

Performing and Conveying Manxness: Exploring Community Identity Following Music Revival

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Abstract:

The Manx music revival succeeded: Manx music has truly come into its own, and with that blossoming have come changes in repertoire and style; simultaneously, social media has enabled musicians around the world to not only hear Manx music, but to perform and share it themselves. I explore how the community has redefined itself and its music over time, how virtual connections enable musicians around the world to directly engage with the music and with Manx musicians, and how contemporary ideas of inclusion, participation, tradition, and innovation shape the present and future of Manx music.

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0.3) PREFACE

At the outset, I must make clear that songs in Manx Gaelic are an incredibly important part of Manx traditional music. (As will be discussed later, many of the melodies today known only as tunes were likely once song melodies - even when the words are gone, their shapes remain.) However, my goal with this research was in part to explore how non-Manx musicians receive and perform Manx music. Susan Lewis notes that

for a limited but increasing number of interested people, the Manx Gaelic has become the means by which they can express their identification of what it means to belong to this place ... but it cannot be denied that, despite a steady increase in interest, the Manx Gaelic language is not 'shared' and thus cannot be seen as an effective (or affectively performative) 'tool of cultural unity.'

(Lewis 2004:52)

Thus for this research I limited my focus to instrumental music which had no barrier to participation for anyone who was already familiar with performing similar sorts of music.

There are also many kinds of Manx music - not just traditional tunes and songs. The Isle of Man has rich traditions of brass bands; West Gallery song; contemporary folk, rock, pop, and more; orchestras; and musical theatre. But here, for simplicity, I use 'Manx music' as shorthand for 'instrumental Manx traditional music' unless otherwise specified. Moreover, I mean the word 'traditional' to encompass material found in collections and material newly composed in the same idiom.

1) INTRODUCTION

... there will come a time when a particular revival movement might be said to have either failed or succeeded. If a once-neglected genre has been safely reinstated and is no longer at risk of extinction, then it no longer makes sense to frame it in terms of revival. This is not, however, the end of the story. The question remains: what comes after revival?

(Hill & Bithell 2013:29)

... now there is, not a revival, but a renaissance of Manx music.

(Bazin 2006:19)

The Manx music revival began in 1975 (Woolley 2003); by the early 2000s it was arguably "completed and restored to use," the title of proceedings (Miller 2004) of an April 2000 academic conference looking back on the Manx music, dance, and language revivals (borrowing its title from Manx dance collector Mona Douglas). A few years later, the Manx music scene in vigorous health driven by its second generation, historian Fenella Bazin declared "now there is, not a revival, but a renaissance of Manx music" (2006:19). Looking back from 2017, the transition between revival and "what comes after" (Hill & Bithell 2013:29) - blurry as such spaces are - was certainly *underway* by the mid-2000s, was definitively crossed by 2013, and was made undeniable on the island, to a live audience of hundreds of thousands, and to millions around the world with the "Manxwall" performances of 2015. But *what does come after revival for Manx music?*

The new generation of Manx musicians re-examine questions of repertoire and style, not accepting the once-rigid revivalist ideas of what Manx music is or is not. Manx musicians now tour extensively within and beyond the Celtic nations, while technologies like YouTube and smartphones bring people to Manx music and enable worldwide engagement. It's easy to imagine how a tradition as small as the Isle of Man's might be swallowed whole by its Celtic neighbors and subsumed into their identities as the world becomes more connected, and as the political reasons that fomented the Manx revival recede. Yet rather than its identity weakening or becoming diluted, Manx music remains strong and retains an essential - if perhaps ineffable - 'Manxness' and a strong connection to the Isle of Man.

1.1) RESEARCH QUESTIONS

[Revivals] inevitably introduce changes to a tradition and may result in a music or dance practice initially selected for revival evolving to a point where it has become something new that now enjoys an independent existence, free of its once symbiotic connection to a particular social, political, or aesthetic cause.

(Hill & Bithell 2013:28)

As I discuss how Manx music has moved beyond revival, I ask:

- how does enjoying an 'independent existence' from the completed revival affect how the Manx music community identifies with Manx music?

I offer two case studies, each focused on a particular Manx tune, to explore this question:

- how have repertoire and style differently since the revival from during it: how is Manxness performed beyond the revival?
- how has the rise of online social media led Manx music from local to translocal: how is Manxness conveyed beyond the revival?

Through this exploration of a 'post-revival' that has gone - and continues to go - remarkably well, I seek to construct an example by which ethnomusicologists can measure the success of other post-revival musics. I also hope this study suggests methodology and language useful to ethnomusicologists conducting future post-revival studies.

1.2) LITERATURE REVIEW

Hill & Bithell "offer fresh theoretical perspectives for understanding music revival as concept, cultural process, and medium of change" (1) and introduce "the notion of post-revival" (29). They explore the concept of 'post-revival' and consider paths (and pitfalls) a revived music may follow (or fall into). I

employ points they consider about post-revival developments and directions as an overarching structural framework for this thesis.

Observing that "the notion that a community is localized has cast doubt for some as to the utility of the word in an era of increasingly mobile and cosmopolitan populations," **Shelemay** (2011:356) proposes a new non-localized framework for understanding musical community as a non-place-specific "social entity" (365) in which "music's role in community formation" (350) is shaped by "processes of descent, dissent, and affinity" (367). This provides a framework for discussing the nuanced issue of who is Manx, drawing on **Lewis's** (2004) study of Manx identity, to show how the Manx music community has shifted among Shelemay's shaping processes.

Livingston, reflecting on her proposed structure for revivals (1999), argues for its continued utility (2013:2) but encourages greater emphasis on participatory aspects incorporating the concepts and structural ideas put forward by Thomas Turino. She views Turino's challenge "to consider music ... in the ways that it becomes socially meaningful" as the way forward in understanding revivals (8).

In that exploration of how music is socially meaningful, **Turino** (2008) introduces a framework to "illuminate why and how music and dance are so important to people's understanding of themselves and their identities" (1-2), dividing music into four types. Each embodies and expresses different goals and values: performances, subdivided into participatory and presentational; and recordings, subdivided into high fidelity and studio audio art. I describe various performance contexts for Manx music, and discuss how they at times conform to, and at times blur or subvert the distinctions Turino draws between participatory and presentational performances.

In exploring post-revival changes in Manx repertoire and style, I call on **Yates** (2013) and **Rowles** (2013), two Manx ethnomusicologists whose fieldwork was ending just as the period I study began. **Winter & Keegan-Phipps** (2013), in *Performing Englishness*, inspired the chapter titles for this entire thesis. While their discussions of English identity and place figure at many points, their discussion of musical style and variation is particularly relevant. In this respect, so is Timothy **Knowles's** (2013) research on ornamentation and improvisation.

Kytölä (2016) discusses translocality, the "connectedness between locales where both the local and the global are meaningful parameters for social and cultural activities" generating "a fluid understanding of culture as outward-looking" (1). As digital communication enables links between localities which ignore geography and bypass national or cultural boundaries, something different than globalisation, transnationalism, or transculturalism is created, a culture which is "partly territorial, tied to a (habitable or occupiable) space, and partly de-territorial, finding dimensions and meanings from spaces and locales beyond our daily habitats ... the heart of the idea of translocality" (4). I draw on **Jousmäki's** (2017) case study of translocalism in Nordic Christian metal groups and Henry **Jenkins's** (2006) writings on online fan communities, analyzing how one tune went translocal in two distinct ways.

Japanese bodhran player Toshiya **Motooka's** (2015) article on Manx music results from two weeks of participant observation. Motooka's experiences shed new light on post-revival Manx music, which complement my own outsider/insider participant observation experiences.

1.3) METHODOLOGY

Though not Manx by descent, I have experienced acceptance in the Manx music community from my first visit in 2013. I had been performing Manx music since 2010 with the dance group And Sometimes Y (the only Manx dancers in North America). Barz & Cooley (2008) guided my participant-observation practices, and my experiences using performance as research technique have been informed by both Hood (1960) and Baily (2001). To an extent, this has become 'my' music over the past several years (Nettl 1995) - this is the music I play most often, and the music community I feel most at home in - and so to a certain extent I consider myself an 'insider' researcher (Chiener 2002) as well. I am conscious of how being both insider and outsider affect my research.

I took five fieldwork trips, at which I made observations and recordings:

- Lowender Peran festival, Cornwall, November 2016
- Mollag Ghennal concert, IOM, December 2016
- Celtic Connections concerts, Glasgow, January 2017
- Manx Folk Awards and Shennaghys Jiu festival, IOM, April 2017
- Celtfest Isle of Man festival, IOM, July 2017

I draw also on earlier ethnographic experiences:

- four prior trips to the Isle of Man (2013-2015)
- observing a Manx band received at an American folk festival (upstate New York, June 2016)
- six years as musician for an American Manx dance group (2010-2016)

Numerous interviews gave me insights into many aspects of Manx culture, music, and identity. (See Appendix A for names and biographies.)

I distributed a questionnaire on paper at the Shennaghys Jiu festival, from which I received 32 responses.¹ (See Appendix B for questionnaire.)

Digital technologies improved or inspired my research methodology in several ways.² Whilst I conducted several interviews in person on the Isle of Man, I also used Skype (informant in America), Facebook Video Chat (Norway), Facebook Messenger (Japan), and email (Scotland), greatly increasing the number of interviewees I could converse with at their convenience. I elected not to take my questionnaire online after collecting a moderate sample size of useful responses, for fear of it going viral on Facebook, as it was not intended to be the major source of my data.

Longtime participation in several Facebook groups related to Manx music and dance has kept me abreast of events and discussions that guided my research, and local radio and television and newspaper accounts I would not otherwise discover. Often these were streamed or available for one week only; whenever possible, I recorded or downloaded these for later use.

"Field recordings" shared on YouTube, Soundcloud, Facebook, Bandcamp, and Myspace (!) provided documentation of not only concerts but also of rehearsals, sessions, and busking which would otherwise have been unavailable for my research. Turino noted how his "Peruvian friends tended to think of music as being as much about the event and the people as about the sound itself. As often as not, when the next festival came they would record over the previous sonic snapshot, its use value - reminiscing with friends during the weeks following the fiesta - fulfilled" (2008:24). Thanks to the

¹ It is coincidental that questionnaires from this study, Rowles (2013), and Yates (2013) each received 32 responses!

² cf <https://www.digitalfolk.org/> and <http://www.musicalmeaning.com/home/questionnaire-on-scottish-trad-music>

archival nature of YouTube et al, such ephemeral performances now remain available to researchers. The challenge is finding what you need! Through efforts such as the resource webpages I have constructed for the tunes "Three Little Boats" and "Mylecharaine's March" (employed in Chapters 3 and 4, and discussed in Appendix D), I facilitate my own research but also suggest a model to future researchers for ways they can discover, organize, and use such recordings in their own work.

1.4) CHAPTER STRUCTURE

I begin with an overview of 'Manxness' as it might apply to people and performance in "**Whither Manxness?**" Here I provide context into the ambiguities of who is Manx, and I describe the settings in which traditional Manx music can regularly be found on the island and in the interceltic sphere (with particular consideration of how each setting fits into Manx social life), which lay the foundations on which following chapters are built.

As a compact self-governing island with a rich musical community, Manx music has provided ideal subject matter for the identity of fiddle styles and the formation of canon. Put simply, "Defining what makes music 'Manx' is really hard" (Adam Rhodes, interview). There is a "sense of tacit identity" as to what is Manx (Yates 2013:xvii), but "whilst there are some common traits that could be considered stylistic, I feel that more research needs to be done," writes Rowles (2013:254). In "**Performing Manxness**" I explore questions of style and repertoire and organize the views of Manx musicians into themes; to illustrate stylistic ideas, I collected over twenty recordings of the popular Manx tune "Three Little Boats."

Rowles noted, just four years ago, that the rise of social media presents "an opportunity for Manx fiddlers to be heard worldwide" (2013:241), but left determining its effects to future researchers. Following analysis of the tune "Mylecharaine's March" (through 2012), Yates mentions that a new Manx band has just recorded the tune. In "**Conveying Manxness**" I discuss how the music video of that recording was partly responsible for the translocalisation of Manx music. "Mylecharaine's March" simultaneously went translocal twice; connecting these paths, I situate them within the frameworks of translocal music and participatory culture and explore how this unmistakable and uniquely Manx tune has not just been received globally, but has been adopted, adapted, recreated, and performed by others.

Finally, I offer a discussion of alternative terminology - proposed by Manx informants - for post-revival studies, addressing Hill & Bithell's critique of their own term 'post-revival' as problematic (2013:30). I conclude **"Post-Revival Language and Future Manxness"** by returning to the central question of how the Manx music community identifies with Manx music in the present day.

2) WHITHER MANXNESS?

Before looking at how Manx identity is performed or conveyed through music today, in this chapter I contextualize what it means to identify as Manx and where and when the Manx perform their music. I explore how people negotiate the ambiguities of belonging or feeling accepted and come to embrace and share a communal identity. This is a prerequisite for being able to perform or convey that identity in a personal (as opposed to actorly) way. Lewis and Shelemay provide a framework for this discussion.

Having addressed the people of Manx music, I turn to its physical spaces. Identifying where Manx music is performed, following and expanding on a framework of Winter & Keegan-Phipps, we can examine how those spaces enable, encourage, and perhaps require different modes of performance. Turino's ontology divides performances into relatively (though not exclusively) distinct categories, while Timothy Knowles proposes a more nuanced and fluid approach which fits my observations of many modes of Manx music performance.

2.1) IDENTITY: "WELCOME HOME!"

Any general theories about artistic processes and expressive cultural practices would do well to begin with a conception of the self and individual identity, because it is in living breathing individuals that 'culture' and musical meaning ultimately reside.

(Turino 2008:94-95)

I feel like a member of the Isle of Man crew... I'm not personally the patriotic type, though, so I don't go out of my way to claim that I'm 'from Wales' or that I'm 'a Manx musician.'

(Jamie Smith, in Motooka 2015:3)

To understand anything about how Manxness is embedded in or expressed by Manx music, we must first understand "who is Manx." While both island and nation have an easily-defined boundary, there is no such clarity with Manxness. American historian Elizabeth Catte, reflecting on a year living on Mann researching the connection between heritage and identity, notes that "only in political documents that

articulate the Island's relationship, or lack of, with the European Union does the Isle of Man come close to defining 'Manx' as a discrete category of persons," (Catte 2015:11) and notes that this is very separate from how the Manx themselves generally understand Manxness:

Beyond these narrow definitions, the Island's more common way of expressing its 'Manxness' as a shared culture is through the celebration of traditions that emphasize its uniqueness and cultural difference from the United Kingdom.

(11)

This idea is also reflected in Winter & Keegan-Phipps's claim that "national identity is understood not as something that is naturally given or pre-existing, but as something that is made. [...] Englishness" - or in this case, Manxness - "is produced through [as Judith Butler wrote, in describing the establishment of gender identities] 'a stylized repetition of acts'" (Winter & Keegan-Phipps 2013:12).

Woolley, in her study of the early days of the Manx music revival, observes that "it is often an outsider to the culture that instigates a revival, and this feature is certainly reiterated through the revival of Manx traditional music ... although many young Manx-born people related to its aims and took an active interest in the politics and revived culture, it was actually newcomers to the Island that initiated the musical movement" (2003:123). David Nixon, an American anthropologist who conducted field research on the island in 1981, remembers

It was hard to say who was Manx and who was not. That was part of my research, was looking at the fluidity and at the lines. People who were not born on the island were yet very important to the Manx cultural revival, Colin Jerry [instigator of the music revival] being one example.

(interview)

This connects with Shelemay's proposal that "a musical community is, whatever its location in time or space, a collectivity constructed through and sustained by musical processes and/or performances ... [which] does not require the presence of conventional structural elements nor must it be anchored in a single place.... Rather, a musical community is a social entity" (2011:364-365) that can be shaped by "processes of descent, dissent, and affinity" (367).

Descent is a murky concept on the Isle of Man, as generations of families move back and forth between Mann and Scotland, England, Wales, or Ireland. Laura Rowles observed fluidity occurring even within a family, and "that's nothing you can generalize, because that's so individually personal to each person" (interview). Her father, who came over from England as a child, relates to being Manx; his brother, her uncle - who was elected to the Manx parliament - relates to being English.

Studying the identity of Manx dancers, Carol Hayes interviewed Peter Hayhurst, a longtime Manx musician and dancer who speaks and teaches Manx Gaelic. I've known Peter and his family for four years, and think him 'as Manx as the hills,' so I was surprised to read that he told Carol

... to actually say I'm Manx sounds ... very presumptuous. I don't feel that I belong any less to the Island. I'm very proud of the Island and will always stand up for it when talking about it elsewhere ... I'm born English and so I am English.

(Hayes 2008:31)

A great deal of Manx identity is based on affinity. In her exploration of Manxness, anthropologist Susan Lewis wrote that "'The Manx' are not, and perhaps have never been, a clearly defined ethnic group, although they express unequivocally the Island's Celtic heritage. Rather 'Manxness' could be said to lie in an idea, a set of values, a way of relating to place and to each other. Defined thus, 'Manx identity' is, and has always been, shared with incomers" (2004:15-16). But as in examples I've given above, Lewis observes that individuals differ as to what criteria are necessary or sufficient for they themselves to identify as Manx. Lewis draws on A.P. Cohen's (1996) work on Scottishness and his concept of 'personal nationalism' to frame this concept:

... if I identify myself to myself as Manx, the Manxness to which I refer is a personal construct of experience and values. It may or may not be like other people's Manxness, but is most unlikely to be identical to theirs.

(2004:259)

The band Barrule, self-identified as 'Manx trad power trio,' embodied this ambiguity as they became

the face of instrumental Manx music in 2013. All three members have a strong claim on Manx identity: Adam and Tom have lived on Mann since early childhood and had each grown up in the Manx music community; and Jamie, while Welsh, married into a musical Manx family and had long been a part of the Manx community himself. Yet, the argument could be made that none of the Manx trad power trio were, technically, Manx (as Adam was born in England, and Tom in Scotland).

Tom, Adam, and a number of other Manx musicians now live in a neighbourhood of Glasgow. I asked Chloë Woolley whether every tune they write would still be a Manx tune, and she replied "it might be a matter of who can stake a claim!," following that up with this anecdote:

Brian Ó hEadhra was over ... recently, and he said about Tom and Adam and Isla, 'they're Scottish musicians now.' And I said 'they are not,' and he said 'they live in Scotland, they can go for grants with Creative Scotland, we're having them now thank you.'

And he's joking obviously, but he works with a lot of Scottish musicians in exporting Scottish music to other countries. They put these little acts together, it's like showcasing Scottish acts, and he's like 'oh, they live in Glasgow now, they're ours.'

(interview)

The reverse can also be true: Scottish harp player Rachel Hair has made monthly visits to Mann since 2012 to give harp lessons. A longtime member of the Manx music community and resident of Glasgow's 'Manx Quarter,' Rachel also joined the Manx band Annym this summer for performances at Celtfest and Lorient. She's "a proper cog in the machine!" exclaimed Woolley, who put this into a broader historical context:

I think we've got to the point where Manx music is safe, and I think people now can be a little bit more fluid about how they describe themselves. Thirty years ago, I think that's when people had to be strict, had to have restrictions on how this is going to work.

(interview)

Lewis described Manx identity as being readily 'shared with incomers' (2004:16), something I've

observed several instances of. In 2015, after a week performing with Barrule and Mec Lir at Festival Interceltique Lorient, Japanese bodhran player Toshiya Motooka was dubbed an 'honourary Manxman' by Jamie Smith in an interview with Manx Television.³ And in July, when I arrived - fresh off the boat - to a lunchtime session at a Douglas café, friends greeted me with a chorus of "Welcome home!"

2.2) PLACES: WHERE THE CRAIC IS 90

We used to nip in to the White House in Peel every Saturday night without fail - that's where I learned all my tunes!

(Chloë Woolley, in Hunt 2016)

Participation is a really vague term! ... So what do people actually DO when they participate?

(Tim Knowles, presentation at University of Sheffield, 24 January 2017)

Before discussing ways that performing and conveying Manxness in music are changing, we must first also understand the contexts in which music is performed with some intention of Manxness. Winter & Keegan-Phipps offer "four key cultural fields within which national identity is performed" (2013:3), with which I will offer examples pertaining to traditional Manx music. I propose an additional cultural field relevant to Manx music, and will then discuss how these each map onto Turino's concepts of participatory performances and presentational performances.

Fields from Winter & Keegan-Phipps (3), with Manx examples:

- formal rituals and national ceremonies
 - performances as part of Tynwald Day
- popular rituals
 - community gatherings on St. Stephen's Day, to dance Hunt the Wren
- stagings by the tourist industry
 - Manx musicians performing on visiting cruise ships

³ <http://www.manx.net/tv/mt-tv/watch/73667/interceltique-lorient-manx-win>

- performances of everyday life
 - pub sessions
 - city centre busking
 - local concerts

To these, I add:

- education or outreach to inhabitants by cultural organizations
 - sending musicians to give concerts in schools
 - celebrations of historic figures or events which incorporate traditional music

(Performing Manxness in off-island festivals and concerts will come up in discussion at times.)

Turino uses desired values to differentiate participatory and presentational performances. Participatory music values "performing ... parts in a way that will not exclude others ... performing in ways that invite participation, even if this might limit a given performer's desire for personal expression or experimentation," while in presentational music "personal innovation ... [is] highly valued for the interest it provides for the audience" (2008:33). The argument I will make is that almost all traditional Manx music performance is heavily participatory, even in contexts where it might at first appear entirely or largely performative (contexts where other cultures' music seems less participatory by comparison), following ideas drawn from a presentation given by Timothy Knowles.⁴ Simultaneously there remains an extent to which personal innovations are always valued, even in what seem to be wholly participatory contexts such as pub sessions. In this way Manx sessions perhaps share values less with Irish pub sessions than with those in England (as described in T. Knowles 2013, and in his presentation).

No discussion of 'Manxness' as expressed through performance could begin anywhere besides Tynwald Day, when the Manx parliament promulgates laws and receives petitions in a thousand-year-old celebration that is part religious, part political, and part carnival. For the past several decades, this has included displays of traditional Manx dancing by several groups. These performances are rehearsed and

⁴ Music Department Post-Graduate Study Day, 24 January 2017.

presentational, though participatory to the extent that anyone can join these dance groups as a dancer or musician in the autumn and practice weekly towards performances like these: membership is open to anyone with enthusiasm and commitment.

Many dances and tunes were associated with holidays or festivals, and some traditions continue (or have been revived) including hunting the wren on St. Stephen's Day. Communities perform the eponymous dance - each village or town has its own gathering - often coordinated by members of performance groups who teach the dance and tune to all comers. Here, there are no costumes and no arrangements, and precision is not the goal. This is perhaps the truest, most democratic expression of Turino's definition of participation to be found, where everyone is "actively contributing to the sound and motion of a musical event through dancing, singing, clapping, and playing musical instruments when each of these activities is considered integral to the performance" (2008:28). No amount of Christmas cordial the night before prevents full participation.⁵

Stagings by the tourist industry, while not a major presence, are a place Manxness is expressed through presentational performances and are of note among the categories discussed in this section for having a 100% foreign audience. The main venue for this is on board cruise ships which call at Mann; only recently have cruise companies and the Manx cultural organization Culture Vannin coordinated to provide Manx musicians for on-board entertainment.

Manx sessions, busking, and concerts are the primary places where Manxness is performed in music. These have a mixture of participatory and presentational aspects. Manx sessions are extremely inclusive, even of comeovers and visitors, as I learned on my first visit to Mann in 2013. I and the American friends I brought were welcomed, encouraged to play (and even start tunes), and not allowed to pay for our drinks. Turino highlights that "the inclusion of people with a wide range of abilities within the same performance is important for inspiring participation" (2008:28) and this is evident even at Manx sessions with top-class professionals. Down the pub, everyone is welcome, and it is largely through sessions on the island that many friendships have developed. I've come to feel part of the community and not just a musician showing up for tunes. "Participatory music making leads to a special kind of concentration on the other people one is interacting with through sound and motion and

5 http://www.culturevannin.im/video_story_465967.html

on the activity in itself and for itself. This heightened concentration on the other participants is one reason that participatory music-dance is such a strong force for social bonding," writes Turino (2008:29), and I have experienced this to great effect in Manx sessions. A similar expression comes from Scott Reiss, who likens a session to an exchange of gifts among its participants (2003:148-149).

Livingston writes of the Brazilian *choro* revival that the "strong participatory element" was "the most authentic form ... the jam sessions governed by an unspoken set of rules privileging the art of making music together" (2013:3). As with *choro*, Manx sessions are strongly participatory and likewise seem only to have rules as far as ensuring inclusivity goes;⁶ but as I've become familiar with session culture on Mann, I've also seen how - while there is not a platform for solos in turn as bluegrass - there is room for playfully exploring variations, appreciation for personal interpretation, and opportunity for musical jokes. These are all aspects of presentation slightly hidden, yet present, amidst the participatory session environment. Knowles observed this in English sessions, of which he wrote "idiomatic performance of the tunes within should entail personal interpretation and variation" (2013:38).

While in many places busking consists of presentational performance by a soloist or a well-rehearsed ensemble, on Mann it often resembles an outdoor session. Sets are arranged to the point that musicians know the tune order, and perhaps when to change tunes, but these plans are not necessarily adhered to, nor are there precise arrangements for harmonies or variations. Though I've never asked any buskers I know whether I could join in for a tune, I suspect the question would be met with something more akin to a bemused "well, sure, why not?" than an indignant "this is my turf, my performance, my income." (It helps that often, money collected by Manx buskers playing traditional tunes goes to charity.)

All the other examples from these cultural fields are concerts by performing groups. In this respect they all share an overt presentational format that belies a strong current of participation. Here, participation will not be by others joining with their instruments, but instead with their bodies. As with much traditional music presented in a concert setting, tunes are often carefully arranged in ways that make for enjoyable listening but are not as they would be played normally.

The strong current of participation is true whether the audience is Manx (and somewhat familiar with

6 ... today! In decades past, the story was different; see Chapter 3.

the concept) or foreign - as when Barrule performed at Old Songs Festival in New York. At an open-air evening concert featuring many acts, the audience sat contentedly enjoying beverages and cheering for up-tempo fiddling by Cassie & Maggie MacDonald and the Jeremy Kittel Band. When Barrule took the stage, several dozen audience members rose and danced by the stage as I've never (in several years of attending that festival) seen.⁷ This behaviour was repeated at their subsequent festival performances, and was much remarked-upon by longtime festival-goers I spoke with.

It was also emphasized by several respondents to my questionnaire, answering "how would you describe Manx music?" with:

makes you want to dance

something fun that makes you want to dance

the most energetic music imaginable; difficult to resist joining in

When a Manx audience knows (or assumes) that a particular concert set will maintain a predictable pattern of, eg, 32-bar jigs, the participatory dancing may organically shift from disorganized kinetic joy to figures from Manx folk dances; I've even seen dancers carve out space for an actual set dance.⁸

One could argue such participation - not by everyone in attendance, but by at least some people - is "integral to the performance," to recall Turino's definition of participation (2008:28). Turino writes that participatory success is "judged by the degree and intensity of participation," while presentational success is judged by "some abstracted assessment of the musical sound quality" (33). Judged by these standards, successful performance of Manxness in a concert is as dependent on participation as it is on presentation. The craic is indeed 90 on the Isle of Man!

2.3) SUMMARY

In this chapter, we saw how people experience Manx identity and identified places Manxness is performed through music on Mann. Having appreciated the complexities of being Manx as an individual or as a member of the music community, and having understood the ways different cultural

⁷ <https://www.facebook.com/groups/manxmusicanddance/permalink/10154305640562417/>

⁸ eg <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wea9XkW78yk>

fields enable events with different participatory or presentational dynamics (but almost always strongly participatory), we are now ready to approach the music itself.

3) PERFORMING MANXNESS

The previous chapter dealt with "who" and "where/when;" this chapter looks at "what" and "how." Manx repertoire selection and performance style of roughly the past decade has a somewhat different character compared with earlier. Some recent changes⁹ are in the same direction as revival changes; others venture in new directions. The overall effect creates an array of possibilities for post-revival Manx music. I examine revival and post-revival broadenings in repertoire, and then explore developments and theories about style, drawing heavily on interviews. Shelemay's processes shaping musical communities suggest how changes in the music may reflect or point to changes in the way the community defines or identifies itself.

In this and the next chapter, I also draw on recorded Manx music. By Turino's ontology, recordings are not performances; they "mediate between artists and audiences that are usually not in face-to-face contact" (2008:68). I argue that this is an incomplete and imprecise statement of why many Manx artists choose to produce recordings. In most cases prior to 2013, Manx albums were produced locally in small quantities and not available beyond Mann.¹⁰ I suggest that for some artists, recording was less about mediating between artist and audience and more about creating a snapshot of artistic achievement at a particular moment, while for others it is a particular form of outreach and presentation. Artists known for complex soundscapes and unusual textures (eg, Moot and King Chiaullee) have told me their recordings are representative of their live performance sound, not a sound unique to the studio.

To focus my discussion of style on comparative examples, I collected twenty-two recordings of classic Manx tune "Three Little Boats" ("Tree Baatyn Beggey"), spanning from 1986¹¹ to 2017. I created an online annotated 'tunography' of these (see Appendix D). In Cinzia Yates's free-response survey (conducted online in 2009), thirty-two Manx musician respondents named this tune as:

9 Though never cited directly, Blacking (1977) and (1986) provided insights into the way I looked at these changes.

10 After four years of work, I have collected the bulk of released albums, though in many cases these are copies from friends, as the originals - even of albums only ten years old - have long been unavailable.

11 Little recorded Manx music was available before 1986; see Appendix C for a Manx discography.

<i>in their opinion,</i>	<i>rank</i> ¹²
the most played Manx tune	1
the most 'Manx' Manx tune	3 (tie)
their favourite/the best Manx tune	1
the most must-learn Manx tune	2

From 2002-2009, the tune was not recorded; in 2006, Katie Lawrence described it as "our answer to the Kesh - overplayed."¹³ From 2010, the recordings feel post-revival, and a combination of YouTube and field recordings augment albums particularly in the past two years.

3.1) REPERTOIRE: "A GOOD TUNE IS A GOOD TUNE"

Levi Jackson Rag¹⁴ (dance and tune by Pat Shaw, 1974) is an intricate social dance for five couples, well-loved but not regarded as "beginner-friendly." I was surprised to learn it's widely known, and even called at beginner ceilidhs, on Mann. I asked my friend Caroline how the dance came to be so popular, and she replied with a laugh, "Well, it's Manx!" She anticipated my confusion, and continued:

The English say it's theirs, because Pat Shaw was an Englishman and it's published as an English Country Dance; the Americans say it's theirs, because it was commissioned by a festival in Kentucky and the tune is ragtime; the Welsh say it's theirs, because he lived there at the time. But it's Manx, because we love it the best!

(recalled conversation)

The Manx music revival began with about four hundred tunes collected on Mann in the late 1890s, contained in notebooks which found their way into the library early in the twentieth century and didn't find their way out again until 1975. The early revivalist musicians, familiar with Irish session tunes, became eager to learn tunes from their own island (as in the anecdote of Tim Van Eyken at Ethno England, Winter & Keegan-Phipps 2013:79-80). Soon, there was an unofficial (but well-adhered to) rule that only Manx tunes would be played at the Friday night session in Peel (Woolley 2003:136). The

¹² <http://www.manxmusic.com/media/Newsletters/KMJ%20September%202011.pdf>

¹³ <https://thesession.org/discussions/11525>

¹⁴ <http://folkdancemusings.blogspot.co.uk/2015/02/levi-jackson-rag-usa.html>

music community defined itself through Shelemay's dissent, using a canon which cleanly separated them from Ireland.

... Manxness represents that sense of tacit identity that is known by members of the community. In this case, then, canon is essential to Manxness as it represents those tunes that are considered to be Manx and those that are not.

(Yates 2013:xvii)

The repertoire first broadened through the composition of new tunes (as well as 'completion' of several collected 16-bar melodies with newly-composed B parts). Here the question of who can write a Manx tune arises, and the Manx take an open view. Scottish harpist Rachel Hair remarked:

People will write tunes and they'll very easily get accepted into the repertoire. And there's not a snobbery about it. I live in Scotland, and I'm so used to hanging out with professional musicians, and there is a snobbery at times - 'I'm not learning that tune, that's not someone cool' - whereas on the Isle of Man, you have amateurs - people who aren't professional - writing great tunes.

I just think that's amazing, that it's just proper locals who write tunes that get absorbed.

(interview)

Such tunes often become known as, eg, 'one of Tom's tunes.' This can be true even when material gets recorded, as evidenced by this liner note in Moot's 2001 album *Uprooted*: "1st tune still waiting for a name by Sharon Christian, 2nd tune 3 little boats (traditional)." This provides an interesting contrast to North East England, where "the composer of a recently penned tune is rarely passed on with the melody more than two or three times before that detail is forgotten" (Keegan-Phipps 2007:95) and gives Mann something more in common with its Norse heritage (if only coincidentally). Fiddler Tom Callister agreed with Yates that the community decides what is Manx:

I think that the biggest compliment you can have with one of your own tunes is if people play it in a session in a pub with loads of traditional tunes. That's the biggest compliment you can

have, because you know then that it really fits in with the tradition.

(Tom Callister, in D. Knowles 2014)¹⁵

On my questionnaire, distributed on the last night of the Shennaghys Jiu festival in April 2017, I asked people to describe what makes Manx music 'Manx' to them. Responses which pertained to repertoire included:

it's music written by people who know the island and have experienced manx culture

being written around places and events experienced around the island, and being able to identify with the artist

written and collected in the IOM, also naturalized from elsewhere...

All of these responses suggest that affinity, more so than dissent and perhaps on equal footing with descent, plays an important role in whether a tune feels Manx. One example is "Knox's Jig" by Rachel Hair, which she wrote on commission for Archibald Knox's sesquicentennial;¹⁶ another is the orchestral folk suite "Ned Maddrell's Whispers" by Hamish Napier and scored for a specific Manx folk ensemble. Both composers are Scottish, but that likely matters little or not at all given their familiarity with the island and the specific connection of these tunes with island subjects. I asked Chloë Woolley for her thoughts on whether these pieces "become Manx music".

We'll accept it! [laughs] Yeah, the boundaries are blurred aren't they? It's cool.

(interview)

An interesting inverse example is the piece "Kinnoull" by Peddyr Cubberly. A Manxman, he wrote the piece whilst briefly working in Scotland, inspired by a specific hill in Perth (Carswell 2012b). I don't know whether any Scottish musicians make a claim this tune is Scottish, but it has become one of the

¹⁵ This calls to mind early 20th Century dance reconstructor and composer Philip Leighton Stowell, who is reported to have once said "All folk dances must have been composed at some time and by some person. Mine are really Manx dances composed by a Manxman, and I hope they will someday become traditional," as quoted by Mona Douglas, in Manx Folk Dance Society (1981:5).

¹⁶ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-isle-of-man-26853942>

tunes most strongly identified with Manx landscapes through its use as the soundtrack for a popular video of aerial drone photography of Mann.¹⁷ Barrule, a band created specifically to perform Manx music, also recorded the tune, giving it even greater Manxness.

Expansion of the repertoire seems to universally be seen as a positive, and even a necessary change which must keep happening:

That's really important, because it can refresh and invigorate the sessions and keep it interesting for musicians who play Manx music. It's not just something that we're just playing the same tunes. You've got change as you go along.

(Jamie Smith, interview)

The repertoire is now expanding in a new way, a change that may be situated in the post-revival. David Nixon held strong memories of the dissent-based repertoire he observed in Manx sessions in 1981:

There was a conscious effort to play Manx music [in the Peel session], and I remember that when we went to other sessions that were Irish music, they played only Irish at those sessions.

(interview)

The same distinction can be seen on recordings. Every tune in every set on two of the earliest 'proper Manx' studio albums, *Mactullagh Vannin* (1986) and *Kiaull Manninagh* (1992) was Manx.

Phynnodderee's *There's No 'F' in Phynnodderee*¹⁸ (1999) contains Manx, Scottish, and American tunes, but never intermingled in sets. There are numerous Manx tune sets; one set of Scottish reels; and one set of American 'old-time' tunes. This starts to break down a bit on Phynnodderee's second album *Y Reesht!* (2003). There are sets of Manx tunes, English polkas, and French Canadian reels, but also one set that starts with the Manx tune "Car Ny Rankee" and continues with "Buttered Peas" and "Winster Gallop." Kirsty & Katie Lawrence's *Tree Baatyn Beggey* (2006) is the last Manx album I'm aware of until 2014 to include obviously non-Manx tunes, and again here they are confined to their own sets (two sets of Irish reels). Mec Lir, on *Not an EP* (2014) mostly kept Irish tunes separate, but one set mixes Manx and Irish.

17 <https://www.facebook.com/elace1/videos/vb.100000512588910/1837242606302808/>

18 double-n double-d SINGLE-r double-e ...

In sessions, the line was starting to break down by my first visit in 2013, though I was told that Peel had the Manx session and Douglas had the Irish session in a slightly cautionary tone that suggested this was still important to some people. Corroborating my memory, David Speers wrote of Manx sessions "it is still the case that ... tunes from the Manx collections are not often played together in sets and rarely played with tunes from other traditions" (2013:22).

By 2017, repertoire segregation appears to be relatively unimportant to most people, even if it's still talked about. I talked with whistle player Cairistiona Dougherty the morning after a session in Peel:

It was great last night! We didn't plan that we were going to play mostly Manx tunes. It just was that those were the musicians that were there, and those were the tunes we played last night. Those same musicians could play no Manx tunes at all [on a different night]. ... We did play a few Irish and Scottish tunes as well, but it was not in any way a conscious decision to be like, 'this is a Manx music session,' it just happened naturally.

And that's what I enjoy the most: rather than feeling like you have to play Manx music ... instead you can play Manx tunes, Scottish tunes, Irish tunes, Swedish tunes, whatever tunes you like. That's one of the things I like about the Manx session scene now. There are specific Irish sessions and Manx sessions, but mostly I've never felt uncomfortable if I played a Manx tune at an Irish session or an Irish tune at a Manx session. [That freedom] is what I really enjoy.

(interview)

In the conclusion, I'll return to this topic with more examples from this year which extend this musical change even further and more explicitly.

Keegan-Phipps, discussing multicultural repertoire in the English folk scene, wrote that "when the traditional origin of a tune is unspecified, or considered of secondary importance, musicians demonstrate themselves to be playing for 'sheer musical enjoyment, rather than through an intention to fulfill some heritage-preserving obligation'" (2003:83, cited by T. Knowles 2013:18), a sentiment succinctly put by Manx fiddler Isla Callister in our interview: "A good tune is a good tune."

3.2) STYLE: "IT'S A CLASS A HYBRID"

Particularly for the maritime community, they followed markets, they followed fish, they saw what they saw, they heard what they heard, they brought it back home.

(David Nixon, interview)

As regards influence, other than alcohol, on dancing, Manx fishermen in particular travelled to Ireland, England, Scotland, and the Shetlands.

(Carswell 2004:19)

Unlike Scottish (eg, Nixon 2012, Gilfedder 2015) and Irish (eg, McCullough 1977, Kearney 2009, Keegan 2010) traditional music, there is no catalog of stylistic features which can define or characterize Manx music. With no known fiddlers on the island between 1930 and the 1970s (Rowles 2013:38) - "by the 1950s there is no evidence that any of the [fiddle] traditions had survived" (102) - and no recordings of pre-revival Manx music,¹⁹ the early revivalists had a blank slate. Rowles concluded in 2013 that there was not yet a Manx fiddle style. I asked her if she still felt that way today. "Probably not" (interview) was still her feeling, although we later discussed how this might become visible in the near future, which I return to at the end of this section. Yates concurs, writing that "there is no specific musical style or timbre that can be considered Manx, neither are their melodic or rhythmic characteristics that are characteristic of Manxness" (2013:xvii).

Central to any formation or consolidation of identity, national or otherwise, are processes of differentiation ... a successful negotiation of English identity through the folk arts cannot be achieved without an acceptance ... of what artistic or stylistic elements make them English, as opposed to American, European or - most importantly in the case of folk music - Celtic.

(Winter & Keegan-Phipps 2013:78)

The Manx music revival was closely intertwined with a larger cultural revival movement that sought to strengthen national identity.²⁰ The unwritten rule that the Peel session would play only Manx tunes was

¹⁹ Save a few Manx dance tunes played on harmonica by Joe Woods, recorded by Peter Kennedy in 1965.

²⁰ cf Bohlman (2011) for more connections between music and nationalism.

one way of asserting community identity through differentiation - Shelemay's dissent - from the Irish repertoire familiar among island musicians, but initially the 'rule' went beyond canon. The notation in the manuscripts was not ornamented in any way, nor were the hand-copied tunebooks - *Kiaull yn Theay* 1&2 - prepared by Colin Jerry which became the bibles of the Manx folk revival. Musicians David Speers and Bob Carswell recalled to Woolley the early mindset of the Manx music community, and the tension between keeping Manx music from sounding Irish and keeping it from becoming boring:

Stylistically, it was certainly not [allowed to be] ... Irish ... and it was discouraged. If somebody tried to put 'twiddledy' bits in ... tut-tutting and that sort of thing!

(Speers)

You've got the bare tune. Now what do you do with it?... How do you ornament it without sounding particularly Irish?

(Carswell, both in Woolley 2003:171-172)

Having ornamentation was the lesser evil. A mixture of minimalist, literal interpretation of the dots and some Irish-like ornamentation would win for a time. Though not from the very earliest days of the revival, Mactullagh Vannin's (1986) and Kiaull Manninagh's (1992) arrangements²¹ of "Three Little Boats" give a window into this tension. Playful ornamentation, melodic variation, and textural changes possible with a six-person band characterize "the quintessential Maccie V track" (liner notes). Contrasting with this is Bernard Osborne, early revival fiddler, leading a trio in a straightforward, minimalist reading of the dots in perfectly regular rhythm. The chord progression is exactly as given in *Kiaull yn Theay* (1978). In 1999, Phynnodderee recorded perhaps the last 'early' sounding "Three Little Boats," making a few major-to-minor chord substitutions from *KyT* and giving the tune a bit of 'Celtic' ornamentation but not a sound that's obviously dissenting from - or dissimilar to - Irish.

In a paper delivered in April 2000, David Speers gave a pessimistic outlook:

The music produced during the current revival so far is not ... especially musically fulfilling. As a revival based on a very limited quantity of collected traditional material, unless this is added

21 See Appendix D for links to online tune resource including audio excerpts.

to with new music in the same style, or increased by using music from other related traditions, it will have a limited future.

(Speers 2004:35)

Perhaps unbenowned to Speers, the next generation was exploring "new sounds, new textures, and new repertoires" (Livingston 1999:81). King Chiallee and Moot both formed in the late-1990s, and each recorded "Three Little Boats" on their debut album (2000 and 2001). Characterized by driving funky rhythms and startling yet effective harmonies,²² King Chiallee created a new texture for Manx music. On "Three Little Boats" the fiddle slides into pitches and plays microtonally.²³

Moot brought together Breesha Maddrell on flute, Aarin Clague on vocals (and later, trumpet), and Robert Cain creating an electroacoustic environment incorporating elements from electronica to sound effects and samples. For their "Three Little Boats," Maddrell's flute plays the melody as an up-tempo air, driven by electronic dance beat, while looped samples of a herring auction in Manx Gaelic taken from a 1975 LP provide additional texture.

Despite these innovations, both were rooted in tradition. Carswell introduced King Chiallee on mudcat.org as "a young group who've been associated with Manx music, basically since they were born. They take the traditional tunes and bring to them a wide range of influences without losing sight of their origins" (Carswell 2001). When Maddrell was asked which of her bands was most 'traditional' she replied:

... in a weird way my answer would be Moot, because I think that Aalin Clague sings in a very, what I would say is a traditional way, because she makes the songs her own, totally. So it's not just relying on what's left to you on the page, it's actually making that a very personal rendition of a song, and I think that's something that's at the heart of the tradition.

(Breesha Maddrell, in Carswell 2012a)

Maddrell plays her flute on "Three Little Boats" very much in the way she describes Clague's vocals.

²² cf Winter & Keegan-Phipps (2013:89).

²³ cf Keil 1987.

Several musicians share the view that putting yourself into a tune was not just part of the tradition, but in fact necessary to playing Manx music due to the limited information contained in the notation:²⁴

You don't have as strict guidelines on the music as you do say in Ireland and Scotland for example. You've got more freedom to interpret it in your own way, because what we have of it is the most basic tune in the most basic form, which is great, but it means that you've got to, you must interpret it when you play it, because if you don't you'll just be playing not very many notes in a row and it won't mean anything.

(Tom Callister, Lowender Peran workshop, 6 Nov 2016)

For me, I find it really rewarding and a bit of a challenge. I've always found this with Manx music. I feel like you have to [work at it]. You've only got the bare bones of the tune, so it forces you to be really creative, and I think it forces you to write more.

(Cairistiona Dougherty, interview)

Manx music is very often compared to Irish and Scottish, by the Manx themselves as well as outsiders. Almost universally, it's described as like them, but different, or "in the middle." Open-ended questionnaire responses included:

halfway between scots and irish

it's like irish trad but better

like irish trad but sweeter (in terms of melody etc)

like irish and scottish music, but catchier

it's a class A hybrid - halfway between irish and scottish

kinda right in the middle of the celtic idiom

a mix of irish, scottish, celtic, and folk music

a blend of irish and scottish and celtic and folk music

One response approached the idea of personal interpretation being essential: "simple tunes, played very fast and with a feel to them that is difficult to describe; it's all in the playing."

²⁴ This is also a major issue confronting contemporary productions of medieval drama: cf Butterworth (2014).

The importance of melodic variation is one way Manx music is more like English music than like Irish and Scottish:²⁵

The art of spontaneous variation of tunes is considered an important skill amongst instrumentalists in the Irish and Scottish traditions, but we would argue that it is not foregrounded to the same extent musically or discursively. At a practical level, it might be argued that it is more difficult to vary the tune dramatically in these traditions due to a relative lack of 'space' created by the dense quaver rhythms.

(Winter & Keegan-Phipps 2013:88)

Perhaps this is partly responsible for why many listeners regard Manx music as distinct from those Celtic traditions. However, it also calls to mind Peter Cooke's description of how each Shetland fiddler "had his or her own version of a tune ... there is some resistance to the acceptance of one standard version of a tune" (1986:51). Rowles relates a particularly striking example of this, which suggests Manx melodic variations are more personal (as in Shetland) than spontaneous (English):

... Canadian fiddlers taught the Manx fiddlers one of their repertoire of tunes that they play, along with the bowings and variations that they use. When it came time for the Manx fiddlers to exchange a tune with the Canadians, a well-known Manx session tune, "Ta Cashen Ersooyl dys yn Aarkey," was chosen. However, when the Manx fiddlers played through the tune, each Manx fiddler played the tune slightly differently, and a common version of the tune could not be agreed on. Eventually, one fiddler had to teach the Canadians their particular version, and the other Manx fiddlers had to learn this version along with them. The Canadian fiddlers found this very unusual, especially as this particular tune was notated. Even though there was an 'original' source tune to refer to, none of the Manx fiddlers there adhered to this version, but played their own interpretation of it.

(Rowles 2013:164-165)

25 Please forgive me for this observation, Manx friends!

It may be a combination of the Scottish notion of personal melodic versions with the English rarity of notes in the basic tune which enables this aspect of Manx style.

While similarities between Manx music and Irish and Scottish have been discussed since the beginning of the revival, attitudes have changed. Where once Manx music was defined through dissent, more recently these connections have become a positive way of defining the Manx music. David Kilgallon and Tom Callister discussed this in a workshop at Lowender Peran:

[Shetland fiddler] Chris Stout, when he heard Manx music for the first time.... He was asking people, 'what is the Manx style?' And no one could actually say, 'it's like this.' And he felt that mix of influences was the style itself. It made me think that in order to understand the Manx style, you need to have a view of a lot of different Celtic nations.

(Kilgallon)

I think the island's music takes its influences from all those places in some way.... The [Manx] tunes can be so different if you're taking your influence from Ireland, or England, or Wales, even though it's the same tune, it can be wildly different.

(Callister)

I asked David to tell me more later in an interview.

*He then said he'd pretty much told people that it was an eclectic style - like, **the collection of many things was the style itself, giving it a distinct style rather than saying it didn't have one and borrowed many**, if that makes sense.*

(interview)

This is reminiscent of how Keegan-Phipps describes the North East England music culture, where a "predilection for the open acceptance and incorporation of repertorial and stylistic material from both external and contemporary sources ... the liberal absorbtion of musical material ... is the North East folk music identity" (2007:95).

In the preface, I said this dissertation would not discuss Manx songs. That was a fib, as Breesha Maddrell explains:

*A lot of the tunes that were collected were actually collected as songs, but we just get the melody written down, which is really frustrating because you sort of want the whole thing.*²⁶

(Breesha Maddrell, in D. Knowles 2014)

Manx music is known for having far more jigs than reels among the early canon - one questionnaire response described Manx music as "jig heaven" - at least insofar as many of the tunes were notated in 6/8, and have widely been played as jigs since the beginning of the revival. Tom Callister disagrees:

One of the key flag markers to what a tune's actually like, because we nearly lost it all, and we don't quite know what it was like, ... is the songs and their words, and how the words fit with the tune, and there's a lot of songs on the Isle of Man that are in 12. You're changing the tune less, from its traditional format, thinking of it in 12. Not necessarily the pace, but the feel of the whole tune.

On the Isle of Man we've got loads of jigs, jigs jigs jigs, but actually, I've got this theory: I don't think there's any jigs from the Isle of Man. I think they're all in 12/8 instead of 6/8.

(LP workshop)

Cairistiona Dougherty said much the same, and suggested one must be open-minded when reading the notation: "A lot of those books have been written down by musicians that weren't necessarily great musical theorists. They've written them down as they heard them, so I try and look at tunes and think 'how else could this, or might this, have been played,' and I just find a lot of the jigs seem to be slides" (interview).

Desiring an outside opinion, I asked Japanese bodhran player Toshiya Motooka what it felt like playing the rhythm of Manx tunes, compared to the Irish and Scottish tunes he was more familiar with.

²⁶ cf Yates (c.2005).

I love Manx jigs, which are a bit different groove from Irish and Scottish. They're closer to reels. ... I followed the melody players' rhythm, so I didn't notice so much when I'm playing, but when I listen to Manx jigs, they sound slightly different.

(interview)

Toshi was accompanying Mec Lir, with Tom (fiddle), Adam (bouzouki), and David (keyboard) plus Greg Barry on drums. Their arrangement of "Three Little Boats" (2014) is played in 12, and feels completely new. Tom also plays a personal melodic interpretation which opens up new harmonic possibilities for Adam and David.²⁷ Though Tom plays a melodic variant from any of the notated versions of the tune, and somehow plays triplets on the middle note of every pulse, the melody still feels like it has space. It isn't filled with crans and rolls. Tom explains this:

I find when you play it in 12, you're adding less stuff to the tune, you're just actually playing the tune in a more pure form of itself ... rather than adding stuff in to try and make it interesting. If you think of it in 12, you just play the notes and it sounds interesting because it sounds comfortable and at home.

(LP workshop)

Both Tom and David say these are like slides, but are actually something different. Tom still calls them slides, while David elaborated on this in our interview:

I feel that they are slide-like jigs ... which should have a new coin-of-phrase 'Manx slides' since they are compatible yet distinct. Again, multiculturalism can be used as a reason for that. The labelling and transcriptions have not been accurate, we feel as musicians.

(interview)

One other Manx fiddler that I know of plays "Three Little Boats" distinctly in 12, but a bit differently from Tom, whom I will discuss in the conclusion.

In seeking to recover Manx styles of the past, Tom and David may imbue their future music with a

²⁷ See Appendix F for my transcription.

different idea of Manxness, combining its "predilection for the open acceptance" of neighbouring influences (Keegan-Phipps 2007:95) with the added "credibility" that for "some musical styles and genres arises from their origins, their sites of production" (Connell & Gibson 2004:353). This Manx credibility would come not from place - as the tunes are already Manx - but from time of origin. In so doing, they will not be re-creating (or re-imagining) some 'authentic past Manx music;' rather, they will contribute the influence of time to the already multispatial Manx music. This contribution doesn't prescribe a way for future musicians to perform Manx music; rather, it broadens the palette of styles available to others.

Musicians like Tom and David will have an influence on the future of Manx style, but so too will the island's fiddle teachers, Laura Rowles and Katie Lawrence. In years to come, as their students develop, further studies may be able to find elements of style being transmitted, or detect generational differences. Laura has recently written an introductory fiddle curriculum, *Fiddyl* (2011), which may have an effect on how young musicians approach the Manx music. Such a study could further Yates's research on Mike Boulton's influence teaching in Ramsey (2003), and should also take into account Woolley's whistle curriculum and the influence of harp instructor Rachel Hair.

3.3) SUMMARY

In this chapter, we saw how the Manx revival's repertoire and style were both initially defined by a conscious effort of differentiation with the dominant Irish sound. Over time, the repertoire has broadened, first to include newly composed tunes in the traditional idiom; then - tepidly - tunes from elsewhere; and in post-revival Manxness, tunes from Mann are played alongside and amidst tunes from Ireland and Scotland, without fear of losing their identity. Style likewise evolved, first with ornamentation; then with new sounds, rhythms, and textures; and in post-revival Manxness, with the format of the tunes themselves, expressed through personal confidence that the tunes remain - or become more - Manx through embracing outside influences and encouraging interpretation.

4) CONVEYING MANXNESS

Having seen ways Manx music performance is changing in repertoire and style, I turn to two case studies of how Manx music conveyance is changing through technologies, and examine how the Manx and others use technologies to build new music communities. I address questions left by two recent dissertations on Manx music, Rowles (2013) and Yates (2013). Rowles was aware that social media would present "an opportunity for Manx fiddlers to be heard worldwide. However, currently there is not enough information to determine the extent of this global audience, and how this may, or may not, affect the identity of the Manx fiddlers" (241-242). Yates traced the centuries-long history of a Manx tune, but her research ended just before that tune became a translocal phenomenon putting Manx music not on the world stage but on stages around the world. Here I connect these stories, with two different stories of how "Mylecharaine's March" moved beyond the island, carried, received, and retransmitted by other musicians.

4.1) THE TUNE HEARD 'ROUND THE WORLD

'What comes after revival?' was precisely the question on the lips of many Corsican musicians [upon realizing the success of their revival and] elevating it to an unprecedented position of prestige that coincided with its entry into the world music market - a circumstance that introduced new dilemmas and challenges...

(Hill & Bithell 2013:29)

Haha, well when I started playing music at a young age, social media wasn't even a thing! So I'd never have imagined such a thing was possible. To be honest though, even when that video came out on Facebook we could never have imagined it would become so popular!

(Adam Rhodes, interview, on a Mec Lir video which has over 2.3 million views²⁸)

Mylecharaine's March is a distinctive dance first observed in 1726 (Yates 2013:202). The dance, whose steps involve pawing at the ground while clashing sticks in triple time, whose movements feature lithe skipping, and whose figures are of unequal length, calls for a tune unlike any other.²⁹ Yates pieces

28 <https://www.facebook.com/valoche.thomassin/videos/10207190020730352/>

29 See Appendix E for notations, and Appendix D for recordings.

together its 300 year history, to 2012, saying of the twentieth century:

At no point do any of the [20th century] sources for the dance tune claim that the tune is a favourite, popular or national.

... The dance tune is still performed, but only rarely outside of the context of the dance itself. ... The dance tune is necessary only for an individual and idiosyncratic dance. ... It is simply the only tune that can be performed to accompany a particular dance.

(Yates 2013:229)

Yates only saw the tune performed without dancers twice over the course of two years of fieldwork (2008-09). The tune had only been recorded four times to that point that I'm aware of:

- Charles Guard (harp) on an album for Manx folk dancers (1973).
- The Chieftains, in a set which they learned from Charles Guard (1980).
- Sam Scarffe (fiddle) on a cassette for Manx folk dancers (1983).
- Emma Christian (whistle) blended the tune with the Manx National Anthem (1994).

All three Manx recordings were solo instrumentalists, and two were recorded as resources for dancers. No Manx band had seen fit to record the tune for an album prior to Barrule doing so in 2013.

The dance is a mainstay of Perree Bane's performance repertoire, so the their musicians know it well. In the mid-1990s and early-2000s, these included members of King Chiaulee including Adam Rhodes (also in Barrule). I asked Adam why the band chose to put a rarely-performed, unusual tune first on their album, and to feature it in the album's promotional YouTube video.

Mylecharaine's March was a tune I grew up playing and dancing to. I'd always loved playing it and was aware that it hadn't really gained the attention it deserved with music bands like Barrule. It's also the tune that the Manx National Anthem is based on, so when we started Barrule as a new band playing only Manx music, it seemed like a natural choice. We put it first on the debut album, and made the video of it, because it was the first track we'd arranged

together. It also has a different feel to it compared to other tunes on the album, and tunes found elsewhere in neighbouring Ireland and Scotland. So we liked the idea that it sounded different and would be identifiable as 'Manx' to a listener that might not otherwise know any better.

(interview)

Barrule's Jamie Smith told Toshiya Motooka "I think that since Barrule started performing a new arrangement of it, it's made a comeback in the repertoire across the island" (Motooka 2015:3). But at the same time as they led the tune to a new era of local popularity, Barrule made "Mylecharaine's March" a translocal phenomenon.

Henry Jenkins has been writing for decades about participatory culture and the ways fans not just consume media but engage with it and, sometimes, create responses. He discusses fan fiction as well as cinematic fan films in response to *Star Wars* and *Doctor Who* (Jenkins 2006:144). Jenkins describes Pierre Levy's theory of "'the cosmopedia'³⁰ that might emerge as citizens more fully realize the potentials of the new media environment. ... Levy explores how 'deterritorialization' of knowledge, brought about by the ability of the net and the Web to facilitate rapid many-to-many communication, might enable broader participation ... He links the emergence of the new knowledge space to the breakdown of geographic constraints on communication...." (Jenkins 2006:136-137).

This 'deterritorialization' is at the heart of translocalism, as Kytölä defines it. He emphasizes the difference between 'translocal' and 'multicultural': "translocal cultures involve hybridity, flows, pluralism and 'melting pots,' in contrast to the more static metaphors of multiculturalism such as 'global mosaic' or 'clash of civilisations'" (Kytölä 2016:4).

Barrule's video of "Mylecharaine's March" has over 18,000 views on YouTube, which is perhaps a modest number by today's standards. The influence of this recording and its video is not told by the viewcount, nor by the comments. Rather than being a presentational performance, the Barrule video struck a chord³¹ with many who heard it and became participatory for viewers around the world.

That the responses are directly to the Barrule video is clear. First, most musicians who have uploaded

30 'Cosmopedia' doubtless looked more imaginative in 1997.

31 An open-fifth D.

the tune credit Barrule. Second, many play arrangements which show clear influence from Barrule's instrumentation, harmonization, and texture, or which include the bridge that Barrule composed. And third, Barrule changed the feel of the tune from 3/4 to 9/8 - not exactly a slip jig, but much more fluid. Where the traditional version³² has dotted-quaver-semiquavers, Barrule's has crochet-quavers or even triplets (adding a note in the middle).

The earliest participants were both in America. Julia Plumb teaches fiddle in Belfast, Maine, and produces teaching videos of tunes for her students. She learned the tune from Barrule's album. Soon after, the Chapel Hill Duo and friends in North Carolina produced a remarkable version which attracted the attention of Barrule themselves. They went to the effort of transcribing Barrule's arrangement in full, then rearranging the fiddle, accordion, and bouzouki parts to suit three fiddles, cello, and trombone.

In April 2015, the tune was mandolincafe.com's "song-a-week."³³ Participants were encouraged to record a version of the tune, upload it to YouTube, and discuss it on the forum. Several prompts for inspiration were given: Barrule's video, Julia's teaching video, and a video of Perree Bane performing the dance at a Welsh festival (noticably in 3/4).

Several videos were created that week, ranging from musicians performing the tune solo (mandolin, of course) to multi-instrumentalists recording three or four tracks, mixing them, and uploading split-screen videos. There was also discussion - the very "rapid many-to-many communication, might enable broader participation" that Levy had imagined - much of which focused on how to play the tune and what its metre really was. "this is fun to play. I am not sure why it is called a march, though, because it is in 3/4 time and could be noted in 9/8 as well, so let's face it - it is a slip jig," wrote Bertram Henze.³⁴

These were followed by a studio recording by Welsh band Fiddlestone, a festival performance by Mexican band Ontofonía, a video of the tune played in a session in California, and a house concert by New Zealand band Buíon. The process is ongoing: Buíon's video was uploaded in July 2017. As it continues, I will be interested to see whether these bands start taking influence from and having

32 As notated in *Kiaull yn Theay* and *Rinkaghyn Vannin*, or as recorded prior to Barrule; see Appendices D and E.

33 <https://www.mandolincafe.com/forum/group.php?gmid=54837&do=discuss>

34 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fib_YlgqNCg ; as the Barrule Tunebook with their 9/8 notation had not yet been published, Henze must have thought this through from listening to the recordings.

dialogues with each other's videos (as did the mandolincafe.com community) instead of each responding directly to Barrule.

I asked Adam for his take on this.

I think that Barrule video was the first one that made me realise the power that social media could have. To see people from all around the world not just learning your tune, and its arrangement, but also filming their own version of it too. What a great thing!

(interview)

Linguist David Harrison,³⁵ who studies endangered language preservation, visited Mann in 2015 to learn about their language revival. The Manx have used the internet and mobile apps to let the language spread far beyond the island - so its language community is deterritorialized and welcoming to those with an interest from affinity.³⁶ Manx language officer Rob Teare told Harrison, "Now there's no physical restraint on the language. It's global" (Harrison 2015). The same can be said of Manx music.

4.2) FROM MARI LWYD TO SIR BAGEL TREE

... we might also learn something about the practices of musical cosmopolitanism if we were to take more note of dance. ... The question of [musical cosmopolitanism] is one that should, in my emphatic view, push dance issues back to the center of things. For in dance we see, with a certain amount of clarity, something that should also ... give us pause for thought when we think about musical circulation.

(Stokes 2007:14)

At moments, the raw power of affinity is such that a chance encounter can spark a lifelong engagement with a musical tradition not otherwise part of an individual's purview, providing a 'conversion experience.'

(Shelemay 2011:373)

35 A former colleague from Swarthmore College.

36 I've been learning Manx using iPhone apps for several years.

I have shown how many non-Manx musicians have been captivated and inspired by Barrule's recording of "Mylecharaine's March" (or perhaps by the tune itself), such that they learned, rehearsed, and performed it. I haven't yet found evidence that these musicians have gone on to record or perform additional Manx tunes. The tune alone - even Barrule's cracking arrangement - doesn't appear to have brought a "conversion experience" (Shelemay 2011:373) for these musicians, though it has introduced them to repertoire they may draw on in the future.

But "Mylecharaine's March" is a dance tune, and - just as Stokes suggests (2007:14) - it was because of the dance that the tune circulated via another path. This path took the tune, and two music communities, one step further than the translocalism Barrule inspired. Similarly to the spread and convergence of Nordic Christian metal music (Jousmäki 2017), Manx musicians from across an ocean formed a dialogue with the Manx music community and - through successful international effort - traveled to Mann to perform for and with the Manx and engage in direct cultural exchange.

Twice, "the raw power of affinity" of a "chance encounter" with the dance Mylecharaine's March provided Shelemay's "conversion experience" (2011:373): first for David Nixon in 1981, resulting in the dance's first performance in America; and second for myself in 2010, resulting in (among other things) this dissertation.

I asked David Nixon about the first time he saw Mylecharaine's March, as a post-graduate doing fieldwork on the Isle of Man in 1981.

That hotel, the Grand Marquee, was where I saw Mylecharaine's March performed for the first time. The story was that I was hanging out with the Manx, and there was a Swedish folk dancing group going to do a performance at the Grand Marquee, and so we all went to see it.

And during a break in the show, the Manx decided to put together an exhibit of Manx dance, and they did Mylecharaine's March. ... they did this wild dance which I really really thought was quite mighty, and I asked what it is. ... that was the moment that started it all for me.

(interview)

David returned to America, finished his degree, and became a morris dancer. But the memory of Mylecharaine's March still called to him. The dance was not widely published - even on Mann - until a few years after David's visit, and no videos were readily available. In 2008, he finally acquired *Rinkaghyn Vannin: Dances of Mann* via interlibrary loan ("I was dead chuffed!"), but his vision of teaching the dance to his morris team was thwarted:

It was like reading some sort of weird code, where you can grind the pig into sausage, but you can't grind the sausage into the pig again. You can write down what you're seeing, but then trying to reconstruct movement from your written description is very very difficult.

(interview)

This recalls the issues the Manx themselves have with the tune transcriptions made by Victorian collectors. A literal performance following precisely what was written may not yield musically (or kinetically) pleasing results.

Following a return visit to Mann, during which Carol Hayes and Perree Bane taught him this dance and half a dozen more and from which he returned with notation and video recordings,³⁷ David was approached by teenagers in the morris community who wanted to form their own team and learn something different.

I just happened to have with me my camera that had Mylecharaine's March on it. So I showed [them] the video, and I said "is that something that you want to do? I guarantee you nobody in North America does this stuff."

(interview)

The teens' team And Sometimes Y³⁸ performed Mylecharaine's March for the first time in America on May Day 2010. They were invited to perform the dance in a community theatre production that December, where I - new to their community - first saw it. I'd been morris dancing for sixteen years, and thought I'd seen everything, but this was hauntingly foreign, wild and magical. It was my "conversion experience," and as they were in need of a new musician, I immediately joined.

³⁷ cf Hayes (2008)

³⁸ AEIOU ... And Sometimes Y.

With no audio recordings, I learned the tune (as had the others on the team) from the notation in *Rinkaghyn Vannin*³⁹ with its distinctly regular dotted-quaver-semiquaver rhythm counted in three. Early recordings of And Sometimes Y⁴⁰ demonstrate this, as does the cassette which accompanies *Rinkaghyn Vannin* (1983), where fiddler Sam Scarffe performs the tune straight off the page.⁴¹ ASY's dancing became smoother over the course of several years as the team figured out what the dance notation actually meant as opposed to what it literally said (but I would not change how I tend to perform the tune until after hearing the Barrule album in 2013). We performed many of the recorded elements of the performance, with a Mari Lwyd the team named "Sir Bagel Tree" and with me dashing through the dancers whilst continuing to play the tune, until they chop off my head.

"The term 'translocal' is commonly used in ... music ... studies for cultures and communities that transcend the boundaries of the local in contexts of globalization," writes Jousmäki (2017:132) in her study of Christian metal groups and Nordic localization.

'Translocality' is used to emphasize the local activities and identifications of ... bands, on the one hand, and their mobility on the other, with the latter making it possible for bands to evolve into local contexts elsewhere... Today, these locales tend not to be primarily national ... but their 'inhabitants' operate and communicate to a great extent on the internet and on social media.

(Jousmäki 2017:132)

By 2011, And Sometimes Y had expanded its repertoire to about six Manx dances, and word of what we were doing had intrigued many in the American morris dance community. We were invited to perform at the Marlboro Morris Ale that May, before one of North America's largest gatherings of English ritual dancers. While we were an offshoot of local morris teams (and performed several morris dances in addition to our Manx repertoire), we had evolved an identity as a team that primarily performed Manx dances.

39 See Appendix E.

40 See Appendix D.

41 At the time, we only had the music notation; I learned of the cassette's existence in 2013.

Our performances there were posted on YouTube⁴² where they were seen by the Manx dance community, who responded a few months later with a video of their own. We had adapted another Manx dance - Gorse Sticks, usually performed by a solo dancer - to be performed by a formation of six or eight dancers with some additional choreography. Having seen our Gorse Sticks on YouTube,⁴³

*the Manx Folk Dance Society did a mass Gorse Sticks in Peel kind of as a call-and-response to [our video]. So there was that kind of interaction going on, on the internet.*⁴⁴

(David Nixon, interview)

Jousmäki discusses a video of an Australian Nordic metal band performing at Nordic Fest 2006 in Oslo, the result of extensive organization by Australians eager to perform Nordic metal in its geographic place and Norwegians eager to hear how this foreign Nordic band interprets and performs their music:

The cooperation of musicians and festival organizers from different countries to make Horde's performance possible at Nordic Fest illustrates, again how Christian metal has a translocal community... Here was people in and from different localities sharing a musical taste and skills for making such music across national borders.

(Jousmäki 2017:135)

By winter 2012 And Sometimes Y began planning to visit Mann. As an organizer, I was soon meeting the Manx music community online while assisting the teens with their Kickstarter. (Ultimately, we raised \$17,000 through international effort.) ASY visited Mann in July 2013, and gave four large performances around the island (including as invited guests at Tynwald Day), learned new dances in workshops, and expressed our gratitude by hosting an American contra dance for our Manx friends.

Kytölä discusses how these connections lead to a new kind of community, different from an affinity-based online forum where participants are all individuals interacting only online (whose geographic locations are irrelevant):

42 eg <https://youtu.be/yL9op2kMbsw?t=3m23s>

43 https://youtu.be/0LBNfdV_a1w?t=1m58s

44 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-abdrBEzpsk>

The idea of physical place may often be undermined by ideas of cultural or social space; yet any participant in a digital community or 'affinity space' (see below) is always writing from a particular location, which may have significant repercussions for how digitally mediated interaction chains and discourses emerge. Even when the affordances of digital communication surpass the constraints of physical space, activities in digitally mediated contexts can be experienced by participants as both highly 'local' and connected to other locales.

(Kytölä 2016:10)

Online, these two local Manx music and dance communities - Massachusetts and Mann - each have extremely well-connected social networks within their respective localities, with a few individuals connecting the two and creating ways not just for individuals to come together, but for locales to come together. Hield & Crossley (2014:fig.10.6) offer one way of mapping a similar concept; I offer (in Appendix G) a cartographic visualization of the American-Manx translocalism. My map is an expression of Kytölä's view that when culture is "partly territorial, tied to a (habitable or occupiable) space, and partly de-territorial, finding dimensions and meanings from spaces and locales beyond our daily habitats ... [that is] the heart of the idea of translocality" (2016:4).

I asked Adam Rhodes what he thought about this. "Could there be a Manx band, performing largely Manx repertoire, but with no Manx musicians? And ... could it sound Manx?"

If a group of totally non-Manx musicians played solely Manx music, it would be hard to say they're a Manx band perhaps. But I suppose if their repertoire is entirely Manx then they would be just that. You get 'Irish' bands from all over the world, so why not apply that logic to Manx music as well?

(interview)

Our Marlboro Ale 2011 performance spread the tune "Mylecharaine's March" further, I later learned: we inspired Jim Besser and Gus Voorhees, both of the Foggy Bottom Morris Men (Washington, DC). They were forming a trio together with jazz concertina player Randy Stein, and this tune became part of their early repertoire. The next year, I played the tune for Robin Harrison of the Toronto Morris Men.

Jim and Robin praised the tune on concertina.net, with Robin listing it among "the new tunes that I have most enjoyed playing (or am trying to learn) in the preceding 12 months."⁴⁵

In succeeding years, Jim, Gus, and Randy as The Squeezers have performed "Mylecharaine's March" at the Washington Folk Festival and elsewhere.⁴⁶ Jim (anglo concertina) plays as I did in 2011 (in 3/4); Randy (not a folk musician) found an arrangement by Roy Baker,⁴⁷ from which he plays several parts; and Gus (melodeon) improvises lush harmonies. Gus's playing gives the tune a different feel; I asked him about his inspirations.

I learned it mostly from Jim and watching your team at Marlboro ... [I use] my own fairly continental counting. I count most 3/4 as 3 leading into 1, which I think is a latent Swedishism. But also (!) a lot of French players do a similar thing, so I'm not alone in the world.

(Gus Voorhees, interview)

Robin Harrison still loves the tune, having written earlier this year to say he has put it into a set with "The Quarry" (English) and will add this to the repertoire of his weekly session in Toronto, coinciding with their inclusion in the third edition of his *Toronto English Session Tunes*.⁴⁸ I am eager to hear how the tune is received, and how session playing in Canada may give the tune yet another flavour!

And I am curious where the tune might go from Washington and Toronto. Will others encountering the tune for the first time in these places - as presentational performance in Washington, or as participatory performance in Toronto, or virtually on YouTube or concertina.net - learn and share it, continuing this translocal lineage even further?

4.3) SUMMARY

In this chapter, we saw two examples Manx music deterritorialization, each enabled and mediated by technology. When listeners are inspired to become creators and contributors, what had been a

45 <http://www.concertina.net/forums/index.php?showtopic=16111&hl=mylecharaine>

46 Two recordings are discussed and linked to at <http://quale.org/manx/tunes/mm.html>

47 <http://www.manxmusic.com/media/Learn%20Tunes/Mylecharaine's%20March%20Roy%20Baker%20PARTS.pdf>

48 Using his own transcription of "Mylecharaine's March," based only on how he learned it from me; he reports being unfamiliar with the Barrule recording.

presentational performance becomes participatory. When the original locale-based music community welcomes incomers and values affinity, the music becomes translocal. In time some of these translocal participants and communities may connect with and directly influence each other's interpretations of Manx music. Further research may prove fruitful, in seeing how the tune continues to evolve and whether at any point its degree of Manxness becomes noticeably different to the Manx community.

5) POST-REVIVAL LANGUAGE AND FUTURE MANXNESS

We first became familiar with the complexities of Manx identity and the places and modes of performing Manx music; then saw how Manx repertoire and style have progressed from being dissent-oriented to inclusion-oriented (affinity or descent); and considered how musicians worldwide are discovering and embracing Manx music using technology to create affinity-based translocal music communities. Manx music is participatory, even when it's presentational and - through social media - even when it was created as a recording. We are now ready to consider how the post-revival Manx music community identifies with Manx music, looking at the community's newest performers.

Before doing so, I briefly consider the 'notion of post-revival' and the language used to describe it. Hill & Bithell expressed qualms about the word 'post-revival' and I propose new language - suggested by the Manx music community - with which we may better discuss post-revival music.

5.1) ETHNOMUSICOLOGY, LINGUISTICS, AND BOTANY (OH MY!)

As a linguist, I hone in on unusual word choices or unexpected syntax and, even if they seem unremarkable, I file them away. Something similar might come along later, and a pattern or theory might emerge.

"I define music **revivals** as any social movement with the goal of restoring and preserving a musical tradition which is believed to be disappearing or completely relegated to the past," writes Livingston in her touchstone article (1999:68). Hill & Bithell recognize two extreme outcomes to a revival: one of breakdown and outright failure; another persisting in a re-re-revival cycle. But what if a revival succeeds, and music lives beyond the end of (or gains a separate identity from) its movement? Hill & Bithell "adopt the notion" - and term - "of **post-revival**" (2013:29) for this outcome. But they almost immediately note their dissatisfaction.

Years earlier, I read Bazin's article on the three ages of Manx fiddle music (Norse-influenced pre-1650; Scottish- and English-influenced 18th Century; and 1975 onwards). She offers a line which introduced this dissertation, calling the present "not a revival, but a **renaissance**" (2006:19). This summer I

unwrapped the latest *Ethnomusicology Forum* thinking it would offer distraction from this research, only to find an article by Keegan-Phipps in which he pointedly uses the word '**resurgence**' to describe the present state of English folk music:

*I use the term '**resurgence**' rather than 'revival' to label the current phenomenon in England for a number of reasons, chief among them being that the activity in contemporary English folk lacks the clear ideological and artistic direction normally associated with music revivals....*

(Keegan-Phipps 2017:21)

Two words each beginning with - as do a long list given by Hill & Bithell - "the **ubiquitous 're' prefix** ... draw[ing] upon the past and/or intensify[ing] some aspect of the present" (2013:3). But these define the state only in relation to another state, similar to the "ultimate drawback" of 'post-revival,' namely, "that it **still ties us to what has gone before** and in so doing **denies the present its own identity, its own dynamic, its own validity**" (30). I remained unsatisfied. ('Renaissance' has the further problem of endorsing a connection between present and pre-revival states, when the connection may in fact be tenuous or imagined.)

Watching Davy Knowles's autoethnographical documentary *Island Bound*, I heard Robert Carswell say "Manx music in general is **flourishing** extremely well" (D. Knowles 2014). "Flourishing!" That's a promising word, I thought.

I'd gotten the gist of Toshiya Motooka's article on Manx music between skimming Google's translation and having heard stories of Toshi's Manx sojourn from many friends. But I wanted to know what he experienced: surely there was thoughtful commentary being lost in machine translation. I hired my university linguistics friend Alys, who now translates Japanese professionally.⁴⁹ Not only did I gain a new word - and emergent theme - for my list, but fruitful correspondence ensued:

⁴⁹ Perhaps someday she'll need a professional musical transcription?...

マン島の音楽が花開こうとしている

(Motooka 2015:4)

*Manx music is beginning to **blossom**.*

(tr. Sarah 'Alys' Lindholm)

The theme reminded me I had collected a third such word during an interview in July: "We're at a time where there's a real **burgeoning**" (Jamie Smith).

I asked Alys about the distinction in Japanese between words/concepts for "blossoming" and "flourishing".

They're fairly close concepts. The word "blossoming" in Japanese is basically "begin to flourish". So, it's flourishing, but like more toward the starting point of the flourishing (in relative time), and not talking about something that's been in a flourishing state for a significant period of time already and continues to be in that state.

Since blossoming is at the beginning point of flourishing, and he puts the "blossom" verb in a form that means "on the verge of [verbing]" or "about to [verb]" or "beginning to [verb]," the blossom translation is maybe a little more literally accurate because it has two starting out-type concepts in it, just like the Japanese. But one starting out-type concept would be sufficient to convey to the US/UK reader that we haven't fully reached a flourishing state yet.

(correspondence)

From this as well the *Oxford English Dictionary*, I propose the following words for describing states of successful post-revival music in positive terms without need of "re-" or "post-" prefixes:

burgeoning - "budding or sprouting"

blossoming - "coming into flower, blooming"

flourishing - growing "vigorously or luxuriantly";

being "prosperous, thriving, conspicuous, eminent"

(*OED*)

These botanical words are apt and give a revived music and its community the identity, dynamic, and validity they deserve. To some extent, they are interchangeable, but they each have finer shades of meaning: music on the cusp of moving beyond revival, 'burgeoning;' music undergoing rapid creative growth, 'blossoming;' music in a prosperous, thriving state, 'flourishing.'

I only later noticed that Hill & Bithell left a large (though unintentional) hint just two sentences after expressing their qualms: "post-revival *sows the seeds of a new beginning*" (2013:30).

5.2) FUTURE MANXNESS

These post-revival turns present a new set of questions. As musicians engage with the global music industry and incorporate influences from the transnational networks in which they now operate, how do they conceptualize their relationship with the home tradition? How do they reposition themselves in terms of genre or style? How does their view of their role as an artist change?

(Hill & Bithell 2013:30)

In August 2015, the Isle of Man (sharing the honour with Cornwall) was a featured nation at Festival Interceltique Lorient, a festival whose size defies comprehension.⁵⁰ For ten days, 'Manxwall' put Barrule, Mec Lir, and dozens more Manx musicians and dancers on stages before 800,000 festival-goers and millions more viewers on French television and the internet.⁵¹ Only twice in the past 44 years had a Manx band won the prestigious *Trophée Loic Raison* competition, besting entries from all Celtic nations; in 2015, Barrule and the Ruth Keggin Band took first and second, the first time one nation won both prizes in the history of the festival.⁵² While the precise end of a revival is debateable, it was certainly over by 'Manxwall.'

Since then, new bands have emerged, each taking Manxness further in different ways. Birlinn Jiarg is led by Manx whistle and concertina player Beccy Hurst, but her bandmates are Scottish and they all

⁵⁰ cf Douglas Adams (1979) chapter 8.

⁵¹ The entire population of the Isle of Man is only 89,000.

⁵² <http://www.barruletrio.com/news/trophy-win-at-lorient/>

live in Newcastle. Their repertoire is Manx, and having represented Mann at Lorient in 2016 and 2017, there is no question from the Manx community that they are a 'Manx music quartet.'

Making a few light substitutions (eg, Manx for Nordic) in a passage from Jousmäki, we get

The argument is that, first, the dynamics of culture and place are essentially translocal in that they gain meaning and relevance in multiple places while retaining associations with the place of production. Second, in the process of translocal mediation ... [Manx]ness has not been weakened but instead becomes more salient as non-[Manx] audiences celebrate [Mann] as an ideal territory for authentic [traditional] music.

(2017:131)

Annym also went to Lorient in 2017, a Manx trio of Isla (fiddle), Cairistiona (whistle), and Rachel (harp). Annym have created a new soundscape, breaking away from the long Manx tradition of bouzouki, guitar, or keyboard providing foundation. Rachel plays bass lines whilst also playing melodic variations, and employs new harmonic ideas and jazzy syncopated rhythms. In their "Three Little Boats," the tune is in 12 but Isla's playing is freer than Tom's; she and Cairistiona play off each other melodically.⁵³ Annym also freely moves between Manx, Scottish, and other tunes in their sets. I asked Cairistiona what it meant to play a mixed repertoire like this while representing Mann.

I think that whole focus on playing [emphatically] Manx tunes was because it was safer when it was endangered for the purists to do that. But we've been lucky enough to grow up and have those people who did that before us.

They saved it for us, and we respect that so much. We are so grateful for that, and just grateful that we have the opportunity to be more relaxed about it now.

(interview)

Tom and Adam's newest band, Ímar, avoids using national labels or the words 'Celtic' or 'interceltic' altogether, identifying only as 'Glasgow-based' on their website.⁵⁴ In their first-ever concert on Mann,

⁵³ See Appendix F for my transcription.

⁵⁴ <https://www.imarband.com/about/>

Tom Callister spoke after a set of tunes:

I don't know if anyone noticed, but in that set there was a traditional Manx tune. [cheers]

And that's one of my favourite things with this band, is being able to blend stuff like that in. A lot of what you'll hear tonight has been written by one of us, or all of us at the same time. And so a tune that maybe I write is Manx, and some traditional Manx stuff as well, to blend in stuff from Man with stuff from Ireland for example, which is where Ryan Murphy is from, and with stuff from Scotland as well, which is where Mohsen Amini is from. And that's what it's all about for us, is to kind of blend in all our own traditions and our own backgrounds together.

(Ímar concert, 14 April 2017)

Fiona Ritchie, host of a popular Celtic radio show in America, said "We listen to music that sounds like it's made by people who care about that music, people who have passion and a sense of pride in the music and want to celebrate the place it's from ... **people want to connect with something that sounds like it's from somewhere**" (Connell & Gibson 2004:353-354). In contrast to the interceltic band Mabon's approach - to create newly composed music in the Celtic idiom that intentionally isn't from any specific country (reflective of tune composer Jamie Smith's Welsh roots and Manx family) - Ímar brings its band members' homelands (native and adopted) together and constructs a new musical place where Irish, Scottish, and Manx tunes and styles stand shoulder-to-shoulder holding their distinct identities. This "place is not physical, nor is it tangible, but it is observable."⁵⁵ Place is the mythological construction of landscape, and **musical places allow us to feel a sort of shared emotional belonging**, a relational affect that unites us as listeners." (McKerrell 2016:96)

Livingston writes how following the revival of Brazilian *choro*, one faction "felt that keeping electric instruments out of *choro* would stigmatize it as 'music of the past'" while another saw the electric instruments and sound "as a symbol of cultural colonialism" and wished to "keep the tradition acoustic and therefore purely Brazilian" (2013:7), a debate which "carried over into the development of [distinct] postrevival styles" (8).

⁵⁵ <http://www.thedronenews.org/single-post/2016/1/28/REPORT-INCREASE-IN-NUMBER-OF-TRAD-GROUPS-GETTING-LOST-IN-THE-WILDERNESS>

Somehow, this division has not happened in Manx music. Folk-pop (Mec Lir), electroacoustic folk-jazz (Clash Vooar), emotive wall-of-sound folk with rock guitar and two trumpets (Biskee Brisht): all are accepted in today's Manx music community, just as in North East England, Keegan-Phipps observed that foreign-influenced repertoire and jazz-influenced ensemble gave the audience "little or no concern that the 'foreign' form or style of piece was in any way incongruous with a folk concert of this sort ... [suggesting] a common growth in the acceptability of a transnational assimilation of musical text and style" (2007:93).

In a collection of essays on how the digital age is transforming cultural identity, Ephraim (2016) compares two Nigerian puppet theaters now posting performances online. One, Kwaghir, "is gradually incorporating new media technologies, [and] largely preserves its cultural elements and communal functions" (55); the traditional puppets and staging practices are unchanged from how they would be performed on the street. The other, Ogas at the Top, "marks a departure from communal themes and local audiences to [broader, current issues and ideas] and an appeal to global online audiences" (55), having also replaced traditional puppets with professionally-made ones and creating expensive stages for a global audience.

Thusfar, Manx bands engaging with the world through YouTube and Facebook videos have not changed their presentation, nor have albums contained engineered sounds that wouldn't occur live. While some music videos are professionally filmed, many are still shot candidly on iPhones and shared on social media. Several have gone viral.

I asked Jamie Smith whether he's heard Manx tunes 'in the wild,' started by people he's sure have never been to Mann:

Yeah, I have actually, several times, and that's really encouraging. I think that's more recent than not probably. I think it's because of the increasing bands getting out there and also because of the internet. It's so easy for people to find stuff on the internet. It's been easier to make Manx music visible in the wider scene.

(interview)

The attitude of the Manx strongly favours keeping music participatory and accessible; incomers continue to be welcome, whether to the island itself or to the translocal Manx community. Livingston urges examining a music's participatory aspects "to shed light on ... the **tension between fidelity** to authoritative historical sources **and musical innovation** and creativity" (2013:9). And Hill & Bithell suggest that for many,

the answer to the question 'what next?' has lain in exploring their individual creativity alongside experimenting with a more eclectic palette of musical idioms, including influences from beyond their own culture. In explicitly drawing a line under the revival proper, musicians free themselves from the apron strings of 'tradition,' laying claim to their right to move forward ...

(Hill & Bithell 2013:29)

In duelling essays in *Celtic Modern*, Scott Reiss and Fintan Vallely argued about whether tradition and innovation were at all compatible. Vallely gave an impassioned argument that they were not: in his estimation of the Irish scene, innovation was the equivalent of selling out for commercial success (Vallely 2003). But in contemporary Manx music, 'what next' seems to be **tradition and innovation**, together, with the music bridging the island with the world, its people with translocal community, and its past with the present and future:

*For me, a lot of it is about innovation but also preservation. It's important to keep these tunes the way they are, because that's what they are, they meant something to someone. [So] it's being respectful of that, but also having the freedom to do something new with it. So for me, it's all about **evolution and preservation**, that's the thing for me.*

*A good balance is really important for me as a Manx musician, **to have a good balance, to be true to the tradition but also try and take that tradition further.***

(Isla Callister, interview)

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7) APPENDICES

7-A) INTERVIEWEES

Brief biographies of interview subjects:

Dr. Chloë Woolley

Manx music scholar, Manx Music Development Officer at Culture Vannin, author of Manx whistle teaching book *Feddan*, grew up in a musical family on the north end of the island

Dr. Laura Rowles

Manx music scholar, fiddle teacher, author of Manx fiddle teaching book *Fiddyl*, one of the organizers for Celtfest Isle of Man (and formerly for Yn Chruinnaght)

Cairistiona (Caz) Dougherty

Manx whistle player, longtime participant in and mentor for youth music group Bree, and mentor for young Manx band Scrán

Isla Callister-Wafer

Manx fiddle player, member of Manx band Annym and of Glasgow-based interceltic band Trip, student in the traditional music programme at the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland

Adam Rhodes

Manx bouzouki player, member of Manx bands King Chiallee (~1995-2010), Barrule (2012-16), and Mec Lir (2014-), and the multinational Ímar, videographer and social media guru

David Kilgallon

Manx fiddle and keyboard player, member of Manx bands King Chiallee and Mec Lir, organist, orchestral composer

Jamie Smith

accordion player originally from Wales and now living on Man, leader of interceltic band Mabon, member of Barrule, and a musician for Manx folk dance group Skeddan Jiarg

Rachel Hair

Scottish harp player, harp teacher on the Isle of Man (1-3 days per month since 2012), author of Manx harp teaching book *Claasagh*, member of Manx band Annym and the Rachel Hair Trio

David Nixon

American anthropologist, founder and teacher of And Sometimes Y Manx Morris & Sword, and my introduction to Manx music and the Isle of Man

Toshiya (Toshi) Motooka

Japanese bodhran player, Celtic music scholar, and "honourary Manxman"

Gus Voorhees

American melodeon player, music and anthropology scholar, member of The Squeezers

7-B) QUESTIONNAIRE

Copies of this questionnaire were distributed on tables at the Mitre Hotel before the final night of concerts of the Shennaghys Jiu festival in Ramsey, April 2017. Thirty-two completed questionnaires were received.

Manx Music Questionnaire

I'm researching Manx music for my MA dissertation in ethnomusicology at the University of Sheffield. This questionnaire is anonymous; your answers will inform my research but you won't be identified. Please return this to Will Quale.
Thank you for your help! Gura mie ayd!

1. Do you live on the Isle of Man, or have you lived on the Isle of Man in the past? _____
2. Do you identify as Manx? _____
3. Are you a musician? _____ If yes, how often do you play Manx music?
Never Not too often Sometimes Rather often It's what I play most!
4. When did you start playing or listening to Manx music? _____
5. How have you learned or experienced Manx tunes? [Check all that apply!]
_____ in school music classes?
_____ from a private music teacher?
_____ from tunebooks?
_____ in sessions at pubs / festivals?
_____ from listening to albums?
_____ from Youtube / Soundcloud / Spotify / etc? (other sites? _____)
_____ by attending performances?
_____ from a bandmate?
_____ from anywhere else? _____
6. How would you describe Manx music to someone who's never heard it?
7. What makes Manx music 'Manx' to you?
8. Have you ever heard Manx music anywhere you really didn't expect to hear it? If so, where?
9. And if so, what was the experience like? Did it feel any more or less 'Manx' in any way?

7-C) DISCOGRAPHY

A fairly complete discography of instrumental Manx traditional music recordings.

Albums of mostly Manx traditional tunes, performed by Manx artists

[Albums containing at least one Manx traditional tune, performed by non-Manx artists]

Douglas, Mona, and Joe Woods. 1965. *Manx Music & Customs*. Folktrax.

Guard, Charles. 1973. *Daunseyn Theayagh Vannin*.

Guard, Charles. 1977. *Avenging & Bright*.

[Dave Swarbrick. 1978. *Lift the Lid and Listen*. Sonet.]

[The Chieftains. 1980. *The Chieftains 10*. Claddagh Records.]

Perree Bane. 1983. *Rinkaghyn Vannin*. Sleih Gyn Thie.

Mactullagh Vannin. 1986. *Mactullagh Vannin*.

various. 1989. *Leighton Stowell and Other Manx Dances*.

Kiaull Manninagh. 1992. *Kiaull Manninagh*.

Guard, Charles. 1993. *The Secret Island*.

Christian, Emma. 1994. *Beneath the Twilight*.

Paitchyn Vannin. 1995. *Fragments*. Manx Heritage Foundation.

Manx Folk Dance Society. 1997. *Manx Dances in the National Curriculum*.

[The Poor Clares. 1997. *Change of Habit*. Centaur Records]

Phynnodderee. 1999. *There's No 'F' in Phynnodderee*.

King Chiaullee. 2000. *Baase Cooil Stroo*.

Moot. 2001. *Uprooted*.

Phynnodderee. 2003. *Reesh!*.

King Chiaullee. 2003. *Reel: Ode*. Mister Major Records.

Mactullagh Vannin. 2004. *Twisted Root*. Manx Heritage Foundation.

Skeel. 2005. *Long Story*.

King Chiaullee. 2006. *Nish!*. Mister Major Records.

Lawrence, Kirsty & Katie. 2006. *Tree Baatyn Beggey*.

Moot. 2007. *Holdfast*.

Skeel. 2009. *Slipway*.

[Walker, Carol. 2010. *Alas! The Horse is Gone*.]

Nish as Rish. 2011. *Nish as Rish*.

[Ross, Moor, & Krylov. 2011. *Celtic Air, Music for Guitar and Violin*.]

[Zoltan, Arany. 2011. *Celtica*.]

Callister, Tom, Caz Dougherty, & Malcolm Stitt. 2012. *Manx Dances*.

Barrule. 2013. *Barrule*. Easy on the Records.

various. 2013. *Blass|Flavour*. Manx Heritage Foundation.

[Walker, Carol. 2014. *Tailless Tunes 2*.]

Mec Lir. 2014. *Not an EP*. Big Mann Records.

Barrule. 2015. *Manannan's Cloak*. Wardfell Records.

Birlinn Jiarg. 2016. *Seamount*.

7-D) TUNE RESOURCES

Annotated 'tunographies' for the two tunes discussed in this dissertation can be found at:

Tree Baatyn Beggey (Three Little Boats)

quale.org/manx/tunes/tbb.html

Mylecharaine's March

quale.org/manx/tunes/mm.html

Each tunography provides a chronological list of recordings of that tune, integrating studio albums; YouTube, Vimeo, and Facebook videos; streaming or downloadable audio files from Soundcloud, Bandcamp, Myspace, and iTunes; and personal field recordings.

For each instance of a tune, I give bibliographic information (performer, year, album, a link if it's an online source); a description of the recording with basic information about the performer, the arrangement, and the purpose of the recording; the track layout, identifying all tunes on the track, indicating how the tune in question is played in each repetition, with minimal analysis noting features like modulations, breaks, or unusual rhythms; an audio excerpt of once or twice through the tune (the location indicated in bold on the track layout); and relevant excerpts from liner notes or online descriptions and comments.

This is a work in progress. I envision eventually expanding this work to include eight tunes; having fuller analysis for each recording including some level of transcription work (particularly to indicate harmonic progressions); and experimenting with user interfaces for melody comparison where multiple versions of a tune may be displayed on a single staff in different colours.

7-E) TUNE NOTATION



Jerry, Colin, ed. 1978 (1986 revised). *Kiaull yn theay*. The Manx Gaelic Society / Sleih Gyn Thie.

Three Little Boats [Bm]



Manx Heritage Foundation. 2011. *Steady As She Goes Session Sets*.
http://www.manxmusic.com/learn_page_144681.html

Mylecharaine's March.



Jerry, Colin, ed. 1978 (1986 revised). *Kiaull yn theay*. The Manx Gaelic Society / Sleih Gyn Thie.

MYLECHARANES MARCH

or Cutting off the Fiddler's Head

This dance was usually performed at New Year, when the Laare Vane or White Mare was carried, and after their ceremonial killing, the fiddler was raised up, blindfolded, and led to where the Laare Vane was seated. There he knelt down with his head in her lap and was asked questions by the company, his answers being supposed to be oracular. At the New Year festivities the questions generally related to courtships and marriages, but when the ritual was carried out at Boat Suppers, as sometimes happened, they more often had to do with prospects for the next season, crops, weather, etc.

Each man carries two sticks, fairly stout and about two feet long. Involved in the dance is the 'sand step'. This step is danced in three quick kicks round and outward, the sole of the foot is just touching the ground all the time, and across behind the other foot, with a simultaneous transfer of weight. During the kicking movement the other foot takes the weight and hops in time with the kicks, which are done by R and L feet alternately, with a change of weight on each cross. It is a very difficult step to dance smoothly, and the criterion of skill with the traditional performers was to keep the sand upon which it was danced always moving under the kicking foot, but never flung off the spring board. Less skilled performers danced it with two kicks to each cross instead of three.

It is important to have the music for this dance played by a fiddler as he enters the dance in the last figure and is ceremoniously 'killed'.

♩ = 132

The musical score is written for four staves in D major (one sharp). The tempo is marked as 132 beats per minute. The first two staves are labeled with a circled 'A' and the last two with a circled 'B'. Chords are indicated above the notes: D, AD, Em, D, A, Em, D, Em, A, D, Em, D, Em, A, D.

(no author given). 1983. *Rinkaghyn Vannin: Dances of Mann*. Douglas.

MYLECHARAINE'S MARCH

Trad. arr. Callister/Smith/Rhodes

Chords indicated in the score:

- Staff 1: D(m03)
- Staff 2: G, D, A
- Staff 3: D, D/F#
- Staff 4: Em, G, A, G
- Staff 5: A, D, D(sus4)
- Staff 6: D, A, Bm
- Staff 7: Em, G
- Staff 8: A, G, A

Barrule. 2015. Barrule Tunebook.

7-F) TUNE TRANSCRIPTIONS

On the following two pages are my transcriptions of two versions of "Three Little Boats".

1) Mec Lir (1st time through the tune as it appears on the album *Not an EP*).

A fairly close transcription of the fiddle (Tom Callister) including his "triplet triplets". A minimal transcription of bouzouki (Adam Rhodes) indicating accented strums only, tonic note of the chord only. A rough gloss of the piano keyboard (David Kilgallon) which enters for the B-part, to show Mec Lir's novel harmonization. Drums not transcribed (sorry, Greg).

This illustrates Tom's vision for the "Manx slide," a musical concept he has been working to realize for some years and now continues to explore with David Kilgallon.

2) Annym (3rd time through the tune performed at Festival Interceltique Lorient for Ny Fennee).

A fairly close transcription of the fiddle (Isla Callister-Wafer), whose technique is obviously influenced by but not a copy of her brother's. Also a fairly close transcription of the harp left hand only (Rachel Hair) which serves as the band's only rhythm instrument. Rachel is also playing melodic notes with her right hand. Whistle not transcribed (sorry, Caz).

This illustrates several innovations: a relatively new instrument, a new texture (neither bouzouki/guitar nor keyboard), someone other than Tom leading a "Manx slide," new crunchy harmonies, and synopated jazz-influenced basslines. Proper post-revival Manx.

3) Harmonizations of "Three Little Boats".

Simple chord charts for each of the notated version of the tune and for many of the recordings, all in a single chart which allows easy comparison between versions.

[REPLACE WITH MEC LIR]

[REPLACE WITH ANNYM]

7-F) TRANSLOCAL MAP

As a way of representing the translocal American-Manx music and dance communities, and showing how our physical spaces are almost precisely the same size, I created this overlay map in 2013.

The Isle of Man and western Massachusetts are at the same map scale. Manx place-names are in blue; American place-names are in black. (Most of the visible roads are American; Manx roads are very faint.) Circled in purple are the home towns of And Sometimes Y team members who visited the Isle of Man in 2013; underlined in purple is the town where we practice most often.

