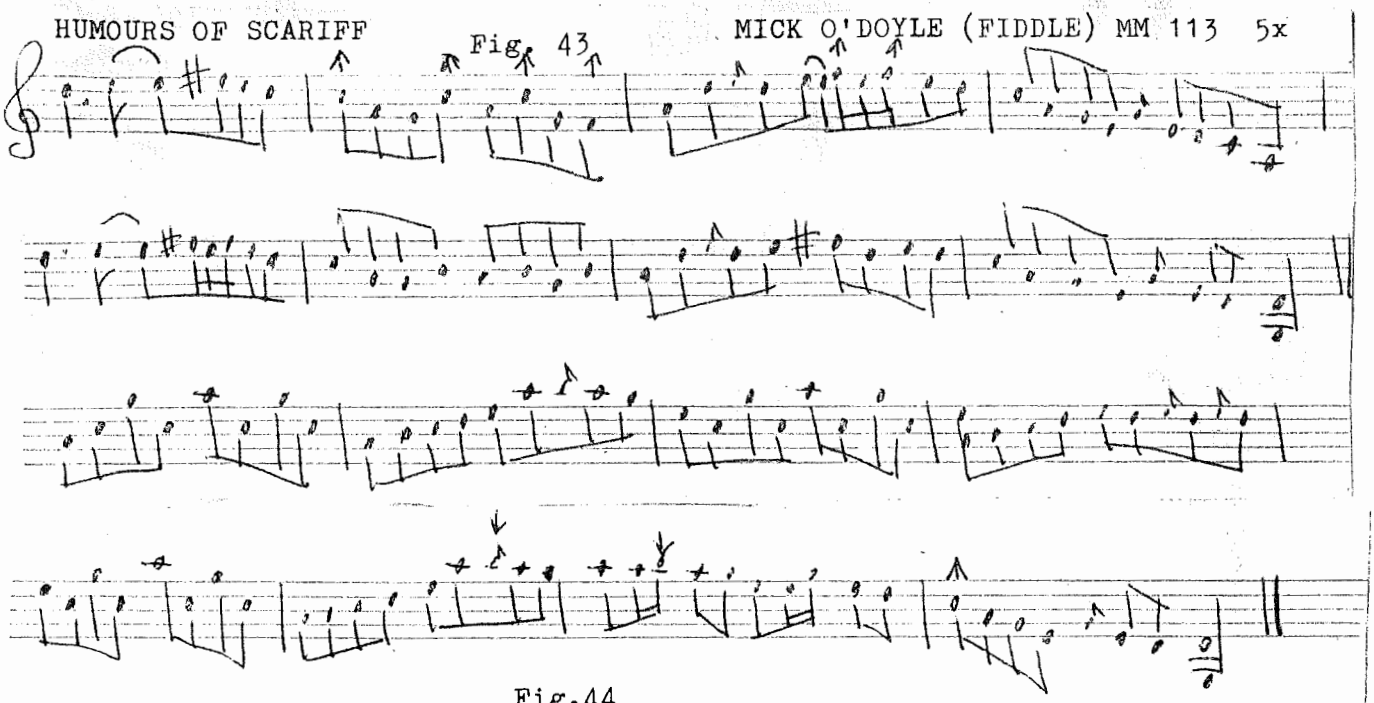
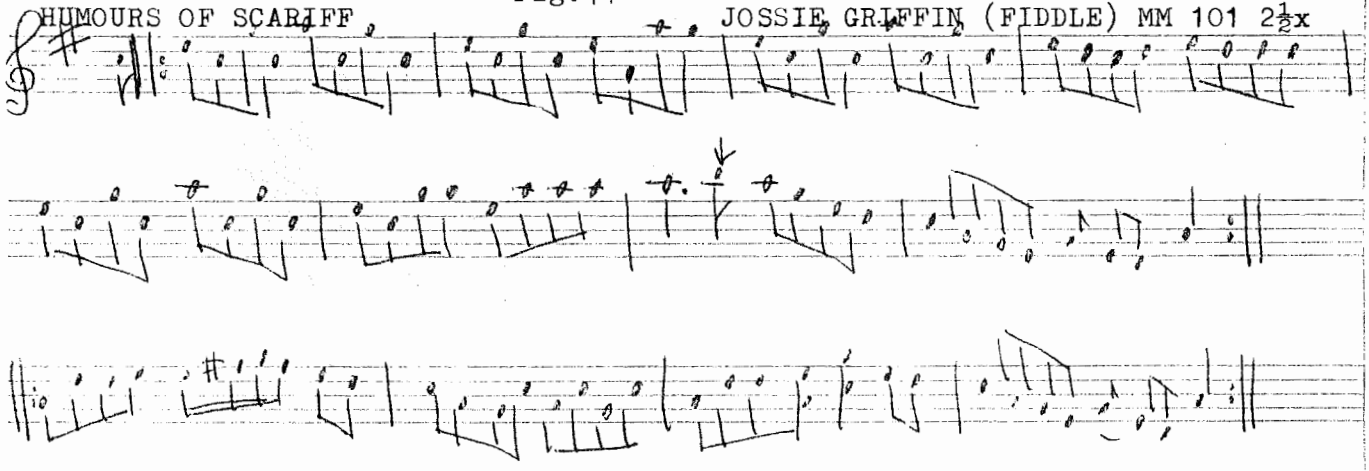


Fig.44

HUMOURS OF SCARIFF JOSSIE GRIFFIN (FIDDLE) MM 101 2½x

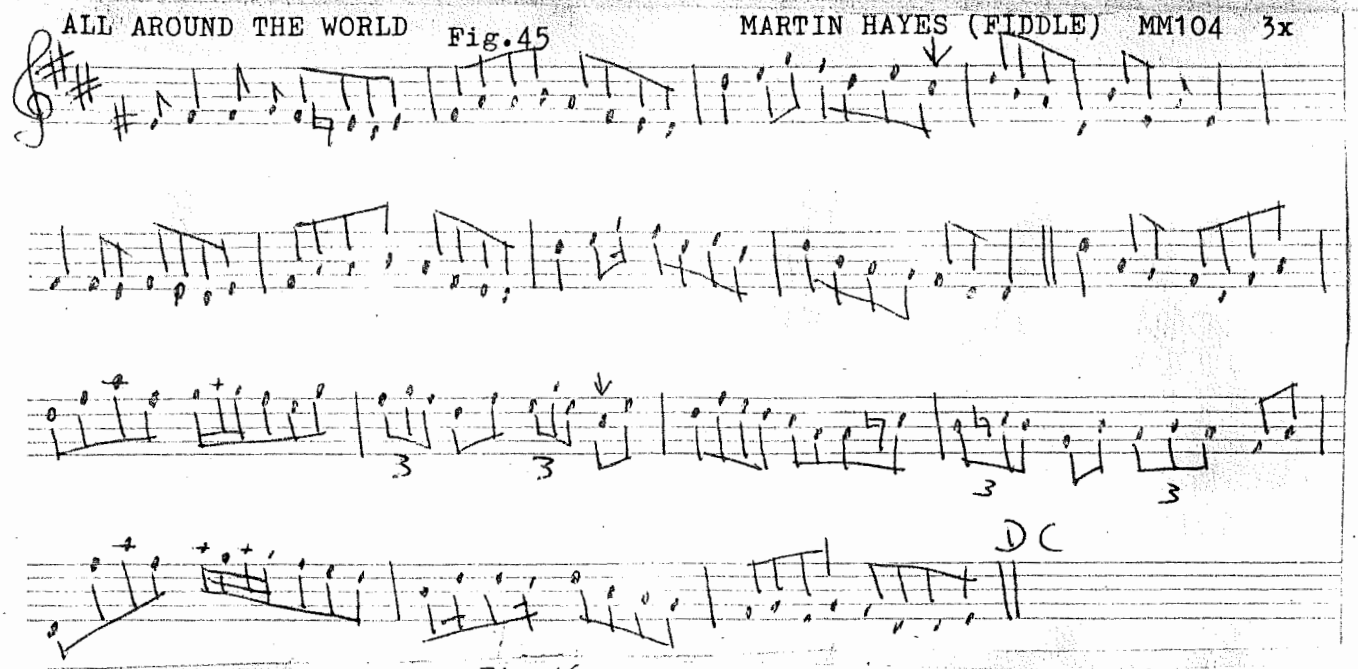


Other musicians sometimes played reels in an 'irregular' way, and when they started an unnecessary repetition of a part, they would break off the performance abruptly, saying 'not able to play at all' or 'gone off flat'.

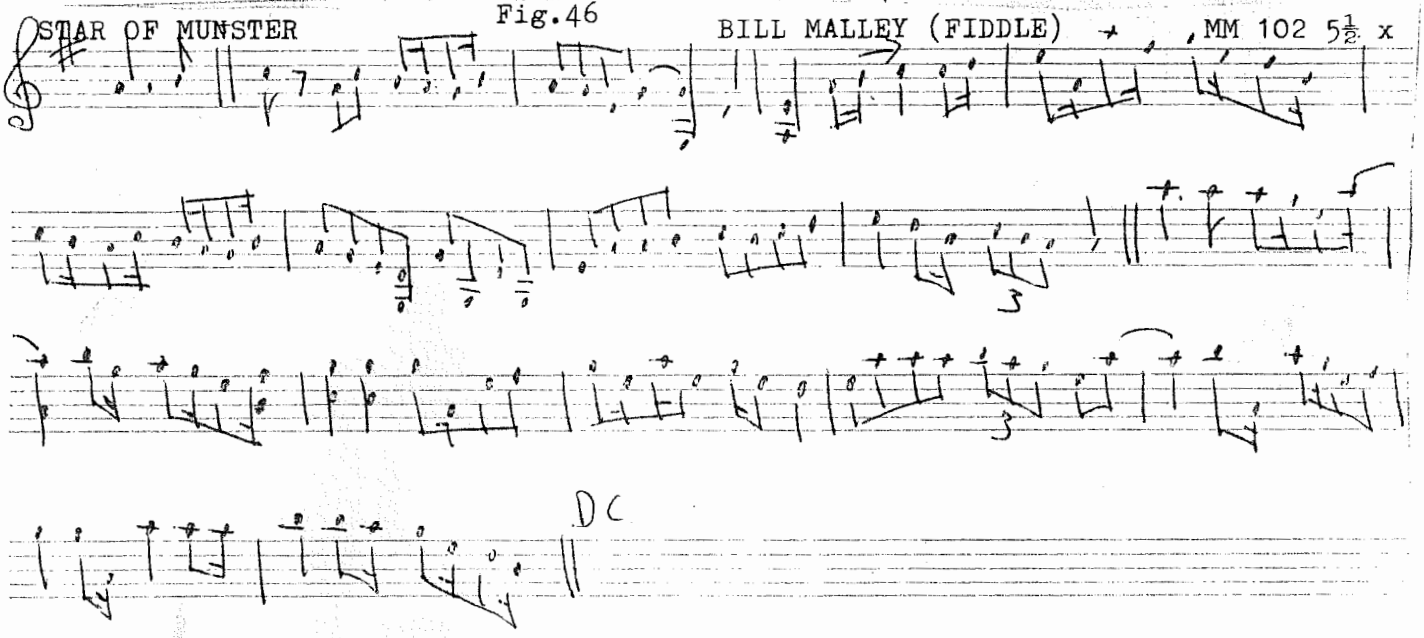
During a few of the 'exceptions' the player corrected the pattern after the first time playing.

Two notable exceptions to all expectations within the Feakle sample are 'All around the world' (sometimes called 'Joe Cooley's') (Fig.45) and 'Star of Munster' (Fig. 46). The first is played either as 8-bar-part or 16-bar-part reel. Probability 1 is followed, but when the reel is played with 8-bar parts there is only one'head'in the turn. Vincent Griffin used to say that the parts should be played twice, but he did not say why. When singled, the tune reminds of those of C3, but there is no strict internal repetition. This might be the reason, but the unfamiliar structure of the turn might be another one.

ALL AROUND THE WORLD Fig.45 MARTIN HAYES (FIDDLE) MM104 3x



STAR OF MUNSTER Fig.46 BILL MALLEY (FIDDLE) MM 102 5½ x



The Star of Munster is usually played with a single turn, which may be related to its strong fall to the start of the tune after the lift. The tune is sometimes played single, which is very surprising because its structure has the characteristics of the tunes of C4. But this practice is probably caused by probability 1 again. But others play the turn single and the tune double. The only other Feakle musician with whom I recorded this reel (Martin Rochford, with the uilleann pipes) doubled both parts, following the probabilities.

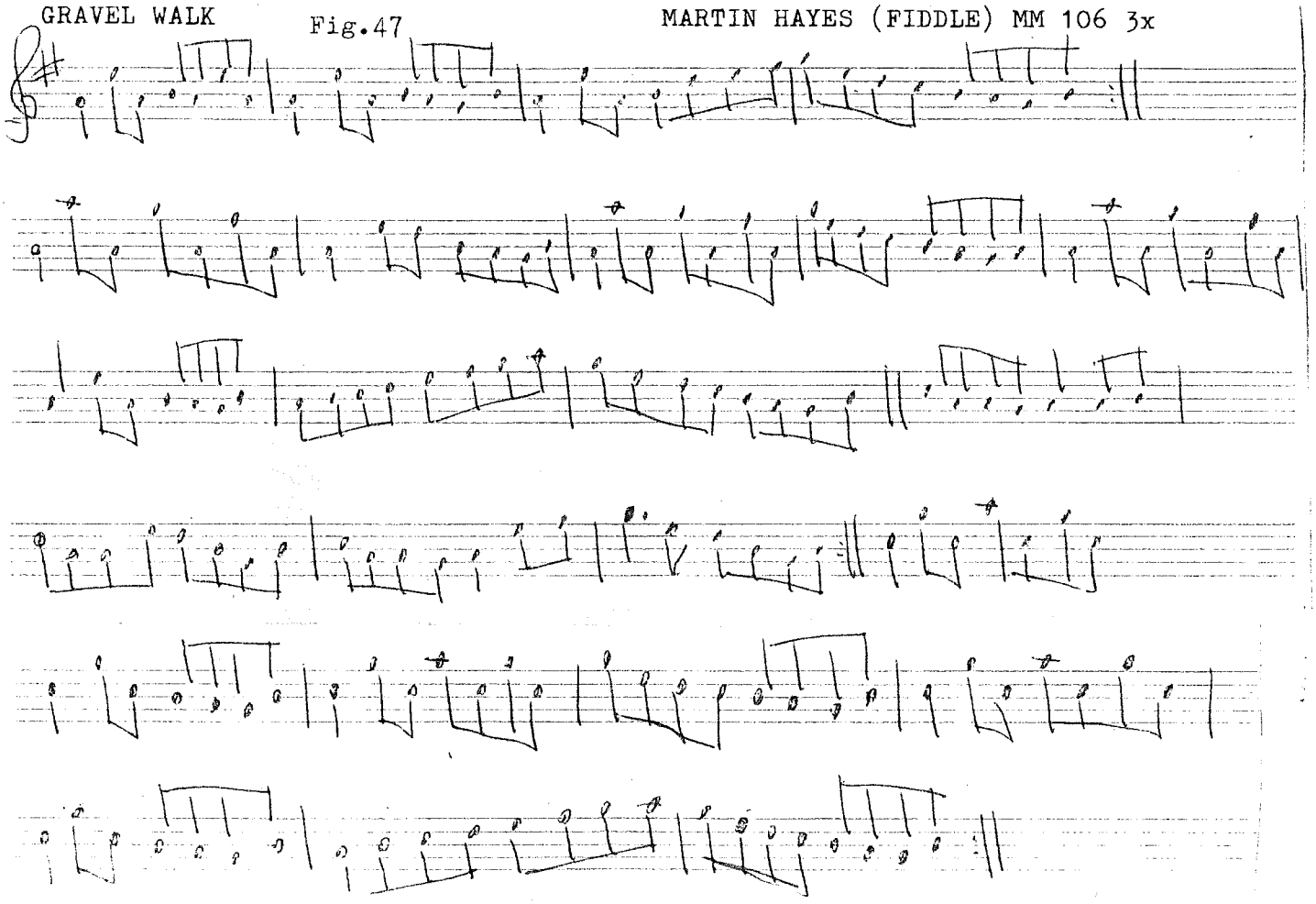
C5. A few remarks about multi-part reels: these follow in general probability one. In the sample seven have a structure like the reels of C4, with 16-bar parts, seven have 8-bar parts of which the first has an internal repetition (like the reels in C1.1.). Eight others have an 8-bar-part structure, but no internal repetition (like C1.3.). These are the well-known Bucks of Oranmore (recorded 5 times) and

the Boys of Ballysadare (3 times), so altogether only two 'different' tunes.

It is possible that multipart reels are recent. Petrie does not mention them. One of the reels, the Gravel Walk, is said to be a combination of two two-part reels. This is quite possible; the first two parts are quite different from the other two, since they tend to skip the c. (See Fig.47). In the parts one and three the head returns very often, and again I doubt if they are all experienced as heads.

(As in many reels, this density appears more often in tunes than in turns).

GRAVEL WALK Fig.47 MARTIN HAYES (FIDDLE) MM 106 3x



So much for the internal formal structure of reels in Feakle. In my experience, practice outside Feakle (or rather:East Clare) is not much different, but I would need more information to judge if the probabilities exist in other areas as well. (see also the note on page 42.)

To return to the statements of Petrie, Joyce and Breathnach: I suggest that length depends on internal structure, and that tune-repetition is usual. The majority of the reels in the older collections are 8-bar-part reels with internal tune-repetition. I wonder if the tunes of reels with a structure as in C4 have always been played single for step-dances in the last century. In my limited experience dancers use

periods of 8 bars, but they do not mind about repetition.
But a final argument in favour of Joyce's statements is, that in O Neill's 'Music of Ireland'(1903, reprinted) which probably mirrors the practice of 1890-1900 (among circles around the Chicago Music-club, the Irish emigrants), all reels are noted as 8-bar-part reels, without repetition signs (which are found in many of the jigs, also noted as 8-bar-part melodies). There is no relation between this and the internal structure of the part. What the causes of this change are may be the subject of thorough historical investigation 1).

C6. Jigs and hornpipes usually have a 16-bar-part structure. The first part of a jig usually has a lift, the hornpipe-tune likewise. Turns have a lift as well. But slip jigs usually lack strong lifts, and have an 8-bar-part structure.

The aspects of formal structure are not discussed as basic elements of the various tune-categories. Nevertheless I assume that they are of major importance, and that the probabilities to a certain extent may be regarded as invariables. Some of these probabilities allow for internal variation (as discussed for the categories C1.3 and C2.1). The 'weak position' of the probabilities as invariables is illustrated in part III. The probabilities of repetition patterns, and the proportions of parts with widely and narrowly spaced heads, experienced much change. It is clear that some social groups appreciate [illegible] patterns, in their frequent shouts or battering steps at the beginning of the repetition. This is done both by audiences and dancers. But this seems to be related especially to the next points.

C7. As a rule every reel, jig, hornpipe etc. is played at least twice. Eight-bar-part reels are often played more times than 16-bar-part ones, if they have only two parts. This may be the basic element of repetition (as in the individual parts) on a higher level. One has the impression that, in performing a tune, the musician and other participants take part in a quasi-eternal movement, in which a tune can be finished only after having been played several times. Some musicians play the same tune 7 or 8 times, especially those tunes of which the turn-lift is strongly connected with the tune-head, as in Fig.46, and in the end the player will stop, saying 'and so on and so on'.
The opposition between the different parts of a tune also appears on a higher level: for dancing two or three tunes from the same category may be grouped together for one figure of a set. In this

1). See Appendix 1, and also the discussion on page 100-101.

case the individual tunes are usually played twice. For the East Clare sets, which have only one figure which may continue as long as the dancers feel able to, the musicians may continue as long as they think is necessary. Other sets, like the Galway set, have distinct figures, which are completed after a certain number of bars: the musicians usually stop when a figure is finished.

D. Every tune has a 'name', a proper title, according to the musicians. Often a tune is known under different names in different areas, or even within one area. The reel of Fig. 45 was referred to under three different names, by three different Feakle musicians.
Quite often the musician does not know the name of a tune, or he has forgotten the proper name. In practice the names are rarely used. When some musicians play together, they suggest the next tune not by mentioning the name but by playing a part of the 'tune' (see the discussion on page 25). Often tunes are brought back to the memory of the player not because he knows the name, but because the tune is linked up with the first head: with this head as clue the rest of the tune is recalled - if it was forgotten. I do not know if this memory is motoric ('the fingers remember the right tones') or melodic (and if it is, what is the image of the melody in the mind of the player). And in many cases the player does not even remember the head, but a part of the turn: usually a part of the lift, or of the beginning. In such cases one wonders how the knowledge of the player that he 'has' a particular tune, is stored in his memory: often he does not know the name of a tune which he tries to remember it, neither does he remember the first head, until in the end he finds a fragment which serves as clue.
In many other situations, however, the player knows a tune by name while in his memory there is a strong relation between tune and name: tunes are recognized as tune 'X', and the names symbolise the whole tune in the memory of the player

> When a musician speaks about the 'name of that tune' he uses the word tune in its most common sense, not in the sense in which it has been presented under B. But I have the impression that names are associated with the 'particular' aspect of the music (the sequence of pitches) rather than with the 'general' aspect of time: there is often the sequence: name - pitches - the tune when somebody is being asked to play this or that tune. I touched on this situation already under C7: the 'time' (actualized by the continuous foot tap) suggests an eternity-aspect of the music, in which particular 'tunes' are manifested.

E. Variation. In the paragraph about the variation-aspect of 'tune' I mentioned Bayard, who suggests that often a player has several alternative ways of playing certain melodic lines in mind. In this

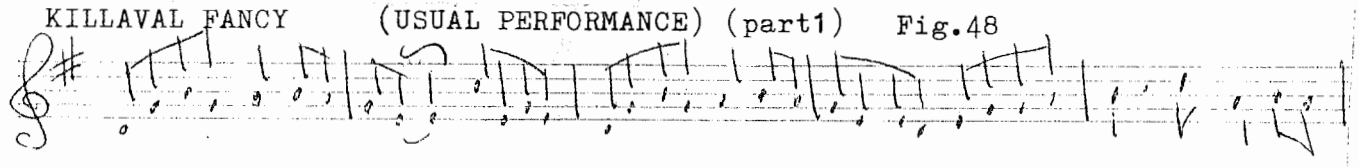
paragraph I want to consider some aspects of the music which seem to determine forms of variation (one may prefer to call some of these forms ornamentation rather than variation; but 'ornamentation' implies a 'bare' note or line which may be ornamented. This seems not to be the case; rather a player uses alternatives. Moreover, the word 'variation' was the most commonly used by the Feakle musicians).

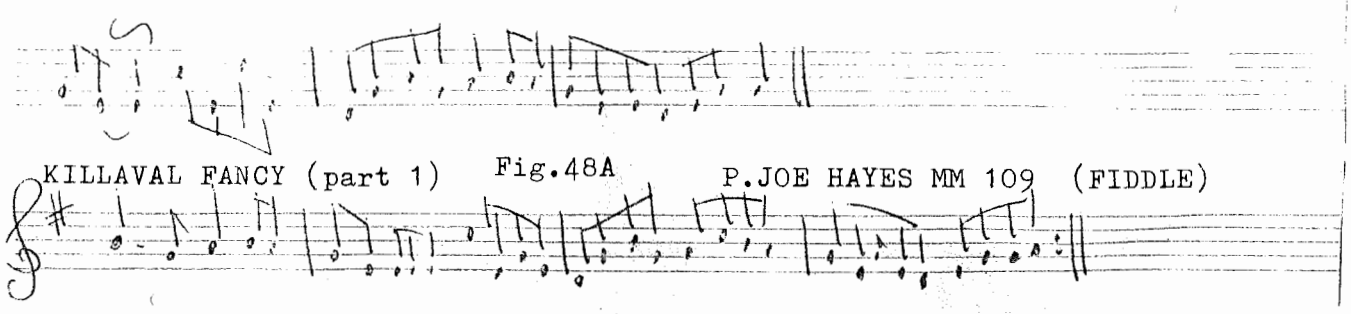
In Breathnach's book (Op.cit. pp.99-104) one finds very useful information about different forms and categories of variation. I want to make two further points.

E_1. Variation depends to a large extent on the instrument played, but also on the situation: On the pipes more ornamentations are made than on the banjo. Of course the banjo gives technical problems in making fast 'rolls' or 'cuts'. Another difference between the two instrumental practices is, that the pipes are nowadays used for listening to, while a banjo is more used for dancing than for listening to. On the fiddle (which possibly is played as often for dancing as for listening, albeit in different combination with other instruments) more variations are made for listeners than for dancers; probably because difficult variations on the fiddle affect the proper 'time'. Good accordion-players (who usually play for dances) however make a lot of variations for dancers; probably because with the accordion this is less likely to affect the proper time.

E2. Specific variations are often related to the formal structure of the tunes. As a first example the tune of the reel Killaval fancy will be used (Fig.48).

KILLAVAL FANCY (USUAL PERFORMANCE) (part1) Fig.48

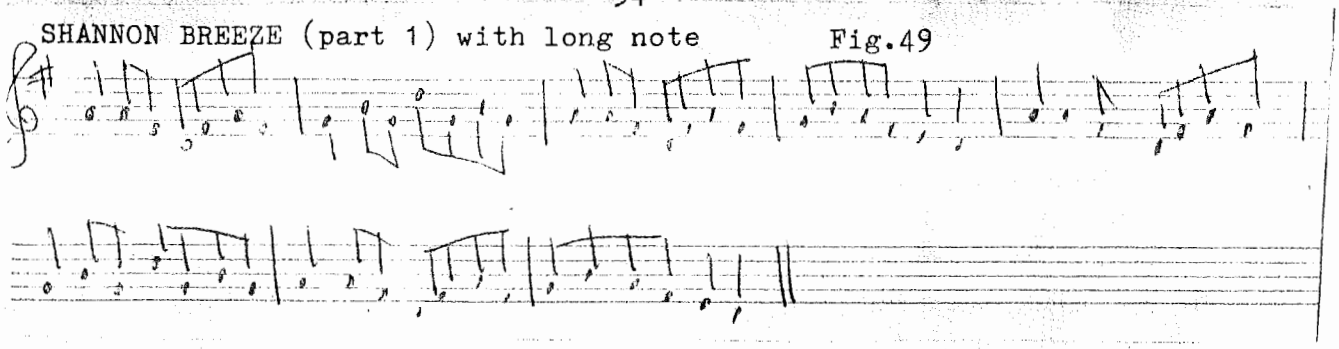




KILLAVAL FANCY (part 1) Fig.48A P.JOE HAYES MM 109 (FIDDLE)

The third head (5th bar) is a variation, a 'long note'. 'Long notes' are, especially in music for dances, found at this point, the third tune-head. Sometimes the long note is not played in this reel; sometimes the first head has the long note as well (Fig.48A). Another

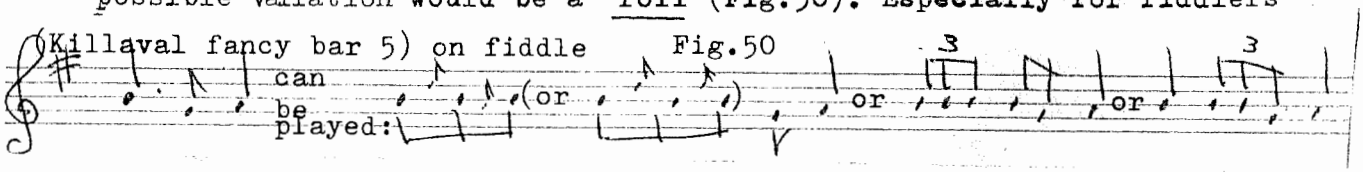
SHANNON BREEZE (part 1) with long note Fig.49



example of the third head position of a possible long note is Fig.49. (cf. Fig.31).

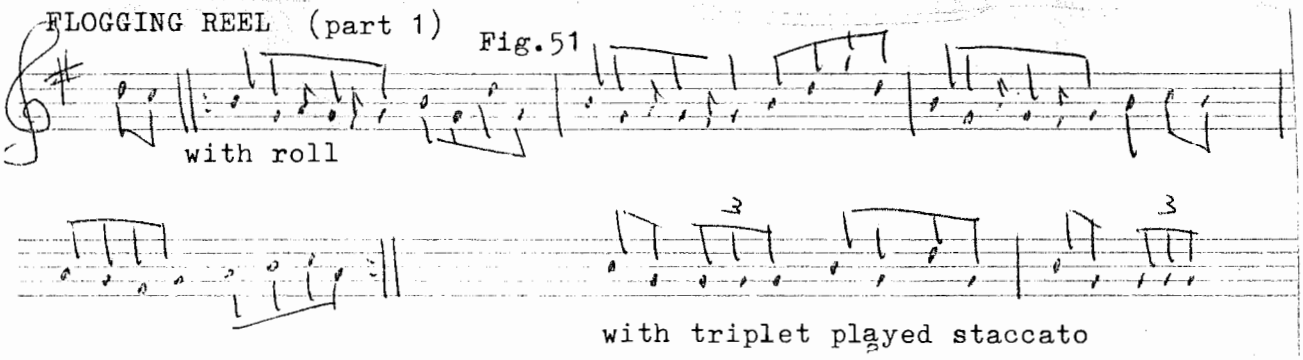
This long note is popular both in 8-bar-part reels (third head) and 16-bar-part reels (3rd,or 2nd and 4th head of the tune). Another possible variation would be a roll (Fig.50). Especially for fiddlers

(Killaval fancy bar 5) on fiddle Fig.50



this seems less fit for dancing ('you can not carry all those little notes in the right time'), but for fiddlers who play for listeners it is common practice.

FLOGGING REEL (part 1) Fig.51



Quite often a staccato triplet replaces the roll (Fig.50-51). In fact the grace notes within the roll are very short and light, and the effect of the roll is rhythmical rather than melodic (some fiddlers even make the triplet with the help of the 'cutting' finger above the finger which makes the pitch). The triplet is clearer than the roll; the choice may depend on bow position, which may or may not be suitable for the difficult triplet, and on finger position: a roll which involves the fourth finger is often difficult. And, as Breathnach writes, the triplet is characteristic for the northern fiddle-styles (op.cit. p.97).

I heard some statements by musicians about the use of long notes, rolls and triplets in others' performances, which suggest that they have a strict opinion about the (formal) structural place of these variations:'he should play a long note here, not that triplet!'.

To place long notes in some of the heads seems very functional in sets;

when they are used for listeners (in my experience mainly by fiddlers), they are found in the other segments as well, like the rolls and staccato triplets. A general rule is that they usually replace notes each with the same pitch or with nearby pitches: in melodic lines these devices are confined to the spots where notes are rather close to each other in pitch.

Legato triplets, in reels, are much less confined to structural places. Often they fill in thirds in the melody. Some fiddlers and accordeonists, and pipers who use the 'tight' staccato style, use staccato triplets in the same way (Fig.52).

In jigs, these various variations are found as well (Fig.53). A special variation in jigs is the incidental quadruplet, which takes up the time of three quavers. This is especially popular among pipers (see the double jigs in Breandán Breathnach's 'Ceol rince na hEireann'). It is related to the form which the staccato triplet in jigs takes in Paddy Cannie's playing. This quadruplet is not confined to special positions.

As in reels, the legato triplet is frequent in hornpipes: as mentioned in A1.5. hornpipe-time already has this triplet-character, much stronger than reels. (Fig. 54)

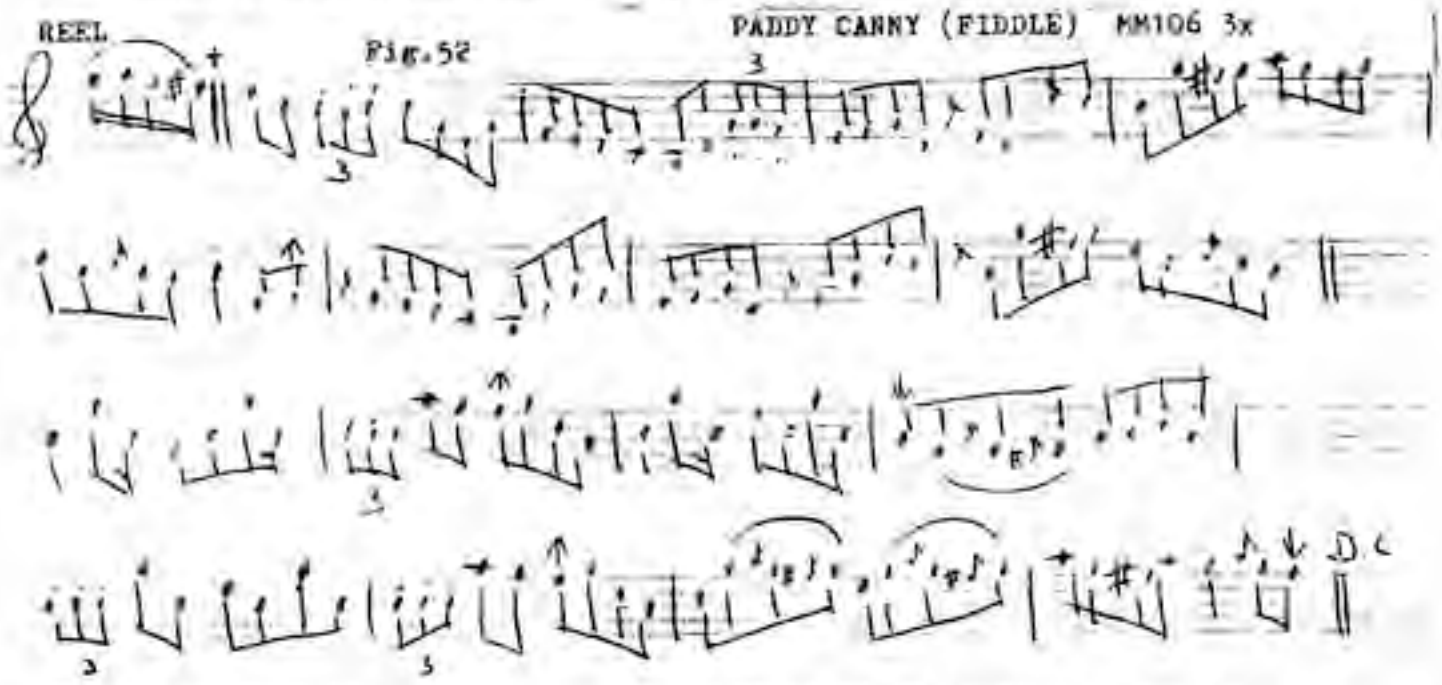
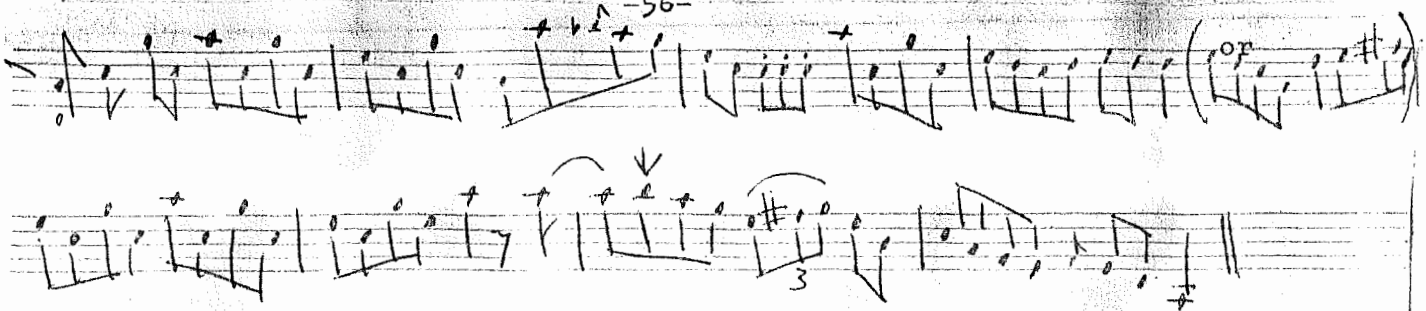
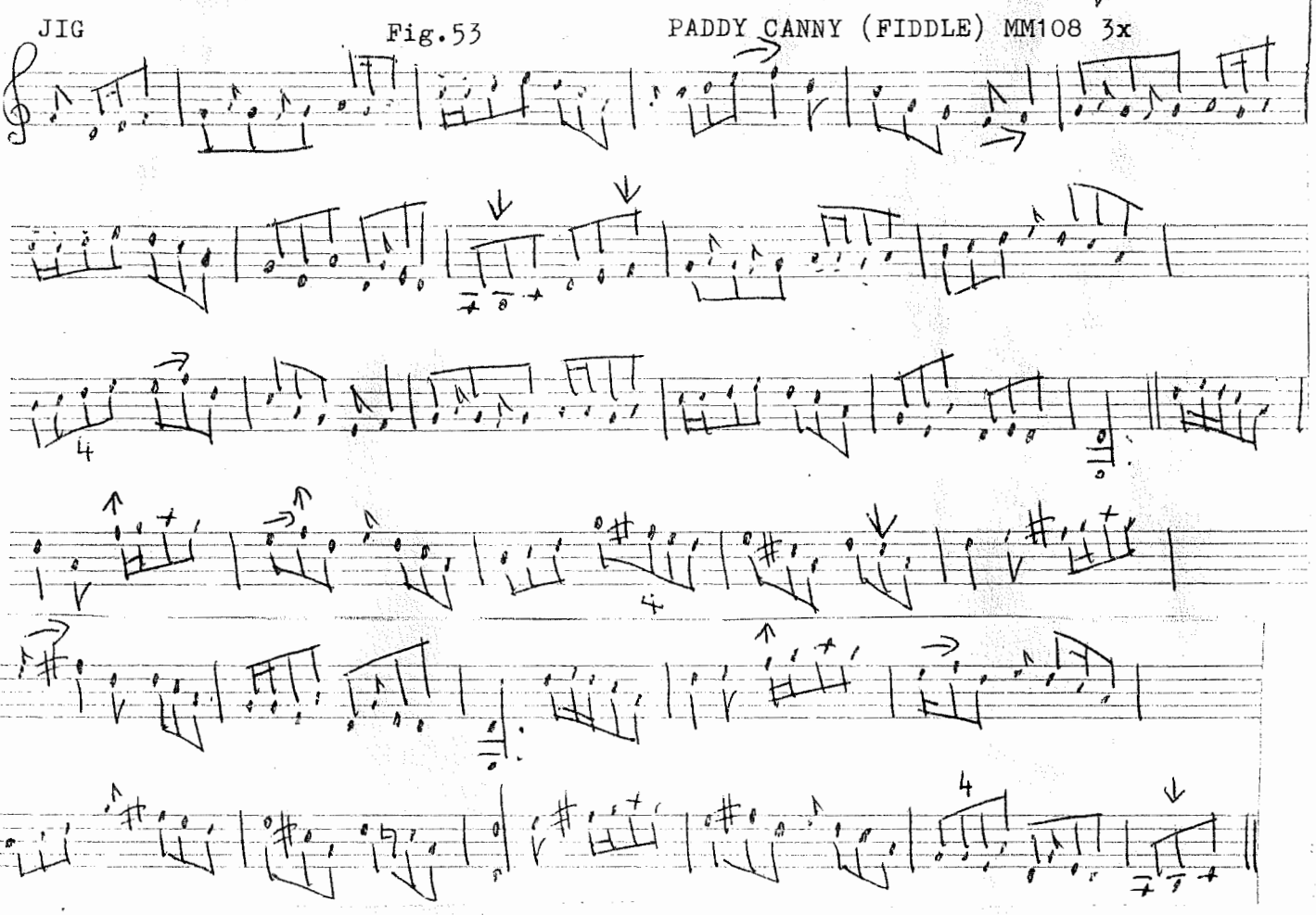


Fig.52

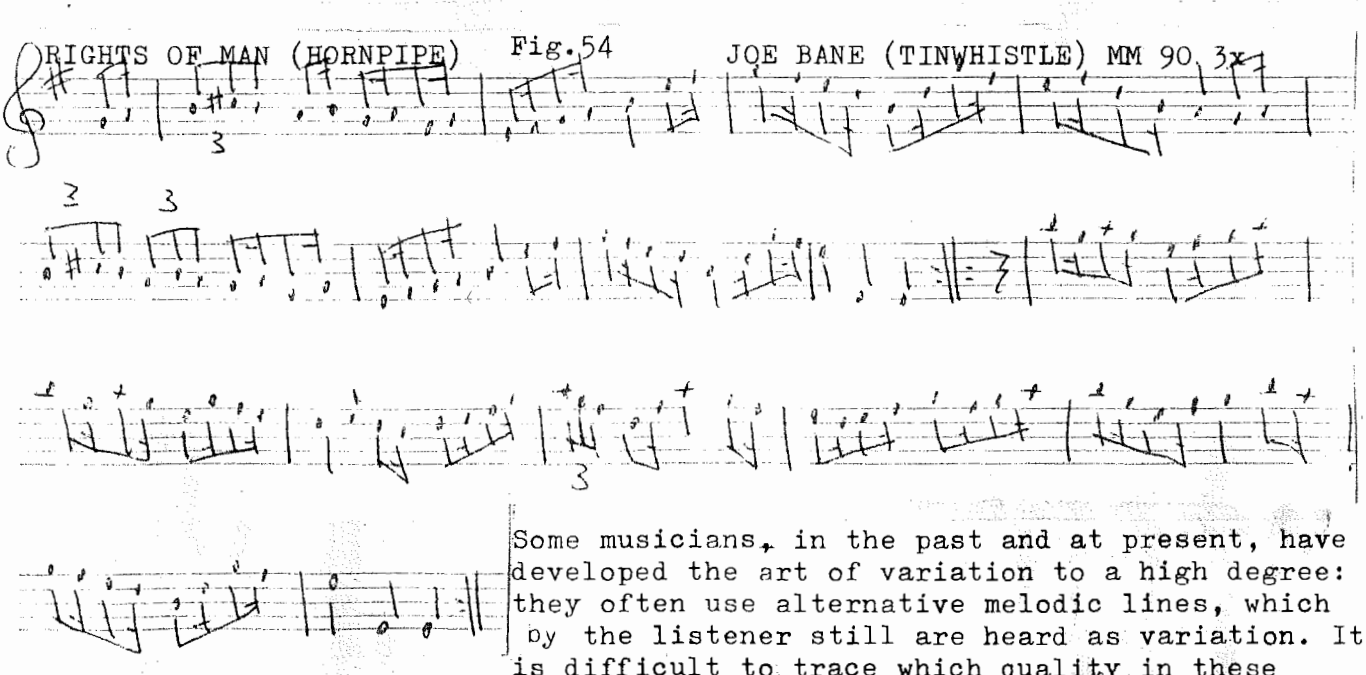
p.t.o.



JIG Fig.53 PADDY CANNY (FIDDLE) MM108 3x



RIGHTS OF MAN (HORNPIPE) Fig.54 JOE BANE (TINWHISTLE) MM 90 3x



Some musicians, in the past and at present, have developed the art of variation to a high degree: they often use alternative melodic lines, which by the listener still are heard as variation. It is difficult to trace which quality in these melodies causes their perception as alternatives. Often these musicians are pipers, like Johnnie Doran, who travelled in the 1930's, and the young Dublin piper Paddy Keenan. The variations of the fiddler Michael Coleman have become famous.

Many musicians adhere to one version of a tune, and the amount of variations which they use in this tune varies. The music, played without variations, is still recognized by everyone as 'Irish traditional' music, although some will say that it is rather boring. Indeed according to some East Clare musicians 'playing traditional' means, among other things, not making elaborate variations. However, since fiddlers do not make many variations when they play for dances (it ruins the time) but accordionists do (because an accordion'has good time'), and eventually nearly ousted the fiddlers at dances , we might have some evidence to conclude that variations are a very important, if not basic, element of the music; but only for people devoted to attentive listening or to set dancing!

E3. Under the previous heading attention has been paid to variation within one tune in the playing of one musician. The different renderings of what is recognized as the same tune, by different musicians, is a completely different aspect of variation. An important structural place of such variation is the 'lift'. As has been indicated (p.35) the lift is usually a variation on the fourth head of the turn (Fig.55).

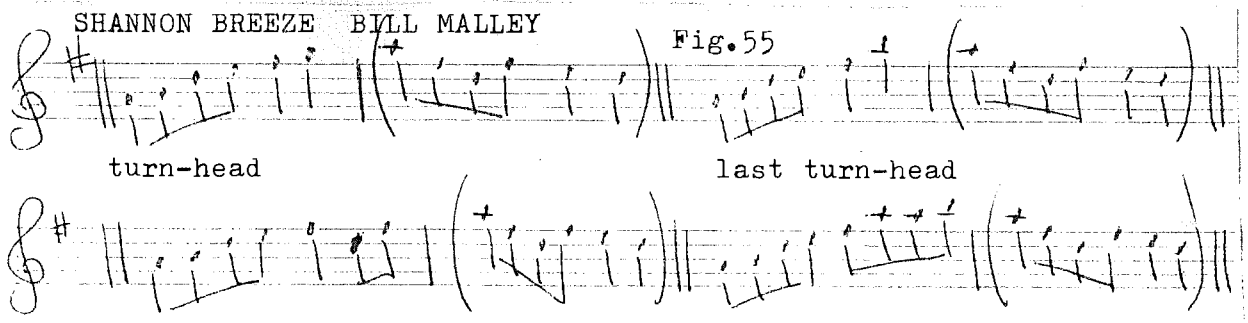


Fig.55

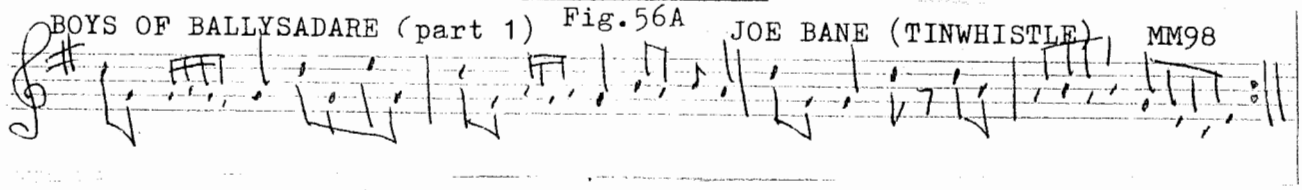
This lift is very simple since the 'after-head segment' is not altered. In other reels the lift becomes much more elaborate, sometimes even involving the third head: in such a case the term 'lift' becomes doubtful.

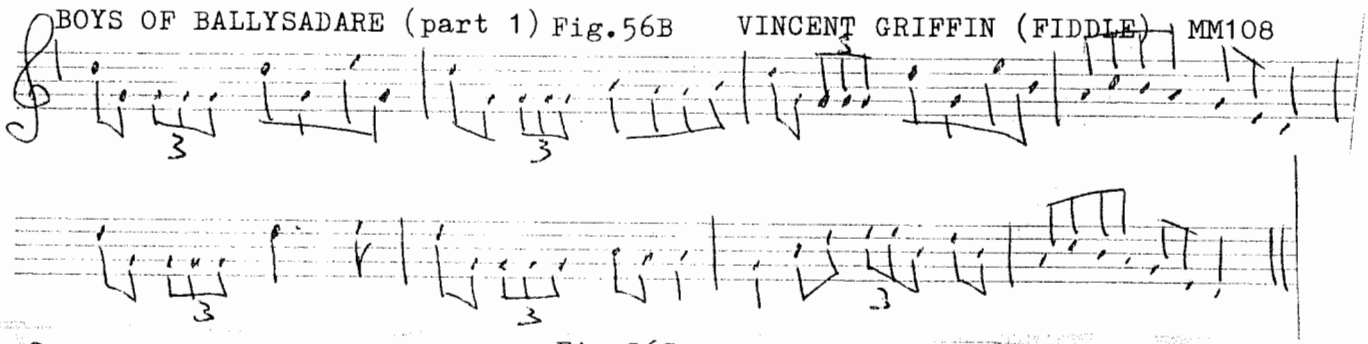
> It must be mentioned again that the term lift is not used as such. In Feakle some musicians applied the general word 'lift' to the end of the reel-parts, when they wanted to illustrate that here the melody suddenly leaps upward, and then falls down, 'makes a fellah want to jump and shout!' When I was studying some reels and played a fourth turn-head instead of the lift, which I did not yet know, the teacher simply would say: 'no, you must have some high notes there'(in these cases where a lift indeed was going upward).

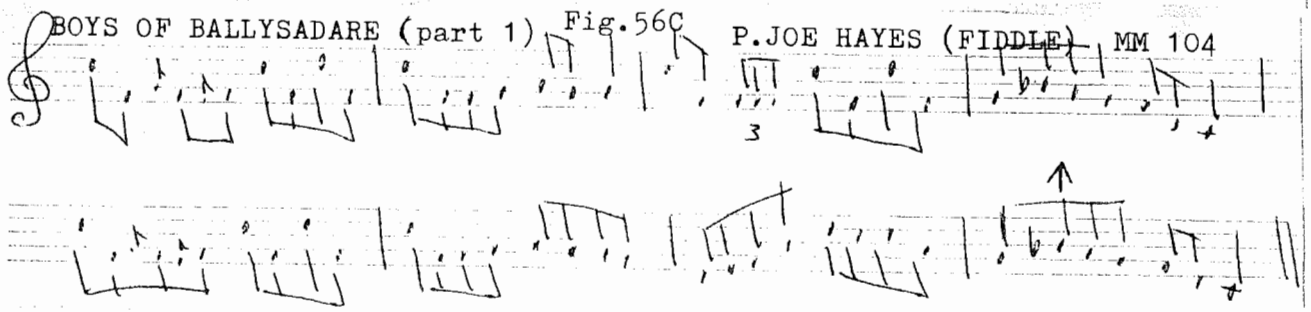
When we compare the tune-lifts of the next reels, we may observe the personal character of these lifts. The reels are the 'Dublin lasses' and the 'Boys of Ballysadare'; the players say that the tune is the same,

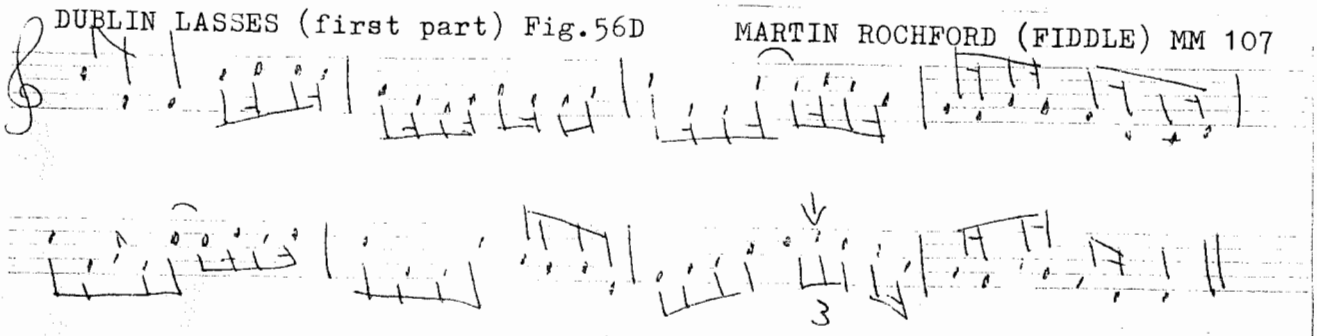
but that the former is played in c and the latter in d; moreover, the 'Boys' is the most locally known, and it is a three-part reel, while the 'Dublin lasses' has two parts.

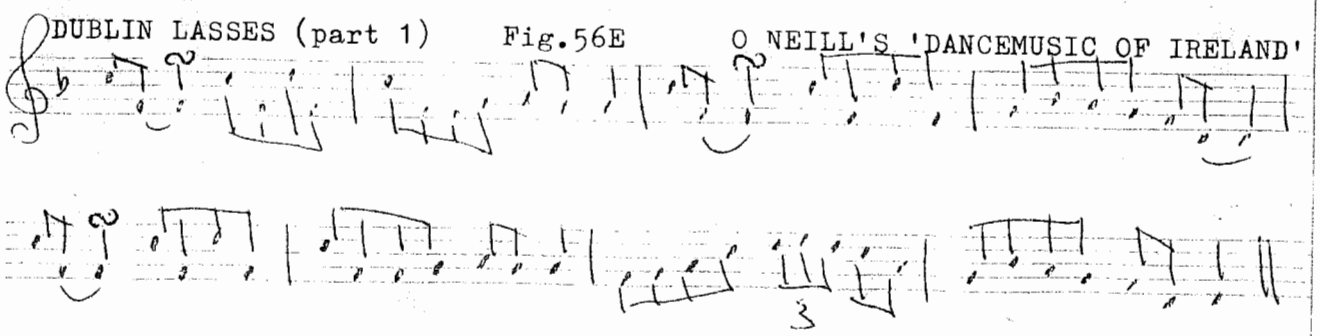
Joe Bane in general does not make strong lifts (cf. Fig.21 and 31) (Fig.56A). Vincent Griffin knows both reels, but he only 'has' the 'Boys'. Here the lift is stronger (Fig.56B). P.Joe Hayes plays the 'Boys' in c (as the players say), but he says: 'It's from Martin Rochford I got this tune' (Fig.56C). Martin Rochford uses the same 'key', nearly the same lift but variations in the other segments. He calls this reel the 'Dublin Lasses' (Fig.56D) and says:'It's in the book' (O Neill's Dance music of Ireland, which he often uses, Fig.56E).





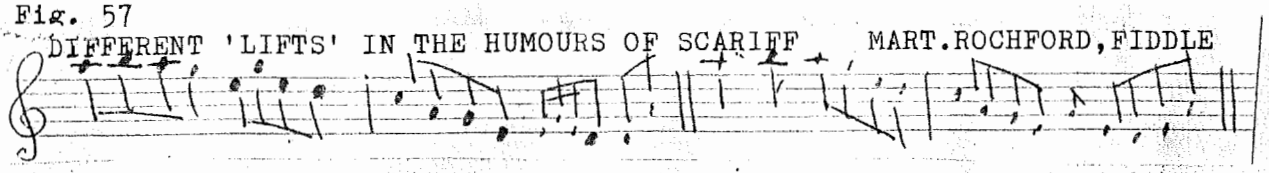






Other personal lifts can be found in the various 'Humours of Scariff': Fig.28, which is probably Johnnie Allen's version; Fig.43; Fig.44; Fig.52; I add two versions of Martin Rochford's lift to that reel (Fig.57).

Fig. 57



With the illustration of Fig.33 and 34 I mentioned already that here the tune seems to have been developed by applying to it the same lift as to the turn. In the reel Morning Dew [illegible] a lift [illegible] in one of the versions (Fig.58) seems to have taken the place of the second head in the more usual versions (Fig.59), thus causing a formal structure with an internal repetition in that part.

Fig.58

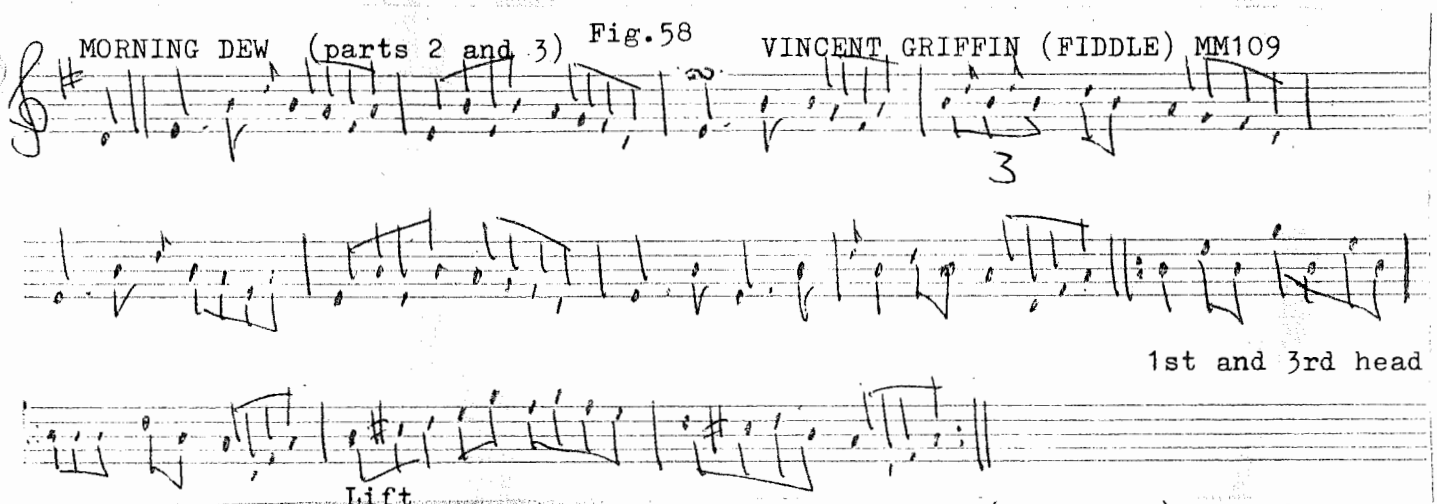
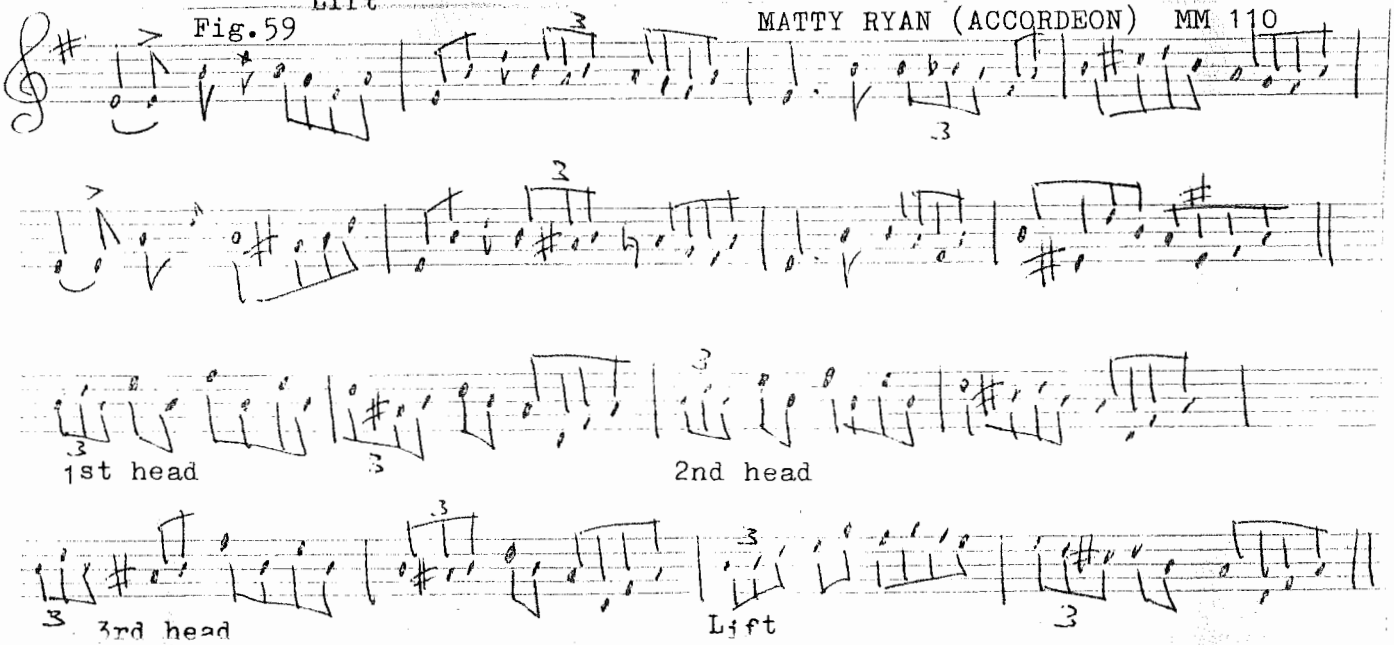


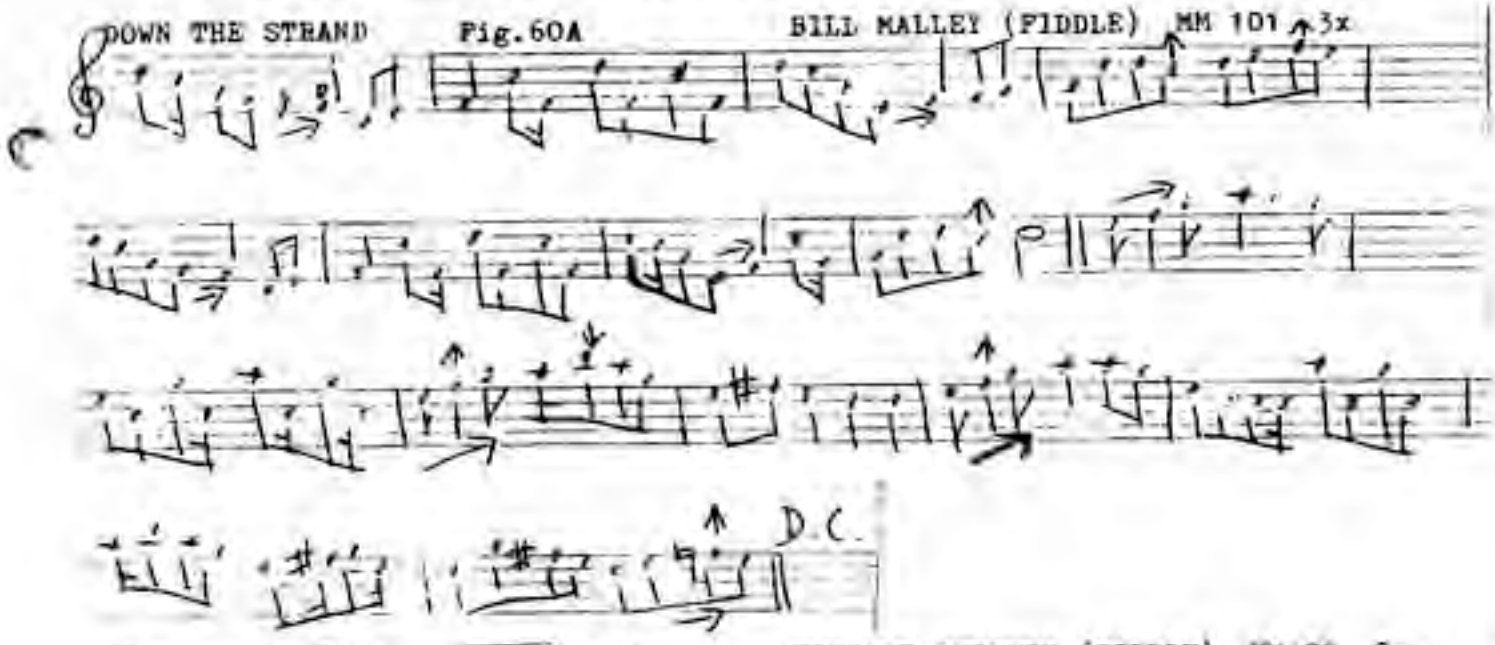
Fig.59

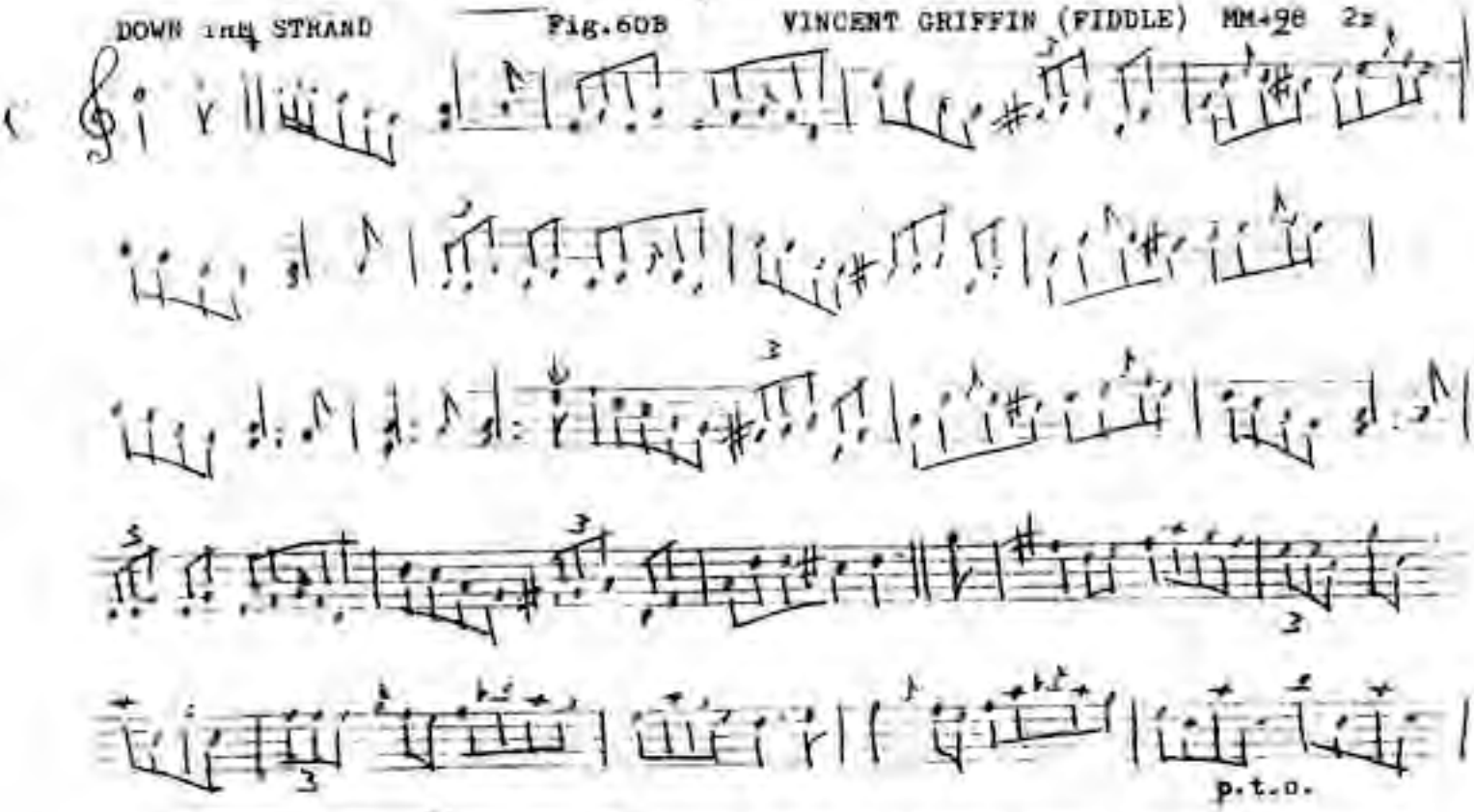


When the two play together (which happens, but not regularly) Vincent quickly adopts Matty's version, after playing his own one or two times.

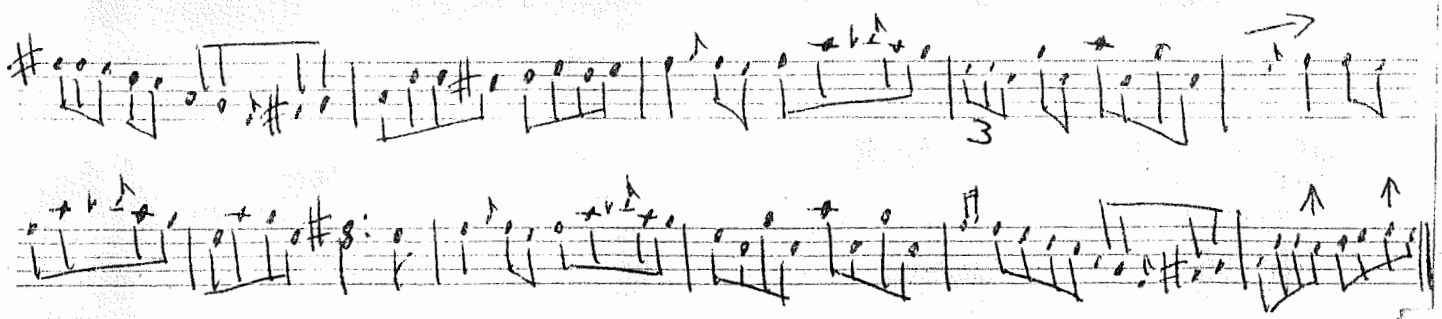
E4. At the end of this paragraph about variation (which does not at all pretend to be exhaustive! I recommend Breathnach's chapter about variation), I want to give an idea of the large differences between

personal versions. The first example is the reel 'Down the strand', which according to the players came from south Connemara, north of Peakle. Vincent Griffin's version is doubled, which makes it one of the exceptions of the C.t.t.-group. (Fig.60A and 60B).
The second example is again the reel 'Morning dew', from which some parts in again different versions were given in Fig.58 and 59. Micko Donoghue's version (Fig.61A) is the common one, together with the alternative for the first part. Mick Hayes' version is very unusual, but he calls it 'the Morning dew'. But for the name I would not have recognized it as a version of that reel. The structure is irregular (probability 1 is not followed) (Fig.61B). 1)

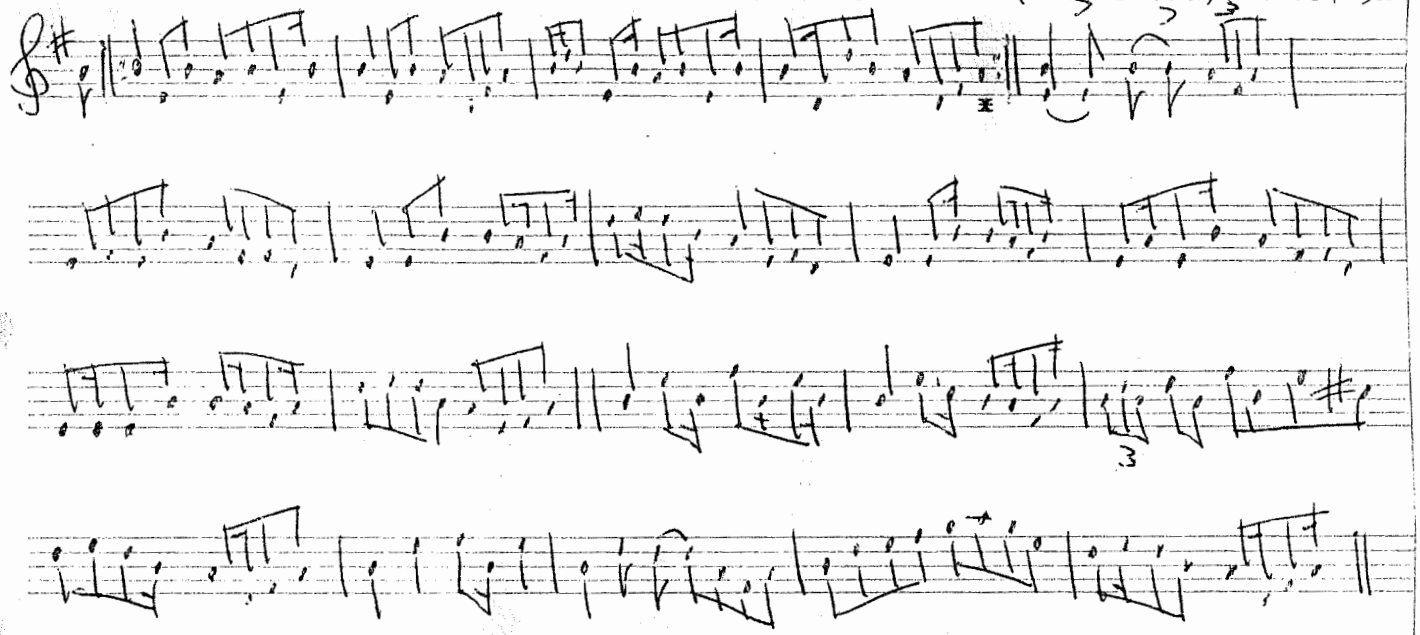




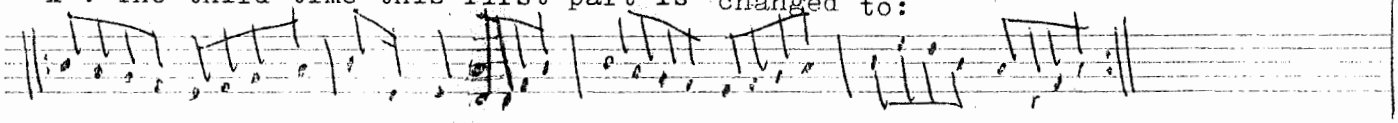
1). The reel of Fig.61B is known under different names elsewhere, along-



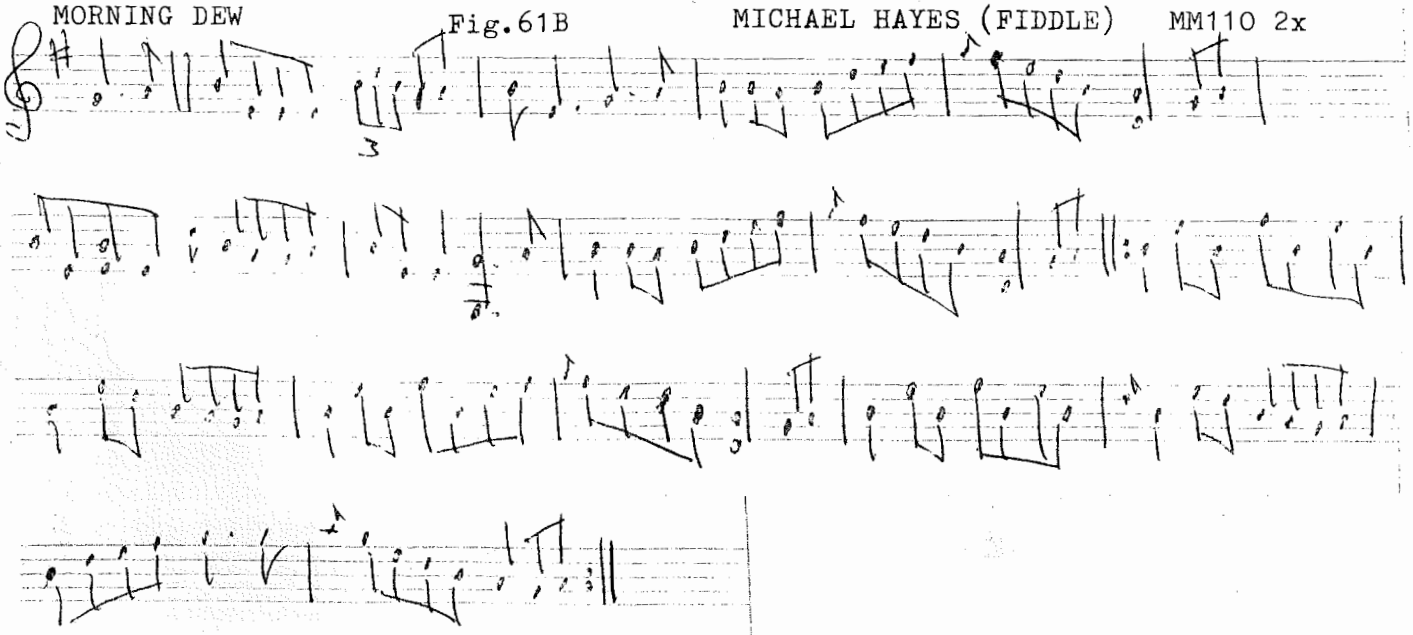
MORNING DEW Fig.61A MICK O'DONOGHUE (CONCERTINA) MM 104 3x



* : The third time this first part is changed to:



MORNING DEW Fig.61B MICHAEL HAYES (FIDDLE) MM110 2x



F. Musical instruments. According to those players who are referred to as 'traditional', the dance-music should be played in unison, on one or more instruments (see page 24). Forms of accompaniment are allowed as long as this does not obscure aspects of this unison played melody. Sometimes accompaniment of this sort is even preferred as it highlights important aspects of the melodic structure like the time (stresses). But the melody should be rendered pure, from the beginning to the end, by the same instrument or group of instruments.

This 'unison-condition' as I call it - often resulting in heterophony - may at present be seen as one of the basic elements of the musical structure of the dance-music. In other words, if this condition is not fulfilled then the music concerned is not experienced as Irish traditional dance-music by its various groups of users; hence it does not 'carry' the various meanings associated with that music (see the discussion of 'musical genre', page 10). If indeed meaning is not only associated with the complex of musical activity in socio-musical occasions but also with the music as 'pure sound', we may say that this unison-condition must be fulfilled in order to make the music meaningful to the various users.

However, on page 24 I have already indicated how this condition is not observed by groups of young urban musicians - who often play at concerts for audiences predominantly consisting of young urban intellectuals - like Planxty, Chieftains, NaFili etc. Although these groups draw on the 'national repertoire' of tunes, they use counterpoint (see Fig.14), use different combinations of instruments for different parts of tunes, individualize tunes and even parts of tunes etc. By many 'traditional musicians' both rural and urban, this is seen as an infringement of the probabilities and other rules of formal structure (see paragraph C of the present part) and of the unison-condition. 1)

Therefore I wonder if this music as played by the various urban groups mentioned above is experienced as meaningful by musicians and other people who participate in other socio-musical occasions, in which the rules of musical structure mentioned are indeed obeyed. If indeed because of the nationwide musical communication (made possible at present by records, broadcasts, concerts and festivals) something like a 'national musical genre' exists, it is open to doubt if this 'urban music' should be included or not. On the one hand, the urban groups and their young audiences refer to this music as 'traditional music' and regard their music as the same as music used in other genres (albeit more sophisticated), participants from other social genres do not agree

1). The new group The Bothy Band, which was founded in 1975, mainly in Dublin, reversed this trend. There is much more 'unison'. This group is becoming very popular among the young urban audiences.

and say that the practices mentioned 'ruin the music'. We may have to do with a boundary of 'national musical genre'.

The music can be played solo, by a few or by many instruments. The only important condition is the continuity. Most musicians prefer not to play alone; if they do, they prefer to play in the company of other musicians. This may have to do with shyness and confidence, in relation to the audience. On the other hand many players say that playing with many together ruins the music.

It is not clear if the music can be played on whatever instrument with the proper scale, or only on some. The accordion is relatively 'new' (± 1930-40), the electric piano in ceili bands is even newer, but is not accepted as a solo-instrument.

Comhaltas Ceoltoiri Eireann, an organization which tries to organize all the competitions and festivals of traditional music, states in a rule the instruments for which competitions must be organized (Fleadhanna Cheoil Rialacha 1971, rule 9): Harp, Uileann Pipes, Fiddle, Two Row Button Accordeon, Concertina, War Pipes, Piano, Concert Flute, Tin Whistle, Flageolet, Banjo, Mouth Organ, Three Row Button Accordeon, Piano Accordeon, Ceili Band Drummers, and miscellaneous instruments not named above such as Melodeon, Saxophone, Five Row Button Accordeon, etc..... .

> This organization tries to revive the harp; hence it is given the first place, before the uillean pipes, which are generally regarded as the regalia of the music. We may see that the increase in status of the banjo is relatively new, when we compare this rule with previous ones. I never heard of a saxophone in competitions.
> The warpipes is the name generally used for the Scottish Highland bagpipes. They are played in bands, in many villages. Being confined to tunes with a small ambitus, they usually play marches; or adaptations of tunes.

I will mention some of the pecularities of the most common instruments in the field of Irish traditional music:

F1. The fiddle. Before the heyday of the free reed instruments, the fiddle was probably the most universally played and appréciated instrument. Organologically, it looks surprisingly like a violin; but the present-day fiddle usually has 4 metal strings, and the appropriate tuning devices. The main difference from the violin, however, is in the playing. There are many ways of holding the fiddle and bow, but they usually have in common that the player gets the result which he desires with the least effort. Fingering is confined to the 'first position', which limits the ambitus to g-b''. Bowing styles usually imply vigorous accents, both at the beginning of a bow (for

this many fiddlers prefer a downbow) or within the bow (often in the upbow). Many fiddlers don't appreciate a strong tone, neither for dancing nor for listening to. This is surprising: compare the information of Linda Burman-Hall about Southern American fiddle styles (Ethnomusicology XIX-1, p.48): 'Presumably, the use of the fiddle as the chief and sole source of dance-music for a room entirely full of people has produced a style of playing in which the performer is always striving for as much volume as possible'. This is hardly the case in Feakle, although the fiddlers who played for dances most recently (1960's) have a stronger tone than others. The soft tone has been fashionable among Feakle fiddlers at least since the beginning of the century. Eventually the fiddle was ousted as an instrument for dances (1950-1970). (See also the concept of 'sweet' on pages 136 and163). On page 27 I considered various intonation aspects and models of fingering. Usually only the position of the second finger varies: the first and third are fixed, the fourth is only used for ornamentation-like figures and for the b''. Some fiddlers apply different models (positions of the 2nd finger) to one tune; others use one model on all strings within one tune, which can give such a tune a very special character. In the jig Fig.53 Paddy Canny applies a low 2nd finger to all the strings: but his playing has been very sophisticated, and he interjects higher finger positions, and slides with the first finger.

It may well be that the fiddle is rapidly losing ground in Ireland. In Feakle and the bordering townlands 12 musicians were known and accepted as fiddlers; the youngest-but-one was in his thirties. The youngest was 12 at the time of the fieldwork; he is still learning, yet he plays better than some of the others. The 5 other children in this area who studied the fiddle did not make much progress, and only one of them played reasonably well. And this part of Clare is known as fiddle-country!

F2. The concertina. The concertina is a free reed instrument with melody-buttons at both sides. The usual type is the single-action: a button gives one note by depressing the bellows and another by compressing. While the fiddle in East Clare was an instrument in quite high esteem, the concertina was found in every house, and was easy to play (usually for dances). Since the conquest by the melodeon (1880) and especially the accordeon (1930's) the concertina is rapidly losing ground. In the area mentioned there were two concertina-players; one of 66 and one of 86.

A special feature of the concertina-style, especially on the older instruments, is that the high register is often doubled in the lower

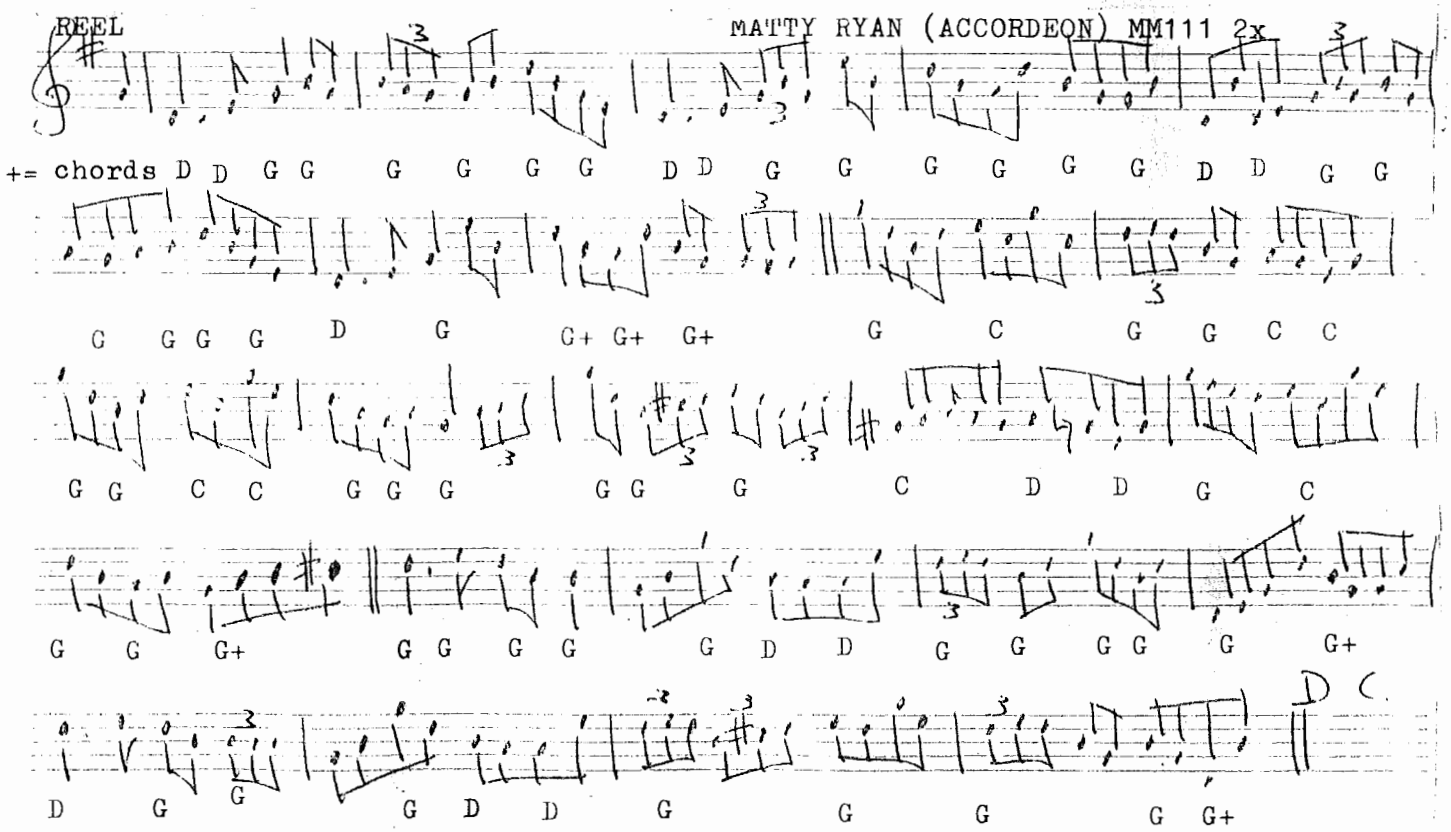
octave (see the reel 'Dowd's favourite' in the paragraph about Mick O' Donoghue, page 160).

The need for rapid change between compressing and decompressing causes a special pattern of emphases and phrases. While on modern instruments this is often not necessary, many players adhere to the older style.

F3. The button-accordion and melodeon. These are also free reed instruments with single action; but they have buttons for basses and chords for the left hand. Breathnach describes details of the development of the playing technique of both instruments (Op.cit. pp. 88-91). The more powerful accordion ousted the melodeon after 1940 in east Clare. The accordion is nowadays extremely popular for the dancing of sets: in fact people nowadays need an accordion to dance to; a fiddle will not do any more. Because of this, the instrument has some attraction for those who want to learn to play music (although because of the price the parents often decide to buy the aspiring musician a tinwhistle).

The tunes on these instruments are often played with chordal and bass-accompaniment. Often the 'harmonies' have no relation whatsoever to the flow of the melodies, according to my ears with their in many aspects onesided background. This accompaniment for one thing has a rhythmical function and emphasizes some of the time aspects.

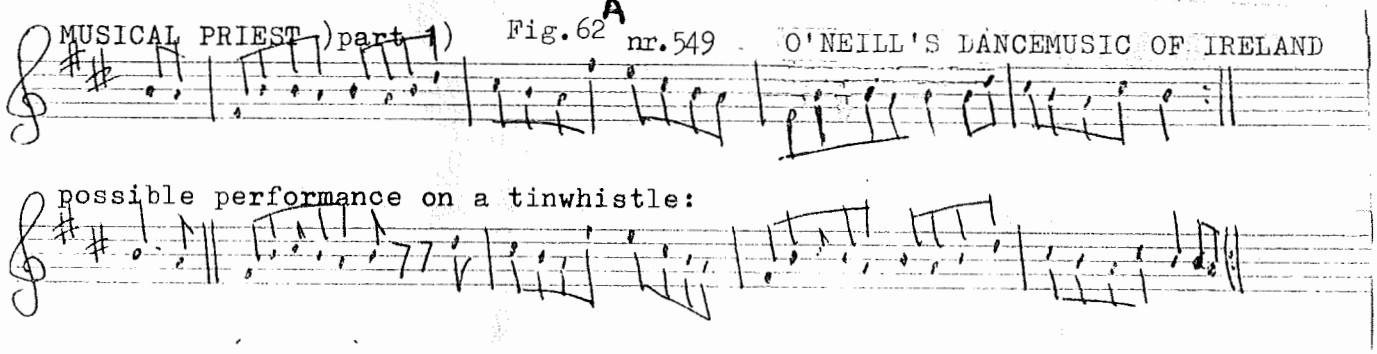
I will give an example of a reel by Matty Ryan, with its accompaniment: (Fig.62. Chords are indicated +. When a bass note does not coincide



with his foot tap, which is of the common type of two in a bar, this note is often emphasized).

While such continuous accompaniment highlights pulse-aspects of time, it may obscure other aspects. It does not allow rhythmical subtleties of a good player to stand out clearly. Although variation is an important part of the skills of good players, many people ascribe to the music of the accordion a monotonous quality. This may be due to the muffling effect of continuous accompaniment as well as to the steady, mechanical tone 1).

F4. The tinwhistle is an end-blown whistle made of brass or nickel, often with a plastic mouthpiece. It has 6 fingerholes, producing d(')-e-f sharp-g-a-b-c sharp and another octave by increasing the air pressure. This is the usual type; others have a scale starting with g', a', b'flat, c'' e''flat, f'' or g''. Yet the bottom note is usually called d. While all types are for sale (even in the Netherlands) the d is the common whistle while c, b flat and g are also popular. As indicated in Fig. 62A the breathing is often related to a type of phrasing, which may be an equivalent of devices like long notes. Other players only breathe at the end of each part or eight bars.



This instrument is quite popular among children visiting music classes (or their parents) since it is cheap and easy to play. Because of this its popularity is still increasing. Of the pupils of the various music classes in and around Feakle ± 75% play the timwhistle (see page 142).

F5. The flute. This side-blown instrument is variously called flute, fife, big flute, timber flute (especially the timber ones without keys) or concert flute (especially the metal Boehm flutes). Usually this flute has 6 fingerholes like the tinwhistle; modern types have several keys. The fingerholes enable the player to slide from one note to the other. The flute is often played by players of the tinwhistle (with

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1). Many segments of the dance-tunes may be regarded as pentatonic formulas. It is quite difficult to find appropriate chords for accompaniment of such formulas. This may be one of the reasons why music of the accordion is experienced as monotonous (like music of ceili bands, see page 94): chords muffle the tune. This may be the reason that many players only use bass notes instead of full chords.

the same patterns of phrasing); both instruments are often played by uilleann pipers. With the banjo the flute has a strong melodic function in ceili bands. Some musicians in Feakle were able to play the flute; 'pockets' of flute players used to be found in South Co. Galway.

F6. The uilleann pipes. For a detailed description of this instrument and the various techniques see - Breathnach (Op.cit. p.68-83) who plays this instrument himself.
This bagpipe has a slightly conical chanter with a long double reed; when played with dry air from the bellows the ambitus is ± two octaves, starting on a pitch between b and d' (but usually called d). Three drones with single reeds sound a d in various octaves. Three other pipes with double reeds and keys enable the player to sound incidental chords. But often only the bag and chanter (with the bellows) are used; the 'practice set'.
Nowadays uilleann pipers are mainly concentrated in Dublin and Cork, where various organizations since ± 1900 have protected the art of playing, which was on the verge of extinction. In East Clare there was, as far as I know, only one piper east of the line Ennis-Shannon Airport.

F7. Some other instruments:
The four-string banjo is especially popular in ceili bands. The tuning varies; usually the banjo plays the melody one octave below the other instruments.
Some organizations want to revive the Irish harp (which had not been played since the beginning of the last century). The attempts to play dance-music on this instrument seem bound to fail.
The piano (in ceili bands the electric piano) is sometimes used to accompany other instruments; usually it does not play the melody.
Drums are used in ceili bands. The Irish framedrum, the bõdhran, which was confined to some pockets in the past (Kerry) has become popular within urban revival groups and is often played by young people in the towns.
Some other instruments are incidentally used for the dance-music. With the growing popularity of 'showbands' we should not forget the electric guitar. The acoustical guitar often accompanies the melody-instruments in the young urban revival-culture of the dance-music.

F8. I must mention:
'Jigging'. This is singing dance-tunes to nonsense-syllabes. At specific times and places this has been developed into a strong source

of music for dances. Many musicians jig a tune which is played for them by a colleague, in order to learn it (especially when the two do not play the same kind of instrument). This is also done with whistling (with the mouth, without use of fingers). Some people have developed this whistling into an art worth listening to.

G. Personal elements.'I never heard two fiddlers playing a tune the same' is a common expression among the Feakle fiddlers. Although in saying this they refer firstly to elements already discussed, like 'tune', time-aspects, variation, etc., they also refer to personal qualities like tone, dynamics, specific ways of bowing and phrasing, etc.

'Styles' are highly individual, although to a certain extent there are geographically confined tunes and styles. An example of this is the preference for short and strong 'single bows' among Donegal and Sligo fiddlers, as opposed to the Clare preference for frequent grouping of more quavers together on one bow (with less pressure on the bow). But more clearly they vary to the individual player's taste and habits, and this is often related to the situation in which he usually plays (more bow-pressure for dancing, and not so many quavers on one bow). I will consider some personal elements which are often discussed by musicians as individual traits, which are not a basic element of the music:

G1. Various time-differences: Although nowadays reels and reeltime are universally popular (many musicians say that to play reels gives more musical and technical satisfaction), the amount of tunes from other categories played by different musicians varies strongly. A few will play quite a number of hornpipes. Jigs are slightly more popular than hornpipes. Here the socio-musical occasion is of primary importance. Some musicians prefer 'listening-time'. This usually coincides with a taste for dynamics, variation and sophisticated articulation, like alternating staccato and legato fragments, and indeed for fiddle-music.

The exact rhythm is very personal (A3). In jigs some pipers rarely play three 'quavers' with the same internal proportions within one part. In reels, the agogic enlargement of the odd quavers varies with the player, the humour, the time of day (some fiddlers will, after much playing and drinking, nearly reach a complete  - division, while I have the impression that for most it is the other way around: their playing tends to lose these elements after a while).

G2. Tune-differences and variation: As mentioned, versions differ, but most players strictly adhere to one version as the right one,

with their personal variations; they say about other versions: 'a bit funny' or 'he doesn't have it off at all!'. Preference for variations is higly personal (often I had the impression that some players are not at all conscious of their variations; but others are). For most players variations are part of individual's tunes. People would often recognize a certain version or variation of a common tune as the tune of a particular musician.

Personal differences in repetition pattern are often treated the same way: 'He is not playing it right at all; he has to repeat it'.

G3. The instrument used is not only a matter of habit, but often a personal preference. And as explained, instruments and instrumental techniques are related to social situations (dancing, listening) and to specific variation opportunities, phrasing patterns etc.

G4. 'Tone' is an important quality, which is often referred to, usually by fiddlers. Some have a full strong tone, others 'could not be heard if they played behind a cob's web'. Pipers will search for many years to find the chanter and reeds with a tone which they like.

G5. Br. Breathnach states (Op.cit. p.93) that 'the use of dynamics betrays the non-native'. This is not entirely true although in many areas use of dynamics still is an exception. The use of dynamics is in the Feakle musical circles often discussed as a sign of good playing (for listeners especially), and this probably was already the case before 1930, if not much longer ago, according to the memory of informants.

Pipers can increase the volume by lifting the chanter from their knee (if they play in the 'open fingering' style). In the style of Johnnie Doran, a travelling piper in the 1930's who often visited Feakle, and his pupils like Martin Rochford, intricate passages with soft tight fingering alternate with loud 'open fingering' parts. To a certain extent this is found in the fiddle styles of Martin Rochford and Paddy Canny. Other fiddlers use dynamics without regard to the legato (open fingering on the pipes) or staccato qualities. The playing of some musicians gives the impression that the dynamic qualities are related to aspects of formal structure; they may have an audible preference for a loud start of the 'turn' and a soft 'tune', or a loud 'lift'.

G6. Bowing, phrasing. The phrasing is often different in the playing of musicians who play a same instrument. This is related to pattern of bowing, or of breathing, or of compressing and decompressing a free reed instrument.

One of the Feakle fiddlers has a preference for upbows where all others prefer the down bow. This gave his music a distinct quality, which was not always appreciated by others.

G7. Intonation is a personal element, especially of fiddlers. The opposition f'natural - f''sharp is in Feakle often recognized as a personal element in the playing of some musicians, and often associated with 'a plaintive touch' by other musicians (see the paragraph about Martin Rochford, page 167).

G8. Many other personal elements enter the performance, like a particular pattern of foot taps, or groaning or howling together with the tune.

H. Creativity. The aspects mentioned of the musical structure of the tunes are found in all or many of the tunes which are performed in present day Ireland, as invariables or variables. Moreover, new tunes which are composed also have these aspects. A few things must be said about the creation of new tunes, though this is not exactly an aspect of the musical structure. The musicians and other participants think of the repertoire as an infinite collection of tunes within certain tune- categories; all 'possible' tunes in a category share some aspects. This is clear when new compositions enter the repertoire: the musicians who are known as composers make up new tunes which have the same aspects as the already existing ones. In this process some of the aspects seem to form models together, like the basic time of the category, the limitations of the 'tune' like the ambitus, aspects of formal structure like the place of parts and their repetition pattern, heads, lifts. New tunes are the result of a creative process which is restricted, or rather guided, by these models . This is not to say that there are no possibilities for musical change, or change in the basic characteristics of the tunes which belong to the categories (or in the categories themselves). I already mentioned the possibility of the 'development' of lifts, and this might be a musical evolution, though I do not see enough evidence. But there is evidence that the 'unison' -condition changes, within the creative processes of the members of the young urban revival groups; the kind of instruments used may change; the repetition patterns themselves may have changed, as we saw; elements like dynamics seem to become more important. These changes should be considered as related to changes of social genres, and to social developments; this may give us, after extensive study, a wider understanding of the various structural aspects: why do some seem to change 'more easily' than others? '

Every musician is a possible composer, although most are not, (although every player 're-composes' the tunes he plays to a certain extent, among others by means of variation). Some musicians are known as composers (like Paddy Fahy in South Galway for instance). None of the Feakle musicians was said to have composed any tune. Many musicians know each other, even if they live at a considerable distance, and composers of tunes which recently have entered the repertoire are often widely known.

Conclusions about the musical structure of the categories of Irish traditional dance-music.

In this chapter I considered the various aspects of musical structure of the dance-music. to discover the various variable and invariable elements in themusic as rendered by the traditional musicians.

Who are the traditional musicians? In the first part of this study (page 1) I indicated that 'traditional' is the term most widely used to label the music under discussion. Especially musicians prefer this term. We may say that traditional musicians are those players who in their playing and statements agree with the basic elements, the invariables, of the dance-music. Although they may argue about the realization of variable aspects, they agree that they all play basically the same music. The way I see it is that they recognize the music as basically the same because it exhibits the invariables, which will be restated hereunder. As such any traditional musician is a member of a large musical consensus-community.

This then is a musical definition of what I mean with the concept of traditional musician. But these musicians may have widely varying social backgrounds, and they take part in various social genres.

At the present time the invariable aspects are:

-the basic times (rhythms) of the various tune-categories;
-the tempo of the various tunes of one category, with variation within limits;
-the ambitus of the tunes, within limits;
-formal structure: at least two parts of either 8 or 16 bars 1)
-as probabilities: the various 'rules' of internal formal structure and repetition patterns of the various parts; and the repetition of the tune as a whole;
-every tune 'has a name' and as such is an entity different from

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1) In the past, special setdances had their own tunes, often with 'irregular' parts. These are hardly played any more, though the 'Blackbird' is an exception.

other tunes;
-the 'unison -condition'; but here a process of change has been signalled.

As mentioned on page 62 here we touch the boundaries of what perhaps may be called the 'national musical genre' of the music under study. The rural musicians (and also many urban 'traditional musicians) reject the music from the social genres of the young urban people discussed on page 62. Since this rejection is presented as a musical evaluation, it is not clear if it implies a social evaluation as well - a rejection of the attitudes and musical behaviour of the urban social groups concerned. So it is not clear /if the rejection of this music is qua meaning related to the urban social genres concerned.
The increasing popularity of these urban genres may eventually remove the invariable of unison. However, the very process of increasing popularity of these genres have made many young urban people more aware of rural genres (the music of which is often referred to as 'pure'). This may well counteract the tendency.

Some aspects of the musical structure which are variable may be very meaningful within particular social genres, depending on the way in which they are realized. Nevertheless, they would be meaningless without the invariable elements, which are needed in order to experience the music as the 'right' music.

-the variation, between the limits, of the tempos of the tunes within the various categories;
-the different patterns of stresses within performances of tunes;
-the various 'tunes' or melodies;
-the kind, amount, and place of variations;
-the instruments used;
(-within a complete 'session' or dance night, concert etc: the ratios between the number of tunes from the various categories (reels, jigs, etc.). But this is an aspect of social genres rather than of the tunes)

Specific variation of the variables mentioned coincides quite often with use of the music in specific social genres. Because of the actualization of such specific values of the variables the resulting music may be loaded with specific meaning. In this way such values may be said to structure the 'specific musical genres' of these social genres (see page 10), although realization of the invariables is a necessary condition.
As far as I see there is no tendency yet for any of these variables to become a basic element, an invariable within all the social genres concerned; rather, there is sometimes a polarization between values of these variables within different genres which are vigorously alive.

Other variable aspects may in time become more important, or have in the past been possibly more important than they are at present according to my experience, e.g. the use of dynamics, intonation or models of fingering, scale- or modality-elements etc.

In the next part I, some historical developments in Ireland will be described; I will try to outline some relationships between the origin and evolution of some social genres of music in Ireland, and the associations of various aspects of musical activity with meanings (or 'ideas'), which may have been developed during the processes of borrowing music, of developing the music, of influencing other genres, etc. This may produce a picture of the various social genres at present, of the social origins of the 'traditional musicians', and of the extension of possible musical communication circuits. Then in part IV of this study I will describe the various genres in east Clare, and compare the produced picture with the evidence gathered during the fieldwork in that area.

PART III: THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL GENRES OF TRADITIONAL DANCE-MUSIC IN RELATION TO IRISH SOCIAL HISTORY.

INTRODUCTION.

This part of the study is concerned with the development of various social genres of Irish traditional music. The origins and the components of these social genres will be studied in relation to social developments in Ireland.

Main focus of attention will be on those genres in which the music discussed in Part II figures. However, occasionally I will discuss other genres of traditional music, and genres of other musical styles, since this gives more information about the origins and components of the genres of traditional dance-music.

Yet although the main focus will be those genres in which the music discussed in Part II figures, we must not forget that a musical style may develop gradually. This has already been touched upon in Part I. The invariables, variables and probabilities of the music, as analysed in Part II, function within the present day consensus community of traditional musicians. But to restrict the genres under study to those in which music with exactly these invariables etc. figure, would render any study of the development of the music impossible. And it is the development of the musical style, in relation to the development of the genres, that interests us. Hence I will study those genres in which the music was developed until it reached the present situation as studied in Part II. In other words: the musical development will be interpreted from the present musical situation.

Still, we must be careful not to interprete musical history as a social continuum. At various stages of history various social groups dropped their 'loyalty' to social genres of traditional dance-music. New groups became users of this music in new social genres. It is this process of apparent discontinuity which interests me. And during the process the music itself changed. The present day is only one particular stage of this process. Today's consensus community of musicians may have completely different opinions about what are the invariables and important variables of the music tomorrow; and the social outlook of musicians and other users may have changed completely as well.

The period after ± 1700 will be given the main weight in this Part. One reason for this is the lack of sufficient information about the musical life in earlier periods. Another is the importance which this period has in relation to the present situation. It seems that the main categories, as discussed in Part II originated (or at least gained their

importance) within that period.
When, in the next paragraphs, sources of information on general history are absent, I have extensively used S. Beckett's The making of modern Ireland, and D. O'Connor Lysacht's The republic of Ireland.

UNTIL ± 1750.

After several invasions by the Danish, Norse and Normans, Ireland was finally conquered by the Tudors during the 16th century. During the following decades the old Irish system of land tenure and ownership was replaced by foreign ownership of the land.
Under the Irish system land was the property of lineages of free men; after regular time intervals the land was redivided under those who were entitled to land. Besides these free men there were those who were not entitled to land; and slavery also existed. The landowners were the leaders of the local agricultural communities; some became leaders of wider areas, or even of whole provinces. Since there were no towns and no commercial class, the courts of these headmen were - together with monasteries - the main cultural centres. Every headman had a poet at his court, who sung his praise and recited heroic tales, often accompanied by a harp. The headman 's warriors were headed by a piper, who blew a mouth blown bagpipe.
Even before the destruction of the Irish system of land tenure English (Norman) invaders enacted laws against these artists in the areas in which they held sway. In and around Dublin and Galway bards, harpers and pipers were in danger; the first and second group because they sung the praise of Irish lords, the third because they headed armoured bands which invaded English territory. O'Neill writes:'The statutes of Kilkenny, enacted in 1367, forbade the Irish musicians to enter the Pale' (around Dublin) (1), and '...far more dangerous than the harpers were the pipers considered, since they invariably headed all hostile incursions in the Pale' (2). But these activities of the English only became effective in the 16th century.
The Irish were known all over Europe as good musicians during the middle ages. But reference to dance-music is very rare. O'Neill mentions medieval use of the word port which nowadays means jig. It may have been a dance-tune(3). Instruments used suggest the existence of dance-music: 'pípaí, fidlí, fir un gail, cuámfhir agus cuisleannaigh' (bagpipes, fiddles, man of no valour, boneplayers and pipeblowers. The two first words suggest a foreign origin of bagpipe and fiddle.4). The only dances mentioned however are 16th century continental court dances like pavans and gaillards, and English morris-dances. (5)

The English started to turn clan-property of land into private property after the final conquest. During this process the Irish gentry was virtually destroyed. In 1650 Cromwell forced all Irish landowners to escape to that part of the country west of the Shannon, and gave all the vacant land to British soldiers and interested buyers. After the Jacobite rising of 1688 the 'penal laws' were enacted: roman catholics were not allowed to inherit land any more. And so the Irish gentry, even west of the Shannon, either lost their land or left their religion to associate with the British landowners (although the last were but few. It has not yet been made clear why so many of the Irish upper classes preferred to continue their religion). Thus the Gaelic culture of the upper classes vanished. In 1703 the roman catholic landowners only possessed 14% of the Irish soil; and this amount rapidly declined (6).

Bards and harpers lost their patrons. Some started a wandering life, and some of the most famous were patronized by the English gentry in Ireland in the 18th century, but only when the association of their arts with the former Irish gentry had been loosened. Some of the harpers adapted Italian styles in their music, as were fashionable in urban centres in that period. I will consider this music again in the next paragraph.

According to Corkery (7) the destruction of the culture of the Gaelic upper classes had its impact on the lower agricultural classes. He writes:'We must...conceive of those Gaelic houses (of the gentry, J.K.) first as very much resembling the planter (the British, J.K.) houses that surrounded them; each as a landmark, the centre of a little world ...selfsupporting...patriarchal... But then we must conceive of those Gaelic houses as possessed of certain notes of their own (like free contact with catholic countries in Europe, J.K.), a culture over and above that which they shared with their neighbours...' (8). And:'A common culture flowed to and fro between tenant's cabin and the big house: they shared in the common ruin.' (9). However, the lower classes did not vanish, although their socio-economic positions changed. After Cromwell the west had become densely populated, while the soil was poor; and during the 18th century the population grew. The landlords used this situation to exact rackrents from the tenantry. But the position of the tenants did not yet cause the ultimate despair which appeared in the 19th century.

The musical activities of the lower classes as such were not directly restricted. Dancing was very popular, as was noted by travellers:'...in every field a fiddle and the lasses footing it till they are all of a foam'(10). According to Breathnach, several of the dances were of Scottish or English stock, like morris and sworddances; he also mentions the 'Irish hey' which may be a predecessor of the reel of the next period (11).

Such dances may have been part of ceremonial festivities, like the British equivalents carolling, sword dances etc. As such they probably had an entertainment function as well. When conditions worsened while the population grew, the need for entertainment probably increased; and dancing was one of the activities which could satify this need. Appropriate dances and dance-tunes were either imported or developed locally. The main instrument at this time probably was the fiddle (12); the uillean pipes would gain its popularity mainly within the next period.

FROM ± 1750 TO ± 1850.

This paragraph covers roughly the period from the start of the industrial revolution to the large scale famine. As in most European countries, Ireland experienced in this period a strong increase in population. But while the population growth in most countries was balanced by the development of industries and cities, the Irish population became increasingly dependent on agriculture. This must be related to the colonial situation. After the middle of the 18th century textile industry developed rapidly in the Northeast. Although these industries ousted the homeweaving, which for many a peasant was an additional source of income, this type of industry was very labour-intensive, thus supplying large-scale employment. The Irish industries became so strong, that Ireland gained legislative independence during the closing decades of the century, headed by the thriving new industrial enterpreneurs in the north.(13).

In the meantime, Ireland became the most important grain producer for Britain, since imports from the continent were temporarily held up by France. Tillage is very labour-intensive, and landlords were willing to employ more tenants and agricultural labourers than ever. As compensation they gave their clients a small parcell of land, to cultivate potatoes, which had become the main diet of the lower classes.

The division and subdivision of land which started this way was aggravated after 1800. At that time the industries in the north collapsed, since British industries gained a stronger position after the introduction of power-driven machinery. For Ireland had no coal, and thus was in a disadvantageous position. The enterpreneurs lost their power, and Ireland again became completely dependent. This also brought the employment to an end. Although many emigrated to work in Britain, many more returned to their native villages, thus increasing the pressure on the land.

But as long as tillage was important, landlords did not mind subdividing their property. And since any family could live on the potatoes harvested in a small plot, however bad the quality of the soil, there seemed to be no problem.

Up to this period the agricultural classes favoured late marriages, and probably did not subdivide holdings 1). But around 1800 people married young, before their twenties; there was always a landlord willing to rent out a piece of land. Since in this period even small tenants had the right to vote (the '40-shilling freeholders') the landlords used the subdivision to increase their political following. A possible result of this development was that the avoidance between people of different sexes, which probably already was an aspect of Irish culture, temporarily vanished.
The famine of 1845-1850 brought this development dramatically to an end. The main causes of this famine were: the switch-over from tillage to grazing, which resulted in evictions, like the abolishing of the franchise of the smallholders (after O'Connell's election in 1828), and of course the blight which struck the potato, which had become the sole diet of an ever growing population.

The social developments of this period may have been the causes of two musical developments. One is the interest of urban middle classes in Irish music, during the period of independence. Another is the development of social genres in which reels, jigs and other dances figured, among the peasant classes.

Since the end of the 17th century Scottish dances (like reels, in various kinds, strathspeys and hornpipes) had become fashionable among British urban middle classes. These dances were, in various forms, taught by dancing masters. We may assume that this fashion was extended at least to middle classes in Belfast and Dublin, and perhaps even elsewhere. Especially when in the Scottish cities the interest lapsed temporarily during the 1780's (which may have been due to the bad economic prospects) the prosperous industrial cities in Ireland must have been very attractive for Scottish dancing masters.
But a definite group of urban entrepreneurs and intellectuals in these Irish cities wanted to stress their independence with regard to Britain. Hence they turned to Irish traditional music (although their own backgrounds were more British). This may have been both a reaction against the British (Scottish) culture as a romantic interest in traditional music; for romantic interest in tradition became more and more prevalent in many European countries.
As Irish traditional music they saw the remnants of the old culture of the harp. The harp in this period was on the verge of extinction. During the 1780's and 1790's a number of festivals were organized by members of

1). In his large poem the midnight court, which he composed around 1780, the Clare poet Brian Merriman accuses the local people of marrying late and allowing young and attractive women to wither away. Many people have thought that the poet knew what the future, after the famine, would bring. I assume however that he only commented on his own social environment.

middle classes in Belfast. In these festivals old harpers played and had their music written down by Bunting, who later published his transcriptions. Some of the harpers were asked to teach in urban harp schools, in Belfast and Dublin. The schools were however not very succesful, and the last closed down in 1840. I suppose that in a period when the independence of Ireland was not any more an idea which roused the middle classes, a music which had come to symbolize this independence could not be popular. Still, the music had been popular for a short period, which may be seen as a first revival of traditional music; and in the social genres of this revival the music had an important political meaning, which reflects the backgrounds of the various middle classes at the end of the 18th century. This meaning may be described as 'independence for Ireland', where independence means legislative independance without social revolution. And this meaning was going to stay, and was even transferred to the dance-music in later revivals.

For in Bunting's collections we do not find any dance-tunes which bear resemblance to those which have been described in Part II. Still, the tonal material seems to be essentially the same as that of the dance-tunes. Many of the Bunting tunes still are played today.

Bunting published the tunes with piano accompaniment. Hence he had to change aspects of the musical structure to make the music suitable for their new users. This was partly a matter of availability (see page 8) since a piano was available to most of the musical members of the middle classes concerned. But at the same time this probably was an attempt to make the music musically more suitable, more middle class-like.

Although these revival genres do not concern us, they formed the background of later collectors, who included dance-tunes in their collections. Aspects of the meaning described above may have been given to the dance-tunes, when they were considered to be traditional by these collectors.

As pointed out on pages 76 and77 it is not altogether clear what kinds of dances were danced by the peasantry before the second half of the 18th century. Much more information is available about the period now under discussion. This information suggests that the categories of dances and dance-tunes which are the subject of this study either came into use or became more widely accepted during this period. For the first collections of Irish reels , jigs and other dance-tunes appear in the second half of the 18th century, either in manuscript or in print, and at the same time we find dancing masters travelling around the country, teaching tunes and dance-steps to the peasantry.

It will be hard to answer the basic question: where did these categories of dances and dance-tunes originate? The fact that they only appear in collections around 1780 (14) does not necessarily indicate that such dances did not exist locally before that date. It is quite possible that nobody felt the need to collect these tunes before, or that nobody was interested in possessing collections of these tunes. In this case the question is: why were people interested in collections at this time?
To answer this question it may be useful to study developments of the use of Scottish dances and dance-tunes during the 18th century. The Scottish picture will furnish additional information about the origins of some categories, and perhaps about the origins of the dancing masters.
The history of Scottish traditional dances is easier to reconstruct than the history of Irish dances, since many more historical documents are available. For a thorough study the reader may find very helpful: Rantin' pipe and tremblin' string and A social history of Scottish dancing by G. Emmerson. Around 1700 Scottish dances became very popular among the gentry in the cities of the Scottish lowlands, and a few decades later also in London. Many collections were published during the 18th century, which abound in various Scottish types of reels. The first reels which resemble the tunes discussed in Part II appear in these collections in 1734; after 1750 we find hornpipes as well. Many of these tunes were composed especially for these collections.
During these years dancing masters taught the steps of the various dances. There is ample evidence that they invented at least a part of the dance-movements themselves. But it is not impossible that there have been influences to and fro between the rural dance practice in the highlands and on the Scottish islands, and the urban centres(15). Dancing masters were found in all British cities, and probably in Dublin and Belfast as well. Around 1780 Dublin and Belfast were cultural centres like Edinburgh and Glasgow.
Emmerson indicates that dancing masters from the cities started to travel around in rural areas in Scotland around 1750 (16). Their travelling probably became more intensive when the urban interest in these dances slackened after 1780.
If indeed Scottish dances have been popular among higher classes in the Irish cities (as Petrie's description of the Irish reel indicates) (17), we may assume that these townspeople were interested in collections. According to Breathnach the reels in the first Dublin collections (18) are often Scottish tunes. He supposes that the category of reels originated in Scotland. This is quite possible. On the other hand manuscripts

used by Petrie (18) include Irish reels from Co.Cork which date from the late 18th century.

It seems likely that those dancing masters who travelled through the rural districts of Ireland were acquainted with the urban fashion of Scottish dances. By teaching tunes and dances to the ever growing Irish peasantry they tried to make a living. They probably taught a few Scottish tunes and steps. But the people in those districts probably were only to a small extent interested in urban fashions, and the dancing masters adapted themselves to local circumstances: they enriched their repertoires with local tunes and steps. These tunes and steps probably were fashioned by them in a personal way; and since every dancing master only travelled in a small area (19), we may not be surprised to find different dance practices in bordering districts, as is indeed the case. An argument in favour of this development, in which the rural people are seen as hardly interested in urban fashions and dancing masters as fashioning local material, is the background of the other main category, the jig. For jigs are probably Irish in origin, and they were hardly found in the Scottish collections. Emmerson gives a number of arguments in favour of an Irish origin of the jigs (20). The basic steps of the Irish jigs resemble those of the Irish reels, which may indicate that reels also have been used locally for quite a long time.

As is shown in appendix I, jig-tunes are more frequent in earlier collections than reel-tunes. This may indicate their popularity among the rural musicians and dancers.

Common time hornpipes appear both in Ireland and Scotland around 1750. It is hard to tell where these tunes originated.

Thus, in this period, we find various <u>social genres</u> of traditional dances in Ireland. One is the genre of the fashionable dances of the higher classes in Dublin and Belfast. I do not know much about these, apart from the general information which Emmerson gives about Britain. The other is that of the rural dances, which developed in relation to the activities of travelling dancing masters. Through local isolation and high population pressure the people felt the need for communal entertainment; dancing was very popular. The dances as taught by the dancing masters were stepdances (mainly solo dancers) and group dances (21). Although the peasants may have been aware of the urban fashions, it seems likely that this did not influence the meaning of the musical activity to a large extent; the dances were treated both as art and entertainment of the local peasant community, and this gave the genre its basic meaning. Teachers formed communication channels and made elements of the genre available to the local population.

If indeed during this period the avoidance patterns of the sexes relaxed, the dancing is likely to have played a part in this. For according to the earliest descriptions the dancing was mainly an activity of the young, though it was encouraged by the older people. In other words, the dances brought young people together in situations which were basically sanctioned by the older. In relation to this it may be worthwhile to observe the dance-movements. While the steps are very intricate (they have been described by Petrie and Joyce 22), the arms remain motionless alongside the body. Every physical contact with other dancers is thus impossible. This may have been a later introduction; the fact is that this attitude does not exist in Scottish stepdances. But it may have been the case that the dancing was only sanctioned since the postures continued the avoidance to a certain extent. If this argument bears some truth, then the genre had a definite meaning of contact and communication between the sexes, sanctioned by the community.

New dance-movements to the same tunes were introduced after 1815, when soldiers and other people returning from France introduced the quadrilles (23). As in the previous period dancing masters brought these dances to the rural areas. Eventually these new dances became much more popular than the stepdances; but these 'sets' and 'half sets' were adapted to reel- and jig-tunes. According to Breathnach again the dancing masters were responsible for this adaptation, another indication of their concern for locally accepted musical behaviour. We must conclude that the new movements suited the peasantry better, but that they did not want to accept the new quadrille-tunes. Some of these tunes were played occasionally up to very recently, but in general jigs or reels replaced these. With the acceptance of the new movements the genres changed. This may have coincided with changes in meaning. In the first place these new dances allowed for more physical contact than the stepdances, which may correspond with the growing acceptance of contact between (young) persons of opposite sex. Also the group-aspect was important in the new dances, while the steps were mainly a solo enterprise, and the activity of dancing in groups may be meaningful in relation to the local agricultural community. And not only did the sets replace the older group dances, but they also became more popular than the steps. Does this symbolize the many relations of mutual aid and of dependence which pervaded the local agricultural community (24)?

Another aspect of meaning may have been the 'urban' quality of the new dances. This appealed more to the higher rural classes than to the peasantry, but dancing as a communal activity was not restricted to special classes:

'(the various dances) in which priest and laic, rich and

> poor, old and young, the master and his maid, the landlord and his tenant's daughter as well as the landlord's daughter and his tenant's son, all join together without distinction' (25)

But the music did not change. This caused adaptation and speeding up of the quadrille movements. This indicates that the local musicians and dancers preferred the reel- and jig-tunes. In relation to the hypothesis that these tunes, especially the jigs, had been present long before the heyday of the dancing masters, I suggest that the people did not want to drop music which had such a local, 'home made' flavour. Other aspects of meaning of the music may have been involved, which are unknown to us. The fact is that most tunes were composed during the decades around 1800 (26). This involved a high level of creativity within the musical activity. About this Sean Damer writes:

> 'There was, if you like, a cultural introversion in a society where the very desperation of the poverty meant that there was time and motivation to create a musical culture'. (27)

Breathnach suggests that the introduction of the sets increased the popularity of reel- and jig-tunes, and even were responsible for their long life up to the present day (28).

This music, like the reel-tunes in Scottish collections, had many of the invariables and variables in common with the music today. The various time-categories exist, the tune-elements resemble the present ones (indeed the typical head structures seem to be present all over the British isles). Jigs are more common than reels however, during this period. The 16-bar part structure of reels is absent, and the number of tunes with wide-spaced heads - which often have this 16-bar parts - is very low. Some collections of the 19th and 20th century will be discussed in appendix I, while musical changes will be discussed in more detail in the last paragraph of the present part (p. 100).

In summarizing the main genre which was created in this period we find as <u>users</u> various agricultural classes, with emphasis on the peasantry; the <u>use</u> itself was stepdancing or the dancing of sets, at local occasions of dance (probably at special nights at houses, and on special days on the village green). Various <u>meanings</u> may have been involved, like communication between the sexes, a strong feeling of locality and local community, and perhaps a light 'urban' flavour. The <u>music</u>, if perhaps already locally known, experienced large scale creativity; probably musicians were local professionals or semi-professionals, while others travelled like the dancing masters. The fiddle was probably the most important instrument.

To complete this picture I must indicate the growing importance of the uillean pipes. These had been a gentleman-instrument for many years,

but among the peasants real specialists developed.
Although the music of the various categories had the most prominent place within the social genres, there were also other tunes and dances, like the individual long or setdances. Their importance declined however during the 19th century. And of course, the music and dance was not the only activity: the playing of cards and storytelling had close connections with some of the genres.

FROM 1850 TO THE PERIOD OF INDEPENDENCE

This period starts in the aftermath of the famine, which was the start of a huge loss of population. This decline would continue until the 1960's. During this process the structure of landownership changed completely. This change, together with the decline in population affected the rural communities. The social genres reacted to this. Towards the end of the 19th century the development of social classes in the cities caused a cultural revival which created new genres and affected the old. This revival came to an end when several classes combined in a struggle for independence, which was officially gained in 1921.
Between 1841 and 1851 Ireland suffered a loss of population of ± two million people. Half of these had died; the others had fled from the country. The landlords had no pity: between 1849 and 1855 350.000 people were evicted from their holdings. In fact the famine enabled the government to make agriculture more efficient. With the help of various acts enterprizing landlords or middlemen were able to purchase most estates; and these were turned into cattle ranges producing for the British market. This process, which was responsible for the evictions, manifested itself on a very large scale in the fertile midlands. Here many people were forced to leave. But also in the west many found themselves without means of existence, for the practice of subdividing holdings was legally brought to an end. Many of these people emigrated to the USA, where they formed large Irish communities in the big cities. A smaller number went to Britain. Thousands flocked to the cities, mainly to Dublin.
This situation caused increasing unrest within the agricultural districts. Eventually those who worked the land achieved ownership of this land, after many land acts after 1880. But long before this, immediately after the famine, a social strategy was worked out by the peasantry, which included late marriages and huge emigration. Of a family one son would stay on the holding to work with his father; eventually he would marry when his father died or retired. Then he would inherit the land, if the family owned the land, and could try to marry. All other siblings

had to leave for the USA or elsewhere. Only a daughter might marry locally. Matchmakers lived in most villages, and these arranged marriages. Local trades started to disappear, and agriculture became more and more export-oriented. Tenants and small owners participated ever more in a money economy, which included shops and tax collectors. It seems that the strategy described aimed at preserving and, if possible, increasing the size of the family holding, since this was the main source of income. To achieve this, most of the children had to leave, while the father only gave the holding on to the heir at a high age. This pattern may have existed before 1780, as I indicated in the previous paragraph, and after the famine it was created anew. But the emigration had not been so high before. The result was that young people were drained away from the local community, while those who stayed worked hard and married late. The priests, on which the local population relied to a large extent, advocated the hard work and the late marriage (although they regretted the emigration); and they rejected drinking (which may be a quite old habit of the Irish) and dancing. A very interesting study of the relation between priests and local communities was done by K.H. Connell (29).

This process of atrophy of local communities affected the rural genres of traditional dances. Since dancing is to a large extent a younger people's affair, there were fewer people who danced. Moreover, the dances had to do with communication between members of different sex; such communication was not sanctioned to the same extent as before. But all these processes started slowly, and became more apparent only after 1900. The attempts of some priests to induce people to stop drinking may have had a negative effect on the dances as well, since drinking, dancing and playing music were intimately linked up. (This relation will be studied in more detail in the next part, see page 136).

The strong meaning of locality which, as discussed in the previous paragraph, was associated with the musical activity became less suitable when the locality atrophied. At the other hand, such meanings would in the near future play an important part among emigrant groups in various cities in and outside the country, where people longed for their native communities.

After the famine most dancing masters and many travelling musicians vanished. Local musicians held on to their art. It seems that creativity in this period did not reach the high level of the previous, and most tunes of the repertoires were regarded as 'very old'. And many players became aware of the fact that they had something worthwhile to offer

when several collectors started to go around.
The collectors of the mid-19th century were not in the first place interested in dance-tunes. They looked for old songs and airs. But in later collections the amount of dance-tunes increases. It may be supposed that the tunes were seen as important to collect since they were becoming scarce.
Both Petrie and Joyce made use of private collections in manuscripts, some of local musicians themselves. And thus, while local musicians may have experienced a slight decline in local popularity of their art, they were confirmed in their artistic and social pride by the knowledge that they had something important to keep. This is the basis of the emancipation of traditional musicians, a process which would continue until the 1970's.
These collectors were scholars with an urban background. Their interest in Irish music was largely romantic, and less political than that of an earlier generation of townspeople (page 78). Their ideas had to do with preserving a traditional Irish culture as background of the Irish people; together with airs and songs they became to regard dance-tunes as part of that culture. Petrie writes about dance-tunes:'...a large class of airs which have received from previous collectors but a small amount of attention, as if such airs were considered of little value'(30). These collections made dance-tunes available to intellectual and bourgeois circles in the towns and nurtured meanings of 'culturally valuable Irish traditions'. Note that under the social circumstances at those times and places this meaning was quite anti-revolutionary. The fact that Petrie supplied piano arrangements and tempo indications (with pendulum) suggests that this music actually was used in the cities. Together with meanings present in rural genres aspects of musical structure were distorted by the communication channels of the collections, especially those of rhythm and intonation, and of course those of instruments used.
Other influences from the city affected the rural genres as well. New instruments became popular: the concertina and melodeon, after 1870. Here once more we have to do with availability. But this availability had considerable consequenses. The new instruments were easier to play than the long established fiddle and pipes. This may have been important in a time when their were fewer teachers, and not enough leisure time and dances to practice thoroughly. Fiddlers and pipers tended to look down on the new free reed instruments; and this attitude is still present today. At the other hand it seems likely that the new instruments were seen as more civilized by some, since they came from cities; and the peasantry became gradually more city-oriented when emigration, and

later the national unification, became more important. Whatever the feelings towards the new instruments were, they were expressed in the music: not only in the timbre, but also in the intonation. This audible difference probably was evaluated in various ways by the listeners, according to the above mentioned attitudes. Especially in Clare (where according to Petrie's and Joyce's collections most dance-tunes were found) the concertina became one of the most popular instruments.

After the huge migration of the 1880's (caused by the combined effects of agricultural crisis all over Europe and the temporary defeat of rural revolutionary movements) the situation within the rural communities worsened. Marriage was postponed ever further, and the villages became silent. The priests intensified their actions. They reacted against the dances as sinful behaviour. Barry O'Neill expresses his 'private belief that the clergy suppressed Irish national music'(31). Francis O'Neill writes that 'after all the commendable qualities of the Irish were at least as pronounced when music and song throughout the length and breadth of the country served to punctuate and relieve the weary monotony of peasant life as they are now, after the harper and the piper, and it may be said the fiddler, have followed the Irish Elk and Wolf Dog into extinction' (32), as an answer to the priests. And:'The old must give way to the new, but what blessings has the change brought to Ireland? Mainly monotony, and cheap melodeons made in Germany'(33. This attitude may be related to the fact that this writer was a piper).
So during the second half of the 19th century the rural social genres were modified. Possible users left, and the deterioration of community life restricted the occasions for use. Some meanings, like the one of communication between the sexes, were not suitable to everyone. Perhaps a number of previous users considered the music to be uncivilized. And the action against drink harmed the genres as well. The introduction of new instruments changed aspects of the musical structure. Although the musicians' pride may have been supported by the interest of some scholars, it is doubtful whether they would have been able to reverse the trend, which increasingly caused them to be shy about their music.

However, when the social picture in the cities changed, support came for the rural musicians.
Those people in the cities who used the collections of the various scholars, may have done so with the conscious or unconscious aim to stress what they thought could be their cultural identity vis-á-vis Britain. At the other hand these people, coming from bureaucratic and educational circles, together with a few entrepreneurs, depended on

British colonial power; they did not aim at political independence. In fact this movement was a sideline of the interest in the Irish language which was threatened with extinction. Since the 1950's Irish had been taught at University College Dublin. During later decades of the last century this movement became more radical, even politically. In the 1890's this resulted in the foundation of the Gaelic League (which would foster the language) and of the Gaelic Athletic Organization. The GAA aimed at propagating Irish sports in the rural communities. As such it established a link between Dublin and the countryside.

Up to the 1890's the main political orientation of the leaders of these organizations had been unionist: the identity of the country should be a cultural one. In later years most of the leaders moved over to the various home rule parties, which insisted on legislative independendence.

Both organizations, the GAA and the GL, started activities in the field of music. This caused a revival of traditional music, in which Gaelic cultures became one of the symbols of the independence. The most important feature of the musical revival was competition on a nation-wide scale in traditional music and dance. In 1897 the Feis Ceoil and the Oireachtas were held for the first time; both included competitions in the playing of airs and dance-tunes, and in stepdances. The instrumental rendering of songs ('slow airs') dates back to this time. The bulk of the entries was formed by players of dance-tunes. This suggests that the playing of dance-tunes was the most important musical activity of most players (something that is not indicated in Petrie's and Joyce's collections).

Many of the players resided in Dublin. The various waves of migration had constructed large pockets of musicians within the cities. Especially the pipers among them had relations with the last professional travelling pipers, and they were eager to continue the art of piping. This group constituted for many decennia the core of a Dublin-based musical pressure group, which fostered strong relations with rural musicians.

A similar development took place in a number of Irish communities in cities in the USA. Among the emigrants the music was tremendously popular, for as the proverb goes: 'from a distance the hills are green'. Traditional music reminds the emigrant of his home country, and of his native village. This orientation of emigrants, together with the Dublin group, would have strong influence during the following decades.

These urban revivals caused an abundance of new social genres of dance-music. Some took the shape of very large dances, such as were organized by GAA in and outside Dublin, and were also found in American cities. Among

all the different meanings involved in different places the nationalist feelings probably were the most wide spread. In relation to the new, large scale uses GAA introduced new dances, in which big numbers of dancers could take part. Among these are the eight-hand reel, and various group-dances, some of which were known before. In East Clare only the Siege of Ennis has survived up to the present day.
The competitions were new genres in itself. Here the player was isolated from dancers and, on stage, even from the listeners. Although listening to dance-tunes may have been a practiced use before, it now became institutionalized. Some meanings, like that of communication between sexes, and the association with drink, were veiled because of this practice, and the music was appreciated as the result of an old, important tradition, worth listening to for any good Irishman or -woman. And this meaning would also survive, at least in as far as the music was played in such a setting. This genre was a new achievement in the process of emancipation of the traditional musician. Now he was no longer a player subordinated to dancers. His art was valuable in itself. Here the pride, caused by the collectors in previous decades, was confirmed. This emancipation allowed traditional musicians to be the most important communication channel. They could take part in both urban and rural genres. This 'channel' allowed for a relatively low degree of distortion.
Another channel, and a reflection of the revival, was the large number of collections published. The most important were issued by a musician, the piper Francis O'Neill who had emigrated to Chicago. His Dance music of Ireland, entirely devoted to dance-tunes, is still used by very many players (most players aim at knowing many tunes. These were made available by O'Neill's, which is often referred to as 'the book'). In the same period O'Neill published Music of Ireland. Among other publications were a complete edition of Petrie's collections and one of Joyce's. In later decades records would become available as well. At the first national festivals however some wax rolls were made, which give the earliest 'exact' information about aspects of musical structure.

It is hard to estimate the influence of this revival on the rural communities. Its impact definitely was much bigger than that of the collectors a few decades before. For while the collectors communicated the music to urban music with the help of transcriptions, the revival of 1900 was supported by musicians who were first or second generation immigrants in Dublin and had close contacts with rural musicians. In other words, the musical communication was more personal and more direct. In this way the social genres of the revival, especially the competitions,

became accepted by rural musicians. Minor competitions were held on regional and local level. Thus the pride of the local musicians was fostered; and in the small villages too music was experienced as something worth listening to, and not necessarily dependent on dancing. Another strong influence was that of GAA. GAA organized sports and dances on a local level. As such it consciously counteracted the previous tendency of looking down on these leisure time activities. In many places a certain tension developed between GAA and the clergy (34).

Through these dances and competitions, GAA and GL had a strong normative influence on attitudes towards dance-music. Several categories of dances were branded as being non-Irish and not traditional, like the quadrilles, and to a certain extent waltzes and polkas which in the second half of the 19th century had entered the local dances, alternating with the sets. These categories were allowed neither in the GAA-dances nor at competitions. The competitions themselves probably had a strong normative influence on the variables and invariables of the accepted genres, as are discussed in part II. However, this normative influence had its limits: waltzes form a part of dance-nights up to the present day. It seems that the meaning of certain categories being 'traditional' was only strong in the definite revival genres. Indeed waltzes are never, and polkas hardly played at competitions.

The revival collapsed when the political struggle became more radical. The home rule party (Irish parliamentary party) which supported the Gaelic organizations, lost its support in the early 1910's; several of the groups taking part in this party refuted the policy of gaining legislative independence along parliamentary lines, and allied with Sinn Fein. As the need to gain political independence increased, the impetus behind the manifestations of cultural identity seemed to wither away. The Dublin pipers' union, established in 1899, was dissolved in 1916. Traditional music nearly vanished from the feis ceoil and oireachtas. The GL lost its importance together with its patrons, the home rule advocates. GAA remained strong in rural areas; but here the dances came to an end in the years of military struggle. Even in the houses there hardly was a big dance for several years, due to military oppression by the British.

This indicates once more that, although the dance-music had become associated with nationalism, this nationalism was not a revolutionary one. In a sense this was a continuation of the meaning of cultural identity ascribed to the music by urban radicals shortly before 1800

and by the collectors of the mid-19th century.

DEVELOPMENTS DURING THE YEARS OF INDEPENDENCE

After 1920 the large changes within the rural communities continued; this further affected the basis of local social genres. This tendency was temporarily counteracted by the economic crisis around 1930-1935. Afterwards it was resumed immediately. The meanings which had become associated with the music in its various genres were no longer suitable. This development was finally checked by a conscious process of organizing by traditional musicians. The revival which thus originated in the 1940's and 1950's was mainly supported by the one suitable meaning, that of locality as experienced by Irish communities abroad. This revival became stronger during the 1960's, when younger people from the cities became interested; it even affected musical activity on the local level, especially when the emigration flow was turned around 1965. Qualitative social changes in the villages were expressed in new social genres, in which older meanings were revived and extended.

Political independence, which had been gained officially in 1921, did not basically change the socio-economic structure of the country. Industrial employment was hardly available, and the small scale, inefficient agriculture was experienced as not gainful enough. Hence quantitative developments, like emigration and postponing of marriage continued. This resulted in qualitative changes. The number of old bachelors within the villages increased, since most younger women would rather go to Dublin or Britain than biding their time waiting for a suitable local husband. Especially the smaller farmers had no chance of marriage.

Urban life often was seen as much more favourable than living within the local agricultural community. People had lost their faith in the land (35) and became more and more urban-oriented. And while the younger people vanished, the local systems of mutual aid collapsed completely. For the sons and daughters of farmers always assisted neighbours, friends and kin in periods of intensive agricultural labour. Now every farmer was left alone on his farm; and the individual households became more and more isolated. This development, which had sad consequences for the quality of community life (36) was temporarily halted in the early 1930's. Due to the economic crisis emigration could not continue; no jobs were available. And since the market for agricultural products was bad (due to the 'economic war' between Ireland and Britain) many farmers started to produce for their own consumption. But this stage was by many experienced as stagnation;

and after 1938 emigration was resumed at a rate hardly experienced before.

Thus the local dances lost their users. But even among those who stayed the urge to play or dance traditional dances decreased. This indicates that the meanings as experienced were not suitable. We have seen that the most important meanings of the local dances were those of communication between the sexes and of locality. Occasions of communication between people of opposite sex decreased when the population declined; and the local priests did what they could to separate the sexes. Dancers and players were even accused outright of sinful behaviour, by sermonising priests; and often the priests disturbed local dances which were held by the young at crossroads or by young and old in 'country houses', houses with big barns. These priests equated the meaning of communication between sexes with that of sinful activity; and a part of their flock obeyed their sermons.

At the same time the other meaning, that of locality, was equated with local stagnation. Especially the young people were only interested in 'urban' entertainment activities, and looked down on the local dances at crossroads and in houses.

As a result, the crossroad dances and house dances vanished. The house dances even were forbidden by law. Dances were only allowed if the owner of the house paid for a licence; he also had to restrict the amount of alcoholic drink, forbid gambling, and build suitable doors, toilets etc. This law was enacted in 1936, and it put an end to the large dances of the crisis period nearly everywhere. It is significant however, that in many districts in the west musicians and dancers continued their favourite practices up to very recently, only occasionally bothered by priest or police.

Also significant is that the priests started local dances in schools or parochial halls. Here they forbade drinking, and controlled the activities of the young of both sexes. The music however was played by traditional musicians. Thus the priests created a new genre of traditional dance-music. The meaning of sinful interaction between the sexes was associated more with the older social genres than with the musical component alone. The meaning of the stagnating local community however was much more a part of the musical genre as abstracted from particular use. Younger people did not want to dance to traditional dance-music within the local halls. They preferred dances which were fashionable in the cities and abroad, the ballroom dances.

To a certain extent this was a matter of availability. The priests

organized dances to raise funds for parochial purposes, and to control the behaviour of the people. The only music locally available was that of local traditional musicians. At the same times the priests regretted to see the young people go to urban centres to take part in foreign (and also sinful) dances.

I can not escape the conclusion that most meanings were attached to the music only in as far as it was used in particular social genres, or in other words, that it was the use (and the users, and occasion of use) which gave the genre its meaning rather than the music, and that in the process of musical communication between genres, when the music is borrowed so to speak, these particular meanings are to a large extent abstracted from the music. The priest did not experience music as sinful, but a particular social genre. It is even possible that those young people who neither wanted to participate in house dances nor in the priests' dances did not reject the music but simply all social genres which had important meanings of 'locality' since they involved the local community (see also page 128).

During these developments the dances themselves changed: the steps vanished, the sets were adapted to the halls, involving more people. The music changed as well. In order to create a bigger sound volume musicians had to play in small groups together.

The priests' dances however vanished before 1940 as regular activities. This may have been caused by the continuing desintegration of the villages (which often were congruent with parishes). Local dances only continued in areas where there was still something like a local community: the relatively densely populated small farm areas in some of the western counties. But even here, in the districts where traditional dance-music always had had its stronghold, the demand for the skills of local musicians withered away. Playing music since many decades had ceased to be a professional activity but for one or two travelling pipers; but after the 1930's even the skilled local musicians found themselves in a sense unemployed.

It is in those years that the present revival originated. Most musicians had a strong sense of pride in relation to their musical skill. They already had started to play together in local halls, and in later years musicians from wider areas came together regularly to play. This process of internal organization was supported by some of the Dublin musicians, who had revived the pipers' union during the 1930's. Some of these, especially Leo Rowsome, travelled around and strengthened the local musicians' belief in their skill and in the cultural value of the traditional music. As the reader may remember this was a meaning in-

volved in the revival genres of the 1900 period, which were carried by the Dublin musicians. And for the first time a revival was organized not by collectors, protectors or patriots, but by the musicians themselves. During this revival the emancipation of the traditional musicians reached its zenith.

The revival had two main lines, the ceili bands and the activities of Comhaltas Ceoltoiri Eireann.

The ceili bands were groups of five to ten musicians who played together for dances in dance halls. In the present form there is one drummer, a pianist, one or two accordionists, a flute-player, three fiddlers and a banjoist ad libitum. These bands occasionally played for big dances in halls where normally dance bands played ballroom dances. At other times they performed at concerts or in radio broadcasts. Their biggest successes however were some trips to Irish communities in Britain and the USA. Here the music was as popular as ever.

Of course there was, together with considerable changes in use, also a change in meanings. By adopting some social and musical features of dance bands, the new ceili bands seemed to be more sophisticated than the former solo players. Aspects of musical structure were also changed: the personal time and tune elements could no longer be perceived; and heterophony with chordal accompaniment took the place of the single melodic line.

The popularity of ceili bands reached its highest point around 1960. Later decline in popularity was mainly due to the attitude of younger people. Those younger people who were interested in traditional music (mainly in Dublin) rejected the ceili bands as being not traditional and ruining the music. Those who were only interested in dancing preferred other fashions, like pop- and rock-music.

But the most important line of the revival was initiated by Comhaltas Ceoltoiri Eireann.

The foundation of this organization, which started purely as an organization to foster the interest of traditional musicians, was the result of co-operation between the Dublin and rural musicians. Many players who had migrated to Dublin during the war came in touch with the older nucleus of the Dublin players. Thus the links between Dublin and rural players were reinforced. A first result of this situation (1948) was a regular radio program, dedicated enterely to traditional music from the various districts. Ciaran MacMathuna, who was responsible for this program, spent much of his time travelling around and establishing contacts and renewed interests among local musicians. These programs

increased both the self-confidence of the players and their status vis-á-vis their fellow villagers. This radio program still exists, while other programs, more explicitly dealing with revival genres, have started more recently.

As mentioned in relation to the development of the ceili bands, important Dublin musicians also travelled around the country themselves. Some of the ceili bands had taken part in feis competitions in the late 1940's, and the various musicians felt the need to establish their own organization to defend their position and create more interest in their skills. This organization was established officially in 1951 with the optimistic aim 'to restore Irish music in the life of the Irish people'. Their strategies were: organizing as many musicians as possible on the local level; teaching traditional music; and organizing fleadhs on local, regional and national level. The fleadhs are festivals entirely dedicated to traditional music, and most involve competitions. Especially the fleadhs were an immediate manifestation of the emancipation of the traditional musicians. Apart from a few 'slow airs' most music played belonged to the categories of dance-tunes, and these performances were listened to attentively by many. Thus the fleadhs became large scale meetings between local musicians and other music lovers, who appreciated skillful performances of dance-tunes. The competitive element also served to interest non-musicians; teaching programs were started to give aspiring musicians the necessary skills to compete.

As did the Gaelic organizations during the revival of the 1900's, CCE had a strong normative influence, which became manifest in the genres of competition and teaching. The use was almost entirely dominated by listening (only in later years would CCE start courses in stepdances, while interest in old sets developed very recently), either near the competition stage or at sessions going on in many pubs at the fleadh. Aspects of musical structure were subject to CCE norms as well. The competitions were subject to very strict rules as to the kind of tunes played:

> RULE 12: Entries will be for the next categories: slow air, reel, double jig, single jig, slip jig, hornpipe, march, set dance.(37)

as to the way of playing these tunes:

> ...competitors shall play each tune twice only...

(and adjucators were given rather vague criteria for adjudication) and as to the instruments used:

> RULE 9 : Solo competitions are held for the following instruments: harp, uileann pipes, fiddle, two row button accordion, concertina,

warpipes, piano, concert flute, tinwhistle, flageolet, banjo, mouth organ, three row button accordion, piano accordion.

Other rules indicate what kind of ensembles are allowed.

The meanings involved in the various revival genres are related to those involved in the 1900's revival. The music was presented as a traditional and culturally valuable activity, within all CCE publications. The mucians involved were proud to be the bearers of this culture. However, within the intimate sessions, which were - although informally - the most important fleadh activity, it was a more purely musical appreciation which kept the music going. Nearly all present at these sessions were musicians, who played together or in turn.

The emphasis on the cultural value of tradition may be seen in relation to the socio-economic situation of the early 1950's. Ireland was denied Marshall help, since it had been neutral during the war. For want of jobs, thousands left for Britain. CCE often indicated its opinion that cultural values should be honoured more than material ones. Instead of looking for material betterment one should devote his time to traditional, valuable cultural activities. Again the emphasis on culture opposes the emphasis on structural socio-economic change.

But these very processes of emigration isolated the movement, at least in Ireland. Local social genres were eroded to the very point of disappearing. Apart from a few dances in halls they had gone completely, except for amall house dances in West Clare and other pockets. (This does not mean that traditional dance-music was not popular in the small villages. Indeed Ciaran MacMathuna's program was immensely popular. Probably other genres had no suitable meanings for those who had to stay or wanted to stay instead of emigrating). CCE was not able to restore the music to 'its rightful place in Irish life'. Help came from outside Ireland.

In London and other major British cities extensive Irish communities were created. These emigrants loved the music of their home country. Ceili bands who visited played for huge audiences, and at big dances. Among the emigrants themselves were many younger musicians, who formed the centre of nights at Irish pubs in these cities. Here like at the fleadh contacts were established. A British branch of CCE was established soon. Emigrants returning for holidays were to form the main part of the fleadh audiences in later years. Moreover, the Irish musicians in Britain came in touch with the youth movement of the early British 'folk revival' of the late 1950's. British traditional music and song became tremendously popular among young people in Britain. Within this movement Irish music became popular. During the 1960's thousands of young British flocked to the fleadhs, and the Dublin youth followed suit.

The main support for the emancipational activity of the musicians thus

came from outside Ireland. Important suitable meanings involved were that of locality (of longing for home) and that of the value of tradition, which is very prominent in the British folk revival (38).
The immediate emancipatory aim of CCE was to be accepted by the Irish establishment of church and government, to get active support to work out the programs. Attempts in thid direction finally checked the progress of the emancipation, since it caused fission inside the organization. This already became clear when in the 1950's priests were asked to take part in the fleadh committees. Some priests objected to the prevalence of drinking, and to too liberal behaviour of people of opposite sexes at fleadhs. Again it is not clear if they objected to the music which may have caused this behaviour, or to the social genres of the fleadhs as a whole. Attempts of the clergy to stop the fleadhs caused disagreements in the committees.
Since many administrative tasks were involved, CCE had to employ many non-musicians. Talking with government officials, applying for grants and other organizational activities ask for other than musical skills. CCE never became accepted completely by the government; but as more 'managers' appeared at the top level, musicians felt that the organization no longer supported their personal aims. Many of them left CCE.
Gradually CCE lost its impetus as a musicians' organization. The fleadhs still continue, but disagreements about adjudication and competition also induced many players to stay away. But new support for CCE came from another side.
Most younger families with children in the rural communities belonged to the stronger farmers, since small farmers either were bachelors or had emigrated. These families made their children take part in CCE activities. Local branches of CCE were organized, which selected teachers of music and stepdances for the local children. In relation with this teaching local and regional fleadhs were organized. For tourists shows of dance and music were organized. Again we have to do with an attempt to create a cultural identity, this time of a rural middle class. A very important aim of these new supporters is to protect their children against the deteriorating influences of urban and foreign socio-musical fashions, which are experienced as sinful. Thus, while the music in the past was seen as sinful, since it gave the sexes the opportunity to communicate, it now is promoted as a remedy against even more sinful music; and the social genres of teaching and competing give the parents plenty of opportunity to control the behaviour of their children within their musical activities.

At the same time, in the mid-sixties, new developments revived dances

within the local communities. At this time the erosion of many villages finally came to an end. The government policy of giving high grants and many facilities to Irish and foreign investors (initiated by Sean LeMass in 1957) had brought off-farm employment to many areas. While farming continued to be a part of the local economy, many farmers thus got additional employment. Moreover, social assistance to small farmers and small farm areas was extended. Remittances from emigrated kin also added to the locally available funds. Some emigrants returned, among them quite a number of musicians. Within the villages there was growing self-confidence. This situation of available funds, musicians and confidence led to a revival of dances. Publicans enlarged their lounges, and hired musicians at regular nights. This revival has elements of the former house dances (especially the availability of drink) and of the hall dances. The importance of the hall dances was especially strong in relation to the musical component of this pub-genre 1).

While at first the pub sessions involved all kinds of traditional musicians, very soon the stronger ceili band instruments dominated: accordion, drums, banjo, flute. In fact the sessions caused the desintegration of some ceili bands. In many places also the dances themselves remind more of the dance practice in halls than in houses (see page 138).

The users mainly were older people who had not been away. The dominance of bachelors, in numbers, in the villages resulted in a shortage of women at these dances. But since there are no strict partners, all get the opportunity to dance.

The meanings involved are the same as those of earlier periods: communication between the sexes, and locality. Indeed every village is proud of the local session and the local musicians who play. Some meanings are related to particular aspects of musical structure. The accordion, for instance, is seen as an optimal instrument for dances. This may have to do with the faculty to keep strict, fast time in combination with variation practices. A fiddle on its own, at the other hand, rarely induces people to dance any more.

While this genre is opposed to the recent local CCE genres because of the emphasis on drink (and hence recruits different people), local musicians often take part both in teaching and in pub sessions. There is, however, occasional tension between local musicians of different orientation.

1) The earliest sessions were called ballad sessions, and were influenced by the activities of Dubliners and Clancy Brothers, groups which followed the line of the British folk revival. Dancing however dominated sessions in those areas where dancing had been important traditionally. Hence they are often called pub sessions, like the sessions in Irish pubs in British cities. To a certain extent these sessions are an imitation of these sessions within the Irish communities in Britain.

During the last few years there is a clear loss of impetus behind the revival. The main causes are the impossibility of present CCE to assist in the emancipation of the musicians, and the continuing specialization of musicians in different genres. This development of CCE has been discussed on page 97 . Specialization within the local communities has also been touched upon, and it may be added that the number of participants in pub sessions (who usually are not very young) slowly decreases in some places. Even more specialization is to be found in Dublin. The British folk revival, and Irish variants like the Clancy Brothers and the Dubliners, had a strong impact on younger people in Dublin. During the 1960's Sean O'Riada developed musical styles in which he combined airs, dance-tunes and songs in a very sophisticated way. At present this line is followed by several groups. Many members of the audiences of these groups, most of whom are young, visited fleadhs and sessions, and quite a number came in touch with the Dublin core of musicians. This core partly separated its former links with CCE around 1970, and developed its own training system, in which playing the uileann pipes gets all the attention available. During the last few years young people, both belonging to CCE groups and to the groups of the pipers' union, have achieved great musical skills. As imitation of the small music groups of the Sean O'Riada line, they formed small bands, in which however the 'unison'-condition is obeyed to a much larger extent than it is in the 'Sean O'Riada'-groups. This makes them, for the Dublin and rural musicians, more acceptable as traditional musicians 1). They have achieved a high level of musical virtuosity, and they are very popular both in and outside Dublin. It seems to me that they most clearly follow the road of emancipation. Dancing is hardly done within these urban genres; the musical situations are either concerts or smaller sessions, in which usually predominantly young audiences participate. A new youth sub-culture is involved, in which besides the element of tradition and identification with the participants of this culture, musical pleasure and musician's pride are involved. So the road to emancipation may still be followed by these groups (like the 'Bothy Band'), and by successful pupils of rural teachers. On the other hand the very multitude of social genres caused partly by the emancipation of the musicians may dissolve the combined enthusiasm of large numbers of rural and urban traditional musicians. However, in the future social developments may make new or already existing meanings suitable for certain social groups; the next chapter will be written.

1). 'Unison'-condition (see p.25&62) means that the traditional musicians reject counterpoint. The tune should be rendered as a single melodic line. Only heterophony, caused by playing together, and certain forms of drone- or chordal accompaniment are accepted.

CHANGES OF ASPECTS OF MUSICAL STRUCTURE, AND RELATIONS WITH OTHER CHANGES.

In the previous paragraphs of this part I have concentrated on the origins and development of social genres of traditional dance-music, in relation to social developments. In the present paragraph some apparent changes of musical structure of musical components of the Genres will be considered.

The information about aspects of musical structure in the past is necessarily very incomplete. We have to rely on various collections, some of which have been analysed in appendix I of the present study. Transcriptions in staff notation, as are to be found within the collections, indicate aspects of musical structure in as far as they were considered to be important by the collector. Hence we have to relate these transcriptions to the musical background of the collectors. But these transcriptions were at the same time meant to be prescriptions for possible users of the collections. Hence we also have to relate these transcriptions to the aims of the collectors, and to the groups of users they had in mind while collecting.
The earliest recordings were made at the Feis ceoil in Dublin, 1900, on wax roles. Records of pipers were made in England and the USA during the 1920's.

Changes of invariable aspects (as presented in the conclusions of p. 71 ..) mainly have to do with the probabilities of formal structure. The most remarkable of these are the development of reels with widely spaced heads, and of reels with 16-bar parts. Since in the Feakle sample many reels with widely spaced heads have a 16-bar part structure (category C4) I assume that both developments are interrelated.
In relation to this it may be important that Petrie transcribed many jigs with an 8-bar part structure. Such jigs are absent in later collections. So there is a tendency towards wide spacing and towards internal repetition. O'Neill gives many reels with wide spaced heads, but these do not have an internal repetition. It may well be that O'Neill in this is hypercorrect; he may have regarded the 8-bar part structure as the only correct one, and standardized all reel-tunes. I remember at least one reel with widely spaced heads on the 1900 wax role. This reel, Woman of the house, played by Danny Delaney on the pipes, has a 16-bar part structure. 1)
In paragraph C of part II I have discussed Breathnach's opinion that the change in length of reel-parts is related to change in use. The stepdance, in this argument, caused the player to use an 8-bar part structure. I have expressed my doubts about this argument. I suppose

1) This tune belongs either to C2.1 or to C4. The ambiguity has to do with striking differences between tune and turn. Here we may have evidence that O'Neill's transcription (Dance music of Irela.. 665) is hypercorrect. See appendix I on O'Neill's.

the change in length was caused by the increase in tunes with a widely spaced head-structure. In both arguments, however, we have to do with purely musical logic of internal repetition as existed in the jigs. In other words, regardless of what provoked the change, the direction of the change resulted from the aim of the players to construct the musical 'harmony' of repetition. And this may be related to the increasing awareness of the players with regard to their art.1) However, this does not solve the question why reels with widely spaced heads developed. I suggest that this is due to the proportional decline of the amount of jigs, and hornpipes, in relation to reels (see the appendix). Many jigs, and nearly all hornpipes, have parts with widely spaced heads. When reels became more and more dominant in the musicians' repertoires, the proportion of tunes with widely spaced parts to other tunes stayed more or less the same. Again it is a matter of musical logic (albeit unconscious logic) in the mind of the players. This does not exclude other participants, however; these probably experienced these changes along the same line as the players.

This brings us immediately to an important change at the level of variable aspects of musical structure: the increasing importance of reels. This development is in keeping with the emancipation of the musicians. While stepdancers preferred jigs - since the steps of the jigs somewhat slower, hence easier to perform - the players preferred are since these are faster, hence more difficult. The stepdances went reels, during the 1930's, but the musicians improved their musical out of use the processes of emancipation, in which genres of listening skills during. The same argument may be applied to hornpipes: for the are prevalent. s are just slow reels; they do not give the opportunity players hornpip ill. Most players are very reluctant to play hornpipes, to show one's sk nly less skillful players like hornpipes. and argue that o

Other changes to be found in the field of instruments used. The use of free reed instruments started when people became more increasin riented, a d also spent less time studying music. These instrumurber e s became very p pular in specific genres, especially those of set dancing. Indeed at present the music of the accordion induces people to dance, while music of the fiddle does not. This is related to aspects of time and variation as discussed in part II (see pages 53, 57, 65-67).

1). In the Bulmer collection we find the principle of repetition in a very rigid form. This indicates that the musicians concerned, or perhaps the collector concerned, are (is) very aware of this principle. We may have to do with another case of hypercorrectness. This also shows the influence of the practice of using transcriptions as prescriptions. Each written part is automatically repeated.

So it seems that the main changes of aspects of musical structure were brought about by changes in the social genre - involving the emancipation of traditional musicians - and of availability (the ample availability of free reed instruments, and the low availability of free time to practice difficult instruments).
Influences of meaning seem less important: it is not clear if unsuitable meanings caused aspects of musical structure to change in order to be acceptable to new users. Indeed the only clear cases of such developments were the communication of tunes to urban middle class users before 1900; these collections offer piano arrangements. Thus the music was 'civilized' in order not to shock the new users. At the other hand even here the principle of availability was influential: the new users were pianists.

CONCLUSIONS TO THE PRESENT PART

Although we can only speculate about the origins of the first social genres of traditional dance-music, the subsequent history of various genres and the processes of communication between these are more easy to reconstruct. During this history some important meanings have been built up within the various genres. The most important will be listed here, and some variants will be indicated. These variants are related to varying social circumstances under which the genres existed.

Locality	local stagnation	-	longing for home
communication-between sexes	sinful behaviour	-	protection against worse socio-musical behaviour
traditionality-	obstructing social development	-	fostering the patriotic cause

To a certain extent these meanings led to acceptance or rejection of the music by particular groups. But more explicitly they led to acceptance or rejection of social genres (of patterns of use) rather than of musical genres. Although in the aspect of musical communication between genres, of borrowing, these meanings may play a role, the biggest credit for the development of the music and its genres can be given to the players and their music. The emancipation of the traditional musicians has been responsible both for changes of important aspects of musical structure, and of the fact that 'the same music' nowadays is used in so many different genres.
Although some changes of aspects of musical structure were due to availability of certain matters (instruments, players, time , halls) and to elements of meaning (the 'sophistication' of piano and free reed instruments), the most important can only be understood as results of

the work of a certain more purely musical logic. But this work was only possible because of this very emancipation of players. And this emancipation was propelled to a large extent by meanings like the above-mentioned, especially those of the cultural value of the tradition, and of the good quality of home in the imagination of those who have emigrated.

The emancipation resulted in co-operation of rural and urban musicians for various purposes. It is mainly this co-operation which has established the 'consensus community' of traditional musicians (p.71). Since traditional musicians of this community took part in many social genres, the music in many of those genres is recognized as basically the same. This sameness results from the presence of the invariables stated in part II, and from the applicability of important variables.

But the consensus has its limits. First of all the use in different genres is related to music with different variable aspects. Moreover, within the consensus community itself, between musicians, there is often a lot of tension with relation to choices in the field of these variables. These limits of the consensus, and their social background, will be illustrated in the next part.

The very specialization into different genres even may be seen to obstruct further emancipation, and cause fission within the consensus community. This is illustrated by the history of CCE and by the many urban genres, the music of which sometimes is hardly acceptable for musicians within other genres. Here together with changes in prevalent aspects of musical structure new meanings seem to develop. This specialization puts limits to the freedom of players to take part in all social genres of the traditional dance-music. This even happens in a small community like Feakle, as will also be illustrated.

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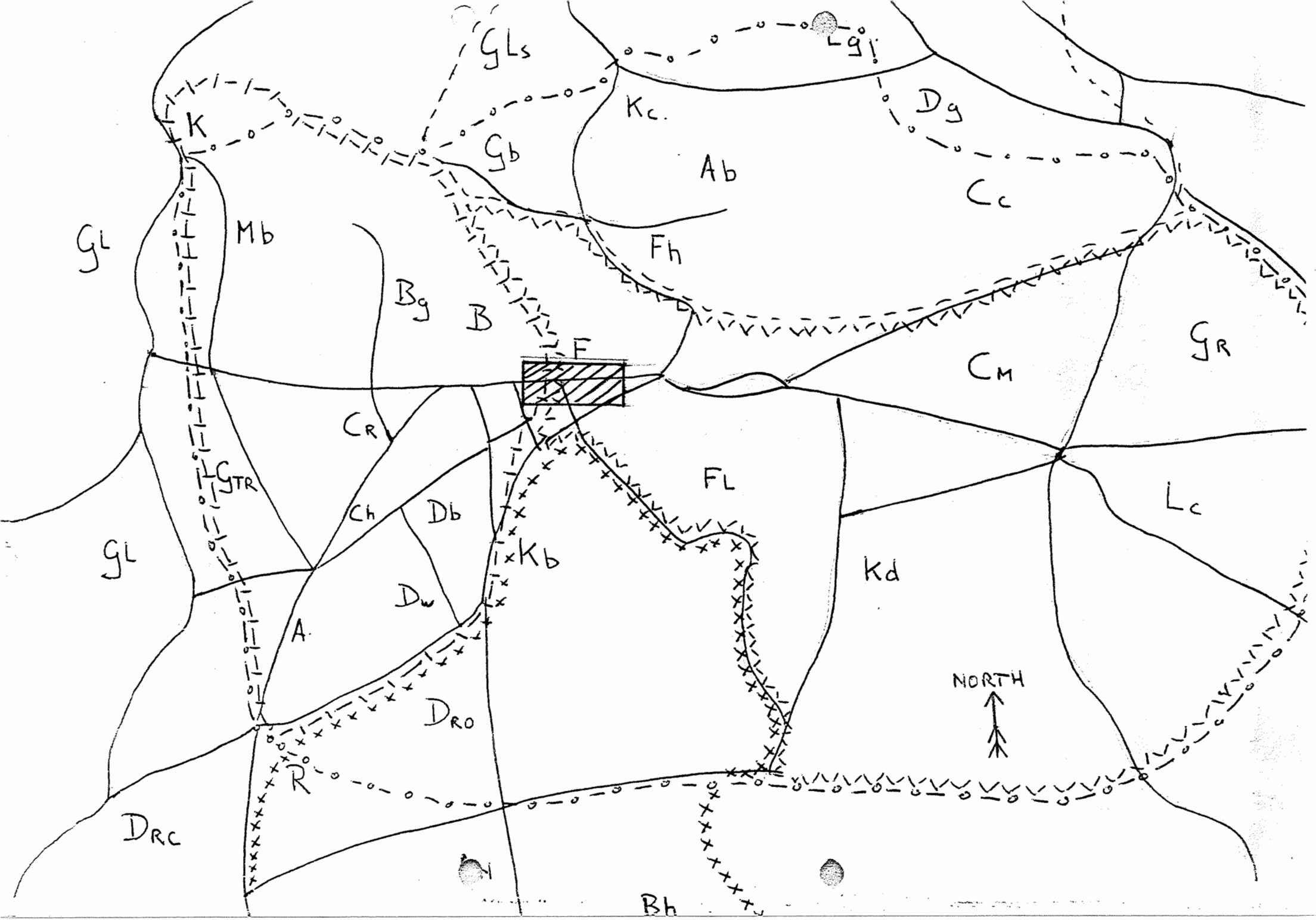
GLs
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Ch
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GL
Kb
Kd
Dw
A
NORTH
DRO
R
DRC
Bh

MAP SHOWING PARISH OF FEAKLE AND IMMEDIATE SURROUNDINGS (scale: ± 1 inch to 1 mile)

BOUNDARY OF THE PARISH —o—o—o—o—o—o—

BOUNDARY OF FEAKLE D.E.D. ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ ^

BOUNDARY OF AYLE D.E.D. '-'-'-'-'-'-'

BOUNDARY OF COOLREAGH D.E.D. xxxxxxxxxxxxx

BOUNDARY OF DERRYNAGITAGH D.E.D. - - - - - - -

PUBLIC ROADS ————————

TOWNLANDS: (not all have been indicated)

A = AYLE
Ab = AYLBAWN
An = ANNAGH (Bodyke)
B = BAURROE
Bg = BAURAGEGAWN
Bh = BALLYNAHINCH (Bodyke)
Cc = COORACLONE
Cm = CLASHMORE
Ch = CARHEEN
Cr = CURRAGH
Db = DERRYBEHEAGH
Dg = DERRYNAGITAGH (Killanena)
Drc= DRUMCHARLEY (Tulla)
Dro= DROMORE
Dw = DERRYWILLIN
F = FEAKLE
Fl = FEAKLE LOWER
Fh = FAIRHILL
Gb = GLENBONIVE
Gl = GLENDREE (Tulla)
Gls= GURTHALASSA (Killanena)
Gr = GURRANE or GAURRAN
Gtr= GORTEENREAGH
K = KEERAN
Kb = KILBARREN
Kc = KILCLARAN
Kd = KILDAVIN
Lc = LECCAROE
Lg = LEAGHURT
M = MAGHERA
Mb = MAGHERABAWN
R = ROSS (Bodyke)

PART IV: SOCIAL GENRES OF TRADITIONAL DANCE-MUSIC IN A VILLAGE IN EAST CLARE.

INTRODUCTION

In this part, social genres of traditional dance-music in Feakle, Co.Clare, will be discussed. Both the historical development and the present functioning of these genres will be given considerable attention, in relation to the social structure of Feakle and of Irish society at large. The historical development - which will be seen in the light of the conclusions of the previous part - and the present functioning of the various genres may furnish some answers to the question why specific aspects of the musical structure (which have been discussed in part II) are selected within these genres.
Special paragraphs will be devoted to the local musicians in and around the village, and their place within some of the genres. Attention will also be devoted to the position of the genres discussed vis-á-vis genres of other types of music, and to matters of musical 'taste.

The information presented in this part was gathered during fieldwork done during four months in summer 1975. Breandan Breathnach, whose knowledge about Irish traditional dance-music has been of great help to me, assisted in the selection of Feakle as basis for the work. Within east Clare Feakle, with the bordering townlands of other parishes, is the residence of a still quite large number of traditional musicians. Moreover, changes in the socio-economic structure of the region, and of society at large, gave rise to a number of different social genres of traditional dance-music.
The main technique of research used was participant observation. The summer season is a very busy one in the agricultural community, and so I had the opportunity to work on the land and gather information within the various groups of farmers and farm labourers. At night I visited pubs (the village has not less than eight pubs), which nowadays are a main centre both of social contact and of music. My wife collected data within circles in which I could less easily participate, especially those of women.
I also participated as a musician in a number of activities. Since some years I had, as a fiddler, been concentrating on the music with which we are concerned here. A high degree of musical participation by the fieldworker may well bias the socio-musical picture, and I had decided to limit this form of participation. However, insistent demands by the people, musicians and others alike, caused me to participate more than I had planned to. Causes and effects of this situation will be discussed occasionally within the following paragraphs. I often

experienced this situation as a handicap. On the other hand the musical participation turned out to be helpful both in establishing relationships with musicians and other participants in musical situations, and in understanding relevant aspects of musical structure, mainly in situations in which teaching was involved.
Other techniques used for data collection were interviewing and the study of sources of statistics available at various governmental institutes. Moreover, Mr. T.Harrington, who now is principal teacher at Feakle National School, together with his pupils was of invaluable help by organizing a complete census of population throughout all townlands of the parish, including sex, age, occupation, family composition and migration during the last five years. Such data are not readily available, and I am very thankful to Mr.Harrington and his class.

FEAKLE, PHYSICAL SETTING

Feakle is a rural parish, some 20 miles east of Ennis (the principal town of Co.Clare) and 20 miles north of Limerick (the biggest town near Feakle, with ±50.000 inhabitants). Some 25 miles southwest is Shannon Airport and Shannon industrial estate, built after the second world war. Pages 106 and 107 show a provisional map of the parish.
Neighbouring villages are:
Tulla, west and southwest of Feakle. Tulla has been the administrative centre of East Clare, and is still the residence of some social services within the area to which Feakle belongs (police station; social assistance office);
Bodyke, south and southeast of Feakle. Bodyke resembles Feakle in quite a number of aspects, but the village is much smaller, and during the last few decades it has gradually ceased to be a social centre like Feakle;
Scariff, together with Tuamgraney forming a parish east of Feakle; a rapidly growing village, the population of which as a whole is more well off than the Feakle inhabitants. In 1960 the regional importance of Scariff was strengthened by the setting up of a chipboard factory, which gives a good deal of employment to the whole area;
Killanena and Flagmount, north of Feakle on the east and west shores of Lough Graney, before 1839 were part of the large Feakle parish. From Killanena it is but 10 miles to Gort, the first major town in south Co.Galway. 'Upper Feakle' as Killanena is called occasionally, is a mountainous parish, somewhat more rustic than Feakle.
The nuclear village of Feakle lies on the slope of a ridge of hills, stretching east-west as the most southerly ridge of the mountain complex

sanctions from the part of landlords than their colleagues in west Clare (3). Whether this should be regarded as proof of courage or of different socio-economic relations between peasants and landlords, I don't know. It is possible that the proportion of tenants-at-will in east Clare was smaller than in the west. In this period the Irish language was in full decline. During the famine years 270 people died in Feakle, according to present inhabitants. This is a smaller proportion of the total population than the average for Ireland. But still some of the estates were in such a bad condition economically, that a few main landlords had to sell under the 1851 'encumbered estates'-act. Under the new owners and their agents (locally referred to as bailiffs) nearly all small farmers were evicted from the townlands of Baurroe, Bauragegawn and Lower Curragh, between 1850 and 1890. Some of the evictions were met with considerable resistance by the peasantry; one of the landlords is said to have been killed. When the land acts around the turn of the century enabled tenants to get the title of their holdings, these 'bailiffs' became proprietors of hundreds of acres of land. Although these processes had the biggest impact west and southwest of the village, they also took place east of the village, in the area of Leccaroe. Thus, new big landowners established themselves; and up to the present day members of their family belong to the main patrons within Feakle, in as far as patronage still exists. Farming in this period was the main source of income and subsistence to most people. But during the 19th century some shops and pubs appeared in the village and in some of the townlands. Usually these shopkeepers and publicans also held a considerable amount of land as well; and some of them became important patrons, like the big landowners.

During the second half of the 19th century the population of Feakle must have decreased enormously, for the first reliable census data, of 1911, present a gross population of less than 1600 for the whole parish 1). The remaining population became increasingly dependent on the nuclear village for services and social contacts. Around 1900 there were in the nuclear village three blacksmiths, three shoemakers, three 'nailors'(nailmakers), a few tailors and a cartwright; moreover there were some twelve pubs and a number of shops. Local social relations within each townland always had been very important, but this social structure began to fall apart. After 1920 most pubs and shops have vanished from the townlands, and the number of artisans and tradesmen is in full decline. The village had become the scene of the regular fair, and this also made it a social centre for the townlands.

1). Basic geographical unit within the official census is the electoral district (D.E.D.). Feakle parish consists of Ayle D.E.D., Feakle D.E.D. and parts of D.E.D.-s Coolreagh and Derinagitagh. See map and appendix II.

Up to the 1930's throughout the townlands and the whole parish mutual aid prevailed on the farms. Only the biggest proprietors relied to a large extent on hired labour. The smaller farmers exchanged labour with each other; sons and daughters of 'friends' co-operated on the farms of 'friends' in peak periods during the summer season.(4) The word 'friend' is applied to all with who one has relations of mutual obligations; quite often it seems to be synonymous with 'kin'. However, although kinship may have been an important factor involved in establishing relations of mutual aid, such relations were not absolutely restricted to relatives,

When emigration continued, this system of mutual aid became more and more restricted, and according to many it desintegrated in the late 1930's. Most of the sons and daughters left, and 'one man, one holding' not only became the prevalent form of a farming family, but also of the farmwork itself.

According to Brody (5) around 1930 a period of 'demoralization' started with regard to emigration. He writes: 'This emigration was new. For the first time in Irish history it did reflect a definite preference for another way of life. The peasant's determination to stay on the land seemed to have broken'. Indeed many young people wanted to leave as early as possible. For staying meant marrying late, if marrying at all, and living a life not by any means as luxurious as that of siblings and other relatives in the big cities of Britain and the USA. Local marriage was only possible for those sons who inherited quite a lot of land. Usually most siblings emigrated, while one son stayed on the land, hoping for a marriage when the old father finally handed over the farm. He married late, if he married at all. Even today, the rural population is characterized by relative lack of young adults, and by an over-representation of older (male) bachelors. Appendix II shows the changes in composition of the Feakle population.

The 'demoralization' of the 1930's however has one aspect not mentioned by Brody. Due to the economic crisis emigration of men was impossible for some years, since no jobs were available. This resulted in a relative increase in male population, especially in rural districts. For a few years agriculture became more labour-intensive, in order to give work to the additional hands. These years coincide with a British import boycott on Irish dry stock, which gave the Feakle farmers less opportunities to sell. In fact there was a temporary return to a form of subsistence farming, which is indicated in agricultural statistics of this period 1) (see appendix II). But in the same period the emigration of women continued. It seems likely that emigration of women was less dependent

1). There is a decline in dry stock and increase in grazing.

on the availability of crisis-hit jobs (unskilled factory labour). The very fact that young women were drained off from the local community caused to a large extent the demoralization. As I will indicate, this had far-reaching consequenses for local social dance-genres. When more jobs became available, the younger men left in large numbers; they fled from the local community. These developments hit the farm areas (Coolreagh and Ayle in the appendix) much stronger than the nuclear village.

Franklin writes that after the last world war peasants started to judge their income by comparing it to that of factory workers (6). Indeed the Irish peasants could easily compare their income with wages paid in Britain; moreover, they knew what other advantages emigration would bring them. Brody: 'That sense of relative deprivation emerged at the earliest just prior to the second world war'(7), and 'The farmer of today tends to locate his life by comparison with another way of life'. And if the farmer did not leave, he would have to try to realize his desires at home. The agricultural statistics show that while the amount of labour on farms decreased, production increased rapidly. Moreover, incomes were raised by various forms of social assistance. Farm technology improved, the main changes being the introduction of silage after 1950 and of tractors after 1960. Around 1970 mechanical milking parlours were introduced in Feakle. These developments, and the organization of the market for agricultural products, involved a good deal of governmental work. The land commission tries to sell land to selected farmers; the agricultural advisory service assists the farmers in developing new schemes. Bonuses, both from government and EEC, influenced production as well. In general the main profit of these developments goes to a group of stronger, enterprising farmers. In Feakle such farmers are concentrated mainly in some of the eastern townlands. These farmers devote all their time to a system of farming which in comparison to farming elsewhere in the area is quite capital-intensive.

The same development implied that many had to leave, or find other means of existence within the area. Large scale emigration from the parish continued until ± 1965. The lack of local opportunities, and lack of trust in local small farming, induced many to leave, especially young women since these are not involved in farm work. During an intensive study of migration motives, Hannan discovered that alongside scarcity of jobs, lack of 'community satisfaction' caused many to

leave. Hannan indicates that this lack of community satisfaction caused more girls to leave than boys(8). This may well have been the case in Feakle. Even at present younger women seem more eager to increase the quality of village life, since they are less easily satisfied with local life; and during the 1950's many girls left. Those people who did not leave from the small farm areas - or rather the less profitable farm areas - were mainly farmers' sons. These areas nowadays are characterized by a large proportion of older bachelors, especially the western townland of Magherabawn and those districts in Ayle and the south where holdings were small or the soil is bad. Most of these farms are stagnant, compared to those of the stronger farmers in the east. Some of these small farmers occasionally work for the big landowners in Baurroe and Bauragegawn, though this has been much more prevalent. Still, many of them regard these landowners as their main patrons.

When the Scariff chipboard factory during the 1960's needed more and more workers, some of the smaller farmers in Feakle area took up jobs in this factory. Franklin (9) has described patterns of farmwork which result from this double occupation of farmers. Most of these farmers have small farms; dry stock - which is not labour-intensive - prevails. Most of these worker-farmers have families.

The majority of households within the nuclear village rely on farming as well. Most of these are quite well-off, and indeed may be compared with the eastern farmers. Some own pubs or shops. At present there are eight pubs, three of which are run together with a shop; there are three separate shops as well. There are no more artisans in Feakle; but there are a few tradesmen, who are employed by building companies or by the county council. A few of the villagers work in Shannon, Limerick or Ennis, in factories or offices. A small number of teachers live in the village.

After 1965 the emigration rate decined rapidly. A number of causes are involved. Local income has been increased, either by off-farm employ - ment or by social assistance, and by increasing productivity of a number of farms. Moreover, tourism develops slowly but surely, giving income to those who run guest houses or otherwise cater for tourists. Recently tourist cottages have been built - an initiative of the tourist board in co-operation with Shannon Development Company - and a few years ago one of the shopkeeper-publican-farmers started a large hotel. A number of new houses were built for the increasing

amount of those who prefer to move from urban centres to rural areas while continuing their job in the city; this even resulted in an increase in population. Many villagers express their confidence in local life, especially the inhabitants of the nuclear village and the stronger farmers. As these Feakle inhabitants say, this confidence has been absent for many decades. Even the younger people like Feakle, although they regret the lack of facilities like cinemas .. For them however, Feakle and the wider area offers no future employment; the chipboard factory recently even contracted the number of jobs. However, employment opportunities in Britain have decreased as well since the 1960's (which may have been another cause of decreasing emigration), and in Dublin and other Irish towns prospects are dim.

SOCIAL GROUPS IN FEAKLE

In the previous paragraph the main social groups 1) within Feakle parish have been indicated already: the stronger farmers, the small farmers, the big landowners, the worker-farmers, women and younger people; besides, there are some non-farming entrepreneurs and a small number of people who can not be placed in these larger categories (teachers, workers, a clerk, a doctor, a priest). In relation to their socio-economic position the members of these social groups share certaim patterns of social behaviour and certain attitudes.

The stronger farmers may be characterized as family-oriented, most of them have children. These farmers aim at a relatively luxurious family life, based on farm economy. They devote much time to the farm and their family; they do not go out often. Moreover, most of them do not drink. Not drinking in Feakle means not taking part in the social interaction which goes on in pubs; in this way the stronger farmers establish a form of privacy. At the same time not drinking is equivalent with aiming at social mobility, at strengthening one's economic basis, especially the farm. This has both a physical aspect (avoiding expenses on drink and headaches in the morning) and a social one: not participating in the drink exchange circles in the pub indicates a feeling of personal responsibility for one's work, without reliance on friends. This attitude is often verbalized by stronger farmers.

As indicated, many strong farmers live in the east, while a number is found within the nuclear village and occasionally within other townlands.

The smaller farmers may be characterized as pub-oriented. Many of them, though not all, are bachelors who probably will stay single. They do not devote much time to farming, and if they do, they prefer traditional

1). With social groups I indicate local social categories.

methods of farming. They rarely rely on the agricultural advisory services. If possible, they go out every night, to visit one or a few pubs within the village. The publicans of the pubs they prefer most are single and very sociable (Lena, an unmarried woman, is by far the most popular publican for this group); moreover, these publicans have but a few relations with the stronger farmers, and the pubs of some of them are not frequented by younger people. In the case of Lena's, younger people do frequent the pub, but they prefer to go to the lounge while the small farmers stay in the bar most of the time.

Within the pubs a lot of discussion and drinking goes on. Small groups of two, three or four form drink exchange circles, in which each member in turn pays for the drinks. The number of drinks taken is high and in general every member of a circle drinks the same quantity as the others. These circles are established only for the duration of one night and in one pub; but there is a tendency for the same people to flock together in the same circles. As opposed to the group of strong farmers the small farmers value drink and drinking very highly. The more drink is taken, the more freely the men talk; one who does not drink is not trusted. This social drinking is part of an attitude of co-operation and not trying to make as much personal profit as possible. This attitude thus is completely opposed to that of the stronger farmers. In relation to this the stronger farmers tend to look down on the small farmers and their habits. Most small farmers live west and southwest of the village.

The big landowners do not frequent pubs, and most of them have families. Like the strong farmers they seem to have an attitude of stressing the socio-economic responsibility of the individual. However, their farming is much less efficient than that of the stronger farmers. In the past they have, as main employers, been the patrons of the small farmers and agricultural labourers, and they try to continue this position of status vis-á-vis the stronger farmers. The few main households of these landowners are found in the southwest, between the village and the area of the small farms.

The worker-farmers proportionally have more families than the small farmers. As such they are more family-oriented, which is expressed in the importance of off-farm employment as a means to raise the standard of living of the family. On the other hand they go out more often than the stronger farmers and many of them are no teetotallers. Indeed quite a number uses the money earned as beer-money.

The women usually stay at home; they do not take part very much in the farm work, but take care of house and family. As will be clear from the information given, proportionally more women than men belong to the

categories of stronger farmers and of worker-farmers, both married and unmarried (living with parents). To a large extent they share the prevailing attitudes of these social groups; in general their orientation is even more towards urban values than that of men. Women do not visit pubs but for very special occasions, once or twice a year. A few though visit regular dance-nights in the pubs, often accompanied by husbands or fathers. The younger people, like the women, predominantly belong to the groups of stronger farmers. Feakle has a large proportion of young children, most of which live in the nuclear village or in the east. Teenagers belong to the same groups. They are not, or hardly, allowed in pubs; their main social contact is with peers in the various sports, and in the youth club which recently has been established. Young people of the same sex and age form small groups, strolling through the village (girls) or standing, or sitting on walls (boys). Those who are around 20 like to visit Scariff or Ennis on weekend nights, in order to be away from local social control, and dance or go to cinemas.

Most local entrepreneurs (shopkeepers, publicans) have farms as well. Those with big farms tend qua attitude to the stronger farmers; however, in the case of publicans they have predominantly small farmers as customers. This sets them apart. Some have kinship- or other relations with the big landowners, which makes them more acceptable to small farmers than those who have close relations with strong farmers. As indicated, some Feakle inhabitants do not belong to the social groups discussed.

ORGANIZATIONS AND COALITIONS IN FEAKLE (12)

In the previous paragraph the various social groups in Feakle have been discussed; the attitudes of the members of these groups have been related to their socio-economic position. Although within these various groups a lot of interaction takes place, these groups do not act as bodies. Rather, members of a group tend to foster their personal interest by means of coalition with other members of their social group and with people outside that group, who may expect to benefit from such a coalition. In Feakle, such coalitions tend to embrace members from distinct social groups as long as the personal interests of these members do not conflict.

These coalitions do not necessarily act as official organizations; rather do they tend to use existing organizational labels or bodies to foster their interest. The activities of the coalition may as a whole be seen as an attempt to realize the goal of the coalition. In Feakle

these goals are both material benefits and social status. But a certain amount of energy is devoted to strengthening the coalitions; such activities are not immediately directed towards the abovementioned goals. Although to a large extent personal interests of coalition-members are at stake, the activities concerned are presented in Feakle as being for the benefit of the Feakle population as a whole.
Although the object of this study is not to analyse the various Feakle coalitions, with their strategies and aims, in detail, I will present a general picture of the coalitions, and focus on some activities, since these are important in relation to social genres of traditional dance-music.

In 1966 the Irish Countrywomen Organization Feakle organized a meeting in order to found a Feakle Development Organization. This organization would aim at increasing tourism within the Feakle area. Guesthouses would have to be organized, lakes would have to be brought in suitable condition for fishing, and places of interest would have to be presented to tourists. The whole community would benefit.
Although at the first meeting all important parishioners were present, for the committee only members of the ICA (which had its stronghold among strong farmer's wifes) and of the social group of strong farmers were selected. The big landowners, with their allies within the village, did not take part, and for this they had two reasons. The first was, that they saw the new organization as an attempt of the stronger farmers to challenge the big landowners' position as main patrons of the village. They did not want to co-operate with those people which for decades had been their inferiors. But with this position of patronage, the very honour of these big landowners was at stake. The strong farmers wanted to advertise the area to tourists as 'Merriman Country', in honour of the local poet Brian Merriman (18th century). Merriman is said to have written a satire on landlords' agents in Feakle. Although this poem never has been published and nobody could or wanted to recite it, it was assumed that the poem was aimed at the forefathers of the big landowners (although I assume that the present family of big landowners started to act as 'bailiffs' only after 1850). Some decades ago the Merriman-affair had caused quarrels within the parish, and now the subject was taken up again.
The opposing party, the big landowners, did not wait long before striking back. Merriman's 'Midnight court' was recited at a public meeting. This poem is, by the quite puritanical Irish, considered to be pornographic. This meeting became the scene of accusations, through which the land-

owners tried to isolate the Feakle Development Organization from the rest of the community. However, the FDO continued to strengthen the coalition, and raised funds with the help of 'socials', dances in which many participated. Their opponents sent a protest to the national government; but since this was a Fianna Fail-government, it protected the FDO, which to a large extent was loyal to Fianna Fail party; its opponents however were supporters of Fine Gael, the opposition party. So far the big landowners were at a loss.
The picture changed when a young priest returned to Feakle, after studying sociology and community development in Britain. This priest, who was employed by Shannon Development Company, started a new Feakle development organization. His aim was to organize the whole community in order to strengthen community life and to counteract the consequences of decades of emigration. In the new organization, a branch of the national Muintir na Tire ('people of the land', a voluntary organization) he organized both the FDO members and their opponents. This resulted in new quarrels about Merriman, since the FDO group wanted to advertise fund raising festivals as 'Merriman festival'. Hardly a year after its foundation, Muintir desintegrated. But together with the young priest, the big landowners continued the work of Muintir; the main aim was to establish a community centre. This move gave a lot of credit to both priest and big landowners. Meanwhile FDO continued the tourist schemes; in summer 1968 a Merriman plaque was unveiled, attached to the cemetery wall (after having been protected through the night by armed men). These activities caused their opponents to decide to take over the tourist policy. But to be able to do this, they had to gain powerful political influence.
The local doctor then stood as a candidate for Fianna Fail during the Dail(parliament)elections in 1969. This was a brilliant strategy. The family of the doctor - which is by ties of marriage related to the big landowners - always had been loyal to Fine Gael. Fianna Fail however is much more popular within the districts where the doctor stood as candidate. Moreover, the small farmers voted for the popular doctor. Hence he was elected TD (member of parliament) and as such he was in a very good position to help his coalition. With the help of the Tourist Board a number of tourist cottages were constructed, the profit of which partly went to the big landowners; they acted as supervisor and sold the necessary land to Board Failte, the Tourist Board. Other sites of touristical interest were acquired and developed by

this coalition. The local hotel, which is managed by the vice-chairman of the local Muintir branch, was built with the help of Board Failte as well. People in Feakle suppose that the doctor has at least partly been responsible for attracting the necessary loans and grants. The doctor himself does not outright deny that he has assisted.
Muintir built up even more credit by constructing sixteen houses, who were sold for very low prices to people who wanted to settle down in the parish. This was a matter of pride to nearly all villagers.
These successes pushed FDO back into a defensive position.
A new attempt to reunite the opposing coalitions a few years ago again ended in a failure. Through the EEC funds had been made available for local development. A meeting was called by the young priest to decide how to use these funds. The meeting however ended in bitter arguments between FDO and Muintir members.
Recently attempts were made from outside the two organizations to engage members from both parties in community activities like children's sports. These have been rather successful, and at present the conflict has disappeared beneath the level of public community activities. However, it seems to me that new conflicts may arise in the future, as long as matters have not been settled openly.

Both FDO and Muintir still are engaged in specific activities. These are to a large extent musical, and as such they will be discussed in further paragraphs. FDO organizes a yearly festival, the Feis Merriman, in which competitions in the performance of traditional music and dance figure. Muintir organizes another yearly festival, the Feakle Marquee, which is a series of dance nights; music is played by ceili bands or showbands. This is a fund raising festival, in order to pay off the debt on the community centre.

Some other organizations, which have not been touched upon in this discussion, are worth mentioning. The most important organization, in which all parishioners take part, is the roman catholic church. All who are able to attend mass on Sunday. During mass, women are seated at the left hand side (as seen from the church gate), men at the right hand side. But since women are more concerned with religious matters than men, they tend to sit more close to the priest. This results in a diagonal division between men and women. Some men even stand in the church hall or just outside the door, talking softly among each other. This behaviour is often criticized, most insistently by women. Most of these men are small farmers, and after mass they flock to the pubs, while others return home with their families.

Another local organization is GAA, which in Feakle is nearly synonymous to a hurling organization. Hurling is very popular in East Clare, and all or nearly all boys and young men take part in it. Recently teenage girls have established a camogie club organized under GAA. A badminton club also has been established by local younger people.
The youth club congregates one night a week, under supervision of the local clergy. Their main activities are dancing, listening to music, playing games and discussing various subjects.
The two political parties mentioned have officials on the parish level.
Among the farmers two occupational organizations are important, the Irish Farmers Organization - which rallies support among the stronger farmers - and the Irish Creamery Milk Suppliers Association, which appeals more to the smaller farmers. One of the big landowners has for years occupied a prominent position within the latter association; this emphasizes his position as patron of the small farmers.

A SHORT HISTORY OF SOCIAL GENRES OF TRADITIONAL DANCE-MUSIC IN THE FEAKLE AREA

1. Before the independence

'Some time around the middle of the 19th century three travelling ladies visited Feakle. They may have come from England; they travelled around playing music at the big houses and teaching music and dances. In Feakle they met Paddy Mac, and they taught him how to play the 'fiddle'. Some of the older Feakle people, those who are interested in what their parents told about the years when they were young, quote this story to indicate when and how Feakle started to be a 'home of traditional music'. Paddy Mac not only became an allround musician, but he was a teacher as well. Still, two generations after Paddy., the fiddle is played by many in the Feakle area, and its art is held in high esteem.
We may be sure that there was music and dance in Feakle before the visit of the three ladies. As we have seen, the area was densely populated at the time of the famine. As in other places in the west of Ireland, traditional music was developed into a both quantitatively and qualitatively important culture, I suppose; and like in other places in Clare, dance-music formed the lion's share of this culture.
Yet the story nicely illustrates a few of the topics which have not yet been clarified within the general social history of traditional music in Ireland. Did this music originate locally, or was it brought from elswhere, perhaps from Dublin or Britain? Was the musical activity

restricted to the peasantry or did the whole community participate? What was the relation between the music of the big house and that of the tenants on the village green?

A fact is that 'blind' Paddy Mac played the uileann pipes as well. The pipes had been a gentleman's instrument for a long period. The local gentry even presented Paddy with a set of pipes, which may have been found in one of the big houses after the famine; for new sets were hard to come by.

According to the present musicians Paddy played jigs and reels, and some polkas and marches. These he played at a variety of dances: after the harvest, at crossroads, in the houses in winter, at special celebrations, and at weddings. Although Paddy was a famous musician, respected because of his art by landlords and peasants, his music was dance-music and it was used as dance-music, within these various social genres. Listening was not seen as independent aspect of musical activity.

At harvests farmers' sons and daughters co-operated on the farms of 'friends'. Evenings were a time of merry-making, and especially when the last load was brought to the 'harvest home', a special harvest home dance would be danced (mutual aid has been described on page 112).

In the summer young people danced in the village green. In fact Feakle village had two village greens, while some more 'greens' were found in the townlands. These were at the crossroads, and young people would come from various directions at Sundays, and dance together. Later on special platforms were built, on which the dancers could dance. Hence the names crossroad or platform dances.

While in summer the farm work was very intensive, in winter there was more time for visiting each other's houses. One night after another the people of one neighbourhood would visit various houses, and if the house had a big barn, there would be a dance. Such houses were called country houses. Storytelling and cardplaying were other activities within these houses.

On St. Stephen's day, the 26th of December, the young men would go out 'to hunt the wren'. A wren had to be caught and tied to a bush. This bush then was carried through the neighbourhood (often the wren had disappeared) by the boys, in fancy dress, singing:

> The wren, the wren, the king of all birds,
> St. Stephen's day he was caught in the furze.
> Altho' he was little, his family was great;
> rise up, my lady, and give us a treat.
> Up with the kettle and down with the pan;
> give us some money and we will be gone.

but they did not go away from any house before dancing through all rooms, accompanied by one or two musicians. The money received would be enough

to buy 'half a barrel of stout', which would be consumed at another dance the same night. The half a barrel of stout - occasionally multiplied - appeared at every dance; without it there would be no dance, except perhaps for the crossroad dance. The barrels had to be bought in Limerick, which involved a few hours' trip in a horsecart.
At weddings of course the dance lasted until deep in the night, and it took more than a few barrels to slake the thirst of the guests; for there were many, both invited and uninvited.

The main dances were stepdances and sets. Dancing masters taught sets (quadrille sets) in Feakle in the middle of last century; in later years aspiring dancers learnt the local set by imitation. Steps were experienced as more difficult, but a skillful stepdancer was quite popular. Hence the occasional visiting dancing master who passed by was welcome (see about dancing masters pages 81, 82 and 85).
In a way it is quite surprising that 'the steps' were experienced as more difficult than the sets. For the sets involved a whole series of movements with names like 'wheeling', 'chaining', 'sliding through' etc., and this all by two or four couples who danced in turn. According to some of the older people there have been two different sets: the plain set, which still can be seen in West Clare, and the reel set, which was both longer and more difficult.
The plain set was originally danced to quadrille tunes 'in jigtime'. These disappeared gradually, and were replaced by special plain set jigs (see p. 21), tunes in the style of single jigs. But the figures could be danced to reels as well (which in a later period became more popular). The usual sequence of the figures was jigs-jigs-jigs-reels, with a polka, hornpipe or Schottische as finish.
The reel set usually was danced to four groups of reels and finished by a highland fling. Sometimes jigs were played to one of the figures. Although some people insist on a separation between these sets, it may be the case that both were variants, local variants of the same set which still is danced in the west. Jigs could be replaced by reels, which makes it difficult to separate the types musically (and I never saw a complete performance of both by any dancer in Feakle); moreover, both went out of fashion at the same time in the same districts. But that brings us to a later period, which will be discussed under the next heading.
Paddy Mac played both fiddle and pipes. Not many play the pipes in east Clare, but the fiddle is popular; and Paddy was famous as a teacher. He taught various pupils in his house in Killanena, just northwest of Feakle. He used to call out loud the names of the notes

to his pupils; but he did not read music since he was blind. Paddy Mac died in one of the early years of the present century. Some of his main pupils were famous fiddlers. Indeed a fiddler was seen as a bit higher than the ordinary musician around 1900. Many people around that time played a few tunes on a concertina or melodeon. These instruments could be bought cheaply, in shops in Scariff or Tulla. In every house there would be a concertina, and one or two people able to play. But it was a honour and a reason for exitement to have one of Paddy Mac's pupils play at a dance.

I do not know whether collectors in the 19th century travelled to Feakle. But in or shortly before 1910 Francis O'Neill, the famous Chicago piper and collector, visited Feakle and listened to local musicians. O'Neill himself refers to this occasion in his introduction to Dance music of Ireland, and some of the old people in Feakle remember him listening to Johnny Allen and other musicians (11).

Johnny Allen was Paddy Mac's most famous pupil. He died in the 1950's or early 1960's as a local legend. He must have been a very proud, shy and peculiar fiddler, and it is possible that his pride resulted from or was increased by O'Neill's interest in his music. His style of fiddling was very soft and very 'sweet' (an expression only used in relation to fiddling), and people would 'creep up the ditch' around a house if Allen played somewhere at night. Though he usually was asked to play for dances, people loved to listen to his music; but he was shy, as if he was afraid that people would not recognize the value of his art (Indeed I found a similar attitude by many musicians). So at this time listening was already important.

The other famous pupils of Paddy Mac, Pat Canny and Pat Moloney, played less sweetly than Johnny Allen. Pat Cannie, who lived near Magherabawn and Paddy Mac's house, just outside the border of Feakle parish, often played for dances. He died around 1940, after having taught fiddling and fluteplaying to a number of pupils. He did not use printed scores (Allen did) but used the same method as his teacher. Pat Moloney, who after his marriage moved from Magherabawn to Feakle village and became a cartwright, hardly played in public after his marriage. He died at a very old age in 1969.

Although these musicians knew that their music was respected in Dublin and Chicago, they entirely confined themselves to local social genres. Here also their prestige was high. There is no mention of priestly action against music or dances before the 1920's in the area, but the continuing emigration must have affected the quality of community life and of the dances considerably. The townlands became increasingly dependent on the nuclear village; and especially from

the mountainous area in the west, where musical life flowered, many left. Both Pat Moloney and Johnny Allen moved to the east, within the parish of Feakle; many others left the parish and the country.
The urban revival of the 1900's however did not pass by completely unnoticed by the parish. A strong branch of GAA was established; and whenever local hurling matches were played platforms would be used for dances. Sports and dances were held at one of the village greens.
When the troubles started after 1916, most local genres came temporarily to an end. People did not visit each other at night, and platforms were burned. But these genres were revived again when the first troubled years of independence were over.

2. The atrophy of local genres after 1920

While after the troubles the local genres were revived again, some trends caused the local genres to atrophy, and in the end to vanish almost. The most important trend was that of the continuous emigration; but during the 1930's, when emigration was very difficult, the very orientation to urban life resulted in contempt for local genres. This orientation, which in itself is a side-aspect of the emigration, may have manifested itself even stronger when emigration was obstructed.
Contempt for local genres was also expressed by the clergy, which had a strong influence on at least a part of the local population.
Specific harvest dances, like the dance associated with the bringing home of the last load, disappeared when co-operative harvesting became both less usual and less of a young people's affair. As indicated, the work was done co-operatively by farmer's sons and daughters; and these tended to migrate more and more at an early age. But even those who did not leave were less involved in co-operation. The system of mutual aid in Feakle collapsed finally around 1940. Still, a number of farmers (usually small farmers) co-operate occasionally. This is completely a male affair, and no dance or other festivity takes place 1).
At every wedding there would be a dance. But the number of weddings declined enormously. Those weddings which were celebrated locally in general involved less people and less dance.
The crossroad dances were resumed in the 1920's. Indeed there were some eight or ten favourite crossroads in and around the parish. During the 1930's this local genre disappeared completely. Informants gave several reasons for this development.
Very important was the attitude of the local priests. During the 1930's crossroad dances were banned publicly from the pulipit. In other near-

1). Present forms of co-operation involve both exchange of labour and of money. One or two farmers, who possess expensive machinery, may assist smaller farmers, and in this way oblige them to work for them.

by parishes priests attacked dancers and musicians on the platforms. One can imagine that under these circumstances it took a lot of courage to continue these public dances. Most notably girls started to stay away. Due to this and to the continuing decline of the number of younger people dancers had to be recruited from ever wider areas. This however did not happen, and the dances came to an end before 1940. One exception must be made for platform dances at sports manifestations. These continued through later decades; but at present these have become obsolete as well1).

Dances in country houses gradually vanished as well. Here again a changing attitude of priests, younger people and women was involved; these are partly related to emigration and the related change in orientation. Especially the role of younger women is interesting. The topic of scarcity of women is an ever returning one in discussions with former participants in these dances. In order to attract more women and girls, only men paid whenever an entrance fee was involved (to meet the costs of drink, food etc.). Those houses where a family lived which included some daughters were favoured as country houses or as houses 'where you could dance a few sets'. A standard expression when a dance from this period is described is:'there were so, or so many girls present', the number of girls being presented as a suitable measure for the success of that dance.

In part III mention has been made of the importance of these dances as opportunities for communication between persons of opposite sex. To a certain extent this meaning of the genre may have been experienced as a direct meaning of the music comcerned. A fact is that women of previous generations held the music in high esteem because of its function for the neighbourhood, no less than men. Women often induced their children to learn to play an instrument; in this they seem to have been even more insistent than men. Many women played a concertina. But around 1930 the attitude of younger women changed. They increasingly looked down on the dances in houses; these were 'for children and old people', but for young people they were not sophisticated enough. And it seems that this attitude indeed was less frequent among young men than among women. Of the generation born around 1920 ten male musicians still live in around Feakle; but as far as I know no women of that generation ever became known locally as a musician.

While the young women may already have preferred the bright lights of the city above the local entertainment, the priests increased their disregard for local dances. For the priests these dances in houses,

1). Even today some crossroads are favourite sunday meeting places for older people.

with the plentiful amount of drink, taken not only by men at that time, and the courting of young people, were a most sinful activity. The parish priest of this period did what he could to bring the dances to an end: he sermoned, appeared at dances threatening the participants and later on organized sanctioned dances under his immediate supervision. I suppose it was not the aim of this father to bring the bright lights to Feakle; but if the women already had their personal reasons to stay away from dances, he nearly forced them to break away from these genres. According to the Feakle people women always were more eager to follow the priest's advice than men; probably the teachings of the church suited the women's aims of decent, proper and modern behaviour. Anyway, the house dances atrophied not only because of emigration of girls, but of negative attitudes of women towards this genre as well. This became clear in the short history of the dances in the Feakle market house. This market house was a small building used at fairs. It was, however, not a private building, and the young people of the parish started to use it for dance nights during the 1920's and 1930's. Although it was a young people's affair, it was not objected to.
In this period Feakle village had a more favourable male/female ratio than the outer townlands (see appendix II), and it seems that this ha to do with a quite large proportion of younger women. Most participants came from the village and from the eastern townlands, both dancers and musicians. This genre may even be seen as the result of young people's breaking away from local house dances - which in the east of the parish vanished early. But this particular priest whom we met before forbade all young people to take part, around 1935. The next weeks many girls did not come, which caused the genre to collapse. In later years the market house was only used incidentally for special socials ('social dances'. They will be mentioned later on).
A development specific for the 1930's was the gamble dance. As indicated on pages 112 and 113 , during the crisis men were forced to stay on the land. In the townlands, the male/female ratio increased. In these years big dances were held, attracting musicians and dancers from all around, in search for girls and merrymaking. These dances lasted all nights, during which several barrels were emptied. Since many men could not dance for want of women, they played cards. The price would be 'a turkey or something'. At these dances several musicians played, and even they competed for women by trying to excel. Several stories are told about good musicians being given too much drink by lesser players, who in the end were able to court favourite girls.
In 1935 and 1936 some laws were enacted forbidding the various house

dances. Only licensed halls were allowed when entrance fees were involved; and licenses were only made available when toilets, emergency exits etc. were constructed, and when no drink would be taken. According to many, these license acts were the result of collaboration between clergy and government.

It would not be fair, however, to ascribe the vanishing of house dances and the popularity of halls to these acts only. I already indicated several other causes of the change. Moreover, hall dances started to be popular soon after 1930, while house dances in some townlands continued until ± 1960, with occasional raids by police officers.

The market house dances may be seen as an early sign of the popularity of halls. The phenomenon of dance halls was known to most, either from personal experience in urban centres or from stories of relatives abroad. When the parish priest started to organize dances in 'halls' these became immediately popular. While in a number of parishes a parochial hall was built, dances in Feakle were held in Kilclaren school, under the supervision of the priest. Entrance fees were collected and used for parochial purposes - although some say that the main purpose was improvement of the priest's residence. Shortly afterwards commercial halls were established in various places in the area. In 1928 such a hall was built in Killanena.

At first the only music used in these various local halls was traditional dance-music. Most local musicians played occasionally for such dances, two or three at a time. Many young people and married couples took part, a majority of whom came from the village or the eastern districts. These genres were sanctioned by the priest; moreover, they were experienced as more urban and more sophisticated than the house dances. Alcoholic drink was not available at these dances (except for a few drinks for the players).

Up to this point the changes may be seen as propelled by meanings which can not be abstracted from the social genres. The fact that the same traditional music was used in the halls indicates that the stigma of immorality, or of local stagnation and lack of sophistication, clung more to the genre of house dances as a whole than to the music. A more detailed study however may indicate that the music and dance itself were at stake as well.

The use of traditional music in the hall genres was to a large extent the result of availability. Local traditional musicians were the only players available; indeed there was no choice. The alternative of using records never was used in halls. But when other halls, e.g. a hall

in nearby Scariff, made ballroom dances available in the 1930's, many young people preferred these dances and disregarded the dances to traditional music in the village school and market house. The older people however did not like these new dances. Here a combination of music and dance was selected, because of its associated meaning (urban sophistication versus locality), rather than a social genre. When this development continued local socio-musical situations in which traditional dance-music was used became more and more scarce. Another indication that not only social genres, but indeed music and dance itself were at stake is formed by changes of structural aspects of music and dance.

As to the dance movements, the main changes were the disappearance of stepdances, and the substitution of the old sets by the present East Clare set. An additional change was the vanishing of polkas , hornpipes, and schottisches and highland flings, and the growing importance of waltzes at occasions of dance.
The steps may be seen as a very skillful personal performance. As such they ask for the admiration of other people present. This admiration was clearly there at the dances in houses, where stepdances were performed more or less alternating with sets. In the halls nobody wanted to look. This may indicate that stepdancing was associated with excelling as an individual within the small local community 1).
The old sets were also very intricate, and in the houses four couples would dance while others watched and waited their turn. The older people danced first, and the younger had to wait. In the halls nobody wanted to wait; everybody wanted to dance at the same time. Also the interest in skillful performance of difficult movements vanished. Here the same element, the structure of the small local community, may have been involved. Indeed all these changes started at the dances in the market house and at the very big gamble dances, which attracted people from a wide area. They were resisted very long in townlands where the structure of the small community still prevailed, like in Ayle up to the 1950's. But finally the change entered the houses everywhere.
The new east Clare set is basically one of the figures of the older reel set. It will be described in the paragraph about pubsessions (p. 139). In the local halls, a special dance leader would indicate various dance circles on the floor, in order to allow many people to dance at the same time. The new practice involved the vanishing of polkas , hornpipes, schottisches and highland flings (the tunes of which have a hornpipe structure). Waltzes, which had entered the local genres late

1). Traditional (individual) singing disappeared at the same time from the area. More or less the same reasons may have been involved.

in the 19th century, became very popular since the 1930's. These dances isolate the couples completely with regard to the other couples: the dancers do not depend on a group. Like the other changes discussed, this is a change towards anonymity, towards losing contact with the community which disintegrates. And also like the other changes it is a change towards less excellence, less virtuosity.
If this rather limited analysis of changes in dance movements bears some truth, we have to do with changes caused by the meaning of locality. In other words, the dances became suitable for new situations by structurally restricting those elements which had too much to do with locality, with the local community. The later change towards ballroom dances may indicate that these restrictions had no sufficient results for a part of the younger population.

As to the music, there were related changes. Some have to do with the changes in sets and the vanishing of stepdances. While polkas , hornpipes, schottisches and flings were dropped as tunes, reels increasingly dominated, together with waltzes. The increase in the amount of reels played is partly related to the vanishing of stepdances, for which more jigs than reels were used. The sets could be danced to jigs as well as to reels; indeed many dancers of the new East Clare set prefer reels since jigs, with their higher metronome pulse, make the dance very exhausting. As I discussed in part III, we may have to do with a preference of the musicians for reels, which give them more musical satisfaction and enable them to show their skills.(see page 101).
For while there were many dancers, there were a small number of musicians, who played at the various dances. Competition between these musicians prevailed; they were both eager to play and afraid that their skills would be valued less than those of their colleagues.
In halls, a small group of musicians played together, usually three. These played the fiddle or the concertina, and occasionally the melodeon or the flute. Traditional dance tunes may be performed by any number of players, and the need for more volume simply was met by playing with more together. At the same time many players experience this playing together as an escape from competition. While some regret this - since they can no longer show their skills - others feel relaxed. Indeed most musicians share both attitudes.
Playing together even became a necessary condition to get people to dance. A single instrument was not enough , except for the accordion , which after 1940 became the main instrument for dancing. This was a matter of availability as well as of meaning. Personal elements (which may be highly regarded within a player's own neighbourhood) are less audible in group playing as well as in the playing of the accordion. Soon

the accordion ousted the less sophisticated melodeon, and to a large extent also the very popular concertina. The fiddle still was regarded as an instrument of higher rank, like the pipes. These gradually retreated from the genres of dancing; they were listened to occasionally. Music of the accordion became the audible sign of genres of dance.

When the house dances disappeared (except for a few townlands, see page 133 ff) and local hall dances became less frequent, the local musicians were deprived of local 'employment'. Of the older generation, which counted numerous players, many stopped playing in the 1940's.1). The younger generation counted much less players, another indication of the dwindling popularity of the music. Those who played, however, often did not give up; they were young and devoted to the music. These players were heavily influenced by the first signs of the revival, and they have been very active in it. Indeed of the present musicians in and around Feakle most belong to this generation, which was born around 1920.

3. The revival

During the 1930's Ballynahinch, a townland of Bodyke parish, just south of Feakle, became the scene of regular sessions of traditional musicians. Some young players had grown up here, while others arrived when the old Ballynahinch Estate was divided up by the land commission among suitable candidates; most of these came from Magherabawn and Drumcharley. Dances were frequent in the local houses, but when the tradition of dance declined, the local musicians did not give up. Two pipers have been very influential within this Ballynahinch group: Sean Reid, who migrated from Donegal to Ennis in 1937, and Leo Rowsome who made a number of visits to Tulla and Ennis in the 1940's 2). The fact that these two were traditional musicians with an urban background impressed the local players. They played with Leo Rowsome at various socials in the area; these socials included concerts, a sign that at this time genres of listening to traditional dance-music had reached the area. The result of these meetings and sessions was the foundation of a Ballynahinch ceili band in 1943, which included pipes, fiddles, a flute and a concertina. When musicians from other townlands became increasingly interested, a switch in personnel took place, and the band was changed from a session group into a fully equiped ceili band, the Tulla ceili band. This group included an accordion, three fiddles, drums and a flute when it was founded in or around 1945.

1). I collected names of some 30 players who were born ± 1900 and died before the field work.

2). In previous decades other pipers had travelled through the area, the most famous being Johnny Doran, teacher of the late Willie Clancy. In Ballynahinch Johnny Doran taught Martin Rochford.

Many local musicians have at one stage of their life played with the band; famous players from a wider area took part, like the accordionists Paddy O'Brien and Joe Cooley. Indeed Ballynahinch is crossed by the main road from Tipperary through Tulla to Ennis; as such it seemed to be predestined to become the birth place of such a group.
The Tulla band gained immediate local fame after broadcasts in 1946 and 1948. At the eve of the fleadh era the band played at important feises (see p.95). Main delegates of the early revival in Dublin came to the area, including Ciaran MacMathuna, who had started his radio program in 1948. At several sessions in a hotel in Tulla he recorded players from the area. The broadcasts of these sessions increased the local respect for the traditional musicians enormously: 'People would leave the bog at five o'clock in summer to listen to the wireless'. The confidence of the players increased simultaneously. Most of them visited the early fleadhs in Ennis and other places in Clare, where they met players from all around the county and indeed the country. This made them more conscious than ever both of the cultural value attributed to their skills and of the competitive element involved in the playing of dance-tunes in this period.
In the mid-fifties Bill LoughNane, who as a young fiddler had played in the market house and later on experienced the early revival during his studies in Dublin, returned to Feakle to settle as a doctor. His status did much for the cause of the music, and at many occasions he invited other players to forget their pride or shyness and play along with him. He is very good in the field of public relations (hence he is a TD at present) and organized worldwide trips with the Tulla ceili band.
But although the music thus gained an increasing local popularity, times had changed. Local social genres had disapeared, as discussed under the previous heading. For several reasons dances were unsuitable, as long as young people were not interested and the shortage of women continued. Activities within village and townlands declined. The only dances held in the village were the big dance on St.Stephen's night (the successor of the former wren-dance) and an occasional fund raising social (a social is a dance where an entrance fee is legalized since tea and scones are offered. Although there is no licence involved, these activities are accepted by the police). In the formerly musical townlands of Magherabawn in the west and Leccaroe-Gurrane in the east the dances had disappeared; in the former mainly because of absolute lack of young people, in the latter since such dances were considered to be primitive and uncivilized.
Hence people resorted to the radio. Although traditional music was

becoming popular again, it did not so in local genres but for a few exceptions. One of the exceptions were regular radio programs of traditional music. As indicated, these were quite popular among the Feakle people. Or at least among a part of them, for many of the young people still were not interested. Listening to radio or records may be seen as a social genre of the music concerned in itself, with a few remarkable features: the musicians are not present and there is no group of users but only a few. The prevalent use is listening. Records were even occasionally used for dancing in the kitchen.

There were, during the 1950's and 1960's, however a few more remarkable exceptions to the lack of local social genres. Within the parish of Feakle these exceptions were to be found in the townlands of Ayle and Kilbarren, and some of the neighbouring districts. Here dances were not restricted to an odd party or wedding.

Up to ± 1956 quite a number of big families lived in Ayle, with many children; among those a fair proportion of girls. The soil in this area is not bad, but the farms were small in relation to the size of the families which depended on them. Mutual aid continued until deep in the 1950's. The townlands of Ayle (Feakle parish), Drumcharley and Ross (Tulla parish) in those days still had a social life of their own, in which the nuclear villages were not as important as for other townlands 1). These social conditions influenced local social genres. Within the neighbourhood traditional forms of entertainment were highly favoured; indeed they were patronized by a few of the parents. There were regular dances of the young people in the various houses; the older people taught the old plain set to the young. There were a number of young musicians. Vincent Griffin, who grew up in Ayle in this period, remembers how these used to play together at the dances, and even were asked for dances elsewhere for want of local players. The social structure of Ayle tragically collapsed when within a few years most of the young people left, either together with their parental families, or in small groups of peers. Moreover, some died. This put an end to the traditional genres.

(Although changes in population are partly reflected in the figures for Ayle DED in appendix II, the picture is biased through the inclusion of Magherabawn and a few smaller townlands. Magherabawn lost most of its younger people in the late 1930's and 1940's).

In some of the townlands south of the village, together forming Coolreagh DED within the census, a surprising increase in population took place in the early 1960's. Here, especially in Kilbarren, fiddlers

1). At present Drumcharley still organizes its own sports and socials

were trained in the 1950's and played at parties in the 1960's. In the late 1960's this came to an end.
(The census figures of Coolreagh DED indicate how demoralization involves the departure of women which in later periods causes the departure of men. This causes a pendulum movement of the male/female ratio, which however becomes increasingly unfavourable).

Around 1970 finally new local genres of traditional dance-music came to life. These genres, which will be discussed within the next paragraph, are: pub sessions, both dance sessions (usually regular) and other sessions; lessons, both of music and stepdance; and competitions of music and stepdance. Other genres, like the socials, continued. Although the revival was to a large extent responsible for these new genres, it was but a necessary condition; it took other changes to start local genres. Among these changes the reverse in emigration was very important, together with the increasing local welfare. These trends caused a growing self-confidence of the local population. The stronger farmers especially were convinced that local life and local values were not at all inferior to urban culture. Small farmers and other social groups were glad that the stigma of older social genres seemed to be removed. The various social groups within the village shaped and selected the social genres according to their own attitudes. These processes, and the resulting genres, will be discussed presently.

PRESENT GENRES OF TRADITIONAL DANCE-MUSIC IN FEAKLE

1. Sessions in pubs: listening

For many years musicians occasionally played in pubs. Ciaran MacMathuna selected a hotel in Tulla (hotels in this area act as first rank pubs) for the sessions of traditional music which he recorded for his radio program. Within this same hotel the first regular pub sessions within the area started. This happened around 1966, when Vincent Griffin, who just had returned from London, advised the manager to ask musicians to come and play. Such sessions were very popular within the Irish communities in Britain, in which Vincent had participated for several years (see page 96).
The first sessions coincided with regional fleadhs, and were very succesful. The manager, discovering that not only visitors, but local people as well, were interested, decided to start sessions on a weekly basis. Very soon this led to a pub revival of dancing the east Clare set and waltzes, and listening was pushed to the background. Hence some local musicians decided to play on other nights, when no dances were

involved. Similar sessions started in Feakle, even before the regular dance-nights in pubs had started.

Not all pubs seem to be suitable. In general those pubs are selected which do not consist of one room, but have two more or less separated parts. In some pubs these two parts are even separated completely, thus forming a bar and a lounge. In Feakle only one pub is of the last type; three others have a less definite kind of separation between two parts which are both served from one counter.

What distinguishes these pubs from others is not just the physical shape, but the fact that the 'privacy' offered by this shape attracts young people, even women. In general married women do not visit pubs but on dance-nights or on Sunday afternoon; if they go at all they visit the pubs which are also selected by the musicians. Unmarried young women occasionally visit these pubs; usually they come from other villages and are courted by local lads 1). No woman visits a pub without male accompaniment. Thus, the musicians select those pubs which may be visited by young people and women. I have the impression that the musicians hope that young people and women like their music; indeed the lack of interest from exactly these social groups caused earlier genres to disappear! The other pubs in the village are only visited by men, usually by small farmers. Although many of these men like traditional music, musicians never play in these pubs. The players associate their music with young people and women, and hope that these are present in particular pubs.

A problem is that especially younger men - who form a considerable proportion of the custom of the pubs concerned - usually are not terribly interested in the music. They like to talk among each other, and hardly pay attention to the player. Often they play darts (three of the four pubs concerned have dart boards, and none of the others), and they say that the music obstructs concentration in this game. Since often music from a cassette recorder or television set can be heard in these pubs, I conclude that it is either the particular music played or the personal element involved which causes the reaction of the dart players. Often either the dart players or the musicians leave for another pub. As a result, the audience usually consists of older smaller farmers; these - and most prominently the bachelors - form the hard core of the custom of most pubs . During the last few years this situation has become more prominent, and musicians tend to stay away from the pubs, or at least they play less. Still, they are often asked to by other

1). Generally the Feakle boys court girls from elsewhere. They prefer a certain degree of anonymity. I suppose Feakle girls are courted by boys from elsewhere; but girls do not want to be seen courted locally. In the past local courting was more frequent, and indeed the rule.

people present; and although they tend to refuse, they will play after much persuasion if they brought their instruments with them. In general the playing does not go on the whole evening, but there are exceptions to this rule. Quite often there are more players than one present, and they will play alternately, or occasionally together.

Those who are present and are interested participate in several ways. Some tap their foot together with the player. Others hum or sing softly along with the tune. Yelling, which is often done at dances, occurs occasionally, usually to encourage the player when he plays fast time; but most players play slowly for listeners (see p.22). The participants show their esteem with various standard statements like 'mind yourself' or 'good men yourself', 'lovely Martin '(if Martin is the player's name). Moreover, the music is accepted as valuable alternative for drink in the drink exchange circle. I have discussed (p.116)how the customers (usually small farmers) maintain small circles of drink exchange during the night. The player gets occasional free drink from members of these circles. The publican has to show his esteem as well by giving one or two free drinks; those who don't are blamed by the players. Altogether alcoholic drink is very important in relation to music 1); and to give a drink to a musician is seen as an important token of appraisal.

The instruments played on these nights are usually fiddles. Occasionally Martin Rochford will bring his pipes or play the tinwhistle. The concertina is heard as well. The accordion is thought of as being too loud for such occasions; its music is not 'sweet'. Especially the fiddlers often play 'sweet' at such occasions. This means that they play softly, deliberately, clearly, and with certain elements which in western art music would be called espressivo, like small changes in dynamics, particular stresses, and rhythmical patterns like occasional groups of four notes within one jig-beat. The beats (symbolized by the foot tap) are not sounded continuously strong. Subtle variations, especially rolls, prevail (see p.54) 2).

Nearly all tunes played are reels, with a few jigs. Occasionally a hornpipe or a slow air is played. As opposed to other places in the west of Ireland there is no singing on these occasions. Singing is rare

1).This dates back to the house dances. Here the player had free drinks as well. Even in the halls, where no drink was allowed, the player was given a few drinks.

2).While 'sweet' indicates a certain style, this style is most easily realized on the fiddle. Some younger people will call any fiddling which they like 'sweet' regardless of the style. According to older people this is a mistake.

in pubs, and indeed in east Clare in general.
Quite often two or more players participate. When a new tune must be chosen for the group, one of the players starts with a 'tune'-proposal as described on page 25: he softly plays the notes disregarding the time aspect. This proposal may be accepted; if not, another tune is proposed. Even if one player is present he may play the tune this way before starting. This occurs less often on dance-nights, where the players have a kind of standard program.
Although there is a certain amount of tension between all traditional musicians (according to some players traditional musicians are the most jealous people in Ireland) those who play the same night usually accept each other reasonably well. I often had the impression that they needed each other as an audience and as supporter, vis-á-vis the other people present. They always fear that their music will not be valued, and take chatting during performances as contempt of the player's skill. In this way the player's pride is hurt continuously, since many come to the pub to talk. Players often comment on this 'ignorance'.

When I did my first months of fieldwork, I was often asked to play. These demands were made so insistently, by musicians and others alike, that I did not dare to refuse. It took some time before I learnt to refuse in the same way as the players often do. Indeed I was to some extent patronized by the musicians, who made me play to show to others that their music was honoured by university students from abroad. And since I played rather badly they could play after me, to show me and the others present what traditional music should be like. In this way I caused a major distortion of the situation. First of all there was much more music played than usual during that particular period. Another disadvantage was that I was presented so clearly as one interested in this music that it took me rather long to get honest information about the tastes and attitudes of the people present, especially of the younger dart players. Since the revivals, it is a kind of superficial ideology to love 'Irish music' or 'traditional music', and it takes time to find out whether this attitude is basically sincere or not.

Some social elements associated with this genre will be found again in the next. Very important are: the high value of women and young people, and the association with drink.

2. Sessions in pubs: dancing

As indicated under the previous heading, this genre resulted from incidental pub sessions of the kind popular in Irish communities in

Britain. The local popularity of Irish traditional dance-music, caused by the revival, could be exploited by strong publicans, since people had more money to spend, and their self-confidence was increased. Indeed it took a bit of self-confidence to revive this dancing. Both house and hall dances were brought to an end when younger people and women did not participate any more. Those who were most eager to participate when the dancing was revived were the older bachelors with a small farm background; those who in the past had been the last to give up. But women and young people still are a minority at the pub dances.

The pub dances may be seen as a revival both of house dances and hall dances. As in the houses, there is plenty of drink, and only a part of the people present is actually dancing. As in the halls, the east Clare set is danced, alternating with sets of waltzes; and all who think there is enough space for them to dance join the dance.

In Feakle the first regular dance-nights were started in the pub of Lena Hanrahan. Shortly before 1970 the fund raising festivals of the (at that time still complete) Muintir-group involved a lot of traditional music; both as ceili dances in a large tent and played and danced to informally in the street. Especially the informal part of these festivities put high demands on the capacities of the local pubs; and Lena decided to start a regular dance-night, both in order to give her custom what they wanted and to make some money. For this she had to enlarge the lounge considerably.

At present the dance-night in Lena's is the only regular one in Feakle; it is held every Thursday. No entrance fees are required (indeed the licence act does not allow this); the large number of customers guarantees the publican a reasonable profit from sales only. The two musicians are paid ± £3.00 a night each.

The musicians start off the night with a few reels, while nobody dances. Usually a few people start to dance as soon as the first waltzes are played. When four or five couples are on the floor the first set will be danced. Meanwhile a large number of people does not dance. There are many more men than women present; most of the men only dance once or twice a night. They have to ask a women to dance, for the duration of one set. When they do not dance, they sit or stand near the counter if they are single, drinking and talking. Married men who accompany their wives and daughters to the dance sit at small tables if they do not dance; after the dance the women will sit here as well. Often quite a number of young men are present; according to

age they can not yet be called bachelors (they are ± 20 years of age). These young men stand at the counter as well; they only dance very incidentally. They argue that they don't know these dances very well; some say that they do not like these dances. To me their attitude seems to be related to the prevalence of courting outside the village, away from watchful eyes of parents and other villagers; at these dance-nights hardly any girl from outside the parish and its neighbouring townlands are present. In a sense the meaning of 'locality' is too strong for them. As a rule any woman may be asked to dance by any man, and she is not expected to refuse. After one set, however, she has to sit down again if she does not want the man to establish any more personal relationships with her. Although the number of women present is quite small, women seem eager to dance while most men are shy; often two women will start the first dance.

As indicated, the dances are East Clare sets - danced to jigs or reels - or sets of waltzes. The east Clare set as a rule starts with a circle of eight or ten people holding hands; men and women alternate in this circle, and in fact the circle consists of four or five couples. During the first eight bars of the tune there are no steps officially; everybody stands and listens. Some men however make a series of battering steps and shout, when spirits are high. During the next eight bars the circle-line moves twice to the centre and back. Immediately the circle is broken up in couples, which parade, often with a skipping step, anti-clockwise during eight bars; during the last few of these they start turning. This turning then continues for the rest of the tune or tunes, as long as they are repeated, with steps resembling the Dutch polka steps. Some couples interject some parade steps as well. It is up to the musicians to decide how long to continue; they may repeat the tune quite a number of times or start on a new tune after playing the first one twice (or thrice), without any stop. It does not matter if the tunes have an 8-bar or 16-bar structure, nor if they have two or more parts. The total number of bars played is usually 80, 96 or 112, occasionally less or more. The whole procedure is then repeated two times, again starting with the circle, by the same dancers 1). Such a cycle, consisting of three'figures', is called the set. During one set only tunes from one category are played, either reels or jigs. Since the reel sets are somewhat slower than jig sets, they are less exhausting, but also less enervating. Usually only one or two jig sets are danced during one night, and five to eight reel sets.

1). In other sets, like the plain set, the Caledonian and the South Galway set, all figures are different, taking an exact number of bars. This causes the players to break off a tune occasionally before the end.

These sets are alternated with sets of 'old time waltzes', the tunes of which are grouped exactly in the same way: three groups of waltz tunes involving internal repetitions. Here the couples start individually, and although they move around more or less anti-clockwise again there are more couples on the floor, which causes quite a jam occasionally. Many people take part in these waltz sets even if they do not participate in the sets of reels or jigs; the waltzes are less tiring, which suits older people. Another element involved in my opinion is the higher degree of individuality. The circle of the east Clare set presents a group, while the waltz never features a larger unit than the couple. This element of individuality in the waltz is felt by many as more suitable. The group is no longer felt as a natural unit in the community. This is why it takes a waltz set to start off the dancing. Occasionally when the musicians play the first reel set after this waltz set, the couples on the floor feel not yet prepared to form a group; and then the reel set starts without a circle. In that case the couples simply wait until it is time to start the parade steps. The first circle is then established at the beginning of the second figure. After a few sets the musicians stop playing for ± 10 minutes; they get free drinks from many around, including the publican.

At Lena's Matty Ryan and Jack MacDonald play, the present accordionist and drummer of the Tulla ceili band. Matty plays a button accordion, while Jack plays a side drum, base drum, wood block, bell and cymbal. The base drum makes the foot tap audible; other instruments are selected for every eight bars (again without regard to the structure of the tune). Jack cues the end of a figure by beating the wood block loudly two times just before the final lift.(see p.35).
The tempi are considerably higher than at listening sessions. Matty uses strong long notes in several tune heads, which causes some dancers to shout and make battering steps. He has a standard repertoire for these nights, which resembles that of the Tulla ceili band (although his personal repertoire is much larger). He indicates the first tune of a figure simply by sounding the first few notes. Jack then starts off by two beats on the wood block.
On regular nights the musicians show neither pride nor shyness. However, when on special occasions other musicians are present, all players put considerable pressure on each other to play a tune, and they become much more shy vis-á-vis the audience. Often a fiddler then joins in with the accordionist and drummer. Formerly the piano was used occasionally by emigrants who return for holidays; but at present it is very much

out of tune.

A short time ago another Feakle publican tried to set up a weekly dance-night as well. His pub has been enlarged and modernized recently. He contracted very good players (Vincent Griffin and Martin Connolly, fiddle and accordion). But it was no success. Gary Peppers, the publican, blamed the floor and the particular (Friday)night for the failure. The main cause of the failure however was a different one. While Lena Hanrahan is associated with the patrons of the small farmers, Gary Peppers late father was a prominent leader within the coalition of strong eastern farmers (p.115/8). Most coalition members do not visit pubs; but since Pepper's has a very strategic place at a crossroad many people stop to have a drink when they pass by. But in order to make the dance-night successful, Gary would have had to attract small farmers from the area. For others would not be interested: strong farmers do not visit pubs, so they do not go to pub dances; and the social genre still has a strong meaning of locality, hence people are hardly attracted from further away. The local small farmers did not give up their loyalty to Lena's; moreover they did not feel at ease in Gary's place. This may also be caused by the fact that Gary is a young man who recently married a girl from another area, while Lena is a local, unmarried woman. (see p.116).
At the nights of the Marquee however (the fund raising dance-festival of the remnants of the Muintir group) Gary Pepper organized ad hoc dance nights in the hours before the marqee started. These Marquee nights, which are hardly confined to traditional music, attract many people from all around, who want to visit pubs before they go dancing. Since these were Friday nights - and Sunday nights - Gary revived his dance-night for the weeks of the Marquee, without risking open competition with Lena's Thursday nights.

Although the accordion is the main instrument of dance-nights, other instruments are used as well. In Killanena a banjoist and fluteplayer furnishes music. In Tulla one of the dance sessions centres around a fiddler and a tinwhistler; this however is a minor session. These two musicians are not paid , but with a few drinks; they only play for one hour on a Sunday night. In the big Tulla hotel, where the regional sessions started, miscellaneous groups played for the first dances. During a year music was played here by a concertina, whistle or flute and fiddle. This group however was replaced by an accordion with drums. In Mountshannon in the northeast the sessions are led by an

accordionist and a fiddler. In general the accordionists are very popular, not least because they usually are young men, thus showing the vitality of the music to the dancers. Important musical qualities of accordion-playing in the area are the combination of fast time (p. 22) and variation and emphasis by bass notes. Many dancers react to these devices with shouting and battering. While the pubgenres involve small and worker-farmers other genres involve other groups. One of these is teaching.

3. Teaching traditional music

While at present teaching may be seen as an independent social genre, this was not so in the past. Often a system of formal teaching was absent; at an early age children tried to sound any instrument present in the house. After a while they would try to learn tunes which they heard at dances. At dances musicians would swap tunes, thus enlarging their repertoires. Elements of formal teaching may be discovered in these processes of learning, but they are not at all indepent from the various other social genres. Since the days of Paddy Mac however, fiddle teaching was a remarkable exception. As we have seen, names of notes were used in this teaching. Around 1900 concertina-players taught young children with the help of numbering the keys (buttons).
During the present century, when printed scores became available, teachers from urban centres settled down in the area. They taught aspiring musicians basic elements of staff notation. Many of the present Feakle fiddlers had one or two lessons from Paddie Powell, who taught in Feakle and Tulla from ± 1925 to ± 1945.
Some musicians taught their children personally. In the Feakle area Paddy Canny was taught by his father Pat. At present P.Joe Hayes teaches his son Martin. All forms of teaching died away during the 1940's and 1950's. The few young people who grew up locally were not interested in becoming traditional musicians.
When the revival continued, and more children grew up in Feakle in the late 1960's, there was a renewed interest in teaching traditional music. Parents with young children, usually belonging to the strong farmers' groups and other reasonably well off people, indeed were very interested in this musical education. Traditional music had been emphasized as culturally valuable by organizations like CCE; and young parents thought of this music and of the musical education as a useful pastime activity for their children. This education might counteract the increasing appeal of foreign social genres of youth culture, which by these social groups are seen as a threat to morality. This is related to the prevailing attitudes of these social groups towards social change, which is seen as threatening the basis of their existence,

the individual gainful efforts within the 'traditional' farming.
Teaching in Feakle was made possible through Shannon Development company. This company had been involved with community development (p.119) in Feakle and was associated with the remnants of the Muintir group. In 1971 this company asked Vincent Griffin, who did some teaching in Scariff for the vocational school committee, to start a class in Feakle, and in some other parishes as well. He was the only one willing to do so; he could make time available and was able to read printed scores. Lessons were to be given every Friday night in the village school. Children from many families were sent to the first lessons. Although Vincent only plays the fiddle, pupils started on all sorts of instruments, especially tinwhistles and accordions. The preference for tinwhistles has to do with the price: if the children would not be interested or were not talented, no great financial harm would have been done. Both whistles and accordions were seen as instruments easy to play. Concertinas were very difficult to come by, and the fiddle was seen as too difficult. The number of pupils, amounting to 40 in the early period, soon started to decrease. Especially older pupils were not interested; a number of younger ones were held back from the lessons by their parents, since the musical results did not respond to their expectations. To understand this, we must have a closer look at the teaching. First, however, some information about the immediate users during the field-work.

At the time of the fieldwork, the average age of the 13 regular Feakle pupils was 13. This is quite high compared with other classes which started more recently, like the Flagmount class. This class started in 1975, and the average age of the 31 pupils questioned by me was 11. Of the Feakle pupils 9 were boys, 4 were girls. This is also very different in Flagmount: 10 boys and 21 girls. Boys seem to be more interested than girls. When the Scariff class was discontinued in 1974 for want of interest, five boys joined the Feakle class. Although in both classes older pupils tend to come because of their own preference as opposed to younger ones, 8 Feakle pupils were sent by parents while 5 made their own choice. In Flagmount 12 were sent and 19 made their own choice. This may indicate that although children are the main participants within the genre of teaching, parents are very much concerned. Most of these parents do not play any traditional music themselves. The teacher cultivates relationships with parents of possible future children, especially with the mothers; he tries to continue these relationships during the years in which the pupils are being taught. This reflects the interest of mothers in educating the children.

Instruments taught are the tinwhistle (6 pupils in Feakle), button-accordion (4) and fiddle (3). The teacher teaches new pupils the relation between printed notes and finger-positions on the instrument. In this he ignores c-c sharp and f-f sharp oppositions. Tinwhistlers in his classes always play c sharp and f sharp; accordionists play f sharp and c natural. Occasionally Vincent teaches them how to play a c sharp. Fiddlers use a finger-position somewhere between the two pitches on d- and a-strings (see p.25 and 27). Time elements in printed scores are largely ignored.

After a few lessons the pupils have to learn a small air, which they copy from books. Often their writing indicates only pitches; key accidentals, barlines and indications of time value are disregarded or distorted. The next week the pupils have to play this air. Usually the teacher is satisfied when the 'tune'-elements are in his opinion rendered correctly. Variation is not practiced and never heard.

There is a strong emphasis on band playing. Every class is a band; when every pupil has played his weekly tune individually, all have to play together. Specific 'band tunes' are selected for this. According to some of the parents 'it sounded horrible', which is caused by the specific approach of 'tune' described above, which results in clashes between c's and c sharps 1), and by the neglect of time elements. This reaction of the parents is partly related to their lack of experience within local social genres (in which such clashes of intonation seem to be rather unimportant). In former times Vincent's system of teaching - which is hardly different from that of Paddy Mac but for the use of printed scores and of many different kinds of instruments - would have been sufficient. The young players would have been used to the music of the local dances, and they would have incorporated all time-elements which are important. At present its results are hardly appropriate in the ears of many of the parents involved. In relation to this, many complain that Vincent did not yet turn out many 'champions' (winners at regional youth competitions). Others however rely on Vincent, since he himself is a champion. Of course the issue of availability is involved as well, in this case the availability of teaching.

Although many pupils practice at home quite regularly, they can not participate in any genre but the local and regional competitions 2). This is also true for the pupils of the stepdance-classes.

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1). Moreover, many whistles are used with widely varying 'bottom d's'. Some of these also require a different system of fingering, which the teacher does not teach.

2). Shannon Development ltd. however started the lessons with the aim to educate local talent for nights in 'music houses', shows for both villagers and tourists. This plan seems to have a long way to go yet.

4. Teaching stepdances.

While in former times young people learned sets at dances, either by imitation or by special practice-dances (the 'fourpenny hop' before older people started to dance), learning stepdances always happened within independent genres. Even when stepdances had disappeared from the house and hall dances, children were sent to teachers of stepdance. One of these teachers was Maire Moloney from Whitegate, who taught both fiddling and stepdancing in the area, between 1930 and 1950.
In 1974 a teacher of stepdances was asked to give weekly lessons in the Feakle community centre 1). Nearly all girls of the parish who are between 6 and 12 years of age participate, together with 10 boys. Most parents see stepdancing as something in which the boys are not interested; boys prefer hurling. In former times however, stepdancing seems to have been largely a men's activity although many women participated (10).
As with the pupils of the music class, the pupils of this class are only active in the class, at home and at competitions. The teacher, Kathleen Burke (from Co.Galway), organizes regular competitions in which pupils from her various classes in the area participate.

In 1973, the local branch of CCE had started lessons in set dancing for teenagers. This was not successful. Causes of the failure may have been a conflict between the youth club and CCE officials, which will be discussed, and the general lack of interest of young people in traditional dances.

5. The local competitions.

Once year, on a few days in summer, a local festival is held in Feakle, involving competitions in stepdancing and performing traditional music. This festival, called Feis Merriman, is one of the activities of the Feakle Development Organization. This organization has for many years been interested in traditional music, in relation to their Merriman policy. When in 1968 the Merriman plaque was unveiled (see p.119) 'Merriman summer school' was held in Scariff, involving lectures and recitations. The participants visited Feakle when the monument was unveiled; the same day dances were held on a platform. Both local and other musicians had been invited.
FDO continued to stress the cultural importance of traditional music. In 1971 they organized the first Merriman feis, which was a major attraction for the parish and the surrounding areas.

1). This initiative was taken by a Feakle woman who has a very strategic position: she is involved in Muintir and in FDO, and acts as supervisor of the community centre.

Competitions are held for various instruments and various age groups. Although especially during the first years a number of 'established' local musicians took part in the competitions, most competitors are children of different age groups from all over the east and central parts of Clare. While in the music competitions in 1975 some forty players took part, only two of these were adults, and established local musicians. Parents however are quite involved in the competitions; they decide if their child will compete or not. This takes quite a lot of deliberation; the qualities of other possible competitors are taken into account. Most children participate in order to win; parents seem to benefit even more from successful entries than the competitors themselves.

It will be no surprise that there is a strong relation between the genres of teaching and the competitions. During the last few weeks before the feis the pupils concentrate on their feis programs. The various age group competitions require different combinations of dance-tunes. Jigs have to be played most frequently, followed by reels and hornpipes. Elements of time and variation vary strongly in music played at the competitions. This is related to the various teachers who are involved in the preparation of the pupils. These work in various areas in Clare; some of them are very famous. While a number of Vincent's pupils competed, most were not successful. This is related to the neglect of time-elements in his lessons (see p.144). The senior competitions involve slow airs as well. Although these tunes are highly valued in the area (as indeed in the revival as a whole) there is no local tradition of air-playing, and only Vincent Griffin and Bill LoughNane have in the past won prizes as local competitors in the slow air competition.

Competitions are held for various instruments: tinwhistle, accordion and piano-accordion, fiddle and 'miscellaneous'. In the last category players of all instruments can participate, including flute- and concertina-players.

Recently a competition for 'junior ceili bands' has been introduced; class bands take part in this category.

The feis attracts visitors from many places, since it takes place in the holiday season. The biggest part of this audience however consists of parents with their children, the possible competitors.

While the most important meanings involved seem to be those of the high values of traditional arts, other meanings (communication between the sexes, locality, association with drink) are not completely redundant in relation to this social genre. At night, many people

converge on the pubs (especially Lena's) and drink. Some of the younger participants who have been successful at the competitions are allowed in the pub this night, and together with other musicians they play. A dance is not possible since the floor is packed with people. Later the same night a large dance is held in the community centre, where music is played by the Tulla ceili band.

6. Socials, hall dances, marquees.

Even in those years when local social genres were at a low ebb, once or twice a year a social would be held, in the old school or in the market house. These socials were dances, sometimes organized together with small concerts; officially no entrance fee has to be paid , but a small sum for tea and scones. Alcoholic drink is not available. These socials are used to raise funds, for parochial purposes, the hurling club, the local committee of one of the political parties or organizations like FDO. Dancers are not confined to the social groups of smaller farmers. This may have to do with the absence of drink.
At the socials of the 1960's small groups of musicians played, mostly local ones. Occasionally Vincent Griffin was asked to organize a group. Vincent often played together with people from other places in east Clare, who were of his own age; four or five of these would play at a social. Any combination of instrumentalists could be present; usually there were one or two fiddles, a concertina and a flute or an accordion.
At present GAA and CCE still organize occasional socials.
The present community centre has a licence for dances (in fact whenever a dance is organized, a permit has to be asked, which is invariably granted by the authorities in Ennis). When large dances take place, like at the feis day or St.Stephen's night, a ceili band is asked to play - usually the Tulla ceili band, which is tremendously popular - and an entrance fee of ±£0.60 is required. While at socials the participants in general are not very young, quite a number of young people participate in these hall dances, with a minimum age of ± 15. The whole parish may be said to be present at these occasions, but for young children, and for those who can not leave their houses. Dancing is much more energetic than on other occasions.
The same energy is displayed at the ceili nights of the Feakle Marquee, a fund raising festival, consisting of dance-nights in the marquee, a large tent placed temporarily on the hurling field. The first marquees, organized by the large Muintir-FDO group during their short period of collaboration in the late sixties, involved many forms of entertainment including concerts, ceili dances, sports, drama, and fancy competitions

like sheaf throwing, fancy dress parades and slow bicycle races. When this group fell apart, the activities contracted because of want of personnel. At present the marquee consists of a series of dances on Friday- and Sunday nights during three or four weeks. Only two of the dances are ceili dances, since the other dances (pop and country and western) attract large numbers of young people from many miles around. The ceili nights - at which music is played by bands like the Tulla or the Kilfenora - are less popular among the younger people, although a number of local youth come to the dance. These young people, as in the halls, prefer the waltzes above the sets of reels and jigs. However, in halls and in the marquee, the Siege of Ennis is universally popular. The Siege of Ennis is danced to jigs or polkas like an energetic country dance, by a number of groups of eight people facing each other in two rows of four. During eight bars the rows move twice towards each other and back again; during the next eight bars couples of people who face each other whirl around. The lines of four alternate men and women - each man has asked the woman at his right hand to dance - but every man or woman whirls around with a woman or man from the opposing line. After these eight bars the original row of four is immediately formed anew, now facing another group of four. During the whole Siege of Ennis these lines move to the end of the floor; when they reach the end they turn around and start to move in the opposite direction. One may see that several elements of the east Clare set are involved; main differences are the change in whirling partners and the replacement of circles and circular movements by straight lines. I wonder why this dance is so popular among young and old (even showbands are requested to play a few of these dances per night when they play in Feakle) while most young people do not participate in the East Clare set. (See for a description of the east Clare set p.139.) The ceili bands often have a singer, who sings songs in waltztime. Some ceili bands play 'quicksteps' which are used only by the young with various forms of pop dances.

Although only soft drinks are sold within the hall or the marquee, most dancers will only come after having spent a few hours in the pub. Only those from the group of stronger farmers, and the more well to do inhabitants of the nuclear village, will come straight to the dance.

7. CCE-activities.

In 1972 a local branch of Comhaltas Ceoltoiri Eireann was established in Feakle. Most members are involved in the Merriman Feis committee as

well. Vincent Griffin has been chairman until shortly after the fieldwork. Martin Rochford from Bodyke, and Micheal McKee, one of the older local pupils, are the other musicians who participate. These musicians form only a minority of the total membership of ± 15 people.
This organization wants to develop some local genres which involve morally valuable pastime activities for local people. Most members are afraid that social genres of foreign and urban youth culture will settle in the parish, and traditional music is seen as one of the remedies, if it is used in suitable social genres. Although neither the teaching nor the feis is an official CCE activity the local committee is very much involved in both; official CCE activities have been concerts and an occasional dance. Moreover, the branch is involved in incidental musical activities outside the parish, like the Fleadh Nua (a 'show'fleadh without competitions) which takes place once a year in Ennis. While plans to establish a music house have not been worked out completely, CCE started regular sessions as show for tourists and local people shortly after the fieldwork, in the local hotel.
Concerts have been held a few times after 1950. During the first marquees of the large Muintir group Bill LoughNane organized 'Doctor Bill's concerts' in which musical friends of his from all over Clare and South Galway played. After 1970 these concerts took place in winter, often together with socials.
Vincent Griffin organized a big CCE concert in the community centre, a few months before the fieldwork. The chairman of the county board of CCE presented this concert, at which many artists played. A conflict took place between this CCE official and a core of the Feakle youth club. The official warned the youth several times because they were not quiet. The young people objected to the official's arguments, which in turn caused Vincent to take the side of this official. While the attitudes of the young people towards local genres of traditional music probably had not been altogether favourable before, this incident spoiled much of the goodwill which still existed.
Attempts of CCE to start a local music house, in which music and dance would be performed for tourists and local people alike and tea and scones would be served, have been delayed for want of a suitable building [1]. Recently CCE started regular 'show' sessions in the local hotel, where of course alcoholic drink is served. 1).

8. The hotel

Pub sessions of listening which took place in the local hotel already had a different character before CCE started this project, as compared

1). The music house idea originated in the office of 'village entertainment advisors' of Shannon development Ltd.

to listening sessions in the other pubs. This is related to the custom of the hotel bar. Small farmers hardly visit this bar; the main custom is formed by those who stay in the hotel. In holiday seasons quite a number of tourists stay here; and many of them are interested in traditional music. For local musicans this is a great opportunity, since these tourists usually listen carefully and pay respect to the players. When a party of tourists has arrived, the hotel manager asks one or two players to come and play at a special night.

In nearby hotels, like the hotel in Scariff, these sessions are organized by CCE in co-operation with Board Failte, the tourist organization. This project of CCE, which originated around 1970, is called seisjun (an Irish neologism) and induced the government to allow CCE headquarters in Dublin a yearly grant.

The Feakle village hotel is also the regular scene of big parties and weddings. Occasionally local or other traditional musicians are asked to play at these festivities.

9. The youth club.

The Feakle youth club meets regularly at the Saturday night. For quite a number of weeks music was played at these nights by the five Crogan brothers from Scariff, who at present are pupils of Vincent's Feakle class. These brothers (ranging in age from 14 to 19) try to acquire a full ceili band repertoire; they occasionally play at socials in Drumcharley and elsewhere. Often the youth danced to their music. However, a controversy developed (more or less at the same time as the concert conflict) about the music. A number of members wanted to acquire a grammophone and buy records with pop and country and western music. A main argument was that the club should be able to represent itself vis-á-vis members of other youth clubs when these would visit the Feakle club. When the grammophone finally was achieved and had been used for a few weeks, a number of members proposed to ask the Crogans again for some weeks. Availability is involved to a large extent: the only live music available locally is traditional jusic, also if the players have to be young people. The Crogans themselves know this, and say that other types of music might be more popular if only they were available. Indeed they themselves 'would not have minded' to play other kinds of music. The main handicap is said to be formed by parents who do not allow the buying of necessary equipment. This may well be true.

10. Incidental occasions of 'live' music.

While only musical occasions as those described up to now are part of

local social genres, in as far as they are more or less regular and not isolated, other musical events involving traditional music only occur once or twice. These may be related to social genres outside Feakle. An example of this is the session held when members of various urban young musicians' groups stayed in Feakle. These organized sessions with socio-musical characteristics quite different from those described under the previous headings, either because the musical component was different (not obeying the 'unison'-condition, playing counterpoint) or because the other participants did not belong to to the parish population. Another example is the parade of the children from the village centre to the hurling field the day of the 'Community Games' headed by a small group of pupils of the Feakle music class who played.
While I was in Feakle, I often visited musicians in their houses. This involved playing music. However, most players only occasionally play at home. The short winter season during which farm work only takes a few hours a day and nights are long, traditionally was the time in which music was played at home; some musicians still continue this practice.

11. Broadcasts and records.

Since 1920, traditional music has become increasingly available in Feakle through radio broadcasts and records. Some of these have been quite influential. Tunes which were not known locally entered the musicians' repertoires. Around 1950 recordings of Michael Coleman, the famous fiddler in New York, were listened to by some of the local fiddlers; and up to the present day there is a remarkable element of Coleman's music present within their repertoires. We have seen the tremendous impact of Ciaran MacMathuna's programs on Radio Telefis Eireann. During the revival the number and variety of broadcasts increased, both on radio and television. While some of these programs are devoted to 'show' settings in which music is played by modern orchestras and 'classically' trained instrumentalists, others deal with music as played by individual traditional musicians all over the country. Some programs are preoccupied with the urban revival groups.

These programs and records are quite popular especially among older people in Feakle. Especially the old people select special radio programs and listen quite attentively. People from the middle age groups are considerably less selective, but most express a preference for 'ceili' programs; they often have a radio play at the background while doing the daily work. Young people are very selective as to broadcasts and records; in general they do not prefer traditional music, although most do not reject this music as outright as other types of

music, be it country and western or hard rock (these two types seem to be two extremes). Although young people occasionally listen quite attentively, they seem perfectly able to do all kinds of jobs, even studying, with their favourite music playing at a considerable level of intensity.

In general, those who prefer programs and records of traditional music like 'ceili' programs better than programs of 'pure' traditional music. Although ceili as a label can be used for traditional dance-music in general, it denotes especially music played by more than one musician at a time, usually with at least one accordionist. This, one will remember, is a combination of instrumentalists as favoured for dances since the 1930's. Pure at the other hand is a label used in urban revival circles, denoting traditional dance-music as played by one instrumentalist, preferably a piper, fiddler, whistler or fluteplayer. Among the middle age groups in Feakle, the stronger farmers and other well-to-do have, together with a preference for ceili, a preference for slow airs and 'ballads'. Ballads are slow songs, usually waltztime. Many of these are American country and western 'ballads' or Irish variants.

12. The virtual absence of genres of other musical styles - availability and musical taste.

Up to now only local genres of traditional dance-music have been discussed. Genres of other types of music are not completely absent; they are however very scarce, within the parish at least. These genres involve various kinds of pop music, or styles referred to as country and western.

For the eight nights of the Feakle Marquee 1975 eight bands were contracted, among them two ceili bands (the Tulla and the Kilfenora) and six showbands. Two of these showbands were announced as country and western bands and four as pop bands. During such showband nights the average age of the dancers was quite young - averaging probably 20 or 22 - and most of these came from outside the parish, quite a number even from Limerick and Ennis. Two of these groups played an occasional Siege of Ennis (see page 148) and most played some waltzes.

As in the genres of dance described under previous headings the musicians grouped the tunes in sets; usually three tunes of the same type were played, with short intervals; after the third there is a

somewhat longer break before the next 'set' starts.
Another genre of pop or country and western music may be recognized at the evenings of the youth club when records were played; the members of the club either dance or listen. As discussed on page 150 traditional dance-music was also used occasionally at these meetings. Radio, television and records make various types of music available; under certain circumstances we may speak about a social genre as well e.g. if special types of music are consciously selected to be used for listening, dancing or other types of use behaviour. Adults between ± 30 and 60 years of age preferred programs of country and western (usually featuring slow songs called 'ballads') together with 'ceili' programs. Especially for the more well-to-do people there seems to be a correlation between these two preferences; other people had a much stronger preference for traditional dance-music than for these ballads. Younger people preferred pop, country and western and hard rock. Often there is a negative correlation between preference for country and western and hard rock within this age group. As indicated before programs of traditional dance-music are not very popular within this group. People of over 60 years of age usually preferred only programs or records of traditional music. Classical music finally seems not to be popular but for a few of the teachers and some others.

During the fieldwork I gathered data like these, on preference for types of music and musical behaviour, in interviews with 40 inhabitants of the nuclear village; some members of the youth club interviewed another 15 teenagers. These data confirmed the attitudes of the various local groups towards local social genres 1) which will be summarized under the next heading. Most younger people expressed a preference for social genres which are hardly actualized locally (except for the showband nights of the marquee). One may wonder why such genres are not realized locally, why they are not made available.
This situation indicates clearly that other factors than only musical preferences are involved. Neither young nor older people want to actualize local genres of pop music dances. Older people eschew such genres, since according to many they cause or imply immoral behaviour and vandalism. The organizers of the Marquee were often blamed for indulging rough behaviour of young people. Younger people prefer to escape from the parish and local social control; taking part in socio-musical occasions of pop dance in Ennis or Scariff guarantees them much more privacy and anonymity.

1). A setback of these interviews was that none of the respondents belonged to the group of small farmers (who do not reside in or near the village). About preferences of this group however much information could be gathered by participant observation.

Some other results of the interviewing are worthwhile mentioning although they are not immediately related to the discussions in the present part.
Most informants verbalized their attitudes both as preferences for certain social genres and as purely musical preferences. I assume that this was related to the questions as formulated by the various interviewers. Dislike for specific types of music often were indicated by statements like: 'I don't understand that music at all'.
A very interesting result of the interviews was the ever returning affirmation of older people that they never changed their preferences during their lives. Although many indicate that traditional music at present is more popular and more fashionable than a few decades ago, their preferences have not been affected by these changes although their actual behaviour has. Indeed it may be possible that one's musical preferences are built up and completed at a relatively early age. Again these preferences are not purely musical but have to do with specific social genres as well. For instance in Feakle one may predict of a person of ± 70 years of age that he likes stepdancing in small rooms - for this is a form of musical activity which prevailed during his teenage years around 1920. Indeed most Feakle inhabitants of that age have the preference mentioned. But the same persons listen only to radio programs of traditional dance-music and will switch off all programs featuring other types of music. This indicates that they abstract a preferred type of music from preferred social genres.
These various findings may be stated and tested as hypotheses:
Musical preferences are computed at an early age and tend to remain quite stable;
These preferences involve social genres as well as the types of music which are a component of these genres.

13. The various genres: meanings in relation to social groups and aspects of musical structure.

In this survey of social genres in the parish of Feakle we have seen how several meanings are represented within various genres; most of these meanings have already been touched upon in part III and have been summarized in the concluding paragraph (see p.102). Important meanings in Feakle seem to be: communication between people of opposite sex, vitality, alcoholic drink, locality, traditional music as a moral value. Within the various social genres, some of these meanings are emphasized while others are absent or may be seen as redundant. This is related to prevailing attitudes of the users, who belong to specific social groups. We may say that the need of the members of these groups for the various meanings varies.
While all participants concerned refer to the music used in all genres as 'the same' important variations in aspects of musical structure are present. I have tried to indicate under what circumstances these differences originated. They may be related to the differences in meaning which in turn are related to specific groups of users.
For the small farmers, traditional music is related to communication

with women and the activity of young people. Many of these farmers are bachelors, who have experienced house dances in their youth. The music expresses their hope for communication with women and younger people, both in sessions of listening and of dancing. Considering the prevailing attitudes within the parish, the particular pubs where music is played and the music itself represent the only possibilities which a bachelor from this social group has to escape from isolation. As such the music is of primary importance for him. Local developments have made it clear to him that the dance sessions in this aspect give more opportunities than the sessions of listening.

Attempts to escape from isolation also cause the co-operative drinking. This drinking increases the sociability and mutual trust of the participants. Music and drink may be seen as supporting each other's effects in this way. Hence the close relation between the two.

For the musicians the pubs with their small farmer's custom represent the most adequate setting, exactly because the music is of primary importance to these people; but also because a pub offers the physical possibility of playing music for listeners or dancers. There is a strong interaction between players and other participants within these pubs, and these small farmers seem to 'understand' the musical structure as no one else. Since the dance has proved to be the most important musical activity for many of these people, it is not surprising that music with dance-characteristics is the most popular. As indicated, such characteristics are high tempi, 'strong' instruments and strong emphasis on time-elements. Why exactly these elements are important for dancing is to a certain extent open to speculation and experimentation.

For a successful dance-night the bachelors depend on those men who bring their wives and daughters to the dance. These are both small farmers and worker-farmers, and some others. These people neither concentrate purely on family life, nor do they disregard drink. For them, both men and women, the communication and vitality aspects are very important, and in a sense they continue aspects of the local community which existed in their youth, before 1950. They have not changed their attitudes to the same extent as those from the social group of strong farmers. Especially the attitude of a number of women is important in relation to the dance. These are unmarried women in their twenties who do not disregard the dance. Without their participation the genre probably would collapse. Although a number of them come from the area of Drumcharley and from Flagmount, the element of locality may be said to be quite important in relation to the pub genres. Although a dance may attract people from a quite wide area, the core has to be formed by local people. This is often said by participants; moreover the failure of the dances at Peppers' made this clear (see page 141).

For the social groups of strong farmers and a number of other well-to-do people within the nuclear village, suitable meanings are those of traditional music as culturally, and especially morally, valuable activity. This is clear in relation to the genres of teaching and of the Feis Merriman, and in CCE activities. Other meanings are redundant but not completely absent. These people sought their fortune locally, and therefore they do not admire urban or foreign culture - sometimes such cultures are even seen as a threat. A definite element of locality is involved both in the Feis Merriman and in the CCE sessions. Even the meanings of communication between the sexes and of vitality are present, but not as a possibility as in the case of the small farmers, but rather as restriction, as control of the social behaviour of the younger people. A prevalent idea is that when young people engage in genres of traditional music, they will be protected against genres which prevail outside the community.

The meaning of overcoming the problems of social isolation, which prevails among the small farmers, is less suitable for the present social group. Individuality is highly valued; communal activity has to involve organization (like in the case of FDO) and is not taken for granted. Dancing is therefore less important for these people; drinking together is absent. Indeed drinking is despised by many strong farmers. This is why they do not participate in any of the pub genres; some of them however take part in socials and hall dances.

As to aspects of musical structure, it seems to me that these people value specific differences less, because they are less involved than for instance the small farmers. Although they are as quick to recognize that 'traditional dance-music cheers you up' as other Feakle people, they react less clearly to structural elements of the music as other people. Moreover, they value airs and especially 'slow airs' higher than others as compared to the dance-tunes; in dance-music they prefer smooth renderings above the highly accented performances of the accordion, which prevail in genres of dance.

In general we may say that the young people do not particularly like traditional dance-music. Most stay at the periphery of local social genres; they do not take part in sets; many left the genres of teaching; there is tension between young dart players and musicians in pubs; quite a number of young people expressed their preferences for other genres than those of traditional music, and regretted that such genres were not available locally (but for radio and records). The conflict between the youth club and CCE, and the adventures of the young ceili

group of the Crogans at the weekly meetings of the youth club are specific occasions in which this attitude of the young became clear. Many young people say that the traditional music bores them, that they have heard it all their life. Of course this is not the main argument; former generations have heard the same music for their whole life without ever being bored of it. Other social factors are involved.
Most young people at present try to escape from local social genres because the element of locality and of local social control is too strong. Many of the social genres involve both young and old; hence any communication between young people, especially if they are of different sex, is controlled by older local people. We have seen that the element of control was present in the aims of the local CCE as well. Young people prefer to participate in social genres of pop music or country and western, like dances in Ennis or Scariff. Here all participants are young, and there is much less control and more anonymity than in local genres of traditional music. In fact the young people reject traditional music exactly because it appeals to older, local people. Many young people expressed their amazement about the interest of young people from the bigger towns in traditional music.

Two of the main social groups have not yet been mentioned. Big land-owners do not visit pubgenres; occasionally they participate in hall dances. Women take part in socials and hall dances; only some participate in pub dances. For most women activities in pubs are rather 'contemptible' since they indicate lack of attention 'for' family life and personal progress. This makes the role of the small number of women who participate in the pub dances even more significant.
At the other hand, women are very important within the feis committee (as discussed, .FDO was founded through the initiative of the local Irish Countrywomen Association) and in CCE. I also mentioned the fact that the music teacher recruits new pupils through his cultivation of a good relation with mothers. Hence, women are very much involved in those genres in which the traditional moral value of the music is stressed.

The paragraphs about the development and present situation of local social genres have, I hope, given the reader some information about the reasons why traditional music at present is used in so many social genres within one single parish. Suitable meanings were selected by the various groups of users. To some extent the analysis shows how this selection was related to change of aspects of musical structure.

Indeed we may see the selection of traditional music within local genres as a definite choice by the users. For the small farmers this choice may have been more definite than for other groups. That the music chosen within the various genres is referred to as the same music has to do with the fact that the invariants of the music are present within all these genres. These have to be present for otherwise the music concerned would not be regarded as this music which in this study is labelled as Irish traditional dance-music. (see also p. 71).
The processes described have been propelled by socio-economic changes which affected various groups within the parish, and by the national revival in which music and musicians could be emancipated. Local musicians were increasingly regarded as bearers of valuable art and tradition. This emancipation enabled them to play in nearly all local social genres; as such they have been instrumental in communicating their music with the various structural aspects. While they made the music available to the various groups of users, these users selected music with such values of the variable aspects as were by them experienced as suitable. The processes thus resulted from interplay between users (who have been discussed) and local musicians, who will be discussed presently.

TRADITIONAL MUSICIANS WITHIN THE FEAKLE AREA.

This paragraph will be devoted to the established traditional musicians who live within an area constituted by the parish of Feakle and the bordering townlands, and who at one stage of their life have been active in local genres within the parish, or still are active.
During the fieldwork I visited all these musicians, and with most I had extensive talks about their lives, and about their former and present musical activities. Much time was devoted to discussions of tunes, and of aspects of musical structure.
As in the pubs, the fact that the informants knew that I played the fiddle turned out to be both an advantage and a handicap. Whenever I visited a player for the first time, he would ask me to play, after a few introductory talks. My musical performance was regarded as a proof that I was really interested in their art and could rightly estimate the value of their personal musical performances. In this way my playing prepared the ground for further discussions and for performances by the musician concerned. My ability to play was also useful when I wanted to focus on specific aspects of musical structure. This I did largely by taking the place of a pupil, asking advice about specific aspects.
This policy however also had some disadvantages. Some players rather wanted to play together with me than talk about their past development.

Others tried to refrain from giving information about aspects of musical structure since they did not want to criticize my performance. Moreover, the fact that I could play - albeit rather imperfectly - in their opinion proved that I knew a lot about the music; hence I should not ask them to make verbal statements about musical structure. It released them from the task of making such statements: I should not play the fool, since I knew what the music was all about. In such cases I had to rely on more subtle inquiry, asking the player to teach me certain tunes and in the process of learning introducing small 'mistakes'. Corrections made by the player then indicated their musical concepts. This may have caused a considerable bias, since in this way it was up to me to decide what to focus upon in which way, and to formulate the concepts. Although I often checked if the player agreed with the concept as formulated by me, in some cases the player made it clear that I might be right but that it was not important. As to the subjects discussed in part II I had problems with aspects of formal structure especially; I did not receive adequate information which could have enabled me to decide if the notion of head structure is very important; I am not sure if this structure is experienced consciously the way I have formulated it. The method proved to be much more successful where repetition patterns, concepts of 'key' and intonation were concerned. The players had no problems making statements about time-elements. Variation and personal elements were much more difficult to focus upon.

In the present paragraph 16 players will be discussed who still are active musically. However, within the generations to which these players belong, some former musicians have stopped playing in the decades when local genres were at a low ebb, and did not start anew. Some information will be given about these as well, and also about a few players who do not live in the area but are important in local genres. The order in which the players will be discussed is partly a geographical and partly a chronological one.

1. Mick O'Donoghue

Michael O'Donoghue was born in Glendree in the western mountains in 1889. His father played the flute at dances, and Mick remembers many musicians, even Paddy Mac. In 1902 his parents bought him a 'German' concertina in Scariff; he learnt to play this instrument largely by ear. Certainly he was encouraged by his parents; but he was very keen on music, like all of his family. Until the troubles he played at many dances in Glendree and Magherabawn.

In 1927 he married, and moved to the recently divided Ballynahinch Estate

where he settled as a farmer. He stopped going to dances and allowed his instrument to fall apart. But gradually he became interested in fiddling, and he played the fiddle at local dances during the 1930's and 1940's. During these years he established musical contacts with Ballynahinch players like Martin Rochford (nr.9) and Jimmy Long(10). Occasionally he played in his native townland, with Bill Malley (2) and others. Several of his children were and are very musical, and some played with the Tulla ceili band which originated in Ballynahinch. Micko however left the fiddle when the house dances vanished.
A local priest and Martin Rochford presented him with two old German concertinas a few years ago. He practiced a lot, and even played with his son Paddy (who lives in Shannon) and Mick O'Doyle(11) at pubsessions in Tulla hotel, before these sessions were taken over by Matty Ryan(16) and Jack MacDonald.
He stopped fiddling, but as a concertina-player he is one of the finest. Like nearly all players from the western mountains he has a 'double' foot tap, which coincides with jumping, lively music.. As is usual for concertina-players his time is fast and suits dances.

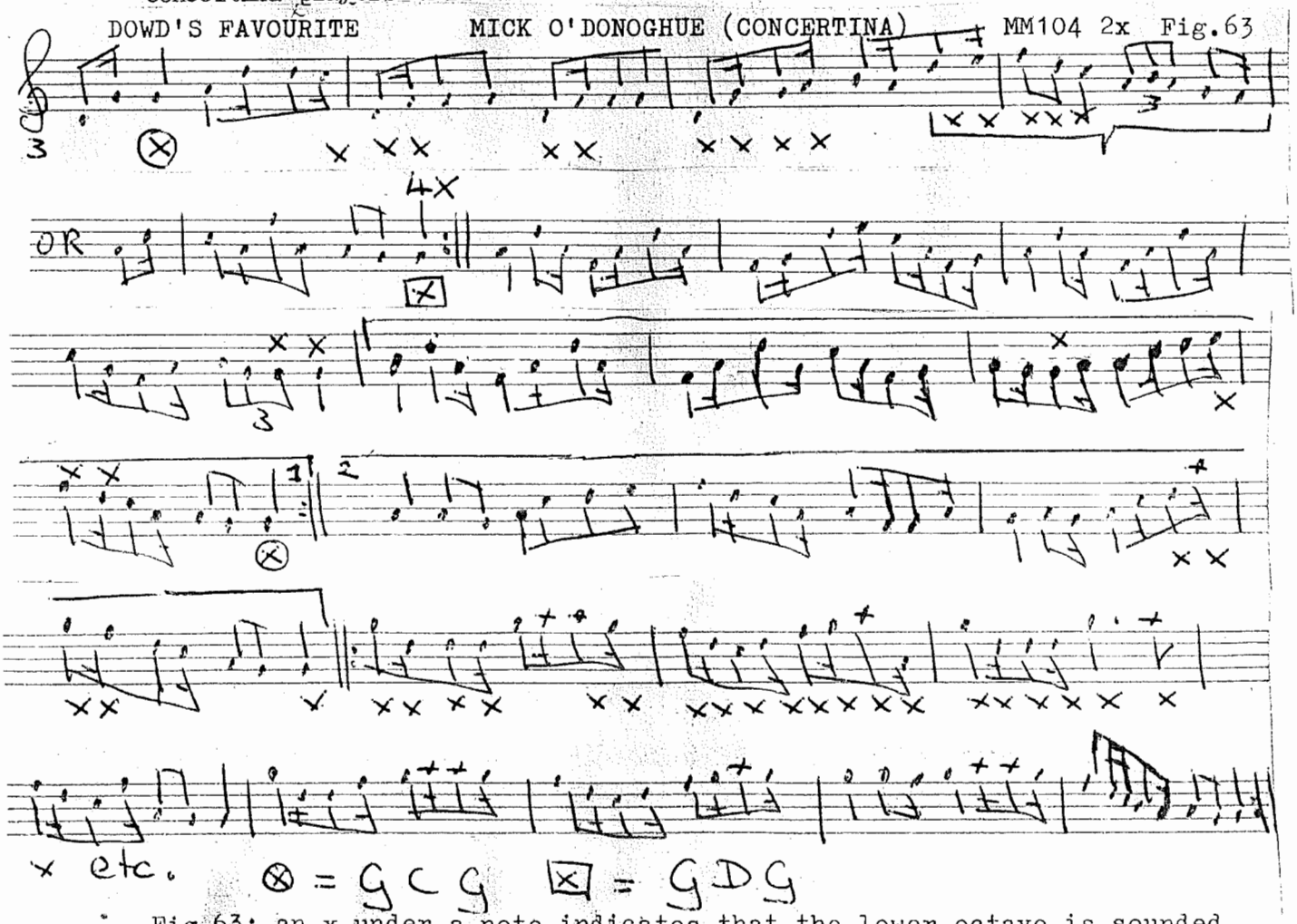


Fig.63: an x under a note indicates that the lower octave is sounded as well. As indicated, occasional 'chords' of fifth and octave are sounded. Each of the three parts is twice as long as would be expected on the basis of the head structure. The accolade indicates a part which is often substituted by an alternative presented in the next bars. 4x = this part played four times. Original performance major third lower.

Fig.63 is a transcription of the three-part reel Dowd's Favourite; Micko gives the tune a curious 16-bar part structure. Octave parallels are a remarkable aspect of Clare concertina playing.
Besides reels and jigs, Micko remembers many older tunes, like flings, schottisches, polkas , marches and hornpipes; however, he prefers reels.

2. Bill Malley.

Bill Malley was also born in Glendree, in 1907. His mother played the concertina, and at an early age she sent Bill to Pat Canny to be taught the fiddle. At that stage of his life Bill preferred hurling, but during the 1920's he became more interested. He learnt all his tunes by ear, either from friends or from early records.
Bill played at local house dances until these vanished. During the 1940's he married and inherited the farm.
He became an active musician again after Ciaran MacMathuna's sessions with Glendree and Magherabawn players like Paddy Canny (4) and Joe Bane (6). Although Joe is considerably younger, he often played with Bill. While during the 1950's and 1960's they only played occasionally, at parties and at fleadhs, they became more active when local sessions started.
At present they play together at a small session in a pub in Tulla (p.141); since 1970 they have not played in Feakle together. Their music is rather slow for dances, although occasionally they speed up just before closing time. Apparently their music is regarded as but a minor attraction by the publican, who does not pay them but with a few drinks.
Bill uses a double foot tap, and his music has a remarkable quality, sometimes referred to as 'swing'. This results from his preferences for upbows where all other fiddlers play downbows. With the fingers of the left hand he makes long slides, often through an interval of a minor third. These qualities made him very popular in the mountain townlands, but they are seen as not sophisticated by some of the younger players.
A number of transcriptions of tunes played by Bill have been presented in part II (see Fig.1, 46, 60A, 16).

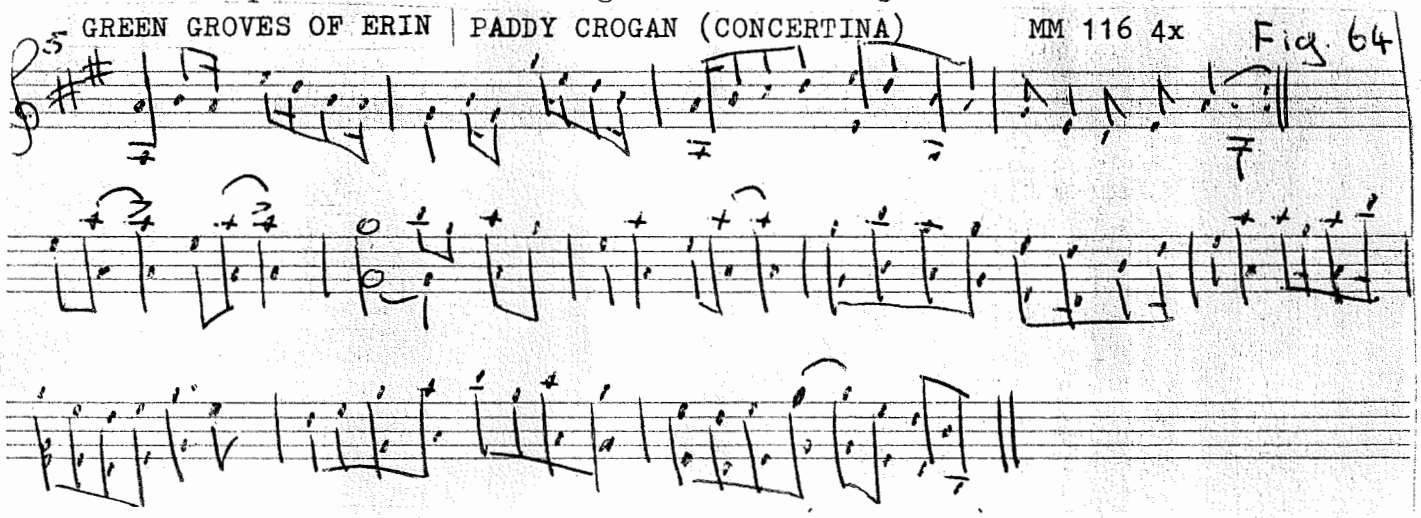
3. Paddy Crogan.

Paddy Crogan was born in1909 in Magherabawn. Although he does not remember if his parents played, there were a few concertinas and a fiddle in the house, His mother sent his older brothers to Mick O' Donoghue (1) to be taught the concertina. When Paddy was 11 years of age he started to imitate his brothers although he was not allowed to at first, and learnt all tunes by ear. He played at the big country house

dances of the 1930's (p.127) and has many funny stories about the behaviour of priests and musicians in this period. When the dances vanished he did not join the musicians of the later Tulla group, but he visited a number of fleadhs. When the local pub sessions started he once again became a popular player. During the fieldwork he hardly played, since a new concertina, which he bought recently, has a number of mute keys; at present the price of a new concertina is nearly £100.-, and Paddy probably will not buy another one.

Paddy is a bachelor; he and his brothers sold the Magherabawn farm recently. For the past few years Paddy lives with one of his brothers in a small cottage in upper Curragh.

Paddy plays with a double foot tap and often sings along with the tune. Usually he plays a fifth higher than usual pitch. The tune of Fig.64 has been transposed down a fifth. The f'sharp key is mute, which may be responsible for the large number of longer notes.



4. Paddy Canny.

Paddy Canny was born in 1919, in Killalena (Keeran) just a few yards from the point where the three parishes Tulla, Feakle and Killanena meet. At an early age he was taught the fiddle and whistle by his father Pat Canny and by his elder brother. Shortly after 1930 he often went to Ballynahinch to play together with the young Martin Rochford (9). Still there is a remarkable similarity in their tunes, ways of playing and preferences. Paddy often played at local dances with Joe bane and P.Joe Hayes (5). Later he married P.Joe's sister. He was heavily influenced by Michael Coleman and kept on practicing during the 1940's. He joined the Tulla ceili band, and gained local and national fame through Ciaran MacMathuna's programs (these even had one of Paddy's tunes as 'jingle' for a while). While playing with the band, he became more interested in solo playing. A record with duets by Paddy and P.Joe Hayes appeared, and in the late 1950's Paddy won the fiddle competit-

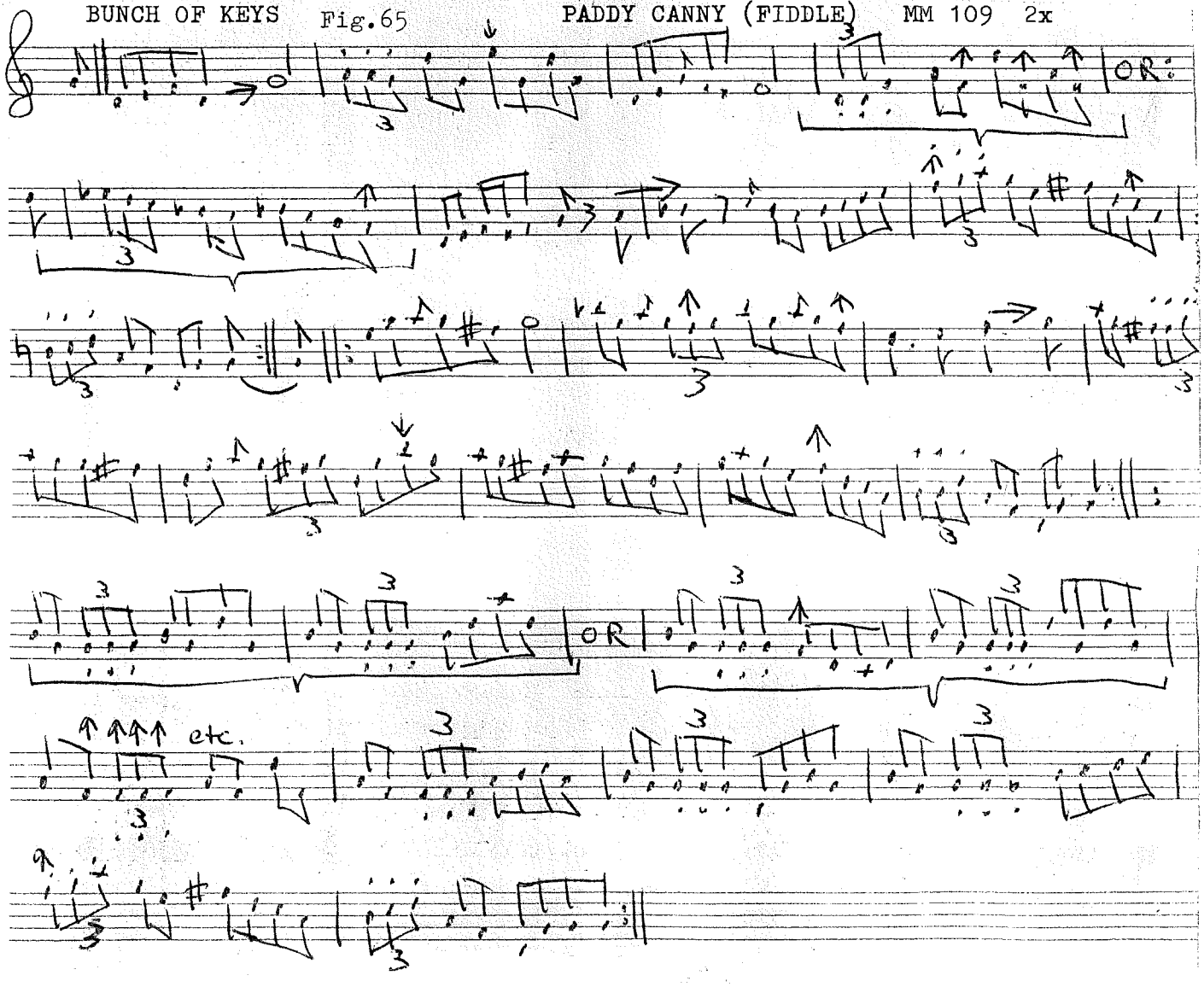
ion at the all-Ireland Fleadh.

Around that time, when he had married, he got a farm in Kiltannon in Tulla, and now he is a developing farmer. As a musician he has become extremely shy and at the same time very proud, and hardly plays in public. He left the Tulla band, and does not want to be involved with local musicians anymore. Until recently, however, he played at some concerts in Feakle.

His style is, in the local jargon, very sweet. He makes extensive use of dynamics, of slides, of sudden sforzati and of various types of variation. Together with rolls and staccato triplets (of notes not confined to a single pitch, which is unusual), he makes variations of long melodic lines. He experiences the music as having deep emotional qualities, some of which seem to be related to the f'-f'' sharp opposition. (see pages 27 and 70).

The reel presented in transcription in Fig.65 show all these intricacies. Paddy played this reel immediately after hearing that his friend Tommy Potts (a fiddler from Dublin with a rather similar style) was seriously ill. See for other transcriptions part II, Fig. 52 and 53.

BUNCH OF KEYS Fig.65 PADDY CANNY (FIDDLE) MM 109 2x



5. P.Joe Hayes.

P.Joe Hayes was born in 1921 in Maghera (Killanena) near the Canny house. His mother played a concertina. He was taught the fiddle in 1933-1934 by his friend Paddy Canny(4), and played at local dances, which vanished rapidly in the area. With Paddy and other players he played in the schools and small halls in the area(p.128) and in 1946 he joined a part of the Ballinahynch group together with Paddy. Ever since he has been band leader of the Tulla ceili band.
P.Joe inherited the farm and married. At present he is a very strong and efficient farmer. His eldest son Martin (born 1962) must be mentioned, who was largely trained by his father on winter nights and is rapidly becoming a good fiddler. Martin is very keen on fiddling and always wanted to play together with me during the fieldwork. P.Joe sent Martin to Vincent's class in Flagmount, to learn to read music (see p.142).
P.Joe sees himself in the first place as a band man. He knows that band playing may harm his technique, and practices a lot. His tone is much stronger than Paddy Canny's, his playing lacks lacks the subtile elements of Paddy's. Although he used to play with a double foot tap (like Paddy Canny does) he now has a single foot tap like nearly all who play in bands. See for an example of his playing the transcription of Fig. 4 and 33, and for Martin Hayes' playing Fig.45 and 47 in part II.

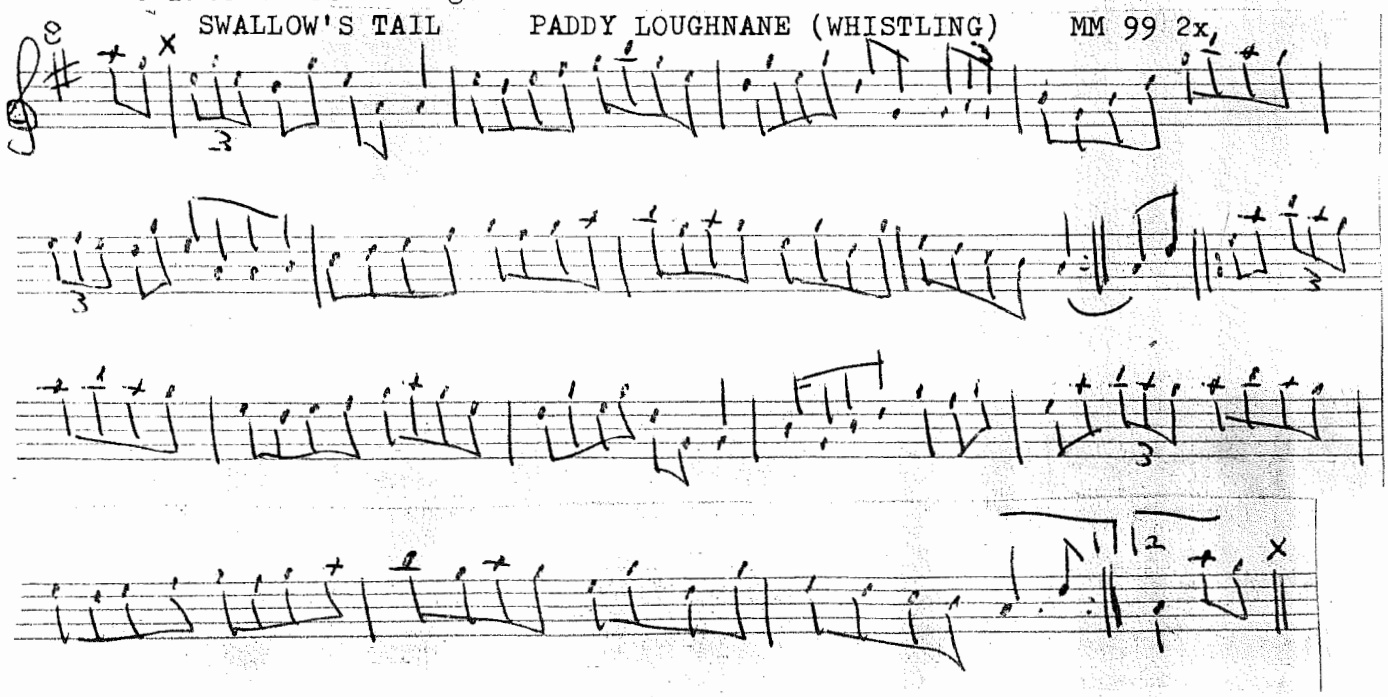
6. Joe Bane.

Joe Bane was born in Magherabawn in 1921. His parents played no music; his mother sang. In 1933 he learnt to play the whistle and flute in the Canny house where he was taught mainly by Pat Canny. This was largely his personal initiative. He also learned to read a bit of music. He often played at local dances with Paddy Canny(4), P.Joe Hayes(5) or Bill Malley(2). The dances faded and Joe, who is very shy, did not join the Tulla group; he only played once or twice in schools.
In the early 1950's he took part in the sessions with Ciaran MacMathuna, which gave him a good deal of local popularity, and took part in some fleadhs. Every now and then he played at parties with Bill.
Joe is not married, and lives with three brothers and one sister on the mountainous farm in Magherabawn. They work on the land in a very traditional way.
At present Joe's flute is broken, and he can not pay for another one. He plays the whistle every Sunday night in the Tulla Anchor Inn together with Bill. Although both Joe and Bill visit the Feakle church every

Sunday they have not played in Feakle since the big marquees organized by the former large Muintir group (see pages 119 and 147). Joe uses a double foot tap. A characteristic of his music is the virtual absence of strong lifts at the end of tune or turn (p.35). This may be related to his very shy character. Players who use strong lifts are very proud in relation to their music, like Vincent Griffin (13) and Paddy Canny (4). Players who use small lifts are shy, like Joe and to a certain extent Bill Malley (2). These four are extremes, both in attitude towards the music and in lifts. Most other players have more regular lifts, which may be said to belong to a standard repertoire. Of course this is a rather crude hypothesis, which needs to be refined and tested.
For transcription see part II Fig.21.

7. Paddy LoughNane.

Paddy LoughNane was born in Feakle village in 1912. His father was an important farmer, shopkeeper and undertaker, and patronized Paddy Mac, Johnny Allen and Pat Moloney; he was a famous whistler (i.e. he did not play an instrument but whistled tunes in a very skillful way). Paddy took over his father's farm and enterprises, and he is a skillful whistler as well. He has a large repertoire of Johnny Doran's tunes; these he gathered when this piper used to travel in the area in the 1930's. Paddy is often asked to whistle in Lena's, where his wife helps behind the counter. Paddy's tempi of course are slow, and besides reels he has quite a number of hornpipes, most of which he learned from Johnny Allen. Paddy does not tap a foot. See a transcription of one of his favourite tunes in Fig.66.

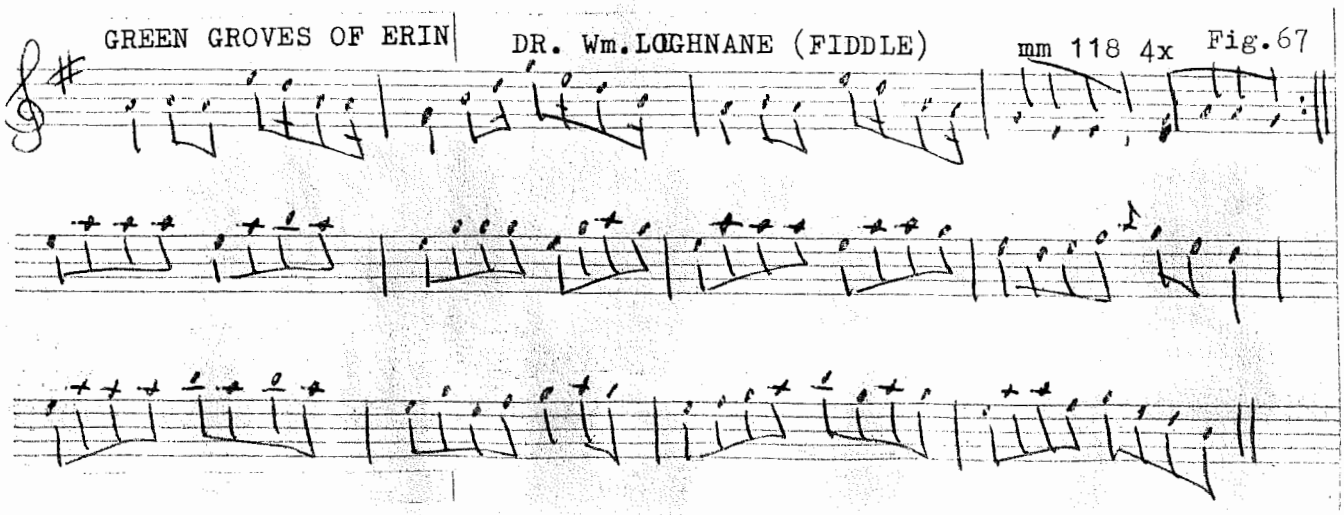


8. Bill LoughNane.

Bill LoughNane, Paddy's younger brother, was born in Feakle village in 1916. In 1926 he was taught the fiddle in a local music class, by Paddy Powell from Tulla (p.142). Though he only visited a few lessons he learned to read music. He was influenced by Johnny Allen and Pat Moloney, and by a number of lesser known players. Ever since these firsts years he was mainly interested in reels. Until 1933 he often played in the market house for dances (p.128). In later years he went to a boarding school and to University College Dublin to study medicine.. Here he only occasionally played in pubs. In Dublin he started practicing as a doctor; after the first start of the revival he played regularly, and visited many fleadhs. In 1954 he became doctor in Feakle and joined the Tulla band. With the band and with Paddy Canny(4) he organized trips to the USA. He left the band after its reorganization in 1958. At present he often plays at Lena's; he likes to play vigorous reels in a rather high tempo, with a single foot tap. He likes to play together with piano or accordion. He often sings 'ballads' in unison with his fiddle.

He is the only local musician who does not show the shyness-pride attitude. He knows many players all over Clare and often induces even the shyest to play. Moreover, he can get people to dance to the music of his fiddle, and even at other nights than regular dance-nights. In all this his position as a doctor and TD may be very influential; many people are greatly encouraged by the participation of such a prominent man in these musical activities. On the other hand the fact that he always plays everywhere gives him a good deal of popularity which he manipulates for political purposes, both to attract votes and to gain publicity (see p.119). His son Tony, who tragically died a few years ago, was a famous accordionist.

A transcription of Green Groves of Erin, as played by Dr.Bill is presented in Fig.67



9. Martin Rochford.

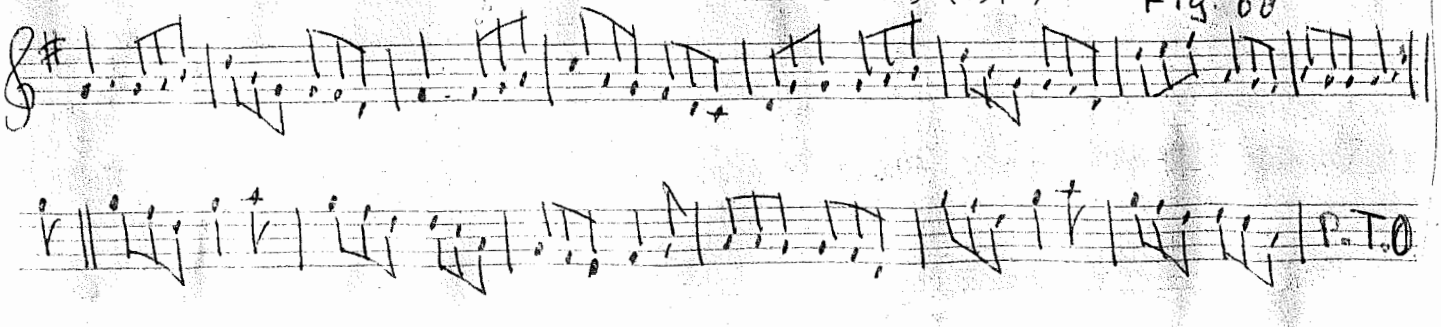
Martin Rochford was born in Ballynahinch in 1916. His parents did not play. Martin often heard musicians from the Leccaroe area. In 1927 aire Moloney (p.145) gave him a fiddle. Paddy Powell taught him to read music, and Martin developed a very personal fiddle style at a rather young age. In the early 1930's he often played together with Paddy Canny (4); at present their styles are very similar: much use of dynamics, subtile syncopation and the f-f'' sharp opposition. However, Martin has a single and Paddy a double foot tap.

Johnny Doran, who travelled in the area during the early 1930's, taught him to play the pipes in 1934. Because of his relation with Johnny, and later on with Leo Rowsome (p. 131) Martin became less locally oriented than all other players of his age group. However, he often played with the Ballynahinch group. Like Paddy Canny, he was not very interested in playing for dances; when the Tulla band was founded in 1946 he did not join. Around this time he married and inherited the small farm.

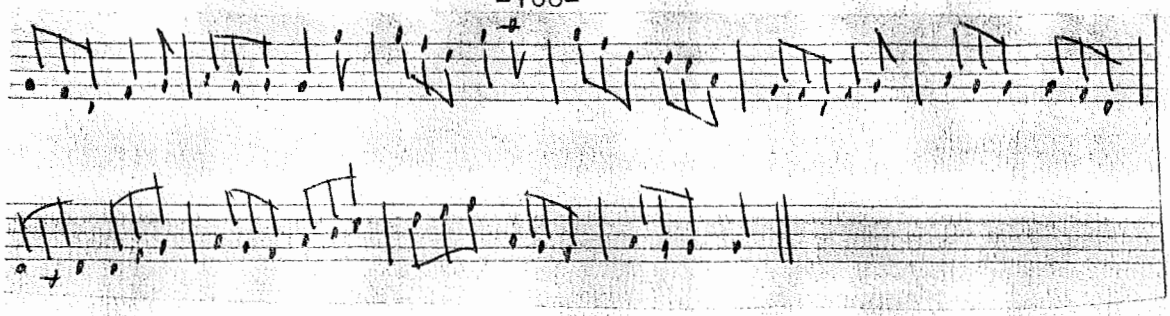
With his pipes he visited all the fleadhs, and established contacts with players from all over the country. He is not very competition-minded, but enjoys small sessions. Both at these sessions and from many printed collections he learned many tunes. His large repertoire and contacts outside the locality make other players quite jealous. But Martin is popular among young and old for his great wit. About his 'concert pitch'-chanter he says:'It is useful when there is too much ignorance', meaning to say that a high pitched chanter can be heard at sessions even if many people take no heed and chat away. For Martin is rather proud, and will not play if people are not interested enough (cf.page 137).

Although he extensively uses printed scores, he adapts these, rather unconsciously, to his personal style and musical system (I noticed similar processes with Paddy Canny and especially Vincent Griffin). In other words, the printed score does not mean the same to him as to one trained in western art music. As an example, compare Martin's version of Mist covered Mountain (part II Fig.22) with the score he used (Fig.68): He plays such tunes with long bows, occasionally interjecting staccato notes, like in his style of piping. He often plays pipes and fiddle at pub sessions in Feakle.

THE MIST COVERED MOUNTAIN — TREOIR IV-3 (1972) — Fig. 68

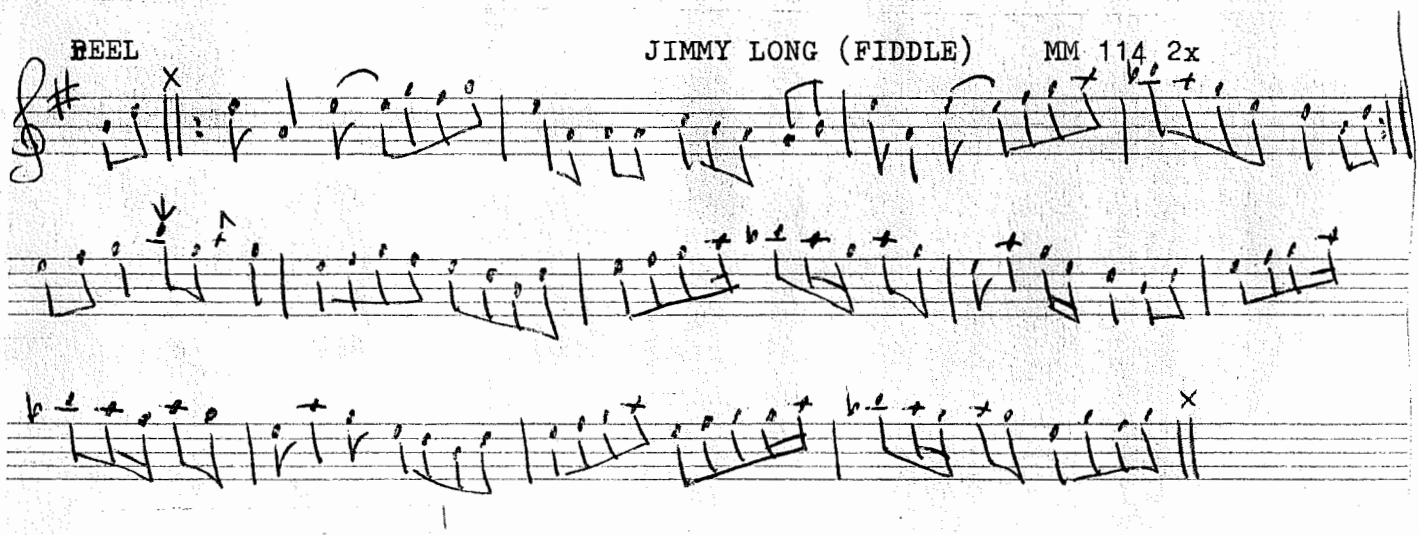


P.T.O



10. Jimmy Long.

Jimmy Long was born in Ballynahinch in 1919. Influenced by Martin (9) he started on the fiddle in 1934, and played with the Ballynahinch musicians at dances. When the dances vanished he did not join the Tulla group. At present he only plays cooasionally at socials, and on winter nights at home. He married in the 1950's.
His style has the dynamic oppositions we found in Martin's playing, but Jimmy plays much faster, and does not use long bows. He has a double foot tap. See for a transcription Fig.69.



11. Mick O'Doyle.

Mick O'Doyle was born in Drumcharley in 1920; in 1927 his family moved to Ballynahinch Estate. With help of local musicians he learned to play the fiddle; he also learned many tunes from records. He only played locally at parties. He married around 1950. A few years ago he played at sessions with Mick and Paddy O'Donoghue (1). He plays with a single foot tap. A transcription has been presented in Fig.43 of part II.

12. Jossie Griffin.

Jossie Griffin was born in Ayle in 1921. His father played the melodeon and was very fond of the music; he urged his sons to learn to play. When he was 15, Jossie was sent to Paddy Powell to learn to play the fiddle. He played at the Ayle house dances which continued in the 1950's. When his father died in 1956 he did not want to play any more

and afterwards he only occasionally touched the fiddle.
He became a painter, married and settled in Drumcharley, a few hundred yards from his parental house. He has to travel around quite a lot in Clare and Tipperary, and it seems that he does not mind playing when he is away from home.
Jossie plays with a single foot tap. His playing is not at all sweet, but rather dance-oriented. However I could only record him at his house, and his time there was rather slow. See for transcriptions part II Fig. 35 and 39.

13. Vincent Griffin.

Jossie's younger brother Vincent was born in Ayle in 1931, and started to play the fiddle at eight years of age (another brother, who is slightly older than Vincent, started at the same time. He now lives in Ennis). He had a few lessons from Paddy Powell. With other young Ayle musicians he played at many local dances during the 1940's and early 1950's (see page 133).
Vincent's father Michael has been one of the major forces behind his son's musical career. Other people remember how Michael urged Vincent to parctice several hours a day. Around 1950 Vincent was influenced by Michael Coleman. He won several regional competitions. After his father's death he stopped playing for a few years. He started again when he emigrated to London in 1960.
In London he married, and he played in many 'Irish pubs'. Here he gathered a gigantic repertoire and learned techniques from players from various parts of Ireland. He often played with accordionists, and this he says ruined his tone. Indeed his tone is strong, and it is not regarded as sweet; but his playing has some of the elements of Paddy Canny's(4) like the use of dynamics and the brilliant triplets. He has some extensive variations; he plays with a single foot tap. Some transcriptions have been presented in part II (Fig.27, 30, 42, 60B).
In the late 1960's he settled on his father's farm and worked in the chipboard factory. He invested much of his wages in the farm and at present he is quite a strong farmer. When he started teaching (p.142) he left the factory. At present he teaches six nights a week, in different places. He also nearly stopped going to pubs. Here we see a parallel with Paddy Canny, who also stopped going to pubs when he got the bigger farm. In fact Vincent moved from the social group of small farmers through the group of worker-farmers to the group of stronger farmers (p.115). His attitudes changed as well. Vincent is very family-oriented and very individualist. This same development assisted his emancipation as traditional musician;

although in principle any musician can take part in any local social genre, Vincent is the only one who does so in reality.
Although three of his children play the fiddle, their development is slow. This is because Vincent does not practice together with them; he has not enough time, and makes them play from printed scores, as he does his other pupils.
From 1970 to 1974 Vincent practiced a lot, and in 1974 he won the all-Ireland fiddle competition. Around 1970 he also played in a small ceili band, with players from all over east and central Clare.

Although Vincent's teaching, as I discussed it (p.144) is not very successful, he does what he can to organize musical situations in which his pupils can take part. For instance, he urged his pupils to play at Drumcharley socials. This was rather successful, mainly because of the participation of the Crogans. His activities in CCE also are immediately aiming at emancipation of the traditional dance-music (p.149). Limits to this emancipation in his opinion are far away: he even played in Drumcharley church when his youngest son was baptized.

14. John James LoughNane.

John James LoughNane, first cousin of Paddy and Bill (7,8), was born in Kilbarren in 1922. From 1938 to 1941 he went to Johnny Allen (who was patronized by the LoughNane family) to be taught the fiddle. John James played at local parties during the 1950's and 1960's (p.133). He occasionnally played with Jossie Griffin (12). At present he only plays during the winter nights. He married and inherited the farm.
Around 1940 Johnny Allen had become extremely shy and 'funny'. He always played reels and hornpipes from O'Neill's book, and insisted that one should play exactly what was in the book. Hence he only played the printed notes, without any variation. (According to Mick O'Donoghue one should not do that: 'The bare notes are very poor'.)
John James plays in the same way, and prefers hornpipes, since these are easier. He has a single foot tap, which probably results from playing with Jossie, for Johnny Allen, who came from the western mountains where he had been taught by Paddy Mac, probably had a double foot tap.
A transcription of John James' playing has been presented in part II, Fig.40.

15. Michael Hayes.

Michael Hayes was born in 1938 in Kilbarren, where he still lives as cattle dealer and small farmer, together with his sister. Around 1955 he was taught the fiddle, mainly by Jossie Griffin, and played at local

parties until ± 1960. Afterwards he played for his own pleasure. Since a few years ago, he plays regularly at sessions in the hotel, mainly for tourists. He is not considered to be a good musician (the same is true for John James LoughNane and Jossie Griffin) but he is neither very shy nor proud.
His repertoire is very limited. He learned some tunes from Jossie and some from J. Bane (6) and Bill Malley (2). The origin of a tune can be recognized by lookin at his feet. Jossie's tunes are played by Michael with a single tap, Joe's and Bill's tunes with a double tap. Like Jossie, he always alternates reels and waltzes, which seems to have been the custom at the later Ayle and Kilbarren parties.

16. Matty Ryan.

Matty Ryan was born in Tulla in 1946. He is the only local player without a farming background: his father was a transporter. Matty started to play the fiddle in 1959, and went over to the button accordion a year later. This was because the accordion was more popular because of the ceili bands. Matty's main aim was to become a member of a ceili band. He hardly got any local encouragement; Paddy Canny (4) however assisted him. In or around 1964 he started in the Tulla ceili band, in which he still plays. He married in 1967, and moved to one of the new Feakle houses in 1973. He works in a garage in Tulla.
Matty has always been involved in pub sessions in Feakle, and since 1971 he plays at the regular dance-nights at Lena's, together with old Jack MacDonald, drummer in Tulla ceili band, who lives near Broadfort. Since a few years ago, these two also play at the Saturday night dance sessions at the hotel in Tulla. Together with Vincent Griffin to a smaller extent, P. Joe Hayes (5), Matty is one of the few semi-professional traditional musicians in the area.
Matty is very popular in Feakle, even among young people. His way of playing is vigorous and fast, with many chromatic variations. He has a single foot tap. See for transcriptions part II Fig. 3, 13, 62.

17. Occasionally Martin Woods and Seamus Burglar play at dance sessions in Feakle, for instance at sessions in Peppers' during the Friday nights of the Feakle Marquee (p. 141). Martin Woods is a fiddler of 69 years of age, who did not play for years; Seamus Burglar, an accordionist of 26 induced him to start again. Both come from the area around Mountshannon, 12 miles northeast of Feakle.

18. Some conclusions about local musicians.

Traditional musicians are recruited where and when there is need for

music. Most musicians started to play young, in areas where dances were popular. In this way the centre of recruitment moved from Magherabawn and Glendree (and Leccaroe) to Ballynahinch, and later on to Ayle and Kilbarren. Nearly all musicians had a farming background; many had small farmers as fathers.

Although many players were induced to start their careers by their parents and often especially by their mothers, their main incentive was their personal interest in and love for music. Other reasons involved however may have to do with desire for popularity and possible material profits. Many of the players were taught, although lessons were few. In a number of cases printed scores were used (nearly always by the teacher Paddy Powell); others learned by ear or 'from the fingers'.

There seem to be two cycles of musical activity. One has to do with the yearly round of farm work: more music is played in winter than in summer. The other has to do with the life cycle. Young players play often, but they gradually stop when they get married and take over responsibilities on the farm. In later life they may start again. However, a historical development is at work as well. Without the present revival, many players would not have started anew after their years of relative musical inactivity when local dances had vanished. On the other hand there is a tendency within some social groups to devote more time and energy to farming, in order to be able to gain a good standard of living. This induces some players to participate less in specific social genres.

While according to standards set by the revival any musician may take part in any genre in fact a few emancipated players have a kind of monopoly within certain genres. This is first of all related to specific musical abilities of the players concerned, like brilliant accordion-technique (Matty Ryan) or general musical virtuosity and fame (Vincent Griffin); there is also a relation with the player's social background and attitudes, as with Vincent's upward mobility as a farmer which makes him a very acceptable teacher. So not all players participate in all genres both because of their preferences and of preferences of other participants. Yet these other participants still see the players as a group with characteristics of their own ('a group of loners').

CONCLUSIONS TO PART IV.

The development of socio-economic structures in Feakle, and in society at large, has been responsible for the development of the social groups within the area. Attitudes of these various groups have been very important for the development of local social genres. These attitudes

of various social groups have been instrumental in selecting and developing patterns of use and of suitable meanings. The starting point for this development at all stages has been formed by existing patterns of use and meanings as communicated to the social groups concerned; new patterns of use and new meanings were often communicated from other places (mainly Dublin and Britain) to the social groups within the area.

These processes of selection and creation of components of social genres affected the music as well. Specific patterns of use made specific aspects of musical structure physically necessary (like the playing together in small halls) in some cases. In other cases specific aspects of musical structure were selected as suitable in relation to suitable meanings (like the strong instruments and strong time emphasis on dance-nights).

But while these processes of selection influenced musical structure in some aspects, the users largely had to rely on local musicians. This is a matter of availability as well as a consequence of the ever strong meaning of locality. The local musicians created their music in relation to their personal musical backgrounds and tastes. Which, and whose, music was selected within the various genres was partly a matter of the above mentioned musical selection, but also to a very large extent a matter of personal preference of specific musicians for specific social genres. Seen from the users it is both a matter of availability and of musical preference.

Future social developments will direct these processes in time to come. It seems to me that stronger farmers will become stronger, with the help of government and EEC policies. The small farmer's social groups will gradually disappear. This may eventually bring the pub sessions to an end. Hall dances and socials may disappear as well, if young people do not become more interested. I have no idea if the genres of teaching will continue; this may depend on the system of teaching. If the teaching, in the opinion of local parents, becomes more adequate, I assume that the genre will stay strong. Since tourism becomes increasingly more important, genres which have to do with tourists will stay important. Sessions for tourists and a 'music house' seem in this way quite viable. However, these need participation of musicians; hence in the future the fortune of the genre of teaching will be very influential. The same may be said about the local competition, which is also touristically quite important.

As happened in the past, such developments will be of paramount importance in the development of aspects of musical structure. All social processes

of selection have a quantitative influence, which may eventually become a qualitative element. Variable aspects of musical structure may in practice become invariable aspects.
However, developments within Ireland at large suggest that social genres continue to differentiate, together with their musical components. This may in the future influence the situation in Feakle. Genres which at present are popular among circles of young people in the cities, may become fashionable in youth circles in Feakle as well; in this process aspects of musical structure may change. In other words, future differentiation of local social genres depends to a large extent on the attitudes of the younger people. As indicated, many of the present meanings do not suit them. It is however possible that they will start new genres with reference to urban genres. Probably able young players will not be available locally, and the genres will have to rely on radio, television and records, and on occasional concerts of visiting musicians.

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2. John Canon Clancy: Short history of the parish of Killanena or Upper Feakle, 1964 Limerick (booklet).
3. Rev. P. White: History of Clare, 1973 Cork, p.367.
4. C. Arensberg/S. Kimball: Family and community in Ireland, 1968 Harvard, p. 68. 69.
5. H. Brody: Inishkillane, 1973 (Penguin), p.36-38.
6. See for a classification of Peasants: R. Franklin: The European peasantry, 1969. Instead of his concept of worker-peasant I write worker-farmer.
7. H. Brody, op.cit. p.72.
8. D. Hannan; Rural exodus, London 1970.
9. S. Franklin, op.cit. See also the same writer's Rural society, 1971.
10. Br. Breathnach: Folkmusic and dances of Ireland, 1971 Dublin, p.46-48.
11. F. O'Neill: The Dance Music of Ireland, Chicago ± 1910, reprinted Dublin without year, p.5. See also the list of names on p.3 (I have hardly any information about Michael Tubridy) and the reels nos. 774 ('Johnny Allen's reel'), 775 and 776. At present 775, 'Maid of Feakle' is hardly known in the area!
12. See for a thorough study of 'coalition': J. Boissevain: Friends of friends, Oxford 1974, chapter 7.

PART V: EVALUATIONS OF FINDINGS, MODEL AND THEORETICAL ASSUMPTIONS.

In this part some answers to questions presented in part I will be summarized. More detailed summaries of answers have been presented on pages 71-73, 100-103, 154-158 and 172-174; the present summary will be somewhat more general. In relation to this summary the model used for descriptions of musical life and musical developments - as summarized on pages 8-9 - will be evaluated. As was stated on pages 9-10 some theoretical assumptions operate within this model; I will try to evaluate the plausibility of these assumptions.

The main problem stated in part I was: Why are certain types of music which by the various users are indicated as similar used in so many different social settings? In part II this similarity has been traced back to the musical realization of certain invariables and of variation of some important variables as experienced by the users and most prominently by the musicians. In part III historical developments have been described which together caused a process of emancipation of traditional (dance-)music and musicians. This process has been started off by 19th century collectors who considered the music to be of great cultural and traditional value. During the various revivals the musicians became ever more self-conscious and created what may be called a consensus community of traditional musicians. Musicians of this community could participate in nearly all social genres of Irish traditional dance-music; this participation is largely responsible for the fact that similar music is used in so many different settings. One may object that here we have to do with a tautology: the consensus community has been defined as those players who agree on the invariables and important variables of the music studied, and their participation in various genres is presented as cause of 'musical similarity' between these genres. However, this objection does no justice to the historical processes of emancipation which could only take place since many social groups considered the music to be a suitable component of meaningful musical activity. Hence only a consistent historical approach - as I have tried to present - enables the investigator to estimate the quantitative and qualitative importance of the various genres and of the consensus community adequately.

One of the values implicit in the revivals was the importance of the musical cultural tradition. This value made the music a suitable component of activity within many social genres, experienced as meaningful by many social groups of users. Other values which may be seen as making genres meaningful to various groups of users were sanctioned

communication between people of opposite sex and locality. Aspects of these 'meanings' often induced social groups to initiate social genres of the music studied, or to drop their 'loyalty' to such genres. The specific developments of social organization in Ireland, at various levels, allowed for continuing social importance of these meanings, although the attitudes of various social groups often changed considerably. The multitude of social genres resulted from interaction between the various groups of (potential) users and the increasingly self-confident musicians. At the purely musical level this interaction may be seen as processes of selection of patterns of music with specific aspects. While the invariables have to be realized - in order to allow the music to be potentially meaningful and to be recognized as Irish traditional dance-music - there are often considerable musical differences between the various genres. Historically seen these processes of interaction and selection caused both radical acceptance of Irish traditional dance-music in various genres as gradual stylistic change. Some of these processes have been studied in part III and, with some more depth, in part IV.

While the multitude of social genres - and of social and musical differences between these genres - has been steadily increasing - the basic option of the present revival has become more and more unrealistic: only a few players are able and willing to participate in many genres. This has to do with social and musical attitudes and abilities of the musicians. Together with other social processes this development may bring the consensus within the community of musicians and the functioning of several genres to an end, thus causing the end of the present revival.

Several parts of the model used in this study have allowed for a reasonably systematic description of musical life and musical development. The concept of social genre has been the most useful. This concept allows for a study of music as pure sound without isolating this sound from the whole complex of musical activity within related socio-musical events. Such a non-absolute abstraction of music from musical life may indeed be the aim of many musicologists. As will be indicated below (page 177) Irish musical history itself shows processes of abstraction of music from social genres. Channels of communication, another concept within the model, have been instrumental in these processes of abstraction. During Irish musical history the main channels have been collectors, collections, broadcasts, discs and most prominently the traditional musicians themselves. Origins and developments of social genres can

not be explained without a study of these channels and processes of communication. The ratio and quality of distortion of various components of social genres in the communication circuits caused considerable change of musical aspects as well as of aspects of meaning.
Although the concept of availability has been quite useful and even very necessary at times, it covers a very large range of factors like availability of communication channels, of physical resources necessary for specific social genres and of potential participants. The first and last types of availability may be seen as aspects of channels of communication and of (potential) social genres. A subdivision and specification of various types of availability may render the description more elegant if presented very clearly; otherwise descriptions may become confused by the sheer amount of concepts used.

Descriptions in parts III and IV have indicated a certain level of abstraction of the musical component from social genres by various groups of users. This abstraction is reflected in the amount of private and public collections of transcriptions. There may have been a historical process of such abstraction, started at the latest by the collectors in the 19th century. Moreover, the multitude of patterns of use of types of music which are recognized as 'the same' may facilitate such abstraction by various groups. During the interviewing (page 153) no informant had any apparent problems in giving opinions about the music outside the context of specific genres. Of course this is related to the custom within the language community of Ireland at large to speak about music as pure sound (as is the case in my own language community); it does not necessarily imply that the informants indeed abstracted the music from social genres.
In relation to this abstraction we may consider the theoretical possibility of a musical genre within processes of communication: does music, when experienced outside specific social genres, communicate meanings belonging to specific genres (see page 10)? We have seen (pages 93 and 128-129) that 'meanings' could be experienced as meanings of a social genre without clearly influencing the suitability of the music for other social genres. At the other hand the attitude of many young Feakle people in relation to the traditional dance-music indicates that certain meanings are experienced not only in relation to particular genres but to all genres of the music concerned (see pages 136 and 156-157). In this case the important general meaning of locality was at stake. I conclude that although many specific meanings are only attached to the music as functioning within specific social genres certain meanings are experienced as attached to the music

as abstracted from specific social genres. These experiences of meanings, here presented as two categories, may have to be placed on a continuum. On one side of the continuum we may see Irish traditional dance-music as a large musical genre to which important general meanings have been attached; on the other side this music (or rather subtypes of this music) may be seen as sign of specific social genres.

It is in relation to this discussion that we have to consider again what the nature of 'meanings' is and how meanings are related to aspects of musical structure which change (see pages 4-5 and 9-10). The general meanings (value of tradition, communication and locality) have in this study been treated as resulting from general experience in many social genres or, in the case of the value of tradition, as resulting from the sheer fact that the music concerned was found within the country and labeled traditional (which probably was correct to some extent). In other words, these meanings resulted from historical processes of association. But we may not conclude on the basis of this information that no inherent meanings are present. It is significant that changes in formal structure (page 100-101) have been ascribed to purely musical logic; there seems to be a big gap between such an explanation and an explanation in terms of adaptation of structural aspects which have become loaded with meanings in processes of association. Other changes, like those in instruments used (page 86-87, 141-142) or ensemble playing (pages 94, 141) have largely been explained as resulting from physical circumstances like need for more volume, from availability of instruments and from other factors which as such do not involve meaning. However, as has been indicated, these changes may have been caused by changes in needs for specific meanings as well as by matters of availability. In some cases these meanings were caused in processes of historical association, e.g. the suitability of the accordion as an instrument with modern urban backgrounds (page 86) or the suitability of a large group of players (page 94) as imitation of the urban dance-bands. Of course these meanings, when presented in this way, are related to devices to create sound (instruments, ensembles) rather than to pure sound itself. However it may be assumed that these meanings are at least partly experienced through the sound and because of the sound. In the case of the accordion for instance a quality of meaning has been ascribed to its tone (which is less personal, hence less related to the very small community, than tones of other instruments, see page 130), to its fast time music, rhythmical stresses and opportunities for variation (page 142). If indeed the accordion became popular because these aspects were often experienced as meaningful one may wonder if

here we have to do with inherent meanings. If not, it must be concluded that the methods used in this study are unsophisticated since they can not deal properly with processes of association at this level of structural aspects. Anyhow I conclude that the question: historical association or inherence, remains unsolved. While processes of association are present we may not conclude that inherence is absent.

In relation to such processes of association of meaning, and of selection of meaningful musical activity, one result of the fieldwork has not been worked out in this study: the fact that many people in Feakle never changed their preferences for specific musical activities (see page 154), although they occasionally changed their actual behaviour. This may partly explain why groups of users often are age groups as well as social groups separated from other groups of the same age. If this is the case, further study will be necessary to indicate if and how musical activity and preferences change when social change affects backgrounds and attitudes of members of the social groups concerned after the 'initial' preferences have been settled.

APPENDIX I : CHANGES OF ASPECTS OF MUSICAL STRUCTURE OF DANCE-TUNES, AS REFLECTED IN COLLECTIONS.

1. G. Petrie: Ancient music of Ireland, complete edition of 1903. Most tunes have been collected between 1800 and 1855. Petrie himself published a first volume in 1855, in which he gives details about tempo, instruments, musicians and use. These are all absent in the 1903 issue.

Time-categories: number of jigs 104 (this includes single jigs, slip jigs and marches. Many slip jigs are simply presented as 'jig')
number of reels 41

Tempo : (indicated with pendulum length in the 1855 edition) jigs MM=130, marches MM=118, reels MM=100 (2 times), 118 or 130 (both once). The 1903 issue does not indicate tempo.

Tune : Unusual is the number of b flats and f naturals. Other tune elements resemble those of the Feakle sample of part II.

Formal structure: (of reels, compare paragraph C of part II):
Category C1.1. (4 tune-heads, internal tune-repetition, lift in turn) 22
Category C1.2. (tune and turn have 8-bar parts with internal repetition) 8
Category C1.3. (tune and turn have lifts and 8-bar parts: no internal repetition) 4
Category C3 (tune and turn have 8-bar parts and int. repetition but only 2 heads) 1
Category 64 (2 heads in each part) but with 8-bar parts, so no internal repetition 3
Multi-part reels 3
Thus Petrie does not include 16-bar part reels.
Jigs: ± 80 % has 8-bar parts; such jigs do not occur in the Feakle sample.

Variation : While long notes and triplets appear in the transcriptions, rolls and grace notes are rare.

Instruments : Fiddle, pipes, occasionally whistling.

Petrie also gives details about dance steps and occasions of and behaviour at dances (1855 publication, p. 50-51 and 59)

2. P. Joyce: Old Irish folk music and songs, edition 1907. Tunes were collected mostly around 1850-1860.

Time-categories : number of jigs 31 (3 are called 'jig' but have no jig-structure)
number of reels 34

Tempo not indicated

Tune : Less b flats occur than in Petrie!s. Other elements as in the Feakle sample.

Formal structure: C1.1. of reels 15
C1.2. 1
C1.3. 6
C3. 2
C4. without internal repetition 6

Two reels collected in 1887:
(jigs: as in Feakle) C2. (narrow-spaced heads, lifts in tune and turn and internal repetition, 16-bar parts) 1
C4. with internal repetition, as indicated in part II 1

Multi-part reels 2

Variation : In the transcriptions long notes, triplets, some rolls and grace notes are indicated.

Instruments : fiddle, pipes

3. F. O'Neill: Dance music of Ireland . Published during the 1910's; tunes collected between 1890 and 1910, mostly among first generation emigrants in Chicago, some in the west of Ireland).

Time-categories : double jigs 365
single jigs 45
slip jigs 45
reels 350. On p.3 the collector indicates that almost as many reels as jigs exist.

Tempo not indicated

Tune : occasional flats. Other elements as in the Feakle sample.

Formal structure: C1.1. of reels 139
C1.2. of reels 4
C1.3. 92
C2.1 . (16-bar parts) 2
C3. 19
C4. without internal repetition 33

Either C3 or C4(no repet.) 17

Multi-part reels 36
8 other reels could not be classed
The jigs have a structure similar to those of the Feakle sample.

Variation : In the transcriptions many variations are indicated either in staff notes or with symbols. Long notes rarely occur in the head positions.

Instruments : All players are mentioned in the introduction. Most seem to have played pipes or fiddle. Some transcriptions suggest melodeons.

4. Allan's Irish fiddler, without year; probably collected ± 1940-1950.

Time-categories : Number of jigs 36 (including one single jig and one slip jig)
Number of reels 36

Tempo : not indicated

Tune : Quite a number of g sharps occur (some g sharps already occurred in O-NeilL's)

Formal structure: C1.1. of reels 7
C1.3. 2
C2.1. 2
C3. 3
C4 with repetition 17
Multi-part reels 3
Two reels could not be classed satisfactorily.

Variation : Many triplets and grace notes. Long notes are rare; rolls are not indicated as such, but these may have been represented as triplets starting with a grace note, like in O'Neill's.

Instruments : not indicated.

5. B. Breathnach: Ceol Rince na hEireann, published 1963; collected mostly since 1950.

Time-categories : double jigs 54
single jigs 7
slip jigs 8
reels 134

Tempo : indicated per category in the 1974 reprint.
Double jigs MM=127, Single jigs MM=137, slip jigs MM=144, reels MM=112 (hornpipes MM=90)

Tune : All elements discussed in part II are present, but for the 'fingering models' of fiddlers. The slide

from f to f sharp is indicated.

Formal structure: C1.1. of reels 52
C1.2. 8
C1.3. 10
C2.1. 4
C2.2. (the 'mistake'-category) 2
C3. 6
C4. without internal repetition 5
C4. with repetition (16-bar parts) 27
Multi-part reels 20

Three jigs have 8-bar parts.

Variation : Many variations have been transcribed; others are indicated with special symbols, thus suggesting an ad libitum character. This is the aim of the collector as he states in the introduction. Variations are similar to those found in Feakle.

Instruments : The tunes were played by pipers (7 players), fiddlers (6 players), flute-players (4 players), tinwhistlers (1 player), accordion (3 players)

6. D. Bulmer: Music from Ireland, 1974. These tunes have been recently collected among 'Irish circles in both England and Scotland'.

Time-categories : double jigs 12
slip jigs 2
reels 53

Tempo not indicated

Tune : No pecularities

Formal structure: C1.1. of reels 1
C1.2. 2
62.1. 8
C2.2. 5
C3. 1
C4. 20
Multi-part reels 13

Variation : As in the previous collection. Grace notes have not been indicated.

Instruments : not indicated.

A note on other categories. The collections include a highly variable amount of hornpipes, the number of which is always smaller than that of reels or jigs (with Allan's as an exception; here 36 hornpipes have been included). The most recent collections indicate the disappearing of interest in this category.
Moreover, most collections (except Breathnach's) include other categories, like . setdances, marches or polkas . The number is rather small.

APPENDIX II: STATISTICAL DATA ON DEMOGRAPHIC AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS IN THE PARISH OF FEAKLE, 1925-1975.

A. POPULATION FIGURES

1. FEAKLE D.E.D. (eastern part of the nuclear village and townlands northeast and east)

year	total popul.	male popul.	female popul.	proport. decline total	decline male	decline female	number of female per 1000 male
1911	786						
				−24%			
1926	635	339	296				873
				− 5%	−6%	−4%	
1936	604	319	285				893
				−16%	−14%	−19%	
1946	506	274	232				846
				− 9%	− 7%	−11%	
1951	462	255	207				811
				−14%	−12%	−17%	
1961	396	224	172				768
				− 4%	− 8%	+ 4% 1)	
1966	385	206	179				869
				+ 3% 1)	0%	+ 6% 1)	
1971	398	207	191				923

1) = increase

2. AYLE D.E.D. (western part of the nuclear village and townlands northwest, west and southwest)

year	total popul.	male popul.	female popul.	proport. decline total	decline male	decline female	number of female per 1000 male
1911	428						
				−12%			
1926	378	200	178				890
				− 7%	− 1%	−13%	
1936	352	197	155				741
				− 8%	− 5%	−12%	
1946	323	187	136				722
				−10%	−11%	− 8%	
1951	291	166	125				753
				−10%	−14%	− 6%	
1961	262	144	118				820
				−12%	− 8%	−18%	
1966	230	133	97				730
				− 9%	− 9%	− 8%	
1971	208	119	89				748

3. COOLREAGH D.E.D. (townlands south)

year	total popul.	male popul.	female popul.	proport. decline total	decline male	decline female	number of female per 1000 male
1911	370						
				− 7%			
1926	344	178	166				932
				−17%	−11%	−24%	
1936	286	158	128				810
				−10%	−15%	− 5%	
1946	256	135	121				896
				+ 3% 1)	+ 9% 1)	− 2%	
1951	265	147	118				803
				−12%	−16%	−10%	
1961	233	127	106				834
				+ 6% 1)	+10% 1)	+ 1% 1)	
1966	246	139	107				770
				−15%	− 7%	−23%	
1971	211	129	82				636

(Calculated with the help of data from Census of population, General Statistics Department Dublin)

4. PARISH OF FEAKLE 1975 (data collected by pupils of Feakle national school)

age	total	male	female
0-12	212	105	107
13-18	89	47	42
19-25	55	31	24
26-35	78	42	36
36-45	78	38	40
46-55	90	58	32
56-65	70	39	31
66-75	71	39	32
75+	46	24	22
	799	433	366

i.e.
845 females per 1000 males

Number of households: 237

Occupation of head of household :

97 fulltime farmers
34 parttime farmers 1)
10 fulltime factory-work
61 retired
35 otherwise employed

1) including 27 worker-farmers

Number of bachelors (over 36 years) 68
Number of spinsters (over 36 years) 25
Number of widowers 5
Number of widows 11

There are large differences between the various parts of the parish.
As an example:

Nuclear village + immediate surroundings	-	Magherabawn
Total popul.: 199		43
Male 97 = 49%		32 = 75%
Female 102 = 51%		11 = 25%
Average age 26 years		46 years

Migration: during	Number that left parish for other place in Ireland	Number that left parish for place outside Ireland	Number that settled in the parish
1st year before the fieldwork	37	--	24
2nd year before the fieldwork	15	1	38 1)
3rd	9	2	7
4th	9	--	14
5th	4	--	4
	74	3	87

1) In this year the new houses were sold .

Number of cars in the parish (estimation) 70
Number of tractors (estimation) 80

B. AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS (Source: General Statistics Department Dublin; County Agricultural Advisory Service Ennis)

1. FEAKLE D.E.D.

Year	Number of holdings	Number of males working on farms		Number of dry cattle	Number of cows	Number of tractors
		A 1)?	B ?			
1925	?			825	353	--
1929	142 2)	164	16	1030	396	--
1934	141	230	31	940	428	--
1939	137	253	66	927	471	--
1944	134	149	13	?	391	--
1950	127	136	7	1159	390	1
1955	125	122	4	1164	371	2
1960	116	?	?	1314	398	7
1965	121	115	3	1183	456	14
1970	?	90	5	1795	390	34

1): A = total number of males; B = of these, number which does not belong to the family of farmer-householder
2): Included is a number of small plots owned by non-farmers (nucl.village)

2. AYLE D.E.D.

Year	Number of holdings	Number of males working on farms		Number of dry cattle	Number of cows	Number of tractors
		A ?	B ? 1)			
1925	?			744	233	--
1929	83	86	17	821	197	--
1934	85	108	22	765	233	--
1939	83	99	13	715	208	--
1944	83	91	9	?	202	--
1950	81	77	7	851	208	2
1955	78	89	6	890	235	3
1960	75	75	8	1006	299	2
1965	66	72	10	1025	318	2
1970	?	49	4	1349	276	17

1): A = total number of males; B = not belonging to family of farmer-householder

3. COOLREAGH D.E.D.

Year	Number of holdings	Number of males working on farms		Number of dry cattle	Number of cows	Number of tractors
		A ?	B? 1)			
1925	?			799	282	--
1929	80	125	17	782	260	--
1934	73	140	30	914	304	--
1939	74	106	12	928	263	--
1944	73	103	9	779	256	--
1950	76	88	7	874	283	1
1955	78	88	4	972	285	5
1960	68	?	?	1189	319	9
1965	77	76	22	1192	364	7
1970	?	48	1	1096	353	16

1) : A = total number of males; B = not belonging to family of farmer-householder

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