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ABSTRACT

As a part of children's folklore, the lullaby is something which a child comes across during the very early period of its life. The lullabies themselves seem to be strongly influenced by their context, such as the singer's feelings, their view of children, their nursing style and tools for nursing, the social situation of the family, and other such issues.

My discussion in this thesis is divided into four parts. In Part I, I will review previous studies on concept of the lullaby in order to establish a proper concept and methodology for the present study. In Part II, I will analyze Scots, Gaelic, and Japanese lullaby texts from the point of view of linguistics, musicology, and literature in that order, and then, compare them with each other. In Part III, the context of Scottish and Japanese lullabies will be discussed. I have divided them into their cosmological, social, and historical backgrounds and presented a case study with regard to the attempts for the preservation of traditional lullabies both in Scotland and Japan. Here, in contrast to the textural and textual analysis, I will deal with both Scots and Gaelic lullabies together as "Scottish". In Part IV, I will conclude my discussion of the present study.

It is not my purpose to emphasize either the similarities or the differences between the lullabies of the two countries, or between lullabies of the West and the East. I have no intention to discover any trails of cultural distribution between them either. What I want to find is how the singing of lullabies has been connected with the everyday life of local people, and what function it has or had within their lives, both in Scotland and Japan. Furthermore, through these investigations, I wish to focus on what benefits children have had from such folklore traditions, and propose what is really necessary for children at the present time.
A Comparative Study between Scottish and Japanese Lullabies

UNO, Yūsuke

PhD

The University of Edinburgh

2003
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Preface

First of all, I will briefly explain the motivation for this study and the process by which it came into being. Since my undergraduate days in the Faculty of Pedagogy of Kyōto University, Japan, I have studied the function of folklore as it relates to children. Through such study I have attempted to discover the unique educational function of folklore — something which is not found in modern school education.

In Japan, as in most Western countries, the modern school educational system has contributed to the development of society, particularly in the fields of economy and technology. However, it is also true that this system has caused various serious kinds of problem, such as bullying, suicide, refusal to attend school, and violence in school or at home. Facing such tragic phenomena, we cannot help thinking that there may be a serious defect in the present educational system.

Before modernization, children’s folklore consisting of games and play, folktales for children, nursery rhymes and children’s songs, customs and beliefs about childhood, the seasonal festivals and events in which children take part, etc. had an important educational function, even if people did not recognize this as such. In inverse proportion to more formal school education, however, such children’s folklore has been undervalued, and ultimately it has gone into decline or been transformed in various ways. Here it is possible to set forth the hypothesis that there is a particular relationship between the problems from which children suffer and the decline or transformation of children’s folklore.

Since the 1970s, several scholars including my teacher at Kyōto University, the late Kōnosuke Fujimoto, who had once taken a supervision of Brian Sutton-Smith during his period of fellowship in the United States in the 1980s, undertook the study of children’s games and play, and tried to persuade school teachers and parents to appreciate them. Thanks to him and other scholars, the interest in these fields has increased and, along with this growth in interest, various kinds of exhibitions, events, festivals, and museums related to children’s games and play have come into fashion. Even in school education, special lessons for learning games and play have become part of the curriculum.

Nevertheless, it seems that children’s problems have not decreased at all. This fact leads us to the following assumption: that today’s children need something more to
overcome the pressures of modern society. Now we must rethink what is really necessary for children. This does not mean instructing them in a certain method of playing games, nor giving them more toys. What they need is a time and place for relaxation. They also need friends to play with. And, above all, they need parents and neighbours who are fully aware of the value of children’s folklore, including games and play. In short, we must appreciate the context of children’s folklore. This concern both directly and indirectly affects my present study, which focuses on the context in which lullabies exist.

Amongst children’s folklore, the lullaby is something which a child comes across during the very early period of its life. The lullabies themselves seem to be strongly influenced by their context, such as the singer’s feelings, their view of children, their nursing style and tools for nursing, the social situation of the family, and other issues. In this sense, the lullaby seems to be a proper starting point for those who undertake the study of the context of children’s folklore.

Next, I will explain the reasons why I chose a comparative study instead of examining a single culture’s lullabies. I have some degree of knowledge of Japanese lullabies, so that it would be more interesting to compare them with those of another culture. Also, my purpose is to discover the function of children’s folklore at the cross-cultural level. Through the present comparative study, I will hopefully be able to discover something universal, which I could not find through the study of Japanese, or Scottish lullabies alone, and which would give significant suggestions as to how to overcome problematic situation faced by our children.

My discussion is divided into four parts. In Part I, I will review previous studies of the lullaby in order to establish a proper concept and methodology for the present study. In Part II, I will analyse Scots, Gaelic, and Japanese lullaby texts from the point of view of linguistics, musicology, and literature in that order, and then, compare them each other. In Part III, the context of Scottish and Japanese lullabies will be discussed. I have divided into their cosmological, social, and historical backgrounds and presented a case study with regard to the current activities for the preservation of traditional lullabies both in Scotland and Japan. Here, in contrast to the textual analysis, I will deal with both Scots and Gaelic lullabies together as “Scottish”. In fact some of the Scots texts seem to be
influenced by English culture. However, it would be true to say that the remainder are related to specifically Gaelic or Scottish traditions. Eventually, I found that it was possible to discuss Scottish lullabies as a whole in terms of the context: i.e. independent of language. In Part IV, I will conclude my discussion of the present study.

It is not my purpose to emphasize either the similarities or the differences between the lullabies of the two countries, or between lullabies of the West and the East. I have no intention to discover any trails of cultural distribution between them either. What I want to find is how the singing of lullabies has been connected with the everyday life of local people, and what function it has/had within their lives, both in Scotland and Japan. Furthermore, through these investigations, I wish to focus on what benefits children have had from such folklore traditions, and propose what is really necessary for children — especially for Japanese children struggling with social and mental problems at the present time.

The Chinese proverb, “On-Ko-Chi-Shin [Furuki-wo tazunete atarashiki-wo shiru in Japanese]”, suggests that we can discover something new through studying something old. If the present study has been successfully completed, we should be able to “discover something new”.

Acknowledgements

It was in the winter of 1991/92 that I chose this project for my M Litt thesis, which developed into a PhD thesis the following summer. Since that time, a great number of people have helped me to complete this study.

First of all, I am delighted to cite the names of people who provided information both in Scotland and Japan: [Scotland] Ms. Stella Sutherland, Ms. Wilma Halcrow, Ms. Rohda Bultar, Mr. Chris Brown, Mr. Michael Hanna, and Mr. John Graham in Shetland; Ms. Morag MacAulay, Ms. Mairi MacDonald, Ms. Nan MacNeil, Ms. Christie MacIntyre, Ms. Anne Kearney, Ms. Sheilah Cunningham, Ms. Margaret MacNeil, Ms. Mary-Kate MacKinnon, Ms. Claire-Ann MacNeill, and Ms. Morag MacNeill in Barra; Mr. James Wilson in South Uist; Ms. Alma Jamieson and Mr. Alasdair Barr in Lewis; Mr. John Murdo Morrison, Ms. Sarah Morrison, and Ms Catherine MacDonald in Harris; Ms. Sheena Wellington in Leven; Ms. Anne Johnes in Edinburgh. [Japan] Ms. Hisako Akiyama in Tokushima; Ms. Taeko Okada, Mr. Rokusaburō Okada, the late Ms. Yoshino Fujii, Ms. Yae Tanaka, Ms. Yūko Tanimoto and Mr. Shigehiro Shibaguchi in Okayama; Ms. Kikue Kômura and Mr. Gen’ichi Kômura in Tottori. The interviews of children in the following primary schools were also very useful for the discussion concerning the relationship between modernization and traditional lullabies: Hamnavoe Primary School and Bressay Primary School in Shetland; Castlebay School and Eoligarry School in Barra. In addition, The Highland Association (An Comunn Gaidhealach in Gaelic) in Scotland and Ibara City Council in Japan kindly gave me useful information about “The National Mod” and “The Project of Hometown of Lullaby”.

Secondly, I would like to thank the following supervisors and advisors. Above all, I wish to express my appreciation to Dr. Margaret Bennett, one of my former supervisors in the School of Scottish Studies at that time — the Department of Celtic and Scottish Studies now — the University of Edinburgh. Dr Bennett has guided me to complete this study by her warm-hearted encouragement as well as her proper criticism and orientation throughout the whole process. The late Dr. Alan Bruford, another former supervisor, carefully read the first part of my thesis and kindly corrected many improper expressions
and grammatical errors. He also gave me invaluable information about previous studies, including his own articles, and appropriate advice concerning the construction of the thesis. It is a great pity that I cannot receive his brilliant commentary and criticism of this thesis because of his sudden death in April 1995. In December 1995, I got new supervisors, Ms. Morag MacLeod, and Dr. Mark Trewin. Thanks to their supervision, I could complete this project. In particular, after my sabbatical in Edinburgh during the year 2001/2002, Dr. Trewin gave me much relevant criticism and careful grammatical correction through his close reading of my first draft. Moreover, I am grateful to all the staffs of the Department of Celtic and Scottish Studies — above all to Dr. Margaret MacKay — for their special support.

The late Professor Kônosuke Fujimoto, a distinguished expert on educational anthropology, continually encouraged me up until his sad death from cancer in October 1995. Without him, I would never have undertaken this subject.

Professor Kôji Inada, one of the leading scholars of Japanese folktales, has been another crucial advisor in Japan. He suggested to me the significance of comparative study of folklore. Through the monthly meetings about folktales organized by him, I could study the methodology of the literary analysis of folklore, some of which I reviewed and utilized in the present study. He also encouraged me throughout the whole process of this thesis like a father.

Other members of the monthly meetings, especially Professor Tadaaki Miyake, an expert on Scottish and Irish folktales, the late Assistant Professor Yasuhisa Akao, an expert on the education of handicapped children, and Professor Seiji Tsuji, an expert on the comparative study of linguistics, gave me a lot of useful advice and much encouragement.

In Britain, I also received a variety of advice, support, and encouragement from a number of people other than those who provided directly related information. Amongst them, the late Ms. Norah Montgomerie, a remarkable collector of Scottish folktales and nursery rhymes, along with her late husband, Mr. William Montgomerie, suggested to me the essence of Scottish nursery rhymes both through a number of their compilations and through our private communication. Whenever I visited her flat and later on the nursing home where she was resident, I could feel at home because of her warm hospitality. She gave me a great deal of energy to continue to stay and study in Scotland, far from Japan.
Ms. Iona Opie was another indispensable advisor. The main reason why I originally came to Britain was to study children’s folklore under her supervision. In autumn, 1990, I wrote to her saying that I wanted to study under her supervision, and if this was impossible, I wanted her to introduce suitable universities or institutes in Britain. She kindly answered and suggested that it was best to go to the British Council in Japan. I visited there and finally found the School of Scottish Studies at the University of Edinburgh. Ever since, I have had contact with her by mail, and sometimes visited her house in Hampshire, too. Both through this communication and through the enormous volume of her work, I received a number of useful hints for studying children’s folklore, which deeply affected this thesis.

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Finally, I want to send special thanks to my wife, Miyo, to my parents and to my dead grandmother, who allowed me to stay abroad for a long period and gave me financial support. This thesis is especially dedicated to my son, Yōhei.
Part I. The Concept of Lullaby

Chapter 1. An Assessment of the Concept of Lullaby

1.1. Introduction

Up to the present day a great number of books on the lullaby have been published and received with affection by parents and nannies who are confronted with the task of caring for their children, as well as by other people who have a considerable interest in children's folklore. Nevertheless, there are fewer studies of the lullaby in comparison to the other areas of folklore such as folktales, ballads or myths. As such, we might consider that the academic study of the lullaby is "underdeveloped". There seem to be two reasons for this: firstly, the neglect or undervalue of children's folklore, and secondly, the partial interest in children's folklore.

Since the middle of nineteenth century the study of children's folklore in the U.K. and the U.S.A. has developed gradually, with such contributors as James Orchard Halliwell, William Wells Newell, Alice Bertha Gomme, Iona and Peter Opie, and Brian Sutton-Smith.\(^1\) However, it has been considered a trivial subject. For instance, in a critical biography written by Jonathan Cott, Peter Opie recollects the "academic atmosphere" in the early period of his study of nursery rhymes, i.e. in the 1940s and 50s, as follows:

Since people didn't deal with children and things like that, it would have been considered a nonsubject or a silly one. And at the time, when we said we studied nursery rhymes, we were considered an oddity. So we very quickly learned to keep absolutely quiet about it (Cott, 1983: 271).

Even in the late 1970s, Brian Sutton-Smith had a similar experience in the United States: he was told by Sue Samuelson, his first teaching assistant, "it would not be possible to do a thesis in children's folklore because there was absolutely no interest in

children either at the American Folklore Society (AFS) or in the Folklore Department at the university” (Sutton-Smith, 1995: xi).

Through the endeavors of Sutton-Smith and his followers, the situation has changed drastically during the last two decades.² It is fair to say, nevertheless, that such an “atmosphere” or tendency within academic society still more or less continues, even in the present day.

Related to this is the fact that there seems to be a bias amongst scholars who are attempting to deal with children’s folklore, of choosing a particular subject from the various genres. In Children’s Folklore: A Source Book (1995), for example, the concept of children’s folklore is described as follows:

**Children’s folklore**: shared expressive behaviors of children; more specifically, according to Bauman, “... the traditional formalized play activities of children, including forms of speech play and verbal art, that are engaged in and maintained by the children themselves, within the peer group. Familiar genres of children’s folklore include riddles, games, jokes, taunts, retorts, hand-claps, counting-out rhymes, catches, ring plays, and jump-ropes ... distinguished on the one hand from nursery rhymes. ... It is likewise distinguished from, though it may share items and genres and have other continuities with, adult folklore” (1982, 172). (Sutton-Smith, 1995: 309-310)

This definition focuses on the “expressive behaviors of children” represented by their games and play, and excludes nursery rhymes, to which lullabies are intimately related. However, if nursery rhymes are excluded from children’s folklore, to what category do they belong? Needless to say, it is not children but mainly adults who have recited and transmitted nursery rhymes. Nevertheless, it is crucial to note that nursery rhymes have not survived without the interaction between adults and children. They have been strongly influenced by favour and interest given them by children. Therefore, children’s folklore should contain the following two types: folklore for children created and transmitted by adults, and folklore created and transmitted by children themselves. Both should have an equal value as subjects for academic study.

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In order to avoid the ambiguity of the term, "children's folklore", I proposed an alternative term for this subject, in my late book, *Iki-iki-Gombo [Revive, Revive, My Fish Friend]: An Educational Anthropology of Children's Songs* (2000). At that time I coined the phrase "folklore in childhood". This term consists of three categories: (a) folklore by children, (b) folklore for children, and (c) folklore surrounding children. Children's games and play are involved to (a); and nursery rhymes including lullabies, folktalestold by adults and transmitted for children, seasonal events and festivals for children, ways of childcare, nursing equipments, clothes and food for children, customs and beliefs about childhood, and such things belong to (b). Furthermore, some genres of folklore transmitted among adults — like folksongs, folktales, word/physical-play, and superstitions which have not been intentionally conveyed to children — have also strongly influenced children. They have secretly also listened with curiosity to obscene or immoral songs, stories and play performed by adults, and often adapted them into their own folklore: that is, folklore by children. Such kinds of folklore can be regarded as the folklore neither by children nor for children, but surrounding them (Uno, 2000: 20).

In order to clarify the educational function of 'folklore in childhood', we must value these three types equally and investigate the relationship among them although type (a) has been highlighted up until now. Especially at the earliest stage in human life, type (b) is deeply influential. Along with other nursery rhymes such as dangling songs, finger-play songs and fantastic narrative songs, lullabies must have been 'an invisible umbilical cord' between a mother and her child. Through the lullabies sung by a child's mother (or other people) the infant must have drawn a certain picture of the world surrounding him or her, even if it is too early for the child to understand the meaning of the words. The picture, or so-called "proto-image of the world" (gen-fûkei in Japanese) will perhaps

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3 In this sense the Opies have contributed to the discovery of a whole range of 'folklore in childhood' through the investigation of all of these three types, although they do not distinctly classify their works. *I Saw Esau* (1947), *The Lore and Language in Schoolchildren* (1959) and their trilogy of children's games and play, *Children's Games In Street and Playground* (1969), *The Singing Games* (1985), and *Children's Games with Things* (1995), could be categorized into (a) folklore by children: *The Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes* (1951), *The Oxford Nursery Rhyme Book* (1955) and *The Classic Fairytales* (1975) belong to (b) folklore for children; and *A Dictionary of Superstitions* (1988) would be considered as (c) folklore surrounding children.
reflect the way that person feels after maturity. The study of lullabies, therefore, should
never be undervalued even though it is an “underdeveloped” field at the moment.

At the outset, in order to establish a proper concept for my study, various concepts
of the lullaby given by contributors to different types of dictionary, and by writers of
books and articles on the subject over the last two centuries, will be assessed according to
a division into four perspectives. Based on the assessment, I will present the concept
adopted in this study.4

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4 In Appendix 1, I reviewed various kinds of literature directly or indirectly related
to lullabies, and mainly published in Britain and Japan.
1.2. The Concept from Textural and Textual Perspectives

It is not easy to define the concept of lullaby as the subject of this study. There are various genres of song titled “lullaby” from the classical repertoire to popular songs. The equivalent term for a “lullaby” in different languages have their own background so that the meaning may be not exactly the same as “lullaby” in English. The same word may even have changed its meaning according to the times and the social classes in which it was used. It is important to distinguish between lullaby as a general (possibly universal) term and its culture-specific name. Based on these facts, we must clarify the concept accepted across the borders of culture, history and society, in order to undertake a comparative study between Scottish and Japanese lullabies.

Looking through previous studies on this subject and various kinds of lexical work, we can observe four types of perspectives: poetic, textural, textual, and contextual perspective. First, there are some poetic or symbolic concepts defined in several books of nursery rhymes and lullabies. They may have a less value from the viewpoint of academic study but vividly convey the aesthetical impressions of their authors:

Little has been written about the lullaby, though it is a most natural form of song and has been declared to be the genesis of all song (Opie, 1951: 18).

Lullabies are kindling-wood at the hearth of humanity. They glow with the warmth of fireside wherever the love of children and the sanctity of motherhood are everyday values (Daiken, 1959: 10).

A lullaby is a song sung in love to an audience of one (Cass-Beggs, 1969: 5).

The fragrant mood created by these poetic or symbolic descriptions may be shared with people in general beyond any cultural, historical or social borders that may exist. However, we cannot help criticizing these definitions as being insufficient to objectively distinguish the lullaby from other genres of songs.

Before moving to the next perspective, I will briefly explain the meaning of textural, textual and contextual perspectives. The idea is based on the article of Alan Dundes,
"Texture, Text, and Context" in Interpreting Folklore (1980). He insists on the importance of a division into these three perspectives when studying folklore and accompanies this belief with his definition of these three as follows:

With respect to any given item of folklore, one may analyze its texture, its text, and its context. It is unlikely that a genre of folklore could be defined on the basis of just one of these. Ideally, a genre should be defined in terms of all three.

In most of genres (and all those of a verbal nature), the texture is the language, the specific phonemes and morphemes employed. Thus in verbal forms of folklore, textural features are linguistic features . . . The text of an item of folklore is essentially a version or a single telling of a tale, a recitation of a proverb, a singing of a folksong. For purposes of analysis, the text may be considered independent of its texture. Whereas texture is, on the whole, untranslatable, text may be translated . . .

The context of an item of folklore is the specific social situation in which that particular item is actually employed. (Dundes, 1980: 22-23)

I will assess previous studies according to this division and definition. In English dictionaries, for instance, the lullaby is defined such as:

1. A soothing refrain, used to please or pacify infants. Also gen., any soothing refrain. (Sometimes preceded by lulla.)
   + b. Used for ‘farewell’, ‘good-night’.
2. A song sung to children to soothe them to rest. Also, any song which soothes to rest.
   v. To soothe with a lullaby; to sing to sleep.

A lullaby is a quiet song which you sing in order to help a child go to sleep. (COLLINS COBUILD. 1987)

... a pleasant song used for causing children to sleep.
(Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English.)

We can distinguish three characteristics from these definitions: (1) a refrain as a linguistic feature, (2) a song sung to help children get to sleep as a function, and (3) a quiet or pleasant song as a musical feature. Here the linguistic feature is considered as the something to be analysed in a textural perspective, while the function is part of the contextual perspective. It is rather difficult to categorise the musical feature into one of
these three perspectives, but it seems to be regarded as related to both the textural and textual realms. This is because the rhythm and melody are connected with the textural perspective, while the content of the words are translatable into other languages and, therefore, connected with textual issues.

Definitions from the point of view of texture are often observed. Here is another example from a musical dictionary:

A quiet composition of a lulling character, usually in triple rhythm... 
(The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians. 1st edition)

This writer defines a textural feature of a lullaby as “quiet” and “usually triple rhythm”, yet it is uncertain whether the “lulling character” is to be regarded as a textural feature related to the content of words, or whether it relates to context and hence related to the function.

Similar perspectives are often discovered in previous works: “a gentle song” (Halliwell, 1849: 258), “some simple rhythm” (Rhys, 1894: xxi), and “simple, soothing, rhythmic, and repetitive” (Cass-Beggs, 1969: 5). Furthermore, in the definition of “lullaby” in her contribution to Funk & Wagnalls Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend (1950), Theresa C. Brakeley indicates two characteristic features with regard to the texture: (1) a humming or a repetition of monotonous and soothing sounds as the simplest form, (2) the use of syllables (the simple meaningful or meaningless words for soothing), or “vocables” as they are known, (Brakeley, 1950: 654).

Such things certainly appear to be common to the lullabies transmitted in many countries. Vocables, in particular, seem to take a crucial part in lullabies, and some scholars have attempted to investigate their cross-cultural variety and history. However vocables are not indispensable, so it is too early to regard them as general or universal. In his A Lullaby Book (1959), Leslie Daiken states the cultural variety of lullabies according

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5 I reviewed the second edition of The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians (2001) in Appendix 1, in which we can find a detailed comment from a cross-cultural viewpoint related to ethno-musicology.

6 Daiken introduces a list, “lull-word [= vocable] from the world’s baby language as used in lullabies”, which I introduced in Appendix 1. On the other hand, the Opies investigate the history of vocables used in English-speaking countries. This was reviewed in Appendix 1, too.
to folksong traditions as follows:

Music for a babe is made out of a common impulse, irrespective of race, creed, climate, or the size of a family. . . . Curiously, lullabies are more colourful and plentiful in societies where religion and large families commingle. . . . Style, rhythm, idiom --- these vary according to the folk-song traditions of a particular country (Daiken 1959: 10).

As Daiken points out, textural features such as style and rhythm do not seem to be universal. For instance, the lullabies in non-Western countries, including Japan, are not necessarily occupied in the triple rhythm. We can also discover a number of lullabies without either vocables or the repetition of monotonous or soothing sounds. Therefore, it seems that we had better focus on some other perspective for defining at concept of the lullaby in general.

The Textual perspective may provide a possibility for the definition of the concept of lullaby. Brakeley, for example, in the article introduced above, attempts to explain the concept by the motifs appearing in the words: all-rightness, a guarantee of safety, sleep personified, maternal admiration of the child, promises and bribes for good behavior, threats, and complaint of the mother's weariness and hard lot (Brakeley, 1950: 654). These features would become valid criteria in the case that we try to analyse the content of the words. Nevertheless, they are far from an ultimate definition of the item, as Brakeley herself recognises: “Practically any kind of song can and does serve as a lullaby” (ibid: 654). Thus we cannot help considering that the concept defined from a textual perspective is also insufficient.

Before moving to the contextual perspective, I will pay attention to the etymology. The etymology of the word, “lullaby”, could suggest some of the characteristics that this word has possessed and how it has changed over a long period of time. Although it is not possible to define the word by researching into its etymology, we can investigate the historical and cultural background of the word. In fact, a number of previous studies discuss this issue:

The etymology is to be sought for in the verb *lull*, to sing gently, which Douce thinks is connected with ἀλαλεω or ἀλλη (Halliwell, 1849: 258).
The Roman nurses used the word *la-lla* to quiet their charges. It has aural connections with the Greek λάξεω and the Latin *loquor*, and also the Greek λαλλη, the sound made on the beach by the sea. These typical nurses sometimes called on a deity named Lallus. They coined their own word, *lullare*, meaning ‘to sing lalla’ (Daiken, 1951: 33).

Dr Johnson had ideas about the *by* in the word *lullaby*. He thought it signified *sleep*. He was mistaken: and his theory that the word, syllabically, meant ‘to compose to sleep by a pleasing sound’, has been refuted by another scholar, Holt White (ibid: 33).

There is a further suggestion that *lullaby* is a contraction of lulla-baby. A case is made for its derivation from the Nordic root, to *lull*, of which there exists a very early record [in a fifteenth century carol] (ibid: 33).

Another possibility, put forward now for the first time, is that the ancient Hebraic root, *la-yil*, or Aramaic *lai-lah* (night), could well be a source (ibid: 33-34).

The word *lo-lo*, in the French lullaby, has no connection with *lullare*. It is a French baby-language contraction for *lait* (milk), as co-lat is short for *chocolat*. Besides this *fais-dodo* language for small children, French usage favours the more literary word, *Berceuse*. The German equivalent is *Wiegentied*. The latter two words correspond to our English ‘cradle song’ (ibid: 34).

Some believe that the word *lullaby* is derived from an old Talmudic legend to the effect that after Adam was created the animals came to him in pairs to be named and that this made him lonely because he had no mate. God therefore gave him a wife named Lilith, created from dust. Realizing that she was of the same material as her husband, Lilith asserted her equality with him. This Adam denied, whereupon she left him, vanishing into air to avoid being forced to return.

God then sent three angels in search of her. After a time they found her in the Red Sea, but could not persuade her to return, although they threatened that, if she did not, she should lose a hundred of her demon children by death each day. So God made Adam another wife from one of Adam’s ribs, and Lilith to avenge the loss of her demon children, sought to injure all new-born boys the first night of their lives and to injure all baby girls for twenty days after birth.

Because of this legend a superstitious fear possessed mothers in ancient times lest their children be injured by Lilith. To prevent this they attached amulets to their babies, bearing the names of the three angels that sought Adam’s first wife.

Brewer, in his *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*, tells us that some superstitious Jews put in their wives’ sleeping rooms four coins labeled with the names of Adam and Eve and the words *Avaunt thee, Lilith*>, which were later corrupted to *lullaby* (Marvin, 1930: 214).

We could observe that this word has been identified in a connection with three language cultural areas: Greek, Nordic, and Hebraic. In particular, the last interpretation is extremely fascinating since the equivalent term in the Ainu, the minority people living in
Hokkaidō, the northern-most island of Japan, *ifumuke*, also means “greeting an evil spirit” in some areas so that they avoid using this term (Matsumoto & Sarashina, 1985: 164). Likewise, Daiken points out that a Gaelic equivalent term, *tāladh*, has another meaning, “enchantment” (Daiken, 1959: 30). These examples seem to suggest that the idea that singing lullabies plays the part of a charm against bad luck for babies has been universal in earlier days. It will be discussed in detail later on.
1.3. The Concept from A Contextual Perspective

Bess Lomax Hawes describes the difficulty in establishing a general concept of lullabies as “a classification problem”:

... fragments of Brahms, various “Rockabye Babies” and “Go Tell Aunt Rhodys”, a few baby games like “This Little Piggy”, and a couple of errant hymns. All are labeled “lullabies” by their student collections; I assume this must mean ‘songs associated with children going to bed’. ... The classification problem suggested here is by no means a new one and can be simply stated: is a song a function of its lexical contents or its social usage? Is a lullaby a song about going to sleep, or is it any song on any subject that is used to induce slumber? (Hawes, 1974:141)

After simplifying her argument into “the dual allegiances, literary and anthropological”, she aligns herself “with the anthropological (or, at least, the functional) wing” (ibid: 141).

Among several contextual perspectives (“anthropological” categorized by Hawes), study focusing on function, known as “functionalism”, has been considered one of the most crucial ideas since the epoch-making works of Bronislaw Malinowski and Alfred Radcliffe-Brown in the twenties of the last century. When discussing “function”, we should pay attention to the following comment by Dundes:

It is necessary to distinguish context and function. Function is essentially an abstraction made on the basis of a number of contexts. Usually, function is the analyst’s statement of what (he thinks) the use or purpose of a given genre of folklore is (Dundes, 1980: 23-24)

He suggests that we should consider “function” not as an objective existence a priori, but as a theoretical construction. This consideration will be adopted in the present study.

The essential or original function of singing lullabies is “causing children to sleep” as we saw in the definitions given by English dictionaries. No one would disagree with this proposal. However, more intensive and extensive investigation would lead us to

7 *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (1922) by Malinowski and *The Anderman Islanders* (1922) by Radcliffe-Brown are considered the heraldic works of functionalism.
confront two problems.

First, apparently equivalent words in lullabies of different languages do not have exactly the same meaning each other. For instance, *komori-uta*, the Japanese equivalent of the English word, lullaby, is usually divided into three types according to function: (1) *nemurase-uta* or *nesase-uta* [songs for lulling a child to sleep], (2) *asobase-uta* [songs for amusing a child], and (3) *moriko-uta* [songs sung by nurse-maid girls as a releasing of their feelings] (Iwai, 1999: 649). Only type (1) has a correspondence with a “lullaby” in English. For *komori* means “nursing a child” as well as “a nanny” or “a nurse-maid girl”, and *uta* means “a song”, so that *komori-uta* can mean both “a song for nursing a child” and “a song sung by a nanny or a nurse-maid girl”.

In Gaelic, the equivalent word, *taladh*, also seems to have a broader meaning according to the etymological dictionaries in this respect:


It appears that *taladh* has a broader meaning than lullaby. Along with “hushing” and “caressing”, which are similar to lullaby, it also has a meaning of “attracting”, “winning” and “enticing”. These meanings are possibly related to the notion of enchantment, which was indicated by Daiken as referred to before. The people in Gaelic societies might have recognized that to sing a lullaby was like casting a spell on a child. They might also have thought that singing a lullaby has a particular magical, supernatural function. However, we should be suspicious that the information in etymological dictionaries might not necessarily correspond with the ordinary usage of this word by native Gaelic speakers.8

Secondly, certain previous studies note that singers have actually used lullabies for other purposes while superficially or additionally trying to soothe a child to sleep. Daiken, 8 This suspicion is based on a suggestion by my supervisor, Morag MacLeod.
for instance, writes about "singing inward" and "singing outward". The former, on the one hand, means "singing to herself/himself", in which the grief, despair, or brooding of a singer's own experience is centered, and on the other hand, the latter means "singing for the baby", in which all-rightness or beauty of the surroundings occupies the song's main theme (Daiken, 1959: 13-18). The Cass-Beggs adopt Daiken's idea into their division: "those which primarily concern the mother" and "those sung . . . directly for the baby" (Cass-Beggs, 1969: 5). Likewise, Hawes concludes her "anthropological" investigation of American lullabies, many of which seem to involve the theme in words connected with the independence of children from the mother as soon as possible:

The American lullaby is . . . a mother's conversation with herself about separation. And, as such, one of its most profoundly supportive functions is to make the inevitable and inexorable payment of our social dues just a little less personally painful (Hawes, 1974: 148)

Another opinion from a similar functional view is found in an essay entitled "Saishū-no Shiori" (1926/1998), written by Kunio Yanagita, "father of Japanese folkloristics". He insists that lullabies had an alternative function to lulling a child: that it was a literature of satire. The miscellaneous criticism, jealousies, and condemnations of other moriko [nurse-maid girls] and host families who employed moriko were, according to him, expressed in singing lullabies (1998: 106-107).

Thus, we cannot help recognising that some "hidden", yet substantial aspects would make it difficult to define the concept of lullabies simply from a functional prospective, although the analysis of the functions of singing lullabies is one of the most crucial subjects of the present study. As such, I will search for some non-functional aspects.

Another contextual aspect with regard to the concept of the lullaby is the identity of the singer. It is the mother who has been generally considered the singer of lullabies. Consequently, "the maternal admiration of the child" (Brakeley, 1950: 654) has been regarded as one of the most important motifs in lullaby texts. However, the identity of the singers cannot become a criterion for our definition of lullabies: they must also have been sung by fathers, grandparents, nannies, nurse-maids, and so forth. It is notable that a particular type of Japanese lullaby has been named moriko-uta [songs sung by nurse-maid girls] after their singers; and as such, proclaimed a unique characteristic of Japanese
lullabies. We must, therefore, look for another answer.

Let us come back, then, to our starting line. Our subject was initially connected with particular behaviour accompanying recitation. This means that we consider a song a lullaby when we see someone singing it with a child lying beside the singer, holding it in her or his arms, or carrying it on the back or around the waist, and usually accompanied soft tapping or mild rocking of the child’s body. No matter what the functions of the song are, or what textural and textual features there are, the “actual lullaby” as subject of the present study demands for such behaviour. In other words, we can base our concept of the lullaby on the behavioural feature as one of the contextual perspectives. This concept is probably acceptable as the one to be adopted in this cross-cultural, comparative study.

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9 In this sense, “dandling songs” and “body-play songs” are not included in the object in the present study.
1.4. The Concept Adopted in This Study

We have had an overview of the concept of the lullaby in previous studies with the division into four perspectives: poetic, textural, textual, and contextual. Several scholars have tried to define the concept with poetic and symbolic explanations. Although such explanations indicate the nuance or atmosphere of the term, they are not suitable concepts for the purpose of academic study. Other scholars show that vocables, and quiet, mild sound-voices with a slow tempo or in triple rhythm are textural features, and that several particular motifs related to soothing children are textual features usually discovered in lullabies across cultural borders. All the same we have to conclude that these features are by no means definitive.

It is clear that the original function of singing lullabies is to cause a child to sleep. A number of definitions have referred to this point. However, this function is still doubtful in cases where we observe traditional lullabies transmitted within local societies. As a matter of fact, singers have sung lullabies for other purposes, a matter which will be discussed in detail later on. To induce sleep is only one of the purpose, even if it is original or essential. Besides, the following assumption revealed that the equivalent term for lullaby both in Gaelic and Japanese may have broader meanings, and consequently the sense of function may increase or broader.

Finally, we touched on the concept defined according to a behavioural feature: a lullaby is a song sung with a child lying and beside the singers, or held in the arms, or carried on the back or around the waist, and often accompanied with gentle tapping or rocking.

However this is still not sufficient for the present comparative study of traditional lullabies in Scotland and Japan. Lullabies have been, on the whole, transmitted orally from generation to generation in a particular society (or local community) in both countries. Above all, it is crucial that the local people have recognized particular songs as traditional lullabies in their own society. In this sense,
our target is not lullabies connected with a particular composer or singer, but those connected with a particular society or place. Thus we can conclude that the behavioural aspect, along with the recognition of a local people that the song in question is traditional can constitute the concept of lullabies for the present cross-cultural study.

Meanwhile, it is in fact very difficult to testify the texts collected and transcribed in the previous works, with these criteria. The compilers usually give no mention of such situation and recognition. Also, strictly speaking, these transcribed texts can no longer be regarded as orally transmitted. However, since we cannot help but make use of printed materials for our analyses, it is inevitable that we identify them as lullabies from the content of the texts and any relevant annotations if they exist.

In addition, a large amount of vocal and instrumental music entitled “-lullaby” has been composed and performed by known or unknown artists of classical, folk, or popular music. These composers borrowed or imitated the literary or musical style of traditional lullabies and tried to create something unique or nostalgic. Although it is certainly interesting to investigate such a procedure, this is beyond the concern of this thesis.

Referring back to the three divisions of “folklore in childhood” mentioned in the first section, a lullaby is considered a genre of “folklore for children” in my division. Therefore the concept should originate in the behaviour and consideration of the singers, who look after and soothe their children with singing. However, we must pay attention to the fact that some textural features such as soothing sounds and the repetition of simple syllables are related to the language of children (or so-called “baby talk”) and their linguistic preference (i.e. “folklore by children” in my division). Moreover, traditional lullabies, needless to say, have an intimate relationship with other genres of traditional song, most of which are categorized into “folklore surrounding children”, with regard to both their melodies and lyrics.
In this sense, the study of traditional lullabies should be directed not only towards the discovery of the feature of “folklore for children”, but also towards the clarification of the inter-relationship among the three types of “folklore in childhood”. I will proceed with the present study according to this recognition.
Part II. Textural and Textual Analysis of Scottish and Japanese Lullabies

In Part II, the textural and textual analysis of Scots, Gaelic and Japanese lullabies will be separately examined from the linguistic, musicological, and literary perspectives, in Chapters 2, 3, and 4. Following that, in Chapter 5, the data drawn from the analysis in the former three chapters will be compared with each other.

The source of textural and textual analysis is mainly a literary one, which has been already recorded and compiled into books, while some unprinted texts collected both by my own fieldwork and by the Department of Celtic and Scottish Studies are utilised, too. In order to follow the concept defined in the final section of Chapter 1, the selection of texts should be carefully undertaken. Through the whole process, we must distinguish between the textual features found exclusively in lullabies and those also found in other kinds of folksong in that language, for some of the features discovered in Scots, Gaelic and Japanese lullabies must be reflected in the characteristic features of Scots, Gaelic and Japanese folksongs in general.

Chapter 2. Textural and Textual Analysis of Scots Lullabies

2.1. Collection and Selection

First of all, I will define several terms used in this part, such as “text”, “song type” and “version”. A “text” or “lullaby text” here corresponds to each of the songs collected as materials for the present analysis. It can be divided into its words and tune, both of which are usually recorded as literary archives. However, the tunes are sometimes omitted; or in other cases, only the tunes are recorded, and are not accompanied by any lyrics.

The same song or seemingly the same one is sometimes discovered in more than two sources. In this case, these texts can be considered to be the same “song type”, following the concept of “the types of folktale” established by the Finnish school of Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson.10 When one text compiled in source A and the other text in source B can

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10 The result of their large-scale research bore fruits as The Types of the Folktale
be identified as the same song, they are regarded as "version A" and "version B" of the song type.

For the present study, I collected and selected seventy-seven Scots lullaby texts arranged into thirty-six song types according to the concept discussed in the former chapters. Although I referred to relevant literary sources and the Sound Archive of my department, as much as possible, I collected fewer song texts than I expected. As far as I know, there has been no systematic nationwide research of Scots nursery rhymes, or of lullabies. Through interviews with experts in this field (like Norah Montgomerie and Iona Opie) and also with local people, both elderly and children, I felt that very few Scots lullabies still survived, except a few texts recorded in historical or folkloristic books. Most of the nursery rhyme books with pictures found in bookshops have only English or "standard" Mother Goose songs.

In such circumstances, I was very lucky to have met with two excellent informants, Ms Stella Sutherland, daughter of a female folksong collector from Shetland, and Ms Sheena Wellington, singer-songwriter and folksong collector from Dundee. Thanks to their special contributions, I was able to collect the above number of lullabies.

The lullaby texts are here listed by number in the alphabetical order of their first line (see Table 2.1.1.). The whole texts are compiled in Appendix 2.1. Scots Lullaby Texts.

Some of the song types have two and more versions. In that case, each version is arranged chronologically by the date when the song was collected; or if the date is not clear, the date on which the literary source was published. Each text is marked by a small letter after its number, in alphabetical order like "S-2a, S-2b . . . " Concerning the ordering of the first line, interjections such, "O" (S-8 & 31) or "Oh" (S-25), or the definite article, "Da" (S-6) or "A" (S-12a), are ignored.

There are versions whose first lines are completely different from the rest, like S-20b and S-23b (see Table 2.1.1.). However, as far as the following lines are quite similar, it should be identified as originally the same song.

The sources used for collecting Scots lullabies in the present study consist of three
types: (i) those of my own collection recorded through my fieldwork (Uno Collection, [UC]), (ii) the Sound Archive of the Department of Celtic and Scottish Studies ([SA]), and (iii) other literary and sound sources (Other Sources, [OS]).

The texts whose tunes have been recorded are indicated by the letter “M” standing for “Music” in this table, while “—” stands for texts without any tune. In the case of the existence of a sound recording, it is marked by the letters “M-SR”. Following this, the date of collection and publication are written in that order. If unknown, it is indicated by “—”.

There are some borderline cases from the point of view of the concept argued in the former chapter. It particularly is very difficult to distinctly separate lullabies from rhythmical songs for amusing a weeping or fretful child, such as dandling songs and body-play songs. For instance, S-23b, “Close your e’en the gallopin’ men”, includes several phrases related to lulling a child, while it is categorised into “rhymes and sayings for the distraction of greetin’ bairns” by the compiler (Fraser, 1975: 5). This song seems to have been sometimes sung for amusing a fretful child with a comparatively faster tempo. However, with a slower tempo, it might have also been sung for lulling a child, so that it is perhaps possible to consider this text as a lullaby.

The assessment of Scottish origin or identification is another problematic matter. In practice, the following two song types might not be regarded as original Scots lullabies. First, one version of S-7, “Bye baby bunting” (S-7c), is regarded “Trad. English” by the anthologist (Headington, 1989: 28). However, another version, S-7a, appears in Chambers’ Popular Rhymes of Scotland (1842), which means that this song was undoubtedly sung by Scottish people at least a century and a half ago. Therefore I decided to consider it as a Scots lullabies.

Secondly, S-16a, “Hush-a-bye babby”, is a version of the song type, “Hush-a-bye baby, on the tree top”, which can be regarded as “the best-known lullaby both in England and America” (Opie, 1951: 61). Nevertheless, this version is certainly regarded as a typically “Scotticised” one in terms of both its words and its rhythm, as discussed later, so that it is possible to put it into the collection of Scots lullabies, along with another version, S-16b, which has a different tune from the well-known one although the words are the same.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text no.</th>
<th>First line</th>
<th>Source type</th>
<th>Music</th>
<th>Date of Collection/Publication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S-1</td>
<td>Adam an Eve</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--/1985</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-2a</td>
<td>Alie balie</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--/1964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-2b</td>
<td>Johnnie Scott was awfu’ thin</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>--/1966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-2c</td>
<td>Ally bally</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>--/1970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-2d</td>
<td>Ally bally</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--/1978</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-2e</td>
<td>Ally Bally</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>--/1994</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-3a</td>
<td>Baloo, balilli</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>--/1947</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-3b</td>
<td>Baloo, balilli</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--/1959</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-3c</td>
<td>Baloo, balilo</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--/1975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-3e</td>
<td>Ba-loo, ba-lil-ly</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>--/1992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-4</td>
<td>Baloo my babe</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1952/--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-5</td>
<td>Bishy by</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>--/1969</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-6a</td>
<td>Da boatie sails</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>--/1964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-6b</td>
<td>Da boatie sails</td>
<td>UC</td>
<td>M-SR</td>
<td>1992/1995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-7a</td>
<td>Bye babies buntin’</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--/1842</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-7b</td>
<td>Bye, Baby Bunting</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>--/1933</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-7c</td>
<td>Bye, baby bunting</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>--/1989</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-7d</td>
<td>Baby baby bunting</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>--/2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-7e</td>
<td>Hush a ballo</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>--/2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-7f</td>
<td>Babwie, Babwie Buntin’</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--/2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-8a</td>
<td>O can ye sew Cushions</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>--/1797</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-8b</td>
<td>I’ve placed my cradle</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--/1839</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-8c</td>
<td>O can ye sew cushions</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>--/1842</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-8d</td>
<td>O can ye sew cushions</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1906/1975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-8e</td>
<td>O can ye sew cushions</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>M-SR</td>
<td>1951/1993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-8f</td>
<td>O can ye sew cushions</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>--/1959</td>
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<td>S-8g</td>
<td>O can ye sew cushions</td>
<td>OS</td>
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<td>--/1961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-8h</td>
<td>O can ye sew cushions</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>--/1969</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-8i</td>
<td>O can ye sew cushions</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>--/1994</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-9</td>
<td>Cockie Bendie’s lyin’ seik</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--/1964</td>
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<tr>
<td>S-10a</td>
<td>Cuddle in yer bonnie baa</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--/1948</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-10b</td>
<td>Cuddle in yer beddie-baa</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--/1975</td>
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<tr>
<td>S-11a</td>
<td>A girl in the army</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--/1951</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-11b</td>
<td>As I bung through the dodder’s baysh</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>--/1986</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-12</td>
<td>Hoolie, the bed’ll fall</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--/1964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-13</td>
<td>Hog an tarry</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1907/2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-14a</td>
<td>Hurr, hurr deo noo</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>--/1947</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-14b</td>
<td>Hurr, hurr deo noo</td>
<td>UC</td>
<td>M-SR</td>
<td>1992/1995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-15a</td>
<td>Hush and baloo</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--/1942</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-15b</td>
<td>Hush and baloo</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--/2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-16a</td>
<td>Hush-a-by, babby</td>
<td>UC</td>
<td>M-SR</td>
<td>1992/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-16b</td>
<td>Hush-a-by, babby</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>--/2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-17</td>
<td>Hush-a-baa, baby, Dinna mak’a din</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--/1955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-18</td>
<td>Hush-a-ba, baby, lie doon</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>--/2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-19a</td>
<td>Hush-a-ba, babie, lie still</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--/1842</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-19b</td>
<td>Hush-a-ba, baby, lie still</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--/1909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-19c</td>
<td>Hush-a-ba, babby, lie still</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--/1946</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-19d</td>
<td>Hush-a-ba, ba-bie, lie still</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>--/1957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-20a</td>
<td>Hushie-ba, burdie beeton</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-20b</td>
<td>Baloo, lilie beetle</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-20c</td>
<td>Hush-a-ba, burdie-beeton</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-20d</td>
<td>Hushie baa baetie</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-21a</td>
<td>Hush-a-ba birdie, croon</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-21b</td>
<td>Hush-a-ba birdie, croon</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-21c</td>
<td>Hushaby birdie, croon</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-21d</td>
<td>Hush-a-ba birdie, croon</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-22a</td>
<td>Hush-a-ba loo</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-22b</td>
<td>Hush-a-ba-loo</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-23a</td>
<td>Hush, my dear, the gallopin' men</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-23b</td>
<td>Close your e'en the gallopin' men</td>
<td>UC</td>
<td>M-SR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-24a</td>
<td>Hush ye, hush ye</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-24b</td>
<td>Hush ye, hush ye</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-25</td>
<td>Oh, I hae twa bonny bairnies</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>M-SR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-26</td>
<td>I heard a coo low</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-27</td>
<td>If ye dinnie go to sleep</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-28</td>
<td>La, la, my baby</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-29</td>
<td>Lay doon yer little heidie</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-30</td>
<td>Peerie mootie, peerie mootie</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-31</td>
<td>O silver tree, silver tree</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-32</td>
<td>Some do like the tortoise-shell</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-33</td>
<td>Warm dee well come peddica too</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-34</td>
<td>Wee Davie Daylicht</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-35a</td>
<td>Wee Willie Winkie</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-35b</td>
<td>Wee Willie Winkie</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-36a</td>
<td>When I was new bit sweet sixteen</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S-36b</td>
<td>Oh, hishie ba</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>--</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.2. Linguistic Analysis

For a linguistic analysis, the following three criteria will be adopted for all three language lullabies: use of vocables and other set phrases, repetition and other stylistic features, and rhyming and other phonetic features. These criteria correspond to textural analysis in the division by Dundes introduced in the first chapter.

2.2.1. Vocables and Other Set Phrases

As reviewed in the first chapter, a vocable plays a crucial part in lullabies regardless of cultural boundaries. Here I will discuss the phonetic features and etymologies of the vocables appearing in Scots lullabies. Among thirty-six song types, twenty-two include certain vocables. Discounting the slight differences in spelling and dialect between versions, the following aspects can be detected (see Table 2.2.1.).

Table 2.2.1.

|-----------|-------------------------------|-------------------|-----------|--------------|---------------------|---------|-------------------------------------------------------------|-----|------|---------------|--------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|----------------|--------------|---------------|-----------|

Hush, bye (or ba), or hush-a-bye as a combination of the two, and baloo seem to be the most frequently used in Scots lullabies.

First, hush is considered to be the most popular vocable in English lullabies also. According to the Opies, this vocable, appearing in the literature after the sixteenth century
for the first time, is a back-formation of *husht* (Opie, 1951: 18). In addition, *hishie* (S-13 and 36) seems to be a Scottish dialect form.

Next, the etymology of *bye* (or *ba*) has been interpreted in several ways, as reviewed in the second chapter: “*lullaby* is a contraction of *lulla-baby*” (Daiken, 1959: 33), “*sleep*” (Opie, 1951: 18); and is also explained as the “sheep-like” sound from Anglo-Saxon (Bruford, 1978: 4). Furthermore, we should think of a phonological element suggesting a possible biological, or universal basis: the preference of a child for the physical production of speech sounds. “Ba” might be one of the most attractive sounds for children as the word “baby” indicates. “Ba”, for instance, is used in a popular Japanese body-play game for infants, “*inai-inai-ba* [Not here, not here. Yes, you’re here]”. The player faces the infant closely and covers her or his eyes and says “*inai-inai*”, pretending to look for the infant in the darkness. The player suddenly takes his or her hands off and cries “*ba!*” as if the infant had been found at last. This short body-play seems to have been a great attraction to Japanese infants even up to the present day.\(^\text{11}\)

Moreover, there are a number of infant words starting with “*ba*” or “*bu*” in Japan.\(^\text{12}\) It may suggest that in a physiological sense “ba” is a sound bringing children pleasure both in hearing and in pronouncing, although this is no more than a hypothesis.

- Meanwhile, *baloo* possibly has a Scottish origin. This vocable is seen in the text S-3, known as “The Bressay Lullaby” after the island in which this text was collected. Related to it, in “Can ye sew cushions” (S-8), first compiled in 1797, we can see the following phrase; “... can ye sing bal-lu-loo when the bairn greets?” Here *bal-lu-loo* itself stands for a lullaby. Moreover, Chambers adds such an annotation before introducing a few lullaby texts as:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{But I sall praise thee evernoir} \\
\text{With sangis sweit unto thy gloir;} \\
\text{The knees of my hert sall I baw,} \\
\text{And sing that richt Balulalow!} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(Chambers, 1842: 175)

\(^{11}\) There is a well known picture book titled "*Inai-inai-ba*" written by Miyoko Matsutani (1975), in which the same body-play is repeated by various animals and human children.

\(^{12}\) Examples are as follows: *babo* (rice cakes), *baba* (granny), *bubu* (car), and *bu* (water).
According to this, “bal-lu-loo”, “Balulalow”, or something similar, was quite popular and sometimes used as an equivalent term for lullaby itself amongst Scottish people in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. The etymology of this vocable is connected with a mysterious belief: a magic or an incantation for protecting a child from evil spirits. This topic will be discussed in detail in the sixth chapter.

John Loenberg states that “Ally bally bee” (S-2) was originally an advertisement song for “Coulter’s Candy”:

Ally Bally, Ally Bally Bee,
Sittin’ on yer mammy’s knee.
Greetin’ for a wee baw-bee,
Tae buy some Coulter’s Candy (S-2d)

— “Robert Coultart, a traveling confectioner active around the turn of the country, hawked his sweets around the country fairs and markets in the Borders. Like all hawkers, the man’s sales pitch included a snatch of song, which in his case was the first verse of this ditty” (Loesberg, 1994: 69).

According to Loenberg, this vocable was initially connected not with soothing children but with amusing them. This means that the song was originally not a lullaby, although it was sung as a lullaby for the long time.

_Hurr hurr dee noo_ (S-14), recited by Shetlanders, is considered “the whirr of the spinning-wheel, the background noise in many a home” by Ernest Marwick (Marwick, 1975: 121). It is not difficult to accept his consideration based on the domestic situation in the islands, although this is no more than one possible interpretation concerning the etymology of this vocable. Considering our modern life, some continuous, especially familiar sounds are known to be calming. For example, a car engine can be sleep-inducing to its occupants, especially babies.

Beside vocables, there are the following set phrases, which seem to create a pleasant, comfortable sound effect: _baby bunting_ (S-7), _baby lie still_ (S-19), _burdie beeton_ (S-20), _birdie croon_ (S-21), and _peerie mootie_ (S-31).
Repetition is a distinctly useful device for giving words rhythm. The vocables and set phrases indicated above are often repeated. As reviewed before, Bruford states the frequency of an A-A-A-B type of repetition of phrases in Gaelic lullabies. Here I will assess the type of repetition in Scots lullabies in order to compare them with Gaelic and Japanese examples.

First, we can discover that the A-A-A-B type of repetition of a phrase is often discovered in Scots lullabies. For instance:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Baloo balilli, baloo balilli, baloo balilli, baloo ba.} & \\
\text{A A A B} & \\
\text{Gae awa, peerie faeries, Gae awa, peerie faeries.} & \\
\text{A A} & \\
\text{Gae awa, peerie faeries, Fae wir bairn noo.} & \\
\text{A B} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[\text{(S-3a)}\]

O can ye sew Cushions and can ye sew Sheets

\[\begin{align*}
\text{A} & \\
\text{A'} & \\
\end{align*}\]

And can ye sing bal-lu-loo when the bairn greets

\[\begin{align*}
\text{A''} & \\
\text{B} & \\
\end{align*}\]

\[\text{(S-8a)}\]

And hee and baw birdie and hee and baw lamb

\[\begin{align*}
\text{A} & \\
\text{A'} & \\
\end{align*}\]

And hee and baw birdie, my bonnie wee lamb

\[\begin{align*}
\text{A} & \\
\text{B} & \\
\end{align*}\]

It seems to be fair to regard this A-A-A-B pattern or something like it as a common type of repetition in Scots lullabies.

Meanwhile, there are different types phrase repetition, such as A-B-A-B (e.g. S-13), A-B-A-B’ (e.g. S-11), A-B-A-C (e.g. the 3rd and 4th lines of the 2nd stanza in S-8d). Moreover, the same phrase often appears in the first and last line of each stanza in a “sandwich-like style” as in the following example:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Close your e'en the gallopin' men} & \\
\text{Ride thre' the backen an' ride owre the ben} & \\
\text{Mammy will watch her sleepin' hen} & \\
\text{So close your e'en my dearie.} & \\
\text{Hush-a-ba, ba-bie, lie still, lie still;} & \\
\text{Your mammie's awa to the mill, to the mill;} & \\
\text{Babie is greeting for want of good keeping;} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[\text{S-23b}\]
Hush-a-ba, babie, lie still, lie still;  
(S-19a)

Wee Davie Daylicht keeks ower the sea  
Early in the morning wi a clear ee;  
Waukens aa the birdies that are sleepin soun:  
Wee Davy Daylicht is nae lazy loon.  
(S-34)

Furthermore, double repetition of a phrase is no less common than other types of repetition:

Hush-a-ba, ba-bie, lie still, lie still;  
Your mammie’s awa to the mill, to the mill;  
(S-19a)

Hush-a-ba birdie, croon, croon  
Hush-a-ba birdie, croon,  
The sheep are gane to the silver wood,  
And the cows are gane to the broom, broom.  
And it’s braw milking the kye, kye.  
It’s braw milking the kye,  
The birds are singing, the bells are ringing,  
The wild deer come galloping by, by.  
(S-21a)

In the last text (S-21a) we can see the repetition of words or sounds like croon, broom, kye, and by (as marked with double underlines), as well as the repetition of phrases. All these types of repetition may be also found in other folksong types; but in the case of lullabies, from the phonological perspective, the rhythm produced by repetition is particularly useful for bringing ease of mind to a child as a listener.

The length of the words might be another stylistic feature. As noted in Appendix 1.2, Morag MacLeod indicates that Gaelic lullabies can be divided into (1) “Long songs, of more than 4 verses” and (2) “Short songs, with repetition, including what may have been milking songs originally” (see p.335). How does the length relate to content, effect, or any other characteristic features of the lullaby? I will examine this issue through the comparative analysis of the lullabies in all three languages.

From the point of view of length, I will divide Scots lullabies into the following three types: (i) **minimal texts** consisting of only a vocable, (ii) **short texts** consisting of one to four stanzas, and, (iii) **long texts** containing more than four stanzas. An example of each type might be presented as follows:

(i) Bishy by, Bishy by, Bishy by, my baby.  
(S-5)
Hush-a-ba loo-ee loo-ee loo-ee,
Hush-a-ba loo-ee loo-ee.

Table 2.2.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length</th>
<th>Text no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i) minimal texts</td>
<td>5, 13, 22a, 22b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) short texts</td>
<td>1, 2a, 2b, 2c, 2d, 2e, 3a, 3b, 3c, 3d, 3e, 4, 6b, 7a, 7b, 7c, 7d, 7e, 7f, 8a, 8b, 8c, 8d, 8e, 8f, 8h, 8i, 9, 10a, 10b, 10c, 11, 12, 14a, 14b, 15a, 15b, 16a, 16b, 17, 18, 19a, 19b, 19c, 19d, 20a, 20b, 20c, 20d, 21a, 21b, 21c, 21d, 23a, 23b, 24a, 24b, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35a, 35b, 36a, 36b,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii) long texts</td>
<td>6a, 8g</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(ii) Adam an Eve gaed up ma sleeve,
Tae fess me doon some gundy.
Adam an Eve cam doon ma sleeve,
An said there was nane till Monday.

I heard a coo low, a bonny coo low,
An a coo low doon in yon glen;
Lang, lang will my young son greet,
Or his mither bid him come ben.

I heard a coo low, a bonny coo low,
An a coo low doon in yon fauld;
Lang, lang will ma young son greet,
Or his mither shield him frae cauld.

(iii) O can ye sew cushions? And can ye sew sheets?
And can ye sing ba-lu-loo when the bairn greets?
And hee an baw birdie and hee an baw lamb,
And hee an baw birdie, my bonnie wee lamb.

(ref.) Hee O wee O what can I do wi' you?
Black's the life that I lead wi' you.
Monny O you little for to gie you.
Hee O wee O what can I do wi' you?

I biggit the cradle all on the tree top,
And the wind it did blaw, and the cradle did rock.
And hee an baw birdie and hee an baw lamb,
And hee an baw birdie, my bonnie wee lamb.

(ref.)
Now hush-a-ba, lammie, and hush-a-ba, dear,
Now hush-a-ba, lammie, thy minnie is here.
And hee an baw birdie and hee an baw lamb,
And hee an baw birdie, my bonnie wee lamb.
The wildwind is ravin', thy minnie's heart's sair;
The wildwind is ravin', and you dinna care.
And hee an baw birdie and hee an baw lamb,
And hee an baw birdie, my bonnie wee lamb.

Sing ba-la-loo, lammie, sing ba-la-loo, dear,
Does the wee lammie ken that his daddie's no here?
And hee an baw birdie and hee an baw lamb,
And hee an baw birdie, my bonnie wee lamb.

Ye're rockin' fu' sweetly upon my warm knee,
But your daddie's a-rockin upon the saut sea.
And hee an baw birdie and hee an baw lamb,
And hee an baw birdie, my bonnie wee lamb.

Among all of the Scots texts collected for the present study, the longest is S-8g, "O can ye sew cushions?", which contains six stanzas consisting of four lines and a refrain consisting of four lines repeated six times, making up forty-eight lines altogether.

Firstly, the number of minimal texts collected and compiled into literary sources is not so great, but large numbers of this type of song must have been used in the actual situation of lulling a child. Secondly, most of texts are categorised into "short texts" and only two belong to the category of "long texts". S-6a, is a version of the song type which is said to have been composed by a baby-sitter in Fetlar, Shetland, and is included in the Shetland Folk Book 4 (1959). The other one, S-8g, is a version of the most often recorded Scots lullaby, "O can ye sew cushions?" A far as I know, the earliest record of it is 1842. Such special situation may be related to the length of the text.

The variety of length, as divided into three categories will be reassessed in the textural and textual analysis of Gaelic and Japanese lullabies, and discussed in the comparative analysis in the fifth chapter.

2.2.3. Rhyming and Other Phonetic Features

Rhyming is considered to be a typical phonetic feature of Scots verse. In lullabies,
this is no exception. In the case of the text the stanza of which is constructed into four lines, the following lines are linked by rhyme: (i) 2-4, (ii) 1-2 & 3-4, (iii) 1-3 & 2-4, (iv) 1-2-3, (v) 1-2-4, and (vi) 1-2-3-4. For instance:

(i) Cuddle in yer bonnie baa,
    An get a bonnie sleepie, O;
    An I’se awa and milk the coo,
    An gie tae her a neepie, O.  
    (S-10a)

(ii) Hushie-ba, burdie beeton!
    Your mammie’s gane to Seaton,
    For to buy a lammie’s skin,
    To wrap your bonnie boukie in.  
    (S-20a)

(iii) Hush-a-baa, baby,
    Dinna mak’a din,
    An’ ye’ll get a cakie,
    When the baker comes in.  
    (S-17)

(iv) Close your e’en the gallopin’ men
    Ride thre’ the bracken an’ ride owre the ben,
    Mammy will watch her sleepin’ ben,
    So close your e’en, my dearie.  
    (S-23b)

(v) Hush-a-ba burdie, croon, croon.
    Hush-a-ba burdie, croon,
    The sheep are gane tae the siller wid,
    An the coos are gane tae the broom, broom.  
    (S-19b)

(vi) Bye, baby buntin’,
    Your daddie’s gane a-huntin’;
    Your mammie’s gane to buy a skin,
    To row the babie buntin in.  
    (S-7a)

Like the repetition, regular rhyming schemes bring rhythm to the lullaby, which helps to put the child at ease. In addition, it works as a kind of bond, binding two words which have no relationship with each other except pronunciation or sound. Rhyming itself seems to create a fantasy: for English speakers it must be easy to imagine the word “fiddle” after saying “diddle” or “spoon” after “moon” as seen in the nursery rhyme, “Hey diddle diddle”, so as to produce, as it were, ‘a chain of imagination’.

As another phonetic feature, we can find a kind of alliteration, words repeatedly starting with the same consonant, which brings a rhythm, too. The following phrases are the typical examples: “bye baby bunting” (S-7), “Warm dee well come Wild Wullie” (S-
32), and "Wee Willie Winkie" (S-34).

We cannot distinctly state that all of these linguistic features can be considered unique characteristic of Scots lullabies at the moment. Some of them may be discovered in Scots lullabies, some in Scots verse in general, and some in the lullabies of different languages, too. I will clarify the difference of factors that cause particular features through the comparison of Gaelic and Japanese lullaby texts later on.
2.3. Musicological Analysis

Among the thirty-six types of Scots lullaby collected and selected for the present study, the tunes of twenty-two are recorded either in notation or by recording. Several types have two or more versions with relatively different tunes to each other. The text number of the tunes assessed here are S-2b, 2d, 3a, 3d, 3e, 5, 6a, 6b, 7b, 7c, 7d, 7e, 8a, 8e, 8f, 8i, 11b, 13, 14a, 14b, 16a, 16b, 18, 19d, 20d, 21c, 22a, 22b, 23b, 25, 28, 31, 33, 34, and 36a.

In the previous musicological studies of McNeill, Collinson, Bruford, Purser, and others which were reviewed in Appendix 1.3., the following characteristics have been drawn: (a) [metre] 6/8, (b) [rhythm] the “Scotch snap” (a semi-quaver and a dotted quaver), (c) [mode or scale] pentatonic, and ending in a different mode, and (d) [melody-line] widely-spaced leaps and melodic ornamentation. (a) can be applied to the lullaby as a genre, while (b), (c) and (d) to Scottish songs in general. I will assess my collection using these criteria in order to certify to what degree such characteristics can actually be applied to Scots lullabies.

2.3.1. Metre

According to The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians (first edition), a lullaby is defined as a “quiet composition of a lulling character, usually in triple rhythm” (Maurice J.E. Brown, 1980: 11-313). Washizu suggests that nursery rhymes, including lullabies, reflect the characteristic features of English language rhythm, for which 6/8 metre is suitable (Washizu, 1992: 128). In her article, moreover, McNeill introduces the following opinion of other scholars: the so-called 3/4 Gaelic lullabies were really 6/4 or slow 6/8 (McNeill, 1949: 20). Bruford supports this with the following comment: “pastoral style, an andantino 6/8” (Bruford, 1978: 5). Their arguments are not directly related to Scots, so is it possible to assume that 6/8 metre is dominant in Scots lullabies as well as English and Gaelic ones? Here I will verify the assumption by relating it to the present collection. See Table 2.3.1.

The metres indicated in Table 2.3.1 depend on the description in the musical notation of each text in the case of other literary and sound sources ([OS] in my division
of Table 2.1.1). We cannot simply compare the total number of each metre type, since several song types have versions which have different metres (S-3, 7, and 8) and in S-8 the metre changes in the middle of the tune, i.e. 3/4 to 4/4 in S-8a and 8i, 6/8 to 4/4 in S-8e, and 3/4 to 2/4 in S-8h.

Table 2.3.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Metre</th>
<th>Text no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4/4</td>
<td>2b, 2d, 7d, 8a, 8e, 8i, 13, 19d, 33, 36a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/4</td>
<td>7c, 8f, 20d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6/8</td>
<td>3e, 7b, 7e, 8e, 11b, 16a, 16b, 18, 23b, 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12/8</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/4</td>
<td>3a, 3b, 3d, 5, 6a, 6b, 6c, 8a, 8f, 8i, 14a, 14b, 21c, 28, 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no description</td>
<td>22a, 22b,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Metre is influenced by tempo and accent in performance, and 3/4 easily changes into 6/8 by singing the piece up-tempo. Metre is also influenced by the perception of the collector, transcriber, or whoever, and how faithful these are to the performer. In fact, it is very difficult to objectively judge the metre of the songs actually sung by local people, as suggested in S-22a and 22b, in which there is no description of the time.

However, it is certainly true to conclude that 6/8 metre is not necessarily dominant in Scots lullabies, in comparison to songs which utilize 3/4, 2/4 or 4/4 time. In addition, all the texts have consistent metres except S-8 and S-22. This fact may be related to another proposal concerning musical features of Gaelic lullabies given by Bruford, “a regular beat” (ibid: 4), which is related to the context of lullaby, i.e. the movement of a singer and listener, sometimes connected to nursing equipment, like a cradle.

2.3.2. Rhythm

According to Purser and Collinson, the crucial rhythmical characteristic in ‘Scottish’ music is the Scotch snap, which is made up of either a semi-quaver followed by a dotted quaver, or a quaver followed by a dotted quarter. Purser suggests that “the Scotch snap may parallel a tendency in Gaelic and Scots to accent first syllables” (Purser, 1992: 18). Is
the Scotch snap discovered in Scots lullabies with the same frequency as it is in Gaelic lullabies? Along with another type of rhythmical snap, the so-called “bouncing snap”, made up of either a dotted quaver followed by a semi-quaver, or a dotted quarter followed by a quaver, I will assess the Scotch snap in Scots lullaby texts.

Table 2.3.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Snap Rhythm</th>
<th>Text no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Scotch snap</td>
<td>2b, 7d, 19d, 23b, 25, 28, 36a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bouncing snap</td>
<td>2b, 2d, 3d, 5, 6a, 6b, 7d, 8a, 8e, 8f, 8i, 13, 14a, 14b, 16a, 16b, 18, 19d, 20d, 21c, 22a, 22b, 23b, 25, 28, 31, 33, 36a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no snap rhythm</td>
<td>3a, 3b, 3e, 7b, 7c, 7e, 11b, 34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.3.2. indicates that the Scotch snap is discovered in seven texts. Compared with the bouncing snap, the total number of texts involving the Scotch snap is considerably less. This result may suggest that this snap rhythm is not necessarily dominant in Scots lullabies even if it is considered “the crucial rhythmical characteristic” of Scots music generally. Or this rhythm might be too emotional or lively to induce sleep.

However, we must also recognise the possibility of arrangement by collectors or editors. For instance, S-3d was collected by myself in 1992 from Stella Sutherland, who sang this song from the sheet music, which corresponds to S-3a, and which was compiled by her mother, Ms. Smith. Although S-3a has no snap rhythms, Ms. Sutherland sang the vocable, “Baloo”, with a bouncing snap:

[e.g. 2.3.2.1.] (S-3a)

[e.g. 2.3.2.2.] (S-3d)

There are three reasons possible: (1) Ms. Smith arranged the original tune so that it had no snap rhythm in her transcription; (2) Ms. Sutherland remembered it in a slightly different way; and (3) Ms. Sutherland has sung it with both rhythms according to the
context of the performance. It is impossible to judge which is true. However, there must be similar circumstances behind each text transcribed and compiled into a literary archive. Therefore we should be careful to assess the dominance or frequency of this kind of musical characteristic based on statistical data.

In spite of all of these ambiguous factors, it seems to be true that, in general, Scots lullabies prefer snap rhythms. Among twenty-two song types, the number not including snap rhythm is only two: S-12, 34 (S-3 and 7 have versions that include a snap rhythm). The frequency of this kind of snap rhythm is perhaps one of characteristic features of Scots lullabies.

2.3.3. Scale and Musical Structure

Both Purser and Collinson assert that use of a pentatonic scale is one of the important elements when creating “Scottishness”. A pentatonic scale, which originally means a two-gapped octave scale, is conventionally considered as the scale that omits the fourth, fa, and the seventh, ti, although this is only one kind of pentatonic scale. Collinson also mentions the frequent use of a hexatonic scale and the dominant “Church Modes” of the seven-note scales. Furthermore, Purser and Collinson focus on the fact that the final note frequently ends in a different mode (or key) from that in which the song began. Collinson, in particular, states that a re ending is a distinctive feature. Here I will assess the scale and the end-note of each text.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale type</th>
<th>Text no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4 &amp; 7th gapped pentatonic</td>
<td>3a, 3b, 3d, 3e, 11b, 19d, 22a, 36a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other types of pentatonic</td>
<td>23b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th gapped hexatonic</td>
<td>6a, 6b, 7c, 20d, 28, 31, 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th gapped hexatonic</td>
<td>2b, 2d, 8e, 8i, 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other types of hexatonic</td>
<td>16a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seven-note scales</td>
<td>8a, 8f, 16b, 18, 21c, 22b, 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>others</td>
<td>5, 7b, 7d, 7e, 14, 33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Looking through the table, there are a considerable number of tunes using the pentatonic and hexatonic scales as well as the seven-note scale, although it is difficult to discover the distinctive dominance of any particular type of scale.

It will be necessary to explain the two groups, other types of pentatonic and hexatonic, and ‘others’ in the table. First of all, S-23b uses a 6th and 7th gapped pentatonic scale, i.e. the tune is made up from *doh-re-mi-fa-soh-doh* (the dotted underline indicates a higher octave). Secondly, S-16a uses *doh-re-mi-fa-soh-ti-doh*, and is hence considered to be a 6th gapped hexatonic scale. Among the ‘others’, S-5, 7d, and 7e use the notes *doh-re-mi-fa-soh*. Since they have no higher *doh*, they cannot be considered to be using a 6th and 7th gapped pentatonic scale.

The tunes of both S-7b and 33 consist of five notes in the different way: *soh-la-ti-doh-re* (the wavy underline indicates a lower octave). However, if they are transcribed with the change of key-note from *soh* to *doh*, the music does not seem to be different:

[e.g. 2.3.3.1.] (scale used in S-7b)

![Scale Diagram]

Therefore, it is possible to categorise them into the group with the tunes using the same five-note scale tunes.

Finally, the scale of S-14 has the following notes: *soh-doh-re-mi-soh*. It can easily be changed into a 4th and 7th gapped pentatonic by adding the *la*, so that this scale is intimately related to the pentatonic scale.

Among the seven tunes using the seven-note scale, five (S-8a, 8f, 16b, 18, 22b) use the Ionian Mode: *doh-re-mi-fa-soh-la-ti-doh*. Meanwhile, the scale utilized in S-21c is slightly different from: *soh-la-ti-doh-re-mi-fa-soh*, which is “the Mixolydian Mode”. The same notes are used but both the lower and the regular *soh* appear the most frequently. Consequently, the tune seems to give a different impression from the Ionian Mode. The tune of S-25 uses another type of seven-note scale: *doh-re-mi-fa-soh-la-ti b-doh*. Transcribed and avoiding the use of the flat, however, this scale is the same as that of S-21c: *soh-la-ti-doh-re-mi-fa-soh*.
To summarize, most of the texts of Scots lullabies use a 4 & 7th gapped pentatonic, 4th or 7th gapped hexatonic, or seven-note scale. These scales produce a feeling of joy and have are similar to the Ionian and Mixolydian Modes of Greek church mode, and the Major chord in classical music theory.

Next, I will look at the end-note of each tune. See Table 2.3.4.

Table 2.3.4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>End-Note</th>
<th>Text no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>doh</td>
<td>2b, 2d, 3a, 3b, 3d, 3e, 5, 7c, 7d, 7e, 8a, 8c, 8e, 8f, 8i, 11b, 14a, 16a, 16b, 18, 19d, 25, 28, 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re</td>
<td>13, 20d, 21c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soh</td>
<td>6a, 6b, 7b, 22b, 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la</td>
<td>33, 36a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Whilst most of the tunes have a doh ending, there are some different end-notes in several tunes. S-13, 20d and 21c have the tunes ending with re, which is pointed out as one of the features in Scottish songs by Collinson. The ending melody-line of S-6 (both 6a and 6b) should be noted: soh-la-ti-doh-mi-re-mi-soh. The tune of S-22b has a similar ending to its melodic line which goes as follows: soh-la-soh-fa-mi-re-mi-soh-la-soh. Such endings seem to give an impression of circularity. Meanwhile, the tune of S-7b ends with the following melodic line: doh-la-re-ti-soh. This sounds similar to the former two tunes but, as mentioned above, it can be transcribed the four notes higher into fa-re-soh-mi-doh. It is fair to say that the choice of key-note is subject to the choice made by the researchers who transcribe the tune, since this tune consists of only five notes:
Finally, there are two tunes with a la ending. On the one hand, the tune of S-36a is in F major. It starts with an anacrusis, la|doh-doh-doh ("|" indicates the bar line). And the ending is re-re-mi-re-doh-la-la. This ending seems to be a good way for returning to the lower la at the beginning. In other words, this ending creates an effect of circularity or continuity. On the other hand, the key-note in the tune of S-33 is la, so that the ending does not necessarily give an impression of continuity: la-ti-doh-doh-ti-soh-la:

Thus, we find that some texts have tunes with particular end-notes or ending melody-lines which are very closely related to the creation of continuity. This will constitute one of the crucial topics for further study as to whether this feature is related to the performance of singing lullabies alone, or whether it is also discovered in other genres of Scots folksong. After the textual analysis of Gaelic and Japanese lullabies, I will discuss this issue once again in detail.

2.3.4. Melody-line

Previous studies indicate the following two characteristic features in the melody-line of Scottish songs: widely-spaced leaps (the “widely-spaced falling grace-notes” of Collinson, and “dramatic leaps” of Purser), and melodic ornamentation. First, I will look at the existence or otherwise of widely-spaced leaps. Since neither Collinson nor Purser particularly defines the degree of leap, I will establish a criterion here: leaps spaced more than a sixth apart will be regarded as “widely-spaced”. We can see that a considerable number of tunes have this feature. Here are some examples:

---

13 This criterion is based on my own impression when I came across S-8, “O can ye sew cushions”, for the first time. In the middle of this song there is an impressive leap of the sixth degree: re-mi|doh-mi|doh-doh re-mi|doh-ti|la. See [e.g. 2.3.4.2.]
According to the above table and examples, both falling and rising leaps are discovered, and leaps related to doh frequently appear. The latter seems to reflect the fact that the majority of tunes used for the analysis here set the key-note on doh. Through comparison with Gaelic and Japanese lullabies, I will discuss whether or not this feature can be regarded as “Scottish” in the fifth chapter.

Finally, distinct descriptions of melodic ornamentation such as trills and use of vibrato are not found except in S-8, 11b, 25, and 36a, in which trills and grace notes appear:

[e.g. 2.3.4.4.] (S-8)
This may be due to the nature of lullabies and to their singers who prefer simple tunes. However, we can also assume that the editors or compilers might omit such melodic ornamentation in order to simplify the tune for general usage. Melodic ornamentation can only be investigated from recorded performance. Therefore it seems to be difficult to identify any particular reason for the rarity of melodic ornamentation in Scots lullabies at the present stage.
2.4. Literary Analysis

Here I will assess the literary features discovered in Scots lullabies, dividing them into (i) personae, (ii) materials and environment, (iii) motifs, and (iv) groups.

2.4.1. Personae

A mother and child (sometimes a “bairn” or a baby) seem to be the most common persona in lullabies. The former always appears in the first person, whilst the latter appears in the second person singular. There is no exception to this in Scots lullabies.

However, we also discover several texts in which the persona, not including the case of a mother and child appear in the first and the second person.

Table 2.4.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st person except mother</th>
<th>Text no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>father</td>
<td>2b, 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>others</td>
<td>baby-sitter(6)*, unknown (7, 18, 19 &amp; 20), wren? (32)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* S-6 is said to have been composed by ‘Minnie o Shirva’, a baby-sitter in Fetlar”, although there is not a particular expression suggesting the singer’s identify.

Firstly, in S-1, the first person may be the child itself:

Adam an Eve gaed up ma sleeve,
Tae fess me doon some gundy.
Adam an Eve cam doon ma sleeve,
An said there was nane till Monday. (S-1)

This song would be suitable for a child who can understand the meaning of verse which has a taste of fantasy. Since there are no words directly indicating “going to sleep”, the child may feel easy and relaxed, not rushed in sleep.

A father sometimes appears in the first person. In S-26, the first person is probably a shepherd, who wonders whether the cow-like voice coming from far in the distance is his
son's: "Lang, lang will my young son greet, Or his mither bid him come ben." This song is a type of "indirect sleep-inducing lullaby", as classified by Migita (see p.342).

In several texts, the first person tells the child of the absence of its mother: "Your mammie's gane to buy a skin, To row the babie buntin in" (S-7a), "Yer mammie's awa to the toon" (S-18), "Yer mammie's awa to the mill" (S-19a), "Your mammie's gane to Seaton" (S-20a), and "Mammie's at the creetie" (S-20b).

The absence of a father is more common: "De faider is comin awa frae fram" (S-6a), "Your daddie's gane a-huntin'" (S-7a), "But your daddie's a-rockin upon the saut [= salt] sea" (S-8h), "Yer drunken auld faither's awa for a gill/ He goes tae a pub at the tap o the hill" (S-16a), and "They cheer up ma hert when their daddy's awa" (S-25). Even if he is present, he's "asleep i' the big rockin' chair" (S-23a).

Such absence or abandonment of childcare on the part of the father may reflect the role of husbands within the Scottish family. This topic will be discussed as an aspect of the social background in the seventh chapter.

Next, let us investigate particular texts in which a nanny, a mid-wife or a nurse-maid is in the first person, in order to compare these with their Japanese counterpart, the moriko-uta [nurse-maid songs]. So far as I have researched, there was no custom in Scotland corresponding to the komori-bōkō [nurse-maid job] in Japan, a matter which will also be discussed in detail in the seventh chapter. However, some texts describing the absence of a child's mother (S-7a, 18, 19, 20 cited above) might have been originally sung by a nanny or mid-wife. For instance, in 19a the first person is unknown but she or he is irritated and struggling to soothe the fretful baby as follows: "Yer mammie's awa to the mill/ Babby is greetin for want o guid keeping/ Hush-a-ba, babby, lie still, lie still".

In addition, S-6 is "said to have been composed by 'Minnie o Shirva', who was once well-known as a baby-sitter in Fetlar" (Shetland Folk Book 4 (1959): 23), although there is no particular expression suggesting the singer's identity. It is interesting that there is a particular song considered to be composed by a well-known baby-sitter in a local community.

Aside from this, various metaphorical expressions for children demonstrating the singer's affection for them can be found: "me [= my] peerie lamb", "me peerie flee [= fly]", "me peerie flooer [= flower]", and "me peerie ting [= pet]" (all of them in S-6), "my
bonnie wee lamb” (S-8), “silver tree” (S-11), “my lammie” (S-14), “the gallopin’ men” (S-23), “little pet” (S-24), and “peerie mootie” (S-30). These expressions will be divided into several types as follows: animals, plants, and others. See Table 2.4.2.

Table 2.4.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Metaphorical Expression for the Child (Text no.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>animals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lamb (6, 8 &amp; 14), fly (6), pet (6), bird (8), horse (23), hen (23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flower (6), silver tree (11),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peerie mootie (30)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As another kind of persona, I will examine particular people’s names, for in a number of Gaelic lullabies we can discover various kinds of particular name, as I will mention in the next chapter. In order to compare these, it is necessary to investigate the relevant Scots lullaby texts.

Table 2.4.3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person’s Name (Text no.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>actual people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>historical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coulter (2), the Black Douglas (24)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ordinary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fictional people in stories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adam and Eve (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>others (unknown)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cockie Bendie (9), Earie Orrie (20d), Tozie Mozie (32), General Ozie (32), Wild Wullie (32)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“Coulter” in S-2 is a brand name for candy, after the traveling confectioner, “Robert Coulart” (Loesberg, 1994: 69). “The Black Douglas” is the legendary warrior of that name from the Middle Ages, but who appears here as a ghost. “Adam and Eve”, characters from the Old Testament, appear as a kind of guardian deity for children. They will be re-introduced in the next topic, supernatural beings, along with “the Black Douglas”. “Cockie Bendie” in S-9 and “Earie Orrie” in 20d are at the moment unknown, but they seem to have been based on particular stories, historical incidents, or folk tradition. Tozie Mozie, General Ozie and Wild Wullie appearing in S-32 might be introduced as the names of birds in the “Wren Song” (Purser, 1992: 30), but their origins
I will move to another kind of persona, supernatural beings; dividing them into the following four types: (i) threatening beings, (ii) peaceful beings, (iii) sleep personified beings, and (iv) others. See Table 2.4.4.

Table 2.4.4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Supernatural Beings (Text no.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>threatening</td>
<td>fairies (3), the Black Douglas (24), Chrystie Cleik (27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peaceful</td>
<td>Adam and Eve (1), angels (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sleep personified</td>
<td>Lang Willie (6), Wee Willie Winkie (35)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>others</td>
<td>Davie Daylight (33)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Scottish (or Celtic) folk tradition fairies are said to attempt to abduct human babies or change them with their own babies, as we will discuss in the sixth chapter. The Black Douglas, one of the legendary Scottish heroes of the Middle Ages, sometimes appears as a threatening ghost, particularly in northern England. “James of Douglas, Robert Bruce’s friend and lieutenant, was known variously to the English as Black Douglas (after the colour of his hair) and to the Scots as Good Douglas, for his mighty success against the English invader” (Davis, 1972: cover-page). In S-24, the singer soothes a fretful baby by reciting, “Dinna fret ye, the Black Douglas shanna get ye”. If the singer feels irritated, she/he could easily change the phrase into the opposite way as follows: “If you don’t go to sleep, the Black Douglas will get you”. Anyhow, this text seems to have been originally transmitted not in Scotland but in England. Chrystie Cleik is, on the other hand, considered “an ogre who cleiked [= hooked] ye up and ate ye” (Ritchie, 1964: 58).

In S-1, Adam and Eve appear as guardian deities for children: they “gaed up ma sleeve, tae fess [= fetch] me doon some gundy [= toffee]”. Angels in S-3 are also regarded as guardian spirits who protect children from “peerie fairies”.

Both Lang Willie and Wee Willie Winkie are probably identifiable as “one of the creatures who people the pretty mythology of the Land of Nord” in spite of their
popularity in all over the English-speaking world (Daiken, 1959: 28). Daiken furthermore introduces various sleep-personified beings in different languages: *Sandmännchen* [Little Sandman] in German, *Le Marchand de Sable* and *La Dormette* in French, *el picaro sueño* [old rascal] in Spanish and Little Øle in Norwegian. It will be worthwhile to investigate their counterparts in Gaelic and Japanese.

Davie Daylight in S-33 is presumably regarded a sun-personified being. There seem to be particular folk traditions related to pre-Christian religious thought behind such a figure. I will discuss this subject as a matter of the cosmological background of singing lullabies in the sixth chapter.

Next, I will turn to the topic of animals as they appear in lullabies. Animals appear in various ways such as: (i) personae in fictional stories just like human beings, (ii) metaphorical expressions for children, and (iii) animals in general (although in the present analysis, I will not adopt this division). Instead, I will categorise them into five types simply according to their relationship with humans and their biological features: (i) livestock, (ii) pets, (iii) wild animals, (iv) wild birds, and (v) others. See Table 2.4.5.

Table 2.4.5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Animals (Text no.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>livestock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lamb (6 &amp; 20), sheep (6 &amp; 21), mare (6), cow (6, 10, 21 &amp; 26), goat (21), hen (23 &amp; 35), cock (35),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cat (32 &amp; 35), dog (11a, 35), pappy (11b), tortoise (32)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wild animals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rabbit (7), deer (6 &amp; 21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wild birds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laverick (6), crow (6), robin redbreast (12), birdie (8 &amp; 21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We can discover various types of livestock, including the lamb (S-6 & 21), sheep (S-6 & 22), mare [= female horse] (S-6), kye [= cow] (S-6, 10, 21 & 26), hen (S-23 & 35), cock (S-35), and gait [= goat] (S-21) as well as pets like cats (S-32 & 35), dogs (S-35), and tortoises (S-32) in the texts collected here.

Both wild animals like rabbits (S-7) and deer (S-6 & 21), and wild birds like the laverick (S-6a), “craas [= crows]” (S-6), Robin Redbreast (S-12), and “birdie” (S-8 & 21)
are familiar, too. Moreover, as indicated above, small animals and birds are frequently used in a metaphorical way, to show affection towards the children in question.

3.4.2. Materials and Environment

In terms of materials, I will focus on tools for nursing and bribes to induce good behaviour in babies, i.e. sleeping. See Table 2.4.6.

Table 2.4.6.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tools for Nursing</th>
<th>Materials (Text no.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cradle (3, 8, 11, 16, 28 &amp; 29), bed (10, 12, 15 &amp; 35), cot (34), rabbit skin (7), lamb’s skin or bull’s skin (20), teat (29)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Bribes | Toffee (1), candy (2), cake (17), drop (18) |

First, we can discover a cradle (S-8, 16b, 28 & 29), bed (S-10, 12, 15 & 35), and cot (S-34) as the furniture used for getting the baby to sleep in our collection. In addition, rabbit skin (S-7) and lamb’s or bull’s skin (S-20) as a wrapping must have been popular nursing items in the domestic life in former Scotland. Related to this, S-8b includes the following phrase, which is similar to the phrases in the well-known English lullaby, “Hush-a-by, baby, on the tree top”:

I’ve placed my cradle on yon holly top,
   And aye as the wind blew, my cradle did rock; (S-8b)

Was there such a custom as “rocking a cradle by the wind’s power” in or out of Scotland, or these phrases have been created by the imagination? In *The Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes* (1951) the Opies assume that these phrases are probably related to “the old custom of swinging the baby in a hammock of ‘bullie’ or calf skin” (Opie, 1951: 63). However, so far as my investigation goes — including interviews in Shetland, Orkney, and Hebridean islands, there is no evidence of “the old custom” as the Opies assumed. At the present stage the latter hypothesis seems to be more appropriate.
Secondly, the use of bribes for the purpose of soothing the fretful child seems to be a cross-cultural strategy of parents. In S-18, we can discover that the first person, the singer, promises to give the child a cake as a bribe:

Hush-a-baa, baby,
Dinna mak’a din [= noise],
An’ ye’Il get a cakie
When the baker comes in.  

Likewise, in S-18 a singer promises, “Your mammy’s awa to the toon/ And when she comes back ye’Il get a wee drap”. The sweets such as “gundy [= toffee]” (S-1) and sugar candy (S-2a) seem to be children’s favorites. Compared with the Gaelic and Japanese bribes that appear in lullabies, a cultural difference concerning the attitude towards children might be discovered.

Next, the environment surrounding the singer and the child is sometimes described as a reflection of the feelings of the singer as well as the actual, natural environment. In particular, I will examine landscapes and weather in relation to this emotional matter.

Table 2.4.7.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Landscape</th>
<th>Environmental (Text no.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sea</td>
<td>(2, 6, 8, &amp; 34), field (4 &amp; 26), ben (23), glen (16 &amp; 26), hill (16), town (18 &amp; 35), mountain (21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weather</td>
<td>snow (6), windy (8)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In our collection of Scots lullabies, the landscapes of the sea, pasture, and mountains often appear. The sea is not simply a seascape view for the singer and her child but also the place where her husband is working as a sailor or a fisherman. For instance, in S-8, when “the wild wind is ravin’”, it cannot help reminding the mother that “daddie’s a rockin’ upon the saut sea” and it leads her to the following sense of grief: “Hee O Wee O what wou’d I do wi’ you? / Black’s the life that I lead wi’ you” (S-8i). On the contrary, in S-6a the sea is described as a joyful place where “Da boatie sails an da boatie rows/ Dey set der sails an dey hail der towes”, since “De faider is comin awa frae fram”.

The pastoral and mountainous landscapes are described as the one connected to
domestic life. For instance, the singer who is presumably a shepherd, hearing a "coo low doon in yon glen", wonders if his young son is crying in S-26, as indicated above. In S-7, 18 and 19, the child's father goes to the mountains to hunt rabbit and his or her mother goes to the mill located presumably beside the bank.

Moreover in S-21b, various cattle, wild animals and birds living in the mountains and on the hills appear as components that help to constitute a peaceful atmosphere:

The sheep are gane tae the siller wid [= silver woods]
An the coos are gane tae the broom, broom [= wild bush]
An it's braw milkin the kye, kye,
The birds are singin, the bells are ringin,
An the wild deer come gallopin by.
The gaits are gane tae the mountain,
An they'll no be hame till noon. (S-21b)

The weather perhaps also reflects the feelings of the singer. "The wild wind" in S-8 seems to reflect the desperation of the singer. Although Scottish children had to withstand the cold winter, they have received the affection of their parents who attempt to protect them from the cold conditions by "bunting [= wrapping]" him or her in a rabbit's skin (S-7, 20). In conclusion, we find that a numbers of Scots lullaby texts have their root in local, domestic life.

2.4.3. Motifs

The word, "motif", has been used in the study of folk narrative as a component of the whole content and theme of the story, since the end of the nineteenth century. A story is made up of one or more motif(s). A motif is usually expressed as the behaviour of the personae appearing in the story, but sometimes as their feelings, too. In Stith Thompson's Motif-Index of Folk-Literature (1955-1958), the concept of motif is expanded into one that includes the personae themselves and objects taking an important part in the story. Vladimir Propp and Alan Dundes criticizing the ambiguity of Thompson's concept, propose alternative terms such as "function" (Propp, 1928), "motifeme" (Dundes, 1964).14

However, the notion of motif as a component of the whole content and theme of the story is still widely used in the field of folk narrative study, so I will adopt this concept here.

As reviewed in the first chapter, several previous studies that discuss the content of lullaby lyrics have pointed out particular motifs. Based mainly on Brakeley’s definition reviewed in Chapter 1 (see p.8), I will categorise these motifs into the following types: A: lulling a child, B: eulogy and admiration, C: guarantee of safety, D: promise and bribe, E: prophecy, F: threat, G: weariness of childcare, H: anxiety and sadness not directly related to childcare, I: happiness and joy not directly related to childcare, J: others. According to this categorisation, I will assess the motifs of our collection of Scots lullabies. See Table 2.4.8.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motif</th>
<th>Text no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A: lulling</td>
<td>2b, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 28, 29, 32, 34, 36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B: affection &amp; eulogy</td>
<td>25, 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C: guarantee of safety</td>
<td>3, 6, 7, 8, 14, 20, 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D: promise &amp; bribe</td>
<td>2b, 11, 17, 18, 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E: prophecy</td>
<td>good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4, 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F: threat</td>
<td>12, 16b, (24), 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G: weariness of childcare</td>
<td>4, 8, (19), 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H: anxiety &amp; sadness</td>
<td>4, 8, 16a, 26, 36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I: happiness &amp; joy</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J: others</td>
<td>1, 2, 6, 9, (12), (16b), 25, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Before starting my assessment, it is necessary to note two points about this table. Firstly, numbers followed by an alphabetical letter indicates that the corresponding motif appears only in that version of the song. For instance, among the four versions of S-2 (2a to 2d), only 2b includes Motif A: lulling. On the other hand, a number without a letter indicates that there is only one version of that song, or that every version of the song has the corresponding motif.
And secondly, a number with brackets indicates comparative ambiguity. It means that it is possible, for example, to interpret S-24 to include Motif F: threat.

Lulling the child [Motif A] is the most common motif across cultural boundaries. This motif is represented by means of (i) vocables, (ii) phrases directly persuading a child to go to sleep, and (iii) a combination of the two, such as “Hush-a-ba babie, lie still, lie still” (S-19a).

Affection and eulogy [Motif B] are perhaps the spontaneous feelings of parents and other caretakers: “Oh, I hae twa bonny bairnies, the finest of aa” (S-25), and “O du love, du joy, du beauty” (S-30). S-25 is originally a song sung by a mother who has twin babies: “I hae ane at my feet an anither on my knee”. She is particularly gratified by them during the absence of her husband: “They cheer up ma hert when their daddy’s awa”. Moreover, as discussed before, metaphorical expressions identified with children might be considered typical as an expression of the singers’ affection towards their children.

A singer of lullabies sometimes provides a guarantee of safety [Motif C] to a child who looks frightened or worried, by staying beside that child. The singer also states that she or he will protect the child from enemies and evil spirits. In S-3, the refrain of a vocable, “baloo balilli”, seems to have the effect of an incantation for preventing “peerie fairies”, and for inviting “bonnie angels” as will be discussed in detail in the sixth chapter.

The mother singer of S-6 tells her child, “Dey’ll naebody hurt dee whin Mam is near”. In her case, the child is also protected by “Gōdie’s holy wing”.

In S-7a, a singer who is probably a nanny or mid-wife, tells the child in her case, “Your daddie’s gane a-huntin’/ Your mammie’s gane to buy a skin/ To row the babies buntin in”, in order to put a child at ease. When the wild wind is “ravin’” outside the house, the mother tries to soothe the child, “you dinna care”, although “yer mannie’s hert’s sair” (S-8d, g, i). The mother in S-14 emphasizes that she will keep her child nearby. The guarantee of safety provided in S-24, “... dinna fret ye, the Black Douglas shall not get ye”, can be alternated with a threat according to the feeling of the singer, as mentioned previously.
It is not exceptional to give some favourite thing of the child or make bribes in order to persuade him or her to go to sleep [Motif D]: “Go to sleep now, my little man/ . . . / Open your eyes to the morning sun/ And I’ll give you some Coulter’s candy” (S-2b), “Hush-a-baa, baby/ Dinna mak’a din/ An’ ye’ll get a cakie” (S-17), and “Shut yer eenies an close yer mouie/ An’ sleep for siller tae buy a cookie” (S-29). As discussed before, sweets were probably the most popular form of bribe for “bairns”.

In certain lullabies, the singer predicts the future of the child [Motif E], which may be a joyful prophecy or an ominous one. The prophecy in S-2c, “When you grow up you’ll go to sea/ Makin’ pennies for yer daddy an’ me/ Tae buy some Coulter’s candy”, belongs to the former group.

In contrast, the mother who sings S-8 predicts the following miserable future for her child: “Black’s the life that I lead wi’ you”. She has too many children to give the baby things it needs: “monny [= many] O you little for to gie you . . . what would I do wi’ you”. It is interesting that the second person in this text, i.e. “ye”, can be identified as a girl, according to the following phrases that suggest women’s domestic jobs: “O can ye sew Cushions?/ And can ye sew Sheets?/ And can ye sing bal-lu-loo?/ When the bairn greets”. In most of the texts the gender of child is unknown, but this lullaby is one especially sung to girls. The prophecy in S-4 is ominous, too:

Baloo my babe I’ll weep for thee
Too soon alas thou’ it weep for me
Thy griefs are growing too awesome
God grant thee patience when they come. (S-4)

Behind these words there seems to be a certain story that is not revealed. Besides, the gender of the baby in this text is noted by the phrase “my boy”.

Threatening the child who is unwilling to sleep [Motif F], the opposite attitude to Motif C and D, is another common strategy. In order to threaten the child, fearful supernatural beings and ghosts like “Chrystie Cleik” (S-27) and “the Black Douglas” (S-24) are invoked. Moreover in S-12, the singer warns of the possibility of the child falling along with its bed:

Hoolie [= Be careful], the bed’ll fall!
Who'll fall with it?
Two eyes, two hands,
And two bonnie feet.

(S-12)

Along with S-16b, "Hush-a-ba baby on the tree top/ . . . / Down will come baby, cradle and all", the motif of children falling seems to be familiar to British people, although the origin of this motif is uncertain, according to the Opies (Opie, 1951: 61-62).

Singers worn out by childcare complain to the child and to others in some lullabies [Motif G]. In S-23b, the mother is irritated by her child, who will not learn to close his or her eyes, and she feels "sair" and complains, "Brakin’ ma hert, ye fidgety bairn, fidgety bairn, fidgety bairn!" The singer in S-19 — seemingly a nanny or mid-wife — perhaps suggests her anxiety with the objective description of the absence of a mother and the crying baby, although there is no specific expression of her feelings: "Your mammie’s awa to the mill/ Babie is greeting for want of good keeping/ Hush-a-ba, babie, lie still, lie still". Furthermore, in S-8, the mother’s weariness is expressed both by her grieving her helplessness: "what wou’d I do wi’ you"; and by predicting her daughter’s ominous future, "Black’s the life that I lead wi’ ye", as I have argued above.

Weariness of childcare is often influenced by anxieties and sadness not directly related to the childcare itself [Motif H]. In S-4, the singer, supposedly a mid-wife, at first complains to the baby boy, "It grieves me sair to see thee weep/ Thy moaning makes my heart full sad", but the actual reason of her sadness lies in a different place:

Would I had been in yon dark field
Where he lay dying neath his shield
Thy father’s daughter I have fed
Thy mother’s house can ne’er forget.

(S-4)

It is uncertain whether or not "he" in the second line stands for "thy father", and what "thy father’s daughter" in the third line exactly means. However, along with the ominous prophecy, the whole picture of this lullaby seems to be coloured with grief.

The sadness of the mother in S-8, which includes the motifs of ominous prophecy and weariness of childcare discussed above, seems to be related to the present situation surrounding her husband:
Does wee lammie ken [= know] that its daddie's no here? 
Ye're rockin' fu' sweetly upon mammie's warm knee, 
But daddie's a rockin' upon the saut [= salt] sea. (S-8i)

Whilst visualising her husband who is rocking upon the salt sea, the singer is praying for his safe return.

The sadness of the singer in S-36 is completely different from that in S-8. She is a so-called "single mother" and recollects the days of her "sweet sixteen" with regret:

When I wiss new bit sweet sixteen
An' beauty just in bloomin', oh,
Oh little, little did I think
At nineteen I'd be greetin', oh.

For if I hadda kent whit I dae ken,
An' teen ma mither's biddin', oh,
Oh, I widna be sittin' at your fireside,
Crying hishie ba', ma bairnie, oh. (S-36b)

It would be interesting to investigate the origin and diffusion of this text, although I cannot undertake this in the present study.

S-16a suggests a different kind of social problem — that of an alcoholic husband, according to Sheena Wellington, whom I interviewed in relation to this phrase.15

Yer drunken auld faither's awa for a gill,
He goes tae a pub at the tap o the hill, (S-16a)

This issue will be discussed as part of the social background to Scottish lullabies in the seventh chapter. S-26 is sung by a shepherd, who hears "a bonny coo low" and is anxious about his young son who might by crying.

In contrast to these sad, weary lullabies, the singer's happiness and joy not directly related to childcare [Motif I] is sometimes demonstrated in lullabies. In S-6 the mother announces to her child, "De daider is comin awa frae fram", and paints a pastoral seascape filled with peace and joy, which undoubtedly reflects her emotion.

15 The interview was held on 8th July, 1992.
Finally, a singer sometimes initially attempts to soothe and amuse the child before inducing sleep by telling stories, which may be fantastic or realistic. I will categorise these into Motif J: others. As examples of the former, we have Adam and Eve (S-1), Lang Willie (S-6a) or Wee Willie Winkie (S-34), and Davie Daylicht (S-33). The latter is represented by the following people or animals: a child who is “Greeting for a wee penny/To buy some Coulter’s candy” (S-2b), a boy named Cockie Bendie who is lying sick (S-9), “the guidman comin hame fae the ploo” (S-25), pets like a tortoise, a white cat, a grey cat, and a black cat (S-31), and birds like “peddica too”, “Tozie Mozie”, “General Ozie”, “brethren three” and “Wild Wullie” (S-32).

In addition, it is possible to consider the child who may fall with his or her bed or cradle (S-12 & 16b) not as one who hears a lullaby, but as a character in a lightly threatening story.

Before discussing “groups”, I will briefly assess our collection according to the criterion outlined by Ikegami’s “structural model of the motifs in lullabies”, reviewed in Appendix 1.4. (see pp.356-359), in order to confirm to what degree his model matches the texts in different countries. His model is shown in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>‘sleep’</th>
<th>(i) obey</th>
<th>(a) good consequence (reward)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(ii) not obey</td>
<td>(b) avoid bad consequence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(c) bad consequence (punishment)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(d) not take good consequence</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ikegami’s Model [i-a] corresponds to Motif D: promise and bribe, in my categorisation. In addition, there are the following correspondences: Model [i-b] to Motif C: guarantee of safety; and Model [ii-c] to Motif F: threat. Meanwhile, some motifs belonging to Motif C do not indicate particular bad consequences. There are also some other texts belonging to Motif C and F not distinctly stating the condition, “if you go to sleep” or “if you don’t go to sleep”. All of them should be basically excluded from Ikegami’s model. Finally, Model [ii-d] shows no correspondence.

The following Scots texts presently under consideration correspond accordingly to each of his models. Firstly, singers of texts that include the motifs belonging to Model
[i-a] propose the following rewards for their children’s obedience: Coulter’s candy (S-2b), “cakie” (S-17), “a wee drap” (S-18), and “siller tae buy a cooie [= teat]” (S-29).

S-24 has the motif corresponding to Model [i-b], without the condition, “if you go to sleep”. (Therefore I marked it with brackets.) In this text, the child is told, “The Black Douglas sall not get ye”.

The conditions for Model [ii-c] are not precisely in S-27: “If ye dinnie go to sleep/ I’ll get Chrystie Cleik”. Meanwhile, there are no songs corresponding to Model [ii-d] here.

Table 2.4.9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>Text no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i-a</td>
<td>2b, 17, 18, 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-b</td>
<td>(24)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii-c</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii-d</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.4.4. Groups

Like “motif”, “group” is a highly ambiguous term. In the present study, this term is defined as the theoretical term based on structuralist methodology. Two kinds of contrasting ideas cross each other as two axes: “singing for a child” versus “singing for the singer’s own self”, “singing with happiness” versus “singing with sadness”; consequently the following four dimensions, each of which is named Group I to Group IV in a counterclockwise order, will be constructed:

Each group is directly related to the motifs categorized above. In addition, a fifth group will be set up for Motif J: others, which is not directly related to any particular one of the above four groups.

The relationship between groups and motifs will be indicated in the following table with the corresponding text numbers.
We can draw two observations from the table. First, each group has one or more than two corresponding texts. This result is very different from such general assumptions concerning the concept of lullabies in the previous works reviewed in the first chapter as: “pleasant”, “songs sung in love to an audience of one”, or “gentle songs”. Following these concepts, we could rarely find songs that fit the description required of Groups II, III, and IV. However, all groups have some examples. This evidence demands that we reconstruct such assumptions as outlined in the quotations above.

Secondly, many songs have two or more motifs, and belong to two or more groups. For instance, S-8 is found to have five of different motifs and, as a result, three groups are relevant. To be brief, in a lullaby the singer has expressed a complex range of feeling in song, although not a few songs have only one motif.
2.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have attempted to clarify various characteristic features of Scots lullabies through textural and textual analyses and divided that analysis into linguistic, musicological, and literary sections. For the present study, I collected and selected seventy-seven texts arranged into thirty-six song types.

Several features, clarified through linguistic analysis, are divided into features exclusively discovered in lullabies, and others generally observed in different genres of Scots folksong. A typical example of the formers is vocables, which perhaps have the following origins: Scottish (Scots or Gaelic), English, and biological or universal. Repetition and rhyming are, on the other hand, common features in Scots folksong as a whole.

Next, many of the musical features seem to be common to Scots folksong in general: use of a 6/8 or 3/4 metre, snap rhythm, 4th and 7th gapped pentatonic or similar modes, re or soh ending, and leaps of a sixth in the melody-line. In order to discover the special or original features of lullabies, it is necessary to compare them with other types of Scots folksong. Along with this, I felt that we should analyse a much larger number of texts, collected from recorded performance, in order to undertake a more proper and fruitful study.

Finally, several features in terms of the personae, the materials and environment described in Scots lullaby texts suggest that the transmission of lullabies is, on the one hand, intimately related to the natural, social and historical situation, and on the other hand that it is probably universal or cross-cultural behaviour commonly discovered in any human society. The variety of motifs abstracted from the words and the existence of three groups over-and-above Group I — singing for child with happiness — seems to reflect various actual functions in the singing of lullabies.

After the analyses of Gaelic and Japanese lullabies, these features will be re-assessed through comparison.
3.1. Collection and Selection

Here Scottish Gaelic lullabies will be analysed from linguistic, musicological, and literary perspectives in the same way I looked at Scots lullabies. For this textural and textual analysis I will examine seventy-two song types collected and selected from research work consisting of my own collection [UC], the Sound Archive of the Department of Celtic and Scottish Studies [SA], and other sources [OS]. In terms of collection and selection of texts, there was a distinct difference between Gaelic and Scots lullabies. A great number of Gaelic lullabies have been recorded and compiled into both literary works and sound archive. As a result, the number selected for this study amounted to about one hundred and twenty texts, which were arranged into seventy-two song types.

Unlike Scots lullabies, Gaelic counterparts are not necessarily categorised as “a kind of nursery rhyme”. They are often discovered in the genre of occupational songs and fairy songs. Moreover, most of Gaelic lullabies were recorded and compiled into manuscripts with the melody whereas Scots lullabies are compiled without music in many cases. This fact probably reflects the difference in the recognition of lullabies in Gaelic society and other parts of the country, and will become one of the most important subjects for discussion in the contextual analysis.

The songs are arranged into alphabetical order according to the first line of each text as with the Scots texts. See Table 3.1.1. Here, an interjection, O or Oh, has been included in the alphabetical arrangement, unlike with the list of Scots lullabies. Some song types have two and more versions, which are lined up in the order of the collected date (in case of uncertainty, the published date was adopted instead), accompanied with a small letter like G-6a, 6b, 6c. There are some versions which have different verses and look like different song types from each other: for example G-6a, “Bà-ba mo leanabh, ba-ba ba-ba”, G-6b, “’S ioma hoidhche fhliuch is thioram”, and G-6c, “O ba, mo leanabh”. These pieces are considered to be versions of the same song type originally, based on the

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16 See Appendix 3. List of Lullaby Texts in the Sound Archive Collection of the Department of Celtic and Scottish Studies.
previous assessments, and the advice of experts on Gaelic song. For labeling texts, the first line of the oldest version, which has a code “a” after the number, has been used.

There is an exceptional song type whose origin is different from the others: G-43, “Mo ghaol, mo ghradh”, the so-called “Taladh Chriosda [Christ Child’s Lullaby]”, whose words were “written by the Rev. Ranald Rankin, C.C., and given by him to the children of his congregation at Moidart, when he was parting with them for Australia, in 1855” (Transaction of the Gaelic Society of Inverness, XV, 1889: 239), is not precisely regarded as a traditional lullaby. However, it became very popular across the Highlands through its English translation,17 and the story of “a shiftless laddie and his stepmother” associated with this song has been transmitted in Eigg and Uist.18 Therefore it seems to be possible to identify this text as a “newly traditional lullaby”.

In addition, some texts may be sung for dandling babies, or amusing them. Others may have been used as working songs, such as milking and hunting songs. I have not excluded them from my selection if the compilers of previous collections or the informants consider them to be lullabies.

Table 3.1.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text no.</th>
<th>First line</th>
<th>Source Type</th>
<th>Music</th>
<th>Date of Collection/Publication</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G-1.</td>
<td>A chailin òg a stiùradh mi</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--/1889</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-2.</td>
<td>A Mhòrag dhonn</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1862/1911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-3.</td>
<td>Anna bheag an teid thu</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1956/1971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-5.</td>
<td>A ro’s gun dheogail na laoigh</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1951/--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-6a.</td>
<td>Ba-ba mo leanabh, ba-ba ba-ba</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1898/1911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-6b.</td>
<td>’S ioma hoidhche fhliuch is thioram</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1908/1911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-6c.</td>
<td>O ba, mo leanabh,</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>1935/1955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-6d.</td>
<td>Hobhan hobhan</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>M-SR</td>
<td>1954/--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-6e.</td>
<td>O bà bà mo leanabh</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>M-SR</td>
<td>1957/1990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-6f.</td>
<td>O ba ba mo leanabh</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>M-SR</td>
<td>1959/--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-6g.</td>
<td>’S mor a b’annsa bhith le Griogair</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>M-SR</td>
<td>1967/1990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-7.</td>
<td>Bà, bà, mo leanabh beag</td>
<td>OS</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>--/1955</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

17 So far as I checked, the following English versions have been recently released as commercial CDs: Sheena Wellington in Clearsone (1990), Boys of the Lough in The day dawn (1994), and Shawn Colvin in Holiday Songs and Lullabies (1998).

| G-8. | Ba mo leanabh, ho hi | OS | M | --/1921 |
| G-10a | Cadal cha dean mi | SA | M | 1975/1981 |
| G-10b | Cadal cha dean mi | SA | M | 1975/1981 |
| G-10c | Cadal cha dean mi | UC | M-SR | 1992/-- |
| G-12. | Cagar an gaolach | SA | M-SR | 1958/-- |
| G-13a. | Cadalan cuide rium fhin am pais-de | SA | M | --/1917 |
| G-13b. | Cadalan cuide rium fhin mo phaisde | SA | M-SR | 1960/-- |
| G-14. | Caold i u o | OS | M | --/1959 |
| G-15. | Cha b’ann ri gual a gharainn thu | OS | M | --/1991 |
| G-16a. | Cha tig Mör mo bhean dhachaigh | SA | M | 1951/-- |
| G-16b. | Cha tig Mör mo bhean dhachaidd | SA | M | 1952/1975 |
| G-16c. | Cha tig Mör mo bhean dhachaigh | SA | M-SR | 1959/-- |
| G-16d. | Cha tig Mör mo bhean dhachaigh | SA | M | 1970/1971 |
| G-17. | Chaith mo Dhonnchadh no bheinn | SA | M-SR | 1951/-- |
| G-18. | Cha tu gosan gorm na maoleig | OS | -- | --/1941 |
| G-20a. | Crodh-laoigh nam bodach | OS | -- | --/1907 |
| G-20b. | Crodh-laoigh nam bodach | OS | M | --/1991 |
| G-22a. | Dean Cadal ’s Fan Samhach | OS | M | --/1895 |
| G-22b. | Dean cadalan samhach | OS | M | 1937/1990 |
| G-22c. | Dean cadalan samhach | SA | M-SR | 1957/-- |
| G-22d. | Dean cadalan samhach | SA | M-SR | 1957/1984 |
| G-22e. | Dean cadalan samhach | SA | M-SR | 1960/-- |
| G-22f. | Dean cadalan samhach | OS | M | --/1991 |
| G-22g. | Dean cadalan samhach | UC | M-SR | 1992/-- |
| G-22h. | Dean cadalan samhach | OS | M | --/1993 |
| G-23. | Dean cadalan; Slán gu’n düisg thu! | OS | M | 1900/1911 |
| G-24. | Dh’fhag iad ’s a chill Eoghan gobha | SA | M-SR | 1958/-- |
| G-25. | Dian cadalan, a shúgh mo chéile | OS | M | 1948/1955 |
| G-26a. | Far am biodh mo leanabh falaich | OS | -- | --/1889 |
| G-26b. | ’Ille bhig, ’íle bhig shúgaich hô! | OS | -- | --/1954 |
| G-26c. | Chi mi ’n toman caoruinn cuilinn | SA | M-SR | 1954/-- |
| G-28b. | Gille beag ó, gille lag ó | OS | M | --/1955 |
| G-30. | Giullian geal thú! | OS | -- | 1870/1941 |
| G-31a. | Gur mise bhean bhochd o haori hiu | SA | M | 1960/-- |
| G-31b. | O hao ri u, o hao ri u | SA | M-SR | 1961/1990 |
| G-31c. | Gur mise bhean bhochd o haori hiu | UC | M-SR | 1994/-- |
| G-32. | Hee-o-ho-ro, mo Ruarachan | OS | M | --/1917 |
| G-33a. | Hill ù hò ro | OS | -- | --/1878 |
| G-33b. | Ach gur mise fhuair an cùnndradh | OS | -- | --/1951-52 |
| G-33c. | Hill u hill o hill u ho-o ro | OS | M | 1953/1963 |
| G-33d. | Fail ù fail eò hi u ho rò | OS | M | --/1955 |
| G-33e. | Hill ubh hill ubh hill ubh ho ro | SA | M-SR | 1957/1984 |
| G-34. | Hol’m min thu | OS | -- | 1869/1954 |
| G-35a. | Ho ro Lady bhig | OS | M | --/1909 |
| G-35b. | Ho ho bho laidi bheag | OS | M | --/1952 |
G-36a. Horo Uilleim, chuirt am mhuir ort
G-36b. Ho ro Uilleim, chuirt am mhuir ort
G-37a. Ho a-ho, Maolruainidh Ghlinneachain
G-37b. Ha horo Maol-ruainidh Ghlinneachain
G-37c. Hi ho ro Maol-ruainidh Ghlinneachain
G-37d. Ha ho ro Maol-ruainidh Ghlinneachain
G-37e. Ha ho ro Maol-ruainidh Ghlinneachain
G-38. Iain, Oan, ba mo leanabh
G-39. Is fuar fuar a nochd mo leaba
G-40a. 'Mhnathain a' ghillinne so
G-40b. Mhnathain a' ghillinne-sa
G-40c. 'S a mhlnathan a' ghillinne seo
G-41a. Mhoire, 's e mo tun mo leanabh
G-41b. Mhoire, 'se mo rún mo leanabh
G-42a. Mo dhith, mo dhith! gun tri lámhan
G-42b. Mu'n till mise, mu'n ruig mise
G-43a. Mo ghaol, mo ghradh
G-43b. Mo ghaol, mo ghradh
G-43c. Mo ghaol, mo ghradh
G-43d. Mo ghaol, mo ghradh
G-44. Mo ghaol-s' bho' nacheil hreabach
G-45a. Nach truagh leat fhein phuilthrag 's a phuilthar
G-45b. 'Phuilthrag nam Phuilthar
G-45c. 'Phuilthrag nam Phuilthar
G-46. Na creid iad, a Ghaioil do Mhather
G-47a. Nam bu leam fhein thu
G-47b. Nam bu lom fhein thu
G-47c. Nam bu leam fhein thu
G-47d. Nam bu leam fhein thu
G-48a. Neart na gile, neart na greine
G-48b. Náil i bho ho hi
G-49. O ba o ba o ba o i
G-50. O bá o i, ó mo leanabh
G-51. Obhant! Óbhan! ars' an Cù Bán
G-52a. Och, och, nan och
G-52b. Hóbban, hóbban, Goiridh òg O
G-52c. O dh' thag mi' n seo na shineadh e
G-52d. Och, nan Och! mar tha mi fhein!
G-53. Och, ochan 's mi direadh
G-54a. O hí o hoth, crodh an tálleir
G-54b. Tha mile long air cuan Eirinn
G-55. O-hó! bá a leinibh, hó!
G-56. O hó ró, i ri ri
G-57a. 'S ann an raoir a chuala mi
G-57b. A ghaois, lig dhachaigh gu m' mhathair mi
G-58a. 'S e Diuram, 's e Diuram
G-58b. O Diuram, E Diuram
G-59a. 'Se mo leanabh mingiliseach
G-59b. 'Se mo leanabh mingiliseach
G-59c. Ho ro mhile bhog
G-59d. Mo leanabh maingiliseach maingiliseach
G-60a. Siud a leinibh, suid a bhroin
G-60b. Siud a leanaibh, suid a bhroin!
G-61. Slan gu'n tig Aonachan
| G-62a. | 'S milis Mórag, M’aighear Mórag | OS | M | 1900/1911 |
| G-62b. | Gur milis Mórag | OS | M | --/1917 |
| G-62c. | Milis Mórag | SA | M-SR | 1953/-- |
| G-62d. | Gur milis Mórag, gur lagh ach Mórag | OS | M | --/1993 |
| G-64a. | Súilean dubha dubha dubh | OS | M | --/1991 |
| G-64b. | Súilean dubha dubha dubh | UC | M-SR | 1993/-- |
| G-64c. | Súilean dubha dubha dubh | UC | M-SR | 1994/-- |
| G-65b. | Tha bo dhubh agam | SA | -- | 1959/-- |
| G-65c. | Tha bo 's agh agam | SA | M-SR | 1959/-- |
| G-66a. | Tha mi sgith 's mi leam fhin | OS | M | --/1895 |
| G-66b. | Tha mi sgith 's mi leam fhin | OS | M | --/1911 |
| G-67. | Tha m'ulaidh ort | SA | M | 1958/-- |
| G-68a. | Tha na féidh, o-ho! | OS | M | 1908/1911 |
| G-68b. | Tha na féidh am Braigh Uige | SA | M-SR | 1959/-- |
| G-69. | Tha nead an fhithich | OS | -- | --/1954 |
| G-70. | Tha sior choineadh am Beinn Dorain | OS | M | 1908/1911 |
| G-71a. | Theid mi dhachaidh cro Cheann'n t-Saile | OS | M | --/1895 |
| G-71b. | Theid mi dhachaidh cro Cheann'n t-Saile | OS | M | --/1895 |
| G-71c. | Theid mi dhachaidh ho ro dhachaidh | SA | M-SR | 1931/-- |
| G-71d. | Theid mi dh'Uriagh bhuan a' mhurain | SA | M-SR | 1961/1990 |
| G-72a. | Thèid mise 's tusa maireach | SA | M-SR | 1957/-- |
| G-72b. | Thèid mise 's tusa maireach | OS | M | --/1991 |
3.2. Linguistic Analysis

3.2.1. Vocables and Other Set Phrases

First of all, I will assess the inclusion of vocables in Gaelic lullabies. Table 3.2.1. shows their distribution.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3.2.1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G-1. hog hi ho ro, hog i hò, na hò ro eile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-2. a-hó-hi, a-hó hó-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-5. hi ho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-6a. ba-bà, faill i faill ó faill é ills o-ro-ho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-6b. òbhán òbhán òbhániri òbhániri o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-6c. hi ri hìll u ìll o ro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-6e. o bà bà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-7. bà bà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-8. ho hi, ho he, na ho i, na ho he</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-15. o hì ri liù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-21a. (cu bhì cì, cu bhì có)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-21b. (gìbhì gì gìbhì gò)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-31c. o hào ri u, o hào ri u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-32. he-o-ho-ro, ho ree-o-ho-ro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-33a. hill ììu ho-ro, hill èìë, hill-in o-ho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hìll ho-ro, i-o-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-33c. hill ù hìll ó hìll ù ho-o rò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hilìlean is hò na hò rò hì</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-33d. fail ììu fail èìë hi u ho rò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ho hi ho rò, ho hì ìbh ò</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-33e. hill ubh hill ubh hill ubh ho ro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-34. hal hal, hiù bhidil hiù bhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-35a. ho-ro, ho-ro la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G-35b. ho ho bho</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most vocables consist of a combination of the following syllables: a, ba, bha, bhi, bho, hi, hill, ho, i, o, obhan (or hobhan), ri, ro, and iù.

Ba is considered to mean, “sleep”, in several English translations. As mentioned before, Bruford suggests that the sound, like a sheep bleating, probably has an English origin (Bruford, 1978: 4). Moreover, we have already observed the existence of vocables in Scots lullabies such as ba or bye in balilli, baloo, hush-a-ba or hush-a-bye. Therefore it
is fair to consider that this vocable is not exclusive to Gaelic lullabies, but influenced by (or inter-related with) Scots and English lullabies.

As another feature of this vocable, ba is rarely heard in other genre songs, although hi, ho, obhan, ri, ro, ó, i, etc. can be found. For instance, in a waulking song, entitled ‘Ro ho hi bho hoilibhó’, we discover the following vocable: ro ho hi a bho hoilibhó, e ho hi a bho hoilibhó (quoted from A Selection of Scottish Gaelic Songs, 1990: 17). Another example of a waulking song, ‘Cumha Sheathain [Lament for Sheathain]’, has the following vocable: hù rù ho nà hi hó ró, hù rù o nà hi ó ho (ibid: 16). In this, ba is rather special in that it is a vocable exclusively for soothing a child.

Next, ri has a similar sound to the Scots vocable li, in balillie, but in Gaelic lullabies it does not follow the sound, ba. Instead, ho, usually takes that position as in ho ri ho ro in G-72b. Thirdly, sigh-like vocables, o, ó, obh, och, and obhan, also considered as interjectionary sounds, often join another sound to create such vocables as o bà o bà o bà o l (G-49). Through repeating the vocable, the emotion of the singer, whether joyful or sad, seems to be heightened as in the following example: “Och nan och! mar tha mi fhein! [Alas, alas! In what grief am I!]” (G-52d).

The vocable in G-21 is rather exceptional; cu bhi c i, cu bhi có, or gibhi gi gibhi gó is said to imitate the sound of a swan’s voice originally. Nevertheless, children listening to this song may have felt so easy by the sound sequence that they went to sleep.

In addition, several set phrases meaning “my child”, “little one”, “darling one” or “go to sleep” are frequently used as with the same function as vocables: Cadal ciarrach, mo luran (G-11), Dean (or Dian) cadalan (G-22, 23, 25), O ba, mo leanabh (G-6, 7, 8, 38), Gille beag ó (G-28, 29), and mo leanabh beag (G-59).

3.2.2. Repetition and Other Stylistic Features

Following Bruford’s suggestion, we will examine whether the A-A-A-B pattern of repetition is dominant in Gaelic lullabies (Bruford, 1978: 4). Looking through our text collection, we can easily find the repetition:
A-A'-A-B and A-A'-A"-B as a variation are common, too:

Although it is too early to conclude that this A-A-A-B pattern is “dominant” because of the limitation of the text collected, this pattern is undoubtedly one of the most popular forms of Gaelic lullaby.

Meanwhile, there are a number of A-B-A-B, A-B-A-C, and A-B-C-B patterns of repetition:

(G-11)
Cadal ciarrach, mo luran
Cadal ciarrach, mo luran
Cadal ciarrach, mo luran
Bidh mi fhin agad tuilleadh.

(SA1953/31.6)

(G-15)
Cha b’ ann ri gharainn thu,
Cha b’ ann ri gharainn thu,
Cha b’ ann ri gual a gharainn m’ uail
Ri mòine chruaighd nam barr-fhadhan.

(NicShimidh & Barr, 1991: 13)

(G-47b)
Nam bu liom fhin thu, thàlaidhinn thu,
Nam bu liom fhin thu, thàlaidhinn thu,
Nam bu liom fhin thu, thàlaidhinn thu,
Thàlaidhinn, thàlaidhinn, thàlaidhinn thu.

(Shaw, 1955: 148-149)

(G-64a)
Suilean dubha dubha dubh,
Suilean dubh aig m’ eudail
Suilean dubha dubha dubh,
Cuin a thig thu chèilidh?

(NicShimidh & Barr, 1991: 17)

(G-16a)
Cha dig Mór mo bhean dhachaidh,
Cha dig Mór mo bhean ghaotil:
Cha dig mòhair mo leanabh
’S cha laigh i rin taobh.

(SA1951/2/B11)

(G-28a)
Gille beag ó, gille lag ó,
Gille beag ó, nan caorach,
Gille beag ó, gille lag ó,
Gille beag ó, nan caorach,

(Shaw, 1955: 140)

(G-7)
Bà, bà, mo leanabh beag,
Bidh tu mòr ged tha thu beag,
Bà, bà, mo leanabh beag,
Cha n-urainn mi ´gad thàlaidh.

(Shaw, 1955: 140)
The frequency of the double repetition of a phrase or word in the Gaelic texts (e.g. "ille bhig, ille bhig" in G-26a, and "ba ba" in G-7) seems to equal its frequency in Scots lullabies. And furthermore, we can discover the so-called "sandwich-like" style of repetition here, which was introduced when we discussed Scots lullabies:

Note also that there is an interesting pattern of repetition observed in G-37:
The third line of each stanza forms the first of the succeeding stanza as in a kind of word-chain game. As discussed later on, in several Japanese lullabies we can discover the same pattern of repetition, called *shiri-tori* [a word game played by saying a word that starts with the last syllable of the word given by the previous player]¹⁹ in Japanese. Such repetition seems to help child listeners to follow the story much more easily.

The repetition is more frequently discovered in the refrain, rather than in the main stanzas, in which the particulars of the story, or the topics are narrated in order.

Next, I will assess the length of each of the Gaelic texts by using the same criterion as in the previous chapter: that is (i) minimal texts consisting of only vocables, (ii) short texts consisting of one to four stanzas, and (iii) long texts containing more than four stanzas. See Table 3.2.2.

Table 3.2.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length</th>
<th>Text no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>minimal</td>
<td>14, 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short</td>
<td>2, 3, 4, 6a-c, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13b, 15, 16a-c, 18, 19, 20a-b, 21a-b²⁰, 22c-e-f-g, 23, 24, 25, 27a-b, 28a-b, 29, 31a, 35a-b, 36a-b, 37a-c-d, 38, 40a-b, 41b, 42a-b, 43d, 44, 45a-b-c, 46, 47a-b-c-d, 49, 50, 51, 53, 54a, 55, 56, 57a-b, 58a-b, 59c, 60a-b, 61, 62a-b-c-d, 63, 64a-b-c, 65a-c, 66a-b, 67, 68a, 69, 70, 71c, 72a-b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long</td>
<td>1, 5, 6b-e-g, 9, 10a-c, 13a, 16d, 17, 19, 22b-d-h, 26a-b, 30, 31b-c, 33a-b-c-d-e, 34, 37b-e, 39, 40c, 41a, 43a-b-c, 48a-b, 52a-b-c-d, 54b, 56, 59a-b-d, 68b, 71d,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As mentioned in the analysis of the Scots texts, the composition of any stanza basically depends on the judgment of the song's compilers, and consequently one sentence is sometimes divided into two lines, and two, three or four phrases are put into one line in other versions. Moreover, some of minimal and short texts might be a fragment of what was, originally, a longer text. This means that the borderlines between

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²⁰ Since the part with the vocables is very long in this text, the number of lines of main part, omitting the vocables, is counted out here.
the three types of length remain unclear. Nevertheless, it is fair to say that both long and short texts are abundant. In our collection the number of short texts is superior to the number of long ones, but it does not necessarily mean that long lullabies have been comparatively scarce. Moreover, there must have been a number of crooning tunes without words, which have been omitted from previous folksong collections.\(^2\)

In addition, we can point out that a number of texts include a refrain consisting of several lines (or phrases) sung at the beginning and the end of the tune, and in some cases, after each stanza. This may be another stylistic feature of Gaelic lullabies.

3.2.3. Rhyming and Other Phonetic Features

Since it is very hard for a non-native Gaelic speaker like myself to examine phonetic features, though, the present analysis is not yet adequate. In general, it seems that there is not such a strict regulation concerning rhyme in Gaelic texts as in Scots. Some texts, however, actually include rhyme. For instance:

\(<G-22e>\)
Dean cadalan samhach a chuilein mo ruin
Dean fuireach mar tha thu 's tu an drasd an ait ur;
Bidh oigearan againn lan beairteas is eilidh,
Ma bhios tu 'nad airidh is leat fearaigin dhiu.

Gur h-ann an Ameireaga tha sinn an drasd
Fo dhubhar na coille nach teirig gu brach.
Nuair dh'fh'albhas an dulachd is a thionndaineas blas,
Bidh eonothan bidh ubhlan bidh siucar am fias.

Is ro bheag orm fein na daoine seo tha ann
Le an cotaicheadh drochaid ad mhor air an ceann
Le am brìgsean an goirid is iad sgoilte gu am bann
Cha n-fhaicear an t-osan is e bhochtainn a tha ann.\(^{21}\) \(\text{(SA1957/104/A3)}\)

\(<G-32>\)
Hee-o-ho-ro, mo Ruarachan.
Ho ree-o-ho-ro, mo Ruarachan.
Hee-o-ho-ro, mo Ruarachan.

\(^{21}\) A number of informants told me that they often used to sing short songs or just croon a tune without words for the purpose of soothing their children.
Mo Niallachan beag, mo chubhrachan  

<Kennedy-Fraser, 1917: 202>

<G-34>
Ho! min thu,
Man thu, màg thu!
'S toigh liom fhin thu,
Màn thu, màg thu!  

<Carmichael, 1954: 178>

<G-47a>
Nam bu leam fhin thu thàlàidhinn thu,
Nam bu leam fhin thu bhreugainn thu.
Nam bu leam fhin thu dheanainn do bhriodal,
'Cagairein dilis, thàlàidhinn thu.

<MacDonald, 1907: 20>

<G-53>
Och, ochan 's mi direadh.
Och, ochan 's mi tearadadh;
Och, ochan 's mi direadh
A caoidh na rinn m'fhàgail!  

<Tolmie, 1911: 161>

Other types of rhyming such as alliteration, internal rhyme, consonance and assonance do not so often appear except the repetition of a word and a phrase, which has the same function as rhyming. It probably means that the use of rhyme and phonetic rhetoric in Gaelic verse is flexible.
3.3. Musicological Analysis

Here I will adopt the same criteria as for Scots lullabies: metre, rhythm, scales and musical structure, and melody-line. For this musicological analysis, I will examine the manuscripts transcribed in previous works as well as the sound recordings undertaken both by myself and by the staff of the department. My own manuscripts are attached to Appendix 2.2. Gaelic Lullaby Texts with other previously transcribed manuscripts. The present analysis is based on this compilation.

3.3.1. Metre

In the article, "Hebridean Lullaby", McNeill introduces the following views of participants in her presentation, as reviewed in Appendix 1:

Mr. Shuldham-Shaw considered that the so-called 3/4 lullabies were really 6/4 or slow 6/8. Mrs. MacKintosh agreed that, of eighty lullabies she had encountered, ninety per cent were in 6/8 rather than 3/4 time (McNeill, 1949: 20).

Along with these comments, the definition in the New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians that suggests that lullabies are "usually in triple rhythm" (vol.11: 313), was reviewed in the first chapter in this thesis. Here we will look at metre of the Gaelic lullabies presently collected. See Table 3.3.1.

Table 3.3.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Metre</th>
<th>Text no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2/2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/4</td>
<td>2, 16a, 17, 27b, (31a), 33d, 36b, 41b, 50, 51, 55, 59b, 60a, 60b, 67, 68a, 71a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4/4</td>
<td>(5), 6b, 6f, 7, 11, 14, 21b, 24, 25, 33e, 41a, 42b-ii, 42b-iii, 42b-iv, 44, 45c, 52a, 53, 54a, 57a, 66a, 66b, 71b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4/8</td>
<td>6g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/4</td>
<td>4, 10b, 13a, 16c, 16d, (17), 19, 20b, 22f, (24), 31a, 35a, 35b, 38, 40a, 42b-i, 43b, 43c, 45a, 47b, 52c, 54b, 56, 58a, (59b), 59c, 62a, 62c, 65c, 71c,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5/4</td>
<td>(25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6/4</td>
<td>(24), 63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/8</td>
<td>(5), 6c, 12, 49, 57b, 65a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6/8</td>
<td>5, 6a, 6d, 6e, 9, 10c, 15, 22a, 22b, 22c, 22d, 22e, 22g, 23, (25), 26c, 27a, 28a, 28b, 29, 31b, 32, 36a, 37a, 37c, 37d, 40b, 45b, 43d, 46, 47c, 52d, 61, 64a, 64b, 72a, 72b,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9/8</td>
<td>10a, 68b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10/8</td>
<td>(10a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>irregular</td>
<td>3, 13b, 16b, 21a, 33c, 48b, 70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The number in brackets indicates the text of that number mainly has another metre, but occasionally takes that metre in the middle of the tune or at the end.
* G-3’s metre changes. It uses 12/16, 4/4, and 5/8.
* G-5 has mainly a 6/8 metre and occasionally 8/3, but in verses 4 & 5 it changes into 4/4.
* G-13b’s metre changes between 6/8 and 9/8.
* G-16b and 33 have no regular metre according to the manuscript.
* G-21a’s metre changes between 3/4, 2/4, 6/8 and 4/4.
* G-48b’s metre changes between 3/4 and 2/4.
* G-59b has mainly a 2/4 metre but it changes to 6/8 during verses 6 & 7.
* G-70’s metre changes between 3/2 and 2/2.

As mentioned before, in some song types, for example G-6 and 22, each of several versions are here examined as independent texts, unless the tune of one version is exactly the same as another version. Therefore to compare the percentage of each metre to the total number of texts seems not to be highly meaningful. However, this table distinctly indicates the variety of metre in Gaelic lullabies and its flexibility, or more precisely, its authenticity as non-classical music, which is free from consistent metre and regular tempo. Some texts, e.g. G-3 & 5, transfer from one metre to another in the middle of the tune. Moreover, G-16b & 33 have no regular metres according to the manuscript:

[e.g. 3.3.1.1.] (G-3)

22 From my own experience of music transcription, it is quite understandable and reasonable to give up putting a particular metre to the tune to which the researcher is listening.
It is surely true that there are a certain number of texts which have a 6/8 or 3/4 metre. Nevertheless we cannot conclude that either 6/8 or 3/4, or both constitute the majority, even if they are quite dominant in comparison to 2/4 and 4/4 metres. At least, I can say that the results of my research are far from the opinion of Mrs. MacKintosh, that “of eighty lullabies she had encountered, ninety per cent were in 6/8 rather than 3/4 time.”

3.3.2. Rhythm

According to my assessment (see Table 3.3.2.), a certain number of the texts deploy either the Scotch snap or the bouncing snap, or both. Although quantitative analysis based on statistical data should be avoided, it is probably safe to state that the snap rhythm is one of the remarkable features of the Gaelic lullaby.

Related to this, there are not a few songs which include a grace note: an additional brief note ahead of the main note in the melody, considered a variation of the Scotch snap.23

Table 3.3.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Snap Rhythm</th>
<th>Text no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Scotch snap</td>
<td>4, 6c-f-g, 7, 9, 10b, 11, 16a, 16b, 16c, 17, 19, 20b, 22c-d-e-f-g, 24, 31a, 33c-d-e, 35b, 36b, 41b, 42b-i, 44, 47b, 50, 52a-c, 54a, 57a, 58a, 63, 65a, 66a, 67, 71b,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bouncing snap</td>
<td>2, 3, 4, 5, 6b-f-g, 7, 9, 10a, 10b, 11, 12, 13a-b, 14, 16a-c, 17, 22a-c-d-e-f-g, 24, 25, 27b, 29, 31a-b, 33c-d-e, 35b, 36b, 40a-b, 41b, 42b-ii-iii-iv, 45a-c, 47b-c, 48b, 50, 51, 52a, 53, 54a-b, 55, 56, 57a, 58a, 59b, 60a-b, 62a-b, 63, 65a, 66a-b, 67, 68a, 70, 71a-b-c, 72b,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other types of</td>
<td>6d-c, 16d, 21b, 27a, 42b-iv, 45b, 52a-d, 53, 58a, 66b, 68a, 71a, 72a-b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snap rhythm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---
23 This does not mean that every grace note has the same effect as the Scotch snap. Some of them have a function, not of snap rhythm but of tremolo. Only former ones are drawn here.
no snap rhythm | 6a, 8, 10c, 15, 21a, 22b, 23, 26c, 28a-b, 32, 35a, 36a, 37a-c-d, 38, 41a, 43b-c-d, 46, 49, 57b, 59c, 61, 64a-b, 65c, 68b

* G-6d, 6e, 21b, 27a, 42b-iv, 45b, 52a, 52d, 53, 58a, 66b, 68a, 71a & 72a have (a) grace note/notes which is/are used as an alternative to the Scotch snap.
* G-16d has a snap rhythm containing a quarter followed by a quaver in a triple divided note.
* G-72b has a snap rhythm containing a semi-quaver followed by a semi-quaver tied with a quarter note.

[e.g. 3.3.2.1.] (G-16d)

![Diagram of G-16d]

[e.g. 3.3.2.2.] (G-72b)

![Diagram of G-72b]

3.3.3. Scale and Musical Structure

As for the musicological analysis of the Scots texts, here I will divide the scales used in the various Gaelic texts into the following seven categories: the 4 & 7th gapped pentatonic, other types of pentatonic, the 4th gapped hexatonic, the 7th gapped hexatonic, other types of hexatonic, seven-note scale, and others. See Table 3.3.3.

Table 3.3.3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale type</th>
<th>Text no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4 &amp; 7th gapped pentatonic</td>
<td>2, 3, 6f, 16c, 20b, 21a-b, 22b, 23, 27b, 31b, 36a-b, 38, 42b-ii-iii-iv, 44, 46, 47b, 48b, 52c, 59b-c, 66b, 68b, 72b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other types of pentatonic</td>
<td>(7), (28a), (54b), 55, 60a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th gapped hexatonic</td>
<td>6b, 10a, 13a, 14, 16b, 28b, 29, 35a-b, 37a-c-d, 41a, 45c, 54a, 64a-b, 65a, 66a, 68a, 71a-b,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th gapped hexatonic</td>
<td>6g, 9, 10b-c, 11, 15, 22a-c-e-f-g, 26c, 31a, 33c-e, 40b, 47c, 57a, 71c, 72a,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other types of hexatonic</td>
<td>4, 6e, 16a, 42b-i, 43b-c-d, 50, 52a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seven-note scales</td>
<td>5, 6a-c, 12, 13b, 16d, 17, 19, 22d, 24, 25, 27a, 32, 33d, 40a, 41b, 45a-b, 49, 53, 56, 57b, 58a, 67, 70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>others</td>
<td>8, 51, 52d, 60b, 61, 62a-c, 63, 65c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
* G-4 & 6e are 6th gapped hexatonic.
* G-52a is 6th gapped hexatonic with ti b.
* G-7 & 54b are 3rd & 7th gapped pentatonic but can be transformed into 4 & 7th
gapped with the change of the key code from C to F.
* G-8 contains the following notes: re-mi-fa #- soh-la.
* G-16a, 43b, 43c, 43d & 50 are 3rd gapped hexatonic.
* G-28a is 1st and 4th gapped pentatonic but can
be transformed into 4 & 7th gapped
with the change of the key code from
C to G.
* G-51 contains the following notes: ti b -doh-re-mi-fa. (A dotted underline indicates
a lower octave note.)
* G-52d, 60b, 61, 62a & 62c contain the following notes: doh-re-mi-fa-soh.
* G-63 contains the following notes: la-doh-re-mi.
* G-65c contains the following notes: soh-la-ti-doh-re.
* G-68a contains the following notes: mi-soh-la-ti-b -ti_doh-re-mi.
* G-71a & 71b contain re-mi-soh-la-ti-doh-re, and G-71c uses soh-la-doh-re-mi-fa-
soh. It means they have, for the most part, the same scale. (A waved underline
indicates an upper octave note.)
* G-72a contains the following notes: doh-re-mi-fa #- soh-la-doh.

This table indicates that along with its variations (i.e. the 4th gapped hexatonic and
the 7th gapped hexatonic) the 4 & 7th gapped pentatonic is much more frequently adopted
in Gaelic lullabies than other types of pentatonic and hexatonic scale. In this respect, the
result of this assessment supports the statements in previous studies, in which the 4 & 7th
gapped pentatonic is considered to be one of the distinctive characteristics of Scottish
song.

Other types of pentatonic — the 6th and the 7th gapped pentatonic, the 3rd and the
6th gapped hexatonic — are also found. Meanwhile, G-7 & 54b, whose tunes are
transcribed as 3rd & 7th gapped pentatonic melodies, can be transformed into the 4th &
7th gapped versions with the change of the key code from C to F. Likewise, G-28a, with
its 1st and 4th gapped pentatonic scale, can be transformed into 4th & 7th gapped with the
change of key code from C to G:

[e.g. 3.3.3.1.] (G-7)

[e.g. 3.3.3.2.] (G-28a)
There are several tunes which have a small range of notes. For instance, G-52d, 60b, 61,62a and 62c contain doh-re-mi-fa-soh. G-63 consists of only four notes: la-doh-re-mi. Such plain, simple tunes would be actually very useful for soothing a child:

[e.g. 3.3.3.3.] (G-63)

Next, the end-note will be assessed. See Table 3.3.4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>End-Note</th>
<th>Text no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>doh</td>
<td>3, 4, 6b-d-e-g, 10a, 12, 13a, 15, 16c-d, 17, 19, 27b, 29, 35a-b, 38, 40a, 42b-iv, 44, 46, 51, 52a-c-d, 53, 55, 57a, 58a, (59b), 59c, 60a-b, 61, 62a-c, 63, 64b, 68b, 70.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re</td>
<td>2, 6c-f, 9, 13b, 14, 16b, 20b, 22c-d-e-f-g, 23, 26c, 28b, 31a-b, 33c-d-e, 37a-c-d, 47b, 56, 64a, 66b, 71a-b, 72a,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi</td>
<td>6a, 8, 32, 48b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa</td>
<td>7, 54b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soh</td>
<td>5, 10b, 10c, 11, 16a, 21a, 22a, 24, 25, 27a, 36a-b, 40b, 41a, 42b-i-iii, 43b-c-d, 45a, 47c, 50, 54a, 57b, (59b), 65a-c, 67, 68a, 71c, 72b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la</td>
<td>21b, 22b, 28a, 41b, 42b-ii, 45b-c, 49, 59b, 66a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* G-5, 36a, 36b, 43b, 43c, 43d, 47c & 57b are in the Mixolydian mode (keynote: soh)
* G-6a is in the Phrygian mode (key note: mi)
* G-6b, 6e, 17, 40a, 53, 56 & 70 are in the Mixolydian mode (key note: doh with ti b )
* G-6c is in the Aeolian mode (key note: re with ti b )
* G-13b, 16b, 20b, 22a, 22c, 22d, 22e, 22f, 22g, 23, 31b, 33d, 33e, 37a, 37c, 37d, 47b & 66b, are in the Dorian mode (key note:re)
* G-42b-ii, 42b-iii, 49 & 66a are in the Aeolian mode (key note: la).
* G-59b ends with la in 1st, 2nd & 5th, doh in 4th, 6th & 7th, and soh in 3rd stanzas.
* G-65a ends with soh in G major, but it should be changed to D major, in which case the tune ends with doh.

This table indicates that a remarkable number of texts end with re or soh, as well as doh. It is possible to give two reasons for this: the preference for two types of church mode: the Mixolydian and Dorian; and the preference for ending in a different mode.

First, as several previous studies point out, the Mixolydian (doh-re-mi-fa-soh-la-ti b -
doh, or soh-la-ti-doh-re-mi-fa-soh) and Dorian (doh-re-mi b-fa-soh-la-ti b-doh or re-mi-fa-soh-la-ti-doh-re) modes, both of whose name originated in the Greek church mode, are widely found in various types of Scottish (both Scots and Gaelic) song and instrumental music.24 Gaelic lullabies are no exception:

[e.g. 3.3.3.4.] (G-43b as an example in the Mixolydian mode)

Secondly, in some cases, even if the tune progresses in the Ionian mode (i.e. doh-re-mi-fa-soh-la-ti-doh), it ends with soh or re although it should close with doh according to classical music theory. This is regarded as another distinctive feature in Scottish song, but not exclusively in lullabies:

[e.g. 3.3.3.5.] (G-22f as an example in the Dorian mode)

Meanwhile we can assume that songs with non-tonic ending notes are especially suitable for soothing children because they create the feeling of continuity, which is different from doh or la. Consequently singers can naturally continue to sing them from the beginning again and again.

Apart from scale and end-note, through the present assessment we can point out

further feature in respect of musical styles or constructions. A number of texts consist of two parts: refrain (noted *Seist* or *Fonn*) and main part, so that the tune is turn back into the beginning after the end of a main part (marked *D.C.*), and finish at the end of refrain (marked *Fine*). In some cases, on the one hand, the melody of refrain is similar to that of main part, but slightly different from the other. On the other hand, there are several texts in which the melody of refrain is completely different from that of main part. G-6c and G-28b would be the proper examples of each of them:

![Example 1](image1)

![Example 2](image2)

3.3.4. Melody-line

First, we discover that widely-spaced leaps are frequent in Gaelic lullabies, as in the following table. Both rising and falling leaps occur quite often. Particularly leaps of a 6th or an octave leaps are very common. The following song includes a falling leap of a 9th:
Purser insists that octave leaps or "the dramatic leap" is used in tunes for singing (Purser, 1992: 17), although some previous scholars like Fiske considered that "octave leaps are claimed to be 'unrewarding to sing, and tunes that feature them probably started life as dances for the fiddle'" (ibid: 17). It seems that the widely-spaced leap has survived in Gaelic songs through the inter-relationship with various kinds of instrumental music, like fiddle or pipe music in spite of its uncertain origin. In the eighth chapter I will discuss this subject in detail.

Table 3.3.5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Widely-Spaced Leaps</th>
<th>Text no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sixth up 2, (4), 5, 6a-b-f, 15, 17, 19, 21a, 22e-g, 24, 33c, (40a), 40b, 41a, 42b-i, (45a), 45b, (47c), (49), 53, 54b, (59b), 66a, (71a), 71c</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>down (6b), 6c, 13a, 14, 17, 19, 22b-c, (25), (27b), 33c-d, (36b), 42b-iii, (43c), (43d), 45c, (47c), 53, 54b, 55, 56, (60a), 66a-b</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seventh up 20b, (28b), 53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>down 22e-f-g, 70</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eighth up 6c, 21a, 22a, 41b, 54b, (55), (56), 66a-b, 67</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>down 5, 6a, 11, 13a, 15, 26c, 32, 38, 40a, 45b, 52c, 53, 58a, (68b)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ninth up --</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>down 7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no correspondence 3, 6d-e-g, 8, 9, 10a-b-c, 12, 13b, 16a-b-c-d, 21b, 22d, 23, 27a, 29, 31a, 33e, 35a-b, 36a, 37a-c-d, 42b-ii-iv, 43b, 44, 46, 47b, 48b, 50, 51, 52a-d, 54a, 57a-b, 60b, 61, 62a-c, 63, 64a-b, 65a-c, 68a, 72a-b,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Texts of numbers with brackets have widely-spaced leaps across the bar.

Next, with regard to the frequency of the Mixolydian mode, we often find the melodies using the ti♭, which creates a somewhat melancholic tone:

[e.g. 3.3.4.2.] (G-6b)
Finally, grace notes and the ‘glissando’ are used in actual singing, as a kind of melodic ornamentation. For example, grace notes are found in G-6b indicated above [e.g. 3.3.4.2], and the glissando indicated as wavy lines between notes is used in the following song:

[e.g. 3.3.4.3.] (G-7Ic, glissando)

Perhaps only a handful of transcripts precisely indicate these arrangements, but listening to live recording, we discover that a large number of singers use such melodic ornamentation.
3.4. Literary Analysis

I will move to the literary analysis of Gaelic lullaby texts through the following four perspectives: personae, materials and environment, motifs, and groups.

3.4.1. Personae

At the outset, I will look at songs in which the first person is not a mother. See Table 3.4.1.

Table 3.4.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st person other than mother</th>
<th>Text no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>father</td>
<td>2, 16, 22, 53, 55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other family</td>
<td>72 (grandmother’s sister)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid-wife, nanny, foster mother</td>
<td>33, 41, 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>milkmaid</td>
<td>4, 5, 19, 20, 44, 65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hunter, shepherd</td>
<td>68, 70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fairy, water-horse,</td>
<td>1, 34, 37, 47, 53, 55, 57, 59, 66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man or woman in fairy stories</td>
<td>26, 42, 45, 57, 64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>others</td>
<td>a woman longing for her lover (10), widow (24 &amp; 61), swan (21), a white dog (51), unknown (40, 54 &amp; 58)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The variety of first person characters appearing in Gaelic lullabies indicated by this table seems to directly or indirectly suggest the general variety of Gaelic lullabies as a whole.

First, a father as the first person is by no means extraordinary. For instance, in G-16, while soothing his child, the father sings it as a lament for his dead wife: "Cha tig Mor mo bhean ghaoil [Mor, my beloved wife, will not come]". G-22, "Dean cadalan samhach a chuitein mo ruin [Sleep quietly, my loved child]", has no obvious word indicating that the first person is a father, but it is said to be an emigrant song of the late 18th century sung..."
by a father for his daughter. Meanwhile, the fathers of G-2, 53 and 55 are said to be not human but water-horses. In G-2, “A Mhórág dhonn [O brown-haired Morag]”, a water-horse sings it to his child, hoping to induce his human wife, Morag, to return:

be going out at dusk every evening and coming home none knows when. See thou, my dear, canst thou discover it for me, and by the Book itself, I will reward thee well for it.’

‘What is worrying thee, Sorcha?’ There is trouble on thy mind, and do thou tell me what is the cause of thy trouble,’ said Slaine. ‘Sooner will it come out at my knee than at my mouth,’ and she took great oaths that never would she reveal her sister’s secret. Sorcha told her sister that she had a fairy lover in a fairy knoll behind the mountain, and that he would be singing fairy music to her in the Glen of the Grove of the Copses.

Slaine told this word for word to her mother, and if she did not make over-much of it, she did not make over-little. And her mother told it to her brothers, and her brothers went in pursuit of the fairy, and they slew him. That was when the girl sang this song. The brown-haired maiden fell to grief and breaking of heart, and she withered away like the white lily under the black frost. (Carmichael, 1954: 151)

Lullabies that are eulogies for the clan’s heir child sung by his foster-mothers and nurses are another remarkable feature. G-33 is, for example, said to have been sung by the woman who nursed one of several MacKenzie chiefs, known in Gaelic as Coinneach Óg [Young Kenneth], as mentioned later. G-41, “Tòladh Iain Mhùideartaich [The Lullaby for John Moidart (Heir of Clanranald)]”, is considered to have been composed by John MacCodrum and sung by his nurse in the 18th century. Moreover, G-48 is “supposed to have been addressed to Donald Gorm of Sleat, Skye, who died in 1617,” (Ross, 1957: 141) and sung by his foster mother. In the last song, the child is predicted to have the following strength:

<G-48a>
Neart na gile, neart na greine
Neart an fhochuinn anns a’ Cheitein
Neart nan tonna troma treubhach
Neart a bhradain as braise leumas
Neart Chon Chulain fa lán eideadh
Neart sheachd cathan feachd na Feinne
Neart Oisein bhinn neart Osgair euchdaich

[The strength of the moon, the strength of the sun,
[The strength of corn-shoots in Maytime,
[The strength of the heavy, mighty waves,
[The strength of the salmon that jumps the highest.
[The strength of Cuchulain in full armour
[The strength of seven armies of the Finns
[Sweet Ossian's strength- brave Oscar's strength

(Ross, 1957: 141)

Nor is rare for milking songs to be sung as lullabies. In this case, a milkmaid takes
the role of the first person (G-4, 5, 19, 20, 44, and 65). Some other songs related to occupations or domestic life like sheep herding, hunting and waulking have been adopted into lullabies (G-1, 68 and 70).

As several studies have already pointed out, the intimate relationship with laments or funeral songs seems to be one of the most astonishing features of Gaelic lullabies. In my collection, G-6, 10, 16, 24, and 61 provide examples. The first person of G-6, "Griogal Cridhe [Beloved Grigor]", is probably a mother, and G-16 is sung by a father as mentioned above, meanwhile in G-10, 24 and 61 there are no expressions indicating who the singer is:

<G-24>
Dh’fhág iad’s a chill Eoghan gobha [They have left Ewen smith in the graveyard
Ploc air a dhruim ’s a bheul fòdha [A turf on his back and his mouth under
Dh’fhág thu tinn mi dh’fhág thu trom mi [You have left me sick you have left me weary.
Dh’fhág thu fo lionn-dhbug gun fhonn mi [You have left me in melancholy without joy.

(SA1958/123/6)

So-called ‘love songs’ are another kind of song adopted into the lullaby canon. Although there are some texts in which the baby’s mother expresses her feelings for her lover, not her husband (G-9 and 56), others include no phrases related to children (G-10 and 58). Here is an example of each:

<G-9>
Bi falbh o ’n uinneig, a ghaoil, a ghaoil, [Go from the window, my love, my love
’S na tig a seo tuilleadh, a ghráidh; [Do not come here again, my dear, my dear
Bi falbh o ’n uinneig, a ghaoil, a ghaoil. [Go from the window, my love, my love.

Tha athair mo chloinne ’na laighe ’nam thaice:

<G-10a>
Cadal cha dean mi,
Sùgradh cha dean mise;
Nochd chan fhaigh mi tamh
’S gun mo ghràdh a’ tighinn:

In addition, we can discover various types of peculiar first person: a swan (G-21) and
a white dog (G-51). These songs are probably based on particular stories.

Songs in which the second person is not a child appears often in proportion to the variety of the first person. Here I will introduce two other lullabies passed down along with a folktale and a folk belief. Firstly, G-31 is based on a story, in which a mother’s ghost asks a milkmaid to look out for her children through this song:

<G-31a>
Gur mise bhean bhochd o haori hiu
Bho chnoc go noc o hao ri ri o ho oro haori hiu
Nach truagh leat mo chlhann o hao ri hiu
Bean eile nan ceann
Fear bodhar fear dall
Fear eile gun chainnt

[A poor woman am I, o haori hiu
From hummock to hummock, o haori ri
Pity you my children
Another woman tending them
One deaf one blind
Another without speech

(SA1960/128)

Another example, G-52, is perhaps based on a story about a fairy’s abduction, in which a mother wanders searching for her missing child. This is a monologue by her:

<G-52c>
O dh’fhag mi’n seo na shineadh e,
na shineadh e, na shineadh e
Gun dh’fhag mi’n seo na shineadh e,
nuair dh’thalbh mi bhuaín nam braoileagan.

[Oh I left him lying here
Lying, lying;
I left him lying here
When I went gathering blueberries.

Mo chubhrachan dubh, cúbhraidh thu,
Mo churachan dubh, hò, hò.
Mo chubhrachan dubh, cúbhraidh thu,
Mo churachan dubh, hò, hò.

[My dark-haired, sweet-scented baby,
My dark-haired baby, ho, ho;
My dark-haired, sweet-scented baby,
My dark-haired baby, ho, ho;

Gun d’fhuaire mi lorg an dòbhrainn duinn,
an dòbhrainn duinn, an dòbhrainn duinn,
Gun d’fhuaire mi lorg an dòbhrainn duinn,
’s cha d’fhuaire mi lorg mo chúbhrachan.

[I found the track of the brown otter,
The brown otter, the brown otter,
I found the track of the brown otter,
And found no trace of my baby.

(NicShimidh & Barr, 1991:28)

Metaphorical expressions for children were examined in relation to Scots lullabies. In Gaelic, several texts include some relevant expressions. See Table 3.4.2. Here children are compared to various kinds of nuts, honey, young animals and birds. They are undoubtedly reflected to natural environment of Gaelic society.
Table 3.4.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Metaphorical Expression for Children (Text no.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>animal</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>calf (15), not seal’s blue cub, not seagull’s grey chick, not the otter’s wry whelp, not the lean cow’s puny calf (18), sheep (29)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>plant</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rowans (13), nuts (13), hazel nuts (13), cinnamon clusters (13), cinnamon (15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>others</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>honey (13), playmate (15)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As another significant feature, there are a number of Gaelic lullabies in which particular people’s names, i.e. proper nouns, are mentioned. They are divided into actual people and fictional ones that appear in stories. The former consists of historical, legendary heroes or clan heirs, and non-historical, ordinary children. See Table 3.4.3.

Table 3.4.3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person’s Name (Text no.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>actual people</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>historical</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Griogal (6), Ailpeineach caír (30), Coinneach, Mhic oinnich (33), Iain Mhuideartaich (41), Domhnall Gorm (48),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ordinary</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anna (3 &amp; 15),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>fictional people in stories</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mhorag (2, 53, 62), Mor (16), Dhunnchadh (17), Domhnail (35), Cubhrachan (52), Leodach, Choimnich, etc (59),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>unknown</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eoghan (24), Ruarachan (32), Uilleim (36), Diuram, Mac Ruairi, Iain, Lochlainn, Ruairi (58), Domhnail (60), Ruairidh (63), Camshronach (63), Morag (72)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

First, we can discover five historically existing people’s names in our collection. In G-6, Griogal is considered to be Griogor Roy, “an outlawed MacGregor, who was executed at Kenmore, on Loch Tay, by command of Sir Colin Campbell of Glenurchy, in 1570” (Tolmie, 1911: 197). Ailpeineach caír [a dusky son of Alpin] in G-30 is “most probably a son of Mackinnon of Strath” (Carmichael, 1941: 316).

In respect of the identification of Coinneach (Coinneach Og, or Mhic Coinnich) in G-33, several interpretations have been suggested (MacKenzie, 1878; Matheson, 1951-52; MacInnes, 1963). The following annotation seems to be the latest and most reliable interpretation:

The subject of the song could be one of several MacKenzie chiefs. These are: Kenneth who was head of the clan from 1491 to 1497; Kenneth, first Lord Kintail, who was born c1569 and died inn 1611; Kenneth, fourth Earl of
Seaforth who succeeded to the title in 1678, and Kenneth Earl of Seaforth who raised the Seaforth Highlanders in 1778. The first three of these were all known in Gaelic as Coinneach Og. While on stylistic grounds the song could well belong to the 17th century, an earlier (or even later) dating is not impossible. (Scottish Tradition 8, 1984: 27)

Moreover, Iain Mhìideartaich [John of Moidart], in G-41, is considered to be “mac oighre Mhic 'ic Ailein [the son of Clanranald’s heir]” (A Selection of Scottish Gaelic Songs, 1990), and Domhnall Gorm [Donald Gorm] is “supposed to have been addressed to Donald Gorm of Sleat, Skye, who died in 1617” (Ross, 1957: 141).

It is considered that these eulogistic lullabies were originally composed for heirs of clans by well-known bards, and sung by their nurses and foster mothers. Why on earth have such private songs been handed down for centuries amongst ordinary people? I will discuss the reason from the point of view of the social background of Gaelic society in eighth chapter.

Secondly, names of non-historical, ordinary people seem to have been frequently adopted into lullabies, although here only two songs can be identified as the examples. G-15 is a joyful lullaby for a girl named Anne. One can easily change it into a suitable name if wanted:

<G-15>
Cha b’ ann ri gual a gharainn thu,
.
Ri môine chruaidh nam barr-fhadan.
.
O hi ri liù, air Anna Bheag,
An oidhche bhios do bhanais ann,
O hi ri liù, mo leanabh fhlin,
’S i ’n oidhche bhios sinn caithreamach.
.
[It is not with coal I would heat you.]
[But with hard peat of the best cut.]
[O, hi ri liù, little Anna]
[The night of your wedding.]
[O, hi ri liù, my own babe]
[That night, we will be merry]

(NicShimidh & Barr, 1991: 13)

Thirdly, the names of people in folk narratives, like fairytales, often make an appearance in Gaelic lullabies. Above all, Morag is presumably the favorite girl’s name as a main character in Gaelic folk narrative. For example, G-62, “’S milis Morag [Morag is sweet]”, is related to the following story:

The story of this song is a Hebridean analogue to that of Tennyson’s “Enoch
The woman, who in the song is singing to her child, had, when she was a girl, two lovers. The one she married went away as a soldier and was supposed to have been killed. The other took his place in the affections of the woman. But the long-absent man unexpectedly returns, and the woman (hearing of his return) is singing this song to her child (which is not his child) as he arrives at her cottage door. It is a song of passionate love for the child, and of as passionate desire that the unexpected and unwelcome husband, ‘Tormad Ruadh’ were under the sod. (MacLeod, 1917: 55)

Needless to say, both the singer and the child listener do not have to know the story associated with the song. For the purpose of soothing the baby, the singer only has to repeat the refrain: “’S milis Morag, M’aighear Morag, ’S milis Morag, O-ho ho! [Morag is sweet, and my joy is Morag. Morag is sweet, O-ho ho!]” (G-62a)

There are, in addition, several names whose origins are unknown. Some of them probably originate in historical incidents or fictional stories. Others may simply be ordinary people, although this is no more than hypothesis.

I will turn, now, to assess supernatural beings. In the former analysis of Scots lullabies, I divided these into four: threatening beings, peaceful beings, sleep personified beings, and others. Here the same divisions will be adopted.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Supernatural Beings (Text no.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>threatening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peaceful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sleep personified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>others</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the whole, this division does not seem to be useful enough. Most of the characters are categorised into the “others” group, for they are the people appearing in folk narrative and not directly related to soothing a child. As peaceful beings, the angels appear in both G-39 and 43. However, it is doubtful whether or not we can regard them as “supernatural beings”, since they are obviously related to Christian religious thought.

There are no particular beings categorised into threatening or sleep personified
beings, as far as I have investigated. However, amongst the category "others", we can find several supernatural beings who play the enemy to human characters. They may indirectly become threatening entities for children who know the whole content of the story on which the song is based. For instance, G-42 is related to a legend transmitted in Skye, called "Uamh an Oir [Cave of Gold]"26:

"The monster" may have been a threatening being for a child listener to some degree. Nevertheless, as mentioned above, a singer does not directly threaten the child by using the names of particular supernatural beings. Instead, the child may not only be threatened by the monster, but also be thrilled or even attracted to it.

Next, I will move to animals. See Table 3.4.5.

Table 3.4.5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Animal (Text no.)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>livestock</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bull (4), calf (5, 15, 16, 26, 27, 59, 65 &amp; 70), cow (16, 18, 20, 22, 33, 44, 59 &amp; 65), cattle (19, 27, 38, 40, 54, 57, 58, 65 &amp; 67), lamb (26 &amp; 59), sheep (27, 28, 29, 34, 57, 59 &amp; 72), horse (26, 33, 55, 57, 58 &amp; 59), goat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

26 According to MacDonald, " 'Uamh an Oir' — meaning unknown — does not mean of gold, but might be the East, with the sound of 'O' gradually lengthened — An Oir — changed to An Oir" (MacDonald, 1901: 48) Whereas in Tolmie's *Journal of the Folk-Song Society*, vol.16 (1911), it is translated as "of gold".

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Looking through this table, one can vividly visualize the natural environment and the domestic life of Gaelic society, even though the reader may never have visited that part of Scotland. It suggests that the people have engaged in farming, hunting, and fishing, surrounded by mountains, hills, pasture, lochs and rivers, and the sea. Above all, for women, the relationship with the cow has been especially strong, since dairy farming was mainly the women’s job. This is probably the crucial reason why the cow, calf and cattle appear frequently in Gaelic lullabies, and why milking songs have often been sung as lullabies.

Concerning wild birds, the swan is special for Highlanders. Along with G-21a, Carmichael introduces the following story and another lullaby (English translation only):

Swans are said to be ill-used religious ladies under enchantment, driven from their homes and forced to wander, and to dwell where most kindly treated and where least molested. They are therefore regarded with loving pity and veneration, and the man who would injure a swan would thereby hurt the feelings of the community.

A woman found a wounded swan on a frozen lake near her house, and took it home, where she set the broken wing, dressed the bleeding feet, and fed the starving bird with lintseed and water. The woman had an ailing child, and as the wounds of the swan healed the health of the child improved, and the woman believed that her treatment of the swan caused the recovery of her child, and she rejoiced accordingly and composed this lullaby to her restored child:


(Carmichael, 1900: 194-197)

We can make the conjecture that, when children came to understand such stories accompanied by lullabies, their attitude to wild animals and birds must have become more
intimate and friendly.

3.4.2. Materials and Environment

Next, I will assess the materials found in Gaelic lullabies focusing on tools for nursing and bribes. As Table 3.4.6. indicates, there are few Gaelic texts involving words or phrases related to nursing equipment or bribes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3.4.6.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Materials &amp; Environment (Text no.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tools for nursing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bribes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>landscape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other special items</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In G-3, a blanket is discovered: “Anna 'na laighe 'm plaind ur [Anne lying in a new blanket]”. However, interestingly, no cradles or cots appear in my collection. Secondly, while various sweets are used as bribes to get a child to go to sleep in Scots lullabies, here we do not come across such texts here. Instead, in G-69, birds are applied as a kind of bribe:

<G-69>
Tha nead an fhithich
Ann an creig an sgithich,
Ni mo leanabh cadal agus gheibh e 'n
[The nest of the raven
[Is in the hawthorn rock,
[My little one will sleep and he shall have the bird.

Tha nead na faoileig
Ann an creag an aolaich,
Ni mo leanabh cadal agus gheibh e 'n
[The nest of the seagull
[Is in the rock of droppings,
[My little one will sleep and he shall have the bird.

Tha nead an tarmaich
Ann am beinn a' ghabhlaich,
[The nest of the ptarmigan
[Is in the rough mountain,
Ni mo leanabh cadal agus gheibh e 'n t-ian [My little one will sleep and he shall have the bird.]

(Carmichael, 1954:369-373)

The various birds are lined up one after another and the list includes the blackbird, skylark, pigeon, wild-duck, cuckoo, sealark, teal duck, lapwing, kite, wren, plover, red- hen, starling, heath-hen, curlew, oyster-catcher, heron, bullfinch, stonechat, and rook. It suggests that this song must have been sung not only as a lullaby but also as it is a song to help children remember the names of the birds and their habitats: that is to say, an educational song.

In contrast, landscape and weather are often described. They are important elements for expressing the singers’ emotions and their circumstances. Among the various landscapes a knoll is distinctly connected with the dwelling of a fairy. In several lullabies based on fairy stories, we can find such a place mentioned. For example, G-64 seems to be based on a fairy story, although there are no particular phrases or words suggesting this:

<G-64a>
Sűilean dubha dubha dubh, [Dark, dark, dark eyes
Sűilean dubh aig m’ eudail [Dark eyes has my love
Sűilean dubha dubha dubh, [Dark, dark, dark eyes
Cuin a thigthu chéilidh? [When will you come visiting?
Cha tèid mise mach a-nochd [I will not go out tonight.
Cha tèid mise chéilidh [I will not go visiting.
Cha tèid mise mach a-nochd [I will not go out tonight.
Is dùil agam ri m’ eudail. [I’m expecting my love.
Cnocan beag a-muigh an sin, [A little knoll out there
Ceol is binne teudan [Music of sweetest strings
Cnocan beag a-muigh an sin, [A little knoll out there
Cò bhios ann ach m’ eudail. [Who is it but my love.

(NicShimidh & Barr, 1991:17)

The singer is presumably a human girl waiting for a fairy lover, whose dwelling is in “a little knoll”, where he is playing “music of sweetest strings”.

Like Scots lullabies, bad or severe conditions have been chosen for explaining the
first person’s situation, which also seems to reflect the singer’s own emotions in many cases. From the texts in which severe weather is described, G-39, "Taladh an t-Sneachda [Lullaby of the Snow]", is said to be based on the following historical legend:

The night after the massacre of Glen Coe officers and soldiers were out searching the hills and dales for any stray fugitives who might have escaped the massacre... They heard upon the wind the screaming of a child. The officer in command called out to the nearest soldier, ... ‘Go and put a twist in the neck of that brat.’ As the man neared the place from which the screams were coming...

He heard the one most beautiful music that ever ear heard, music more beautiful than the lips of the fairy women in the knoll. Who was this but a young mother who had escaped the massacre, lulling her child to sleep the sleep of death amid the snow... The soldier remembered her whom he had left at home beside the fire with a little beautiful beloved babe upon her breast, singing a quiet croon of sleep to him, and the blood of Clan Donald in the veins of both. And it chanced that the gentle croon of music that the child's mother was singing in the snow was the very same music as he had last heard when he left his kin and his home many a day and year before that.

The soldier wrapped the woman and her child in his plaid, gave them what food and drink he had, and left them to overtake his comrades. On the way he came upon a wolf devouring the body of a woman who had escaped alive from the scene of the massacre. He slew the wolf and showed the officer the blood upon his sword.

By the mercy of God and through the soldier's compassion mother and child survived. Descendants of the child are still living, and the tradition is current and believed throughout the districts of Appin and Lochaber.”

(Carmichael, 1941: 344-345)

It is thought that this romantic, warm-hearted episode in the bloody massacre of Glen Coe was so impressive that it may have been transmitted for many generations, adopted into various kinds of folk tradition, including lullabies.

Finally, I will point out that there are several song types including rather peculiar locations presumably not suitable for soothing children. In three song types (G-16, 24, and 26) we can discover the graveyard, and in two types (G-7 and 50) the first person is facing his or her dead partner. This is probably more evidence suggesting the intimate relationship between laments or narrative songs and Gaelic lullabies.

3.4.3. Motifs

Next, I will assess the feature of motif found in Gaelic lullabies by means of the
same categorisation previously used. See Table 3.4.7. Here the variety amongst different versions at the same song type is omitted and only the number of the song type is noted. As mentioned before, not a few texts involve two and more motifs. In this case, each motif is listed up in the corresponding place.

Table 3.4.7.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motif</th>
<th>Text no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A: lulling</td>
<td>6, 7, 8, 13, 14, 22, 23, 25, 28, 32, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 47, 50, 55, 56, 59, 60, 72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B: eulogy &amp; admiration</td>
<td>13, 15, 18, 23, 29, 30, 33, 34, 36, 38, 41, 43, 47, 48, 55, 59, 62, 63, 67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C: guarantee of safety</td>
<td>8, 11, 22, 46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D: promise and bribe</td>
<td>37, 60, 67, 69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E: prophecy</td>
<td>good 3, 15, 22, 27, 33, 35, 41 bad 6, 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F: threat</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G: weariness of childcare</td>
<td>7, 16, 25, 28, 49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H: anxiety &amp; sadness not related to childcare</td>
<td>6, 7, 9, 10, 16, 22, 24, 25, 39, 40, 46, 50, 53, 56, 57, 58, 61, 62, 66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I: happiness &amp; joy not related to childcare</td>
<td>56, 64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J: others</td>
<td>1, 2, 4, 5, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 26, 31, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 44, 45, 47, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57, 59, 60, 62, 64, 65, 66, 68, 70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

First, Motif A: lulling is, in general, the most basic motif in lullabies, but the number of Gaelic songs involving this motif is not necessarily large. The reason is probably that there is a great number of texts using Motif H to J, which are not directly related to soothing or lulling a child. Within the texts involving Motif J, ‘others’, the following are considered to be based on folk narratives such as fairytales and legends: G-1, 2, 16, 17, 26, 31, 34, 35, 37, 39, 42, 43, 45, 47, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57, 59, 62, 64, and 66. Moreover, G-4, 5, 19, 20, 44, and 65 probably originate from milking songs. We can also find a hunting song and a shepherd song. It is no matter that they do not include particular words or phrases related to soothing or lulling a child. As a result, the number of Motif A songs is limited.
On the other hand, we might conclude that Motif B, eulogy and admiration, is one of the most familiar motifs in Gaelic lullabies. Particularly, as mentioned above, the eulogy for a clan’s heir is a unique motif based on the clan system as a traditional social institution of Gaelic society. There is another type of this kind of motif:

<G-18>
Cha tu gosan gorm na maoileig, [Thou art not the round-headed seal’s blue cub,
Cha tu glaisean glas na faoileig, [Thou art not the sea-gull’s gray chick,
Cha tu cuilean cam na maolduibh, [Thou art not the otter’s wry whelp,
Cha tu isean na bà caoile. [Thou art not the lean cow’s puny calf.

(Carmichael, 1941: 17-18)

With repeating “Cha tu [you are not] . . .”, the singer lists various young animals one after another, all of which are probably very familiar to children. The child listener would feel comfortable as he or she visualises them. This song is filled with the humour and affection for the child.

There are several texts which include Motif C: a guarantee of safety, although the number is by no means large. Yet, G-46 includes a sinister factor:

<G-46>
Na creid iad, a Ghaeil do Mhathar!
Na creid iad gu ’m fagainn thu.
Ma dh’f halbhas mi ’n diu,
Thig mi ’m màireach, ’S na creid iad gu ’m fagainn thu!

[Believe them not, thou darling of thy mother!
[Believe not that I would forsake thee!
[If I go away today, I shall return tomorrow!
[Oh, believe not that I would leave thee!

(Tolmie, 1911: 165)

Despite the lack of further information, we can assume that this song is related to a particular story, in which the first person, a mother, suffers from some harassment or feels isolated. Another example, G-11, has probably been sung by milkmaids. For the first person, maybe a mother, promises to her child that she will protect him or her, surprisingly, from a cattle drover: “Bidh mi fhin agad tuilleadh/ Chan fhaigh drobhair a’ chruidh thu [I’ll be with you from now on/ The cattle drover won’t get you]”
The song might be based on a true story of a child that was abducted by just such a cattle drover.

With regard to Motif D: promise and bribe, I have already introduced G-69, in which various birds are listed up as bribes. In G-61, the singer promises the child: “I will willingly rock you” and “you will be dreaming of the birds”. Moreover, the child listener in G-67 receives the following promise: “You will get the cattle of the fold”. All of these promises are connected with domestic life.

Another kind of bribe is presented in G-37, “Maol-ruanaidh Ghlimmeachain [(a mother’s name)]”, is based on a fairy story. The singer is a fairy woman who has come to a house and found the mother away and a child staying there alone. She promises the child, “you will be nursed with joy and mirth” if the child goes to the green fairy knoll with her.

Motif E: prophecy is divided into good, bad or ominous prophecies. Eulogistic lullabies usually include the former motif as we have already observed. Here is another example of a lullaby for a clan’s heir:

<G-41b>
Mhoire, ‘se mo rùn mo leanabh, [Mary! * My child is my darling
’S tu mac oighre Mhic ’ic Ailein, [You are the son of Clanranald’s heir
Ogha ’s iar-ogh nam fear fearail, [Grandchild and great grandchild of the manly ones
Chaidh ’ur n-alla fada g’ a chur, [Your fame was spread far and wide
B’héarr leam thin gun cinneadh siod dhuit— [I wish there would grow in you—
Aois ’us fas ’us ailleachd ’us cruth, [Maturity, growth, comeliness of person
Maise, ’s féill ’us géire le guth. [Elegance, bounty and sharpness of wit.

(SA1953/16/4)

The last three lines inevitably remind us the famous scene of the folktale, “The Sleeping Beauty”, although in our case the prophecy is recited not by fairies but by a foster mother.27

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27 According to The Types of the Folktale (FFC 184) by Aarne and Thompson, the second part of this tale type is abstracted in the following way: “II. The Fairies’ Gifts. (a) A fairy who has not been invited to the celebration (christening) makes a wish that the princess shall die of a wound from a spindle. (b) Another fairy changes the death into a
On the other hand, the prophecy of a bad future is influenced by the singers' circumstances. G-6, "Griogal Cridhe [Beloved Gregor]", is a lament for Gregor Roy sung by his wife. Her only and strongest hope is to make her child avenge her husband: "'S eagal orm nach dig an latha/ Gun diol thu t'athair gu brath [And I fear that the day will never come/ That you will ever avenge your father]" (A Selection of Scottish Gaelic Songs, 1990: 13, SA1967/23 B2). Meanwhile, in G-7 the singer is confronted with the disaster of the potato famine in the middle of the nineteenth century. She croons her baby with an ominous thought in her mind:

<G-7>
Bà, bà, mo leanabh beag,
Bìdh tu mòr ged tha thu beag,
Bà, bà, mo leanabh beag,
Cha n-urrainn mi 'gad thàladh.

Dé, a ghaoil, a ni mi riut
Gùn bhainne ciche agam dhut?
Eagal orm gun gabh thu crup
Le buigead a' bhuntàta.

[Ba, ba, my little babe,
[You will be big although you are wee,
[Ba, ba, my little babe,
[I am not able to soothe you.

[What, love, will I do for you.
[For I have no breast milk for you?
[I fear that you will get the croup
[From the softness of the potatoes.

(Shaw, 1955: 143)

Such an ominous prophecy may have acted as a threat to the child listener. However, there are very few words and phrases related to Motif F (threat), in which a singer's intention is to threaten her or his child who is unwilling to go to sleep is directly expressed. The following phrase in G-49 is possibly a sort of threat, although it is hardly of strong intent:

<G-49>
Cha bhi mi 'gad thàladh
Bho'n shaaraich thu mi.

[I will not rock you to sleep
[Since you have worn me out.

(Shaw, 1955: 137)

Next, Motif G: weariness of childcare strongly reflects the singer's severe circumstances and is frequently related to other motifs, like ominous prophecies and threats. G-7 and 49 above would be typical examples. G-16 is a lullaby sung by a father, who has just buried his wife:

hundred-year sleep." (Aarne and Thompson, 1964: 138)
<G-16d>
Cha tig Mór mo bhean dhachaidh
Cha tig Mór mo bhean ghaol:
Cha tig m'athair mo leanabh
Nochd a laighe ri m' thaobh.

... Tha m'aodach air tolladh
'S tha m'olann gun sniomh,
Agus deagh bhean mo thaighe
'Na laighe fo dhion.

... Tha mo chrodh-sa gun leigeadh
'S tha'n t-eadradh aig each,
'S tha mo leanabh gun bheadradh
'Na shuidh air an lár.

[Mor my wife will not come home,
[Mor my beloved wife will not come:
[The mother of my child will not come
[To lie by my side tonight.

[There are holes in my clothes
[And my wool is unspun
[And the good mistress of my house
[Lying in a safe place.

[My cows are unmilked
[While the rest are being milked,
[And my child, uncuddled,
[Is sitting on the floor.

(Tocher 1, 1971: 120-121)

The singer can hardly manage to look after his child as well as himself because of in great desperation. And as a matter of interest, this song is also considered to be based on a folktale:

This is how this lullaby came to be made— there was a man and his wife died. Now, though she had every appearance of being dead, she was not dead at all, but in a sort of trance. The wife was buried, anyway, and that night the man started making up this lullaby for the little child she had left him with. Now his wife had worn a lot of gold rings, and they were left on her when she was buried. There were two or three men at the funeral who knew about this, and they decided that they would go that night and open the grave, and they would take the rings off her and they would have them for themselves. They went to the graveyard and opened up the grave, and they began taking the rings off her fingers. There was one ring which was too hard to take off her, and one of them took out a knife and began to cut the finger off. When he pierced the finger with the knife, the woman awoke from the trance she had been in, and she gave a fearful cry. The men ran away as fast as they could, and the woman went home: and when she reached the house the man was singing this lullaby to the little child. (Tocher 1, 1971: 121-123).

A child listener would feel relieved for the first time at the end of this story. However there still remains the possibility that this story has been added to the miserable mourning lullaby at a later stage.

Poverty is probably one of the crucial factors that caused a singer to be weary of looking after a child. In G-28, a mother singer grieves for it:

<G-28a>
In this song, "Tearing my clothing" could be a sign of mourning.

The existence of a dishonest husband is another theme as in G-25:

Although the singer's circumstances are unclear, it is sure that she is soothing her baby whilst feeling personal isolation.

It is doubtless that Gaelic lullabies are rich in Motif H: anxiety & sadness not related to childcare. Poverty, disease, death, betrayal, war and battle, exile, discrimination, persecution and isolation ... every element causing anxiety and sadness seems to have been adopted into Gaelic lullabies. Among them, G-52, "Mo Chubhrachan [My Cubhrachan]", is considered to be a narrative song based on the story of child's abduction by fairies. However, this song might have originated not from a fairytale, but from the true story of a desperate mother who misses her child. It is a possible hypothesis that the story of a child's abduction by fairies was created by unknown mothers who have actually lost their children by accidents or disease.
O cheann gu ceann, o cheann gu ceann.  
Shiubhail mi’n gleann, o cheann gu ceann,  
Ach, O! cha d’fhuaire mi’n Cúbhrachan.  
[But oh, found not the Cubhrachan.]

Fluair mi lorg an dothrain duinn,  
An dothrain duinn, an dothrain duinn,  
Fluair mi lorg an dothrain duinn,  
Ach, O! cha d’fhuaire mi’n Cúbhrachan.  
[I found the track of the brown otter,  
But oh, found not the Cubhrachan.]

Fluair mi long na h-eal’ air an t-snamh,  
An eal’ air an t-snamh, an eal’ air an t-snamh,  
Fluair mi long an eal’ air an t-snamh,  
Ach, O! cha d’fhuaire mi’n Cúbhrachan.  
[I found the trace of the swimming swan  
But oh, found not the Cubhrachan.]

Fluair mi long an laoigh-bhric, dheirg,  
An laoigh-bhric, dheirg, an laoigh-bhric, dheirg,  
Fluair mi long an laoigh-bhric, dheirg,  
Ach, O! cha d’fhuaire mi’n Cúbhrachan.  
[I found the track of the spotted red fawn,  
But oh, found not the Cubhrachan.]

Accompanied by a simple but beautiful melody, this song has spread widely across the Highlands through the version translated into English, entitled “Highland Fairy Lullaby”. I will discuss the cosmological background of this song in the sixth chapter.

Among two texts involving Motif I: happiness and joy not related to childcare, G-64 is a love song related to a fairy story, in which a human girl sings waiting for a fairy lover, whereas G-56 is sung by a young mother who tries to lull her child in haste before going out to meet her lover, who might be a fairy:

<G-56>
O hò rò, i rì rì  
Caidil gu lò  
O hò rò, i rì rì  
Caidil gu lò
((vocable))  
Sleep till dawn.  
Sleep till dawn.

’S e m’ eudail an cuirtear  
Dhèanadh mir’ agus sugradh;  
’S e m’ eudail an cuirtear  
Dan dùraiginn pòg.
[My love is the fellow  
Who would make merry and frolic  
My love is the fellow  
Whom I’d venture to kiss]

’S e m’ eudail am fleasgach  
Ghabh air falbh air an fheasgar;  
O tha mi fo bhreislich,  
[My love is the youth  
Who left in the evening  
O, I am confused]

28 This is based on an interview with a singer song writer, Sheena Wellington, on the 8th of July, 1992. Also in the card catalogues of the Sound Archive in the department of Celtic and Scottish Studies we can find that the English version of this song has been sung by a number of informants. See Appendix 3.
Although the origin and the context are unknown, this is a really passionate love song. We cannot help but think of her poor baby, who is ordered to "sleep till dawn".

Finally, as mentioned above, various kinds of motifs incapable of categorisation into the former motif groups (A to I) are related to narrative songs. Moreover, it must be pointed out that another reason for the existence of such a miscellany is that both working songs for milking, waulking and hunting, and occasional songs like those used in funerals have been adopted as lullabies. This phenomenon will become one of the most central subjects discussed in Part III, the Contextual Analysis.

I will move now to the assessment of Ikegami's "structural model for lullaby motifs". On the whole, there are not so many texts involving motifs which correspond to his model, but let us observe each of them nevertheless. First, G-69 has the following sentences: "The nest of the raven is in the hawthorn rock. My little one will sleep and he shall have the bird." Here the singer does not necessarily order the child to go to sleep, but persuades him or her to do so in a roundabout way. That is the reason why I marked the text number with brackets.

Secondly, in G-11, as introduced above, the singer gives the child a guarantee of safety in the following way: "I'll be with you from now on. The cattle drover won't get you". Like G-69, the singer of this text does not directly mention that the avoidance of some bad consequence would be if the child is obedient, therefore it is hard to regard this text as a typical example of Ikegami's Model (i-b).

Thirdly, G-49 is a simple complaint by a singer to a fretful child, as cited above: "I will not rock you to sleep, since you have worn me out." The former sentence seems to correspond to "(b) not take good consequence" in Ikegami's model, but the singer does not threaten the child in an "if you don't obey, . . ." manner. She just complains.

In conclusion, it is fair to say that Ikegami's model can hardly be applied to Gaelic
lullaby texts.

<Ikegami’s Model>

![Diagram showing the relationship between 'sleep', 'obey', 'not obey', good consequence, and bad consequence.]

(i) obey —► (a) good consequence (reward)
(ii) not obey —► (b) avoid bad consequence

Table 4.4.8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>Text no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i-a</td>
<td>(69)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-b</td>
<td>(11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii-c</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii-d</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.4.4. Groups

Finally, let us summarize the motif features of Gaelic lullabies by looking at Table 3.4.9, with its five groups.

Table 3.4.9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Motif</th>
<th>Text no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I: child—happy</td>
<td>lulling</td>
<td>6, 7, 8, 13, 14, 22, 23, 25, 28, 32, 34, 37, 38, 47, 50, 55, 56, 59, 60, 72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>affection &amp; eulogy</td>
<td>13, 15, 18, 23, 29, 30, 33, 34, 36, 38, 41, 43, 47, 48, 55, 59, 62, 63, 67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>guarantee of safety</td>
<td>8, 11, 22, 46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>promise &amp; bribe</td>
<td>37, 60, 67, 69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>good prophecy</td>
<td>3, 15, 22, 27, 33, 35, 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II: child—sad</td>
<td>bad prophecy</td>
<td>6, 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>threat</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III: singer—sad</td>
<td>weariness of childcare</td>
<td>7, 16, 25, 28, 49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>anxiety &amp; sadness</td>
<td>6, 7, 9, 10, 16, 22, 24, 25, 39, 40, 46, 50, 53, 56, 57, 58, 61, 62, 66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>not related to childcare</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV: singer—happy</td>
<td>happiness &amp; joy</td>
<td>56, 64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>not related to childcare</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This table is intended not to demonstrate some statistical evidence but to visualise the variety of motifs involved here, since I can anticipate that there remain a number of texts not included in the present collection. Therefore any quantitative comparison should be avoided. Nevertheless, it is surely true to say that Group I: child-happy, is by no means dominant, against a general anticipation for this to be true. Plenty of texts belong to Groups II to V. In particular, motifs not related to childcare (including soothing and lulling) are abundant. This result suggests that people in Gaelic society have identified a song to be a lullaby not based on the content or motifs of the text. Instead, they have considered what have been actually sung for soothing children to be a lullaby. Consequently, a number of Gaelic lullabies having a strong connection with cultural traditions, social institutions or history have been transmitted over many generations. Our next crucial subject, therefore, will be to investigate this cultural, social and historical background.
3.5. Conclusion

Through the analyses from three perspectives in this chapter, I have attempted to clarify the textural and textual features of Gaelic lullabies. In all of the linguistic, musicological and literary analyses, we discovered that the boundary between lullabies and other genres of song is unclear. So far as textural and textual matters are concerned, there seem to be very few original features in these lullabies. Even several of the vocables are employed in other types of song. The musical features are no exception. The comparative abundance of 6/8 and 3/4 metre, regular beat, simpler and plainer melody-line, and vocalization without melodic ornamentation may be considered as a tendency in Gaelic lullabies. However, it is far from being an exclusively distinctive feature. From the point of view of literary analysis, the so called “original lullabies” (including the motif of “lulling a child” and “maternal affection”) are needless to say found. Nevertheless, the number of “not-seemingly lullabies” categorized into Groups II to V is greater.

What is or was the criterion for a song to be considered a lullaby in Gaelic society? As discussed in the first chapter, the situation of song performance must be important element. But there must be other factors. For instance, the motifs chosen by singers seem to have a particular tendency towards the woman’s domestic life and their views of children. This investigation will be discussed in the conclusive chapter after some contextual analysis.
Chapter 4. Textural and Textual Analysis of Japanese Lullabies

4.1. Collection and Selection

In this chapter I will undertake the textural and textual analysis of Japanese lullabies from linguistic, musicological and literary perspectives as with their Scots and Gaelic counterparts. At the outset, it is necessary to explain the source of the texts examined here. Unlike Scottish lullabies — both Scots and Gaelic ones — a great number of Japanese lullaby texts have already been collected through a national scale research project and compiled into the series, *Nihon Warabe-uta Zenshū [The Grand Collection of Japanese Nursery Rhymes and Children's Songs]*, 28 vols. (1979-1992), which has reviewed in Appendix 1.1. Among the 915 komori-uta texts, which are divided into nesase-uta [soothing songs], asobase-uta [amusing songs] and moriko-uta [nurse-maid songs] by its compilers, I will use the nesase-uta and moriko-uta for the present analysis, according to my concept of a lullaby as discussed in the first chapter. Because there are too many texts, it is impossible to attach all the words and music to the Appendix. Instead, I will introduce as many as possible examples used in my analysis and their interpretation.

Concerning the collection and selection of texts, first, there are two remarkable points which have an intimate relationship each other. Various kinds of research projects for collecting nursery rhymes and children's songs have been undertaken both on a national scale and on a local scale in Japan between the 1930s and 1980s. As a result, one can easily access a great number of literary and sound recording of traditional Japanese lullabies in the main public libraries and academic institutes.

On the other hand, fieldworkers who visit remote villages today find that they can collect very few traditional lullabies any more, and that most of the texts compiled into literary and sound archives are “not alive” but “asleep as specimens”. Through my own

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29 In fact, several texts categorized into asobase-uta in one volume are considered nesase-uta or moriko-uta in the other volume, and vice versa.

30 Kitahara started his national scale project of collecting children's songs in the 1930s, which has been compiled into *The Japanese Traditional Nursery Rhyme Collection* 6 vols.; and the publication of *The Grand Collection of Japanese Nursery Rhyme and Children's Songs* 28 vols. was completed in 1992.
fieldwork for the last decade in several areas of Japan, where I could collect only a few traditional lullabies, I have been acutely aware of this fact. In short, the tradition of “oral transmission” has already decayed in this country. It is fair to say that the enormous number of collections reflects the sense of crisis shared by folklorists and music teachers at the time. This is the main reason why I could not help using the previous work undertaken by others for the present analysis, in spite of the insufficient reliability concerning their musical and literary transcription.
4.2. Linguistic Analysis

4.2.1. Vocables and Other Set Phrases

Many Japanese lullabies use vocables, as do Scottish counterparts. According to their phonetic make-up, they are mainly divided into the following types: (i) nenren, (ii) ororon, (iii) korori, (iv) yoi-yoi, (v) hoi-hoi, and (vi) koi-koi. Moreover, there are some longer ones which seem to be a mixture of two or three of these type of vocables such as: nenren-korori or nen-koro [(i) + (iii)], yo-ho-ho [(iv) + (v)], and ha-ran-yo [(v) + (ii) + (iv)]. Now I will investigate each of their origin in order.

Nennen is undoubtedly the most popular vocable in Japanese. In every prefecture, except Okinawa, texts using this vocable are discovered. Here is one of the most popular Japanese lullabies, the so-called “Edo-no Komori-uta [A Lullaby in Edo (the former name for Tōkyō)]” (English translation by Uno):

\[\text{[e.g. 4.2.1.1.]}\]
Nennen korori-yo okorori-yo [(vocable)]
Bōya-wa yoiko-da nenme-shina [You are a good boy, go to sleep.]
Bōya-no omori-wa doko itta [Where had your nanny (or nurse-maid) been?]
Aonyama koete sato-e itta [She had been to the town over the mountains.]
Sato-no omiya-ni nani morota [What did you receive as a souvenir from her?]
Denden-daiko-ni shō-no fue [A toy drum and a bamboo flute.]
Bōya-wa yoiko-da nenme-shina [You are a good boy, go to sleep.]

(Tōkyō, 7: 316)

The words consist of a dialogue between an unknown person (likely to be another nanny who had gone away) and a baby boy, surprisingly, who can speak. As mentioned later, the dialogue style is one of the most characteristic features of Japanese lullabies.31

I will go back to the analysis of vocables. As reviewed in Appendix 1.2., Lafcadio Hearn interprets the etymology as follows: "the Japanese phrase, nenmeko, is compounded with one syllable of the verb, neru, signifying to sleep; a syllable of the word, nenne or nenme, meaning baby; and the word, ko, meaning child. ‘Sleep, baby-child!’ is the real

31 This does not mean that dialogue style is discovered only in lullabies. It is also common in other nursery rhymes and children's game songs.
meaning of the expression” (Hearn, 1901: 203). Although his interpretation seems to be comprehensive, another possibility suggested by Daiken’s list of international comparison of vocables, which is reviewed in Appendix 1.5. (p.366), cannot be neglected.

According to his list, nennen and the like appear not only in Japan, but also in several areas facing the Mediterranean like France, Italy, Greece, Macedonia, and Tunisia. Furthermore, ni-ni-ni is used in the Philippines.32 This evidence leads us to an interpretation that nennen in Japanese lullabies was not a collapsing or colloquial form of “neru [sleep]” but originally a simple soothing voice, nen-nen-nen or nin-nin-nin, which might be shared with some parts of South and East Asia as well as certain Mediterranean areas. At the moment, however, this interpretation is far from steady because of lack of information from other countries in these areas. Moreover, as mentioned above, we cannot discover this type of vocable in Okinawa, the closest prefecture in Japan to South-East Asia. As such, we should wait for further investigations to appear.

Next, it seems that ororon preserves the primitive scent of Japanese lullabies. Unlike nennen, this vocable has spread mainly throughout the Kyūshū district — a comparatively remote region located in the south-west part of Japan. Here is an example from Kumamoto Prefecture in Kyūshū:

[e.g. 4.2.1.2.]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Oronon ororon ororon-bai</th>
<th>[vocal]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oronon kameya-nya ko-ga deketa</td>
<td>The miller named Kameya had a child.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nakuto Tangoyamya oiyaguru-bai</td>
<td>If you cry, I will take you to Mt. Tango.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Kumamoto, 25: 190)

In several other districts, moreover, we can also find texts in which similar vocables are included. For instance, in Ishikawa Prefecture, the following vocables have been collected: beroron-saiko (10-a: 203) and ororo-ya kororo, beroroi-ya (ibid: 217). Likewise, similar vocables are discovered in the following prefectures: nen-nen-ya ororon-wai in Toyama (9-a: 202), nennen-ya ororon-ya in Fukui (10-b: 196), nennen-ya bororon-ya in Ehime (22: 194), and ororon-kororon in Wakayama (17-b: 204). The examples from

32 This data was confirmed by interviewing a Philippino woman, Emily Gasco, in Edinburgh in 1993. She told me that the pronunciation was precisely like “nin-nin”, which means a baby.
Toyama, Fukui and Ehime are close to the vocable of “Edo-no Komori-uta” introduced above, nemen korori-yo okorori-yo.

Such prefectures as Ishikawa, Fukui, Toyama, Wakayama, and Ehime are comparatively remote, marginal areas in West Japan. In North-East Japan, another remote area, we can furthermore discover two relevant texts; one is from Yamagata, and the other is from the Japanese living in Hokkaido:

[e.g. 4.2.1.3.]
Onbae-yareya onbae-yare, onbae-yare onbae-yareya  [I will carry you on my back
Ororon-bae ororon-bae ororo-on-bae-yā
Onbae-koko onbae-koko onbae-koko-yā

(Yamagata, 3: 306)

[e.g. 4.2.1.4.]
Koro-koro koro-koro  [(only vocable)
Koro-koro koro-koro
Koro-koro koro-koro

(Hokkaidō, 1: 112)

Furthermore, Ainu people, the aboriginal minority in Hokkaidō,³³ use a similar sound ororororororo, made with a rolled tongue sound when singing lullabies. This is called “hororuse [tongue-sound]” (Matsumoto, 1985: 164). This tongue-sound is considered to be so important that in some areas of Ainu society the tongue-sound itself is called “ifumuke”, their equivalent word for lullaby. According to an Ainu woman, Nabe Shirasawa, the tongue-sound imitates the voice of a pigeon.³⁴ In short, hororuse is regarded an imitation sound of a bird’s voice and plays an important role in the Ainu lullaby.

Another vocable, korokoro, collected from Japanese people living in Hokkaidō seems to be influenced by Ainu’s “hororuse”. Likewise, ororon, which is discovered in other islands, may also have been influenced, although it is difficult to confirm the historical interrelationship between the two.³⁵

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³³ In Hōkaido Ainu people have lived apart from the Japanese population, who have settled there since the late nineteenth century.

³⁴ This is based on my interview with her in 1990.

³⁵ This reminds me of another lullaby collected in Hachijo-jima, a small island in the Pacific Ocean far away from the mainland: the vocable of the text, "teten-kunkun teten-kunkun shitadami tsu-bu-tsubu" is also said to be an imitation sound
To summarize, ororon is a comparatively primitive vocable discovered in Kyūshū and some other marginal areas. It might be the original form of korori put after nen-nen and could be originally related to orororororo, a tongue-sound in Ainu lullabies.

Thirdly, yoï-yoi is not limited to the lullaby, but popularly used from the north to the south of Japan in various kinds of folksong like working songs and those for entertainment. It is used as a responsive chorus, called “ai-no-te” or “hayashi” in Japanese. The following lullabies were collected in Kanagawa (underlining by Uno):

[e.g. 4.2.1.5.]
Dokkoi donburi-bacha otoseba wareru  [A bowl is broken when it dropped.
Anesan shimada-de nete-wareru  [A young woman’s roundly bound hair is crushed when she lies down to sleep.
Yoh yoï-yoi

...  (Kanagawa, 8:326)

[e.g. 4.2.1.6.]
Nenne netekure asa okitekure  [Go to sleep, my child. Wake up the next morning.
Asu-wa konoko-no tanjouenchi-yo  [Tomorrow is the birthday of my child.
Yoï-yoi-to

...  (ibid:328)

The phrases of the former song probably originate in the so-called “ozashiki-uta” [party songs (at entertainment spots)], while the latter is related to the “hata-ori-uta” [weaving songs] according to the compiler (Saitō, 1981:328). This may suggest that texts involving this vocable have been sung in miscellaneous situations: as a lullaby at one time and as a party song, or a weaving song at another.

Fourthly, hoï-hoi or similar vocables are dominant in Okinawa, although a few similar examples are found in other prefectures, as well: ho-ra ho-ra ho-ra-yo (Miyazaki, 25: 406), yo-ho-ho-i, e-he-hen (Gifu, 13: 356).

There are several variants: hoï-ya (Okinawa, 26: 356), høi-choga høi-choga (ibid: 388), hoï-ya høi (ibid: 356), heï-ya heï (ibid: 352), and so on. Furthermore, hoïyo hoïyo appears in Daiken’s list (see p.366) as a vocable used in Okinawa. In the following song, the part “hoï hoï hoï...” was recited by other people as in a dialogue song when this song

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of a pigeon’s voice (Obara, 1979: 308).
was sung by a group of children carrying babies, according to the compiler (Sugimoto, 1980: 354):

[e.g. 4.2.1.7]
Hoi hoi hoi, hoi hoi hoi
Ittā sūta-ya danga-ti mochaga [Where did your father go?
Ufuuminga-ti Ufuyu tūi-ga [He went for fishing big fishes in the big sea.
Hoi hoi hoi, hoi hoi hoi

Hoi hoi hoi, hoi hoi hoi
Ittā ammā-ya danga-ti mochaga [Where did your mother go?
Ufunbarunga-ti Ufuumu fui-ga [She went for cropping big potatoes in the big field.
Hoi hoi hoi, hoi hoi hoi

[Okinawa, 26: 354]

Okinawa Prefecture, consisting of a main island and hundreds of small islands, is located to the West and Southern edge of Japan, and has a largely independent history. Separated from the main islands of Japan, Okinawa’s people had created and preserved their original culture until around the sixteenth century. Their oral tradition, including mystical ballads (called “omoro”), has especially flourished. Due to such a historical background, the vocable, hoi-hoi or the like, must have survived somewhat independently in Okinawa.36

There is another interesting point in relation to the use of vocables in Okinawa. In several texts, the vocable portion is remarkably large. For instance (underlining by Uno):

[e.g. 4.2.1.8]
Va-kara nmah, hoi-ya
Upunmu puri-ga-du, hoi-ya [Your mother went for cropping big potatoes.
Waritari-dō, hoi-ya

Va-kara uya, hoi-ya
Baibaru inkedu, hoi-ya [Your father went to the southern sea
Ubudaku shoki-gadu, hoi-ya for fishing big octopuses.
Waritari-dō, hoi-ya

[Okinawa, 26: 356]

[e.g. 4.2.1.9]
Hoi-ya hō-i, Utu-ga ma-yō, hoi

36 Apart from the lullaby, hoi-hoi has been used as a responsive chorus in some occupational songs in other areas. Keisuke Akamatsu states that in Hyogo Prefecture hoi-hoi is often used in kusa-tori-uta [the songs sung by farmers while picking weeds from the rice-paddy] (Akamatsu, 1994: 347).
Nakunayō-no, Va-utu-ga ma-yōi, hōi
[Don't cry, my dear brother.]

Va-ga anna ukumu buru-ga-yō, hōi
Your mother is cropping big potatoes.
Va-ga uyayō-no ubudaku turu-ga-yō, hōi
Your father is fishing big octopuses.

... (ibid: 356)

[e.g. 4.2.1.10]
Yo-hi-yo, yo-hi-yo
Nakunayo yo-hi-yo  [Don't cry]
Nakinsabirando nakunayo  [Don't cry, don’t cry.]
Nākuru warabe-yo kina-umu kamasundo [I will give a small potato to a crying child.]
Nākanu warabe-yo ufu-umu kamasundo [I will give a big potato to a non-crying child.]

Yo-hi-yo, yo-hi-yo  (ibid: 368)

According to the compiler, in a number of Okinawan lullabies, the meaningful phrases are inserted before, between or after a vocable in an impromptu and free manner (Sugimoto, 1980: 356, 368). As such, they might be considered primitive lullabies, which are rich in vocables. A simple repetition of vocables, as observed in the above songs, seems to be distinctly efficient for the original purpose of singing a lullaby: that is, to cause a baby to sleep.37

Finally, like yoi-yoi, koi-koi is frequently recited after each stanza as follows:

[e.g. 4.2.11.]
Utote-mawareba yakamashi-keredo  [Our song with walking around the street]
Kore-wa moriko-no yaku-ja-mono  [May be noisy for you. But this is our job.]
Koi-koi

Nenne koroichi tenma-no ichi-de  [Hush, baby. At the market in Tenma town,]
Kabura-soroete fune-ni tsumu  [Turnips arranged in order are loaded on a ship.]
Koi-koi  (Ōsaka, 16: 332)

Based on his detailed survey, Migita considers that both koi-koi and yoi-yoi were comparatively recently adopted as lullaby vocables, probably after the beginning of this century. They were presumably related to adults entertainment songs. It seems that the children who acted as moriko or child-minders, or the children who were ordered to take

37 The Ainu lullabies have this same feature. The comparison between lullabies in Okinawa and the Ainu is a fascinating topic for future analysis.
care of their siblings or neighbours by their parents, observed such forms of entertainment and listened to vulgar or sensual songs, and have adopted these vocables with a scent of adulthood into their own lullabies.

Furthermore, these two vocables are often used as a response in lullabies sung by a group of children, whereas the songs involving nemen and ororon were mainly sung by a single person. In other words, Japanese lullabies are divided into two types according to the singing style: singing together and singing alone, and the different vocables tend to be adopted in each case.

In addition, there are a number of other vocables, some of whose origins can be identified. For instance, en-ya-makka-go-en is considered to be the sound of rowing (Yamagata, 3: 316) and teten-kunkun teten-kunkun is said to be an imitation of a pigeon’s voice (Tōkyō, 7: 308).

Moreover, the following set phrases are used just like vocables as in Scottish lullabies: bōya-wa yoiko-da nenne-shina [You are a good boy. Go to sleep.] (Miyagi, 4-a: 186); nemeko sashhari-mase [Go to sleep, my tender child] (Okayama, 18-b: 216); nenne koroichi takeuma Yoichi [Go to sleep, a toy bamboo horse, Yoichi.] (Shiga, 14-b: 194).

4.2.2. Repetition and Other Stylistic Features

Like Scots and Gaelic lullabies, repetition frequently appears in Japanese lullabies. At the outset, I will assess the timing and pattern of repetition in the same way as the Scots and Gaelic texts.

The A-A-A-B type, which is observed in Scots and Gaelic lullabies, is not discovered in Japanese. Instead, repetition in Japanese texts can be divided into four types. First, the vocable itself consists of a double or triple repetition of the same sound, as in yoi-yoi, hoi-hoi-hoi, koro-koro, and nemen. Secondly, in some texts meaningless phrases (which can also be called vocables) are constructed by repeating vocables as follows: enya-makka-go-en enya-makka-goen, or ho-i-choga ho-i-choga.

Thirdly, vocables or meaningless phrases are repeated in different parts:
Nenneko sasshari-mase [Go to sleep, my tender child]
Neta-ko-no kawaisa [A sleeping child is so sweet]
Okite-naku-ko-no, nenkororo [A child awake and crying, (vocale)]
Tsura-nikusa, nenkororo, nenkororo [Is hard and not liked. (vocale)]

(Okayama, 18-b: 216)

Fourthly, certain meaningful phrases are sometimes repeated twice at the end of each stanza, as in this example:

Kono-ko yōh-naku nakan-ko-mo aroni
Mochito nakan-no-to kaete-hoshi, kaete-hoshi
[This child cries a lot, much more often than other children.
[With another good child, I want someone to exchange it

Kōh-ga kawaikeryayoi-kasa okure
Yabure-gasa-dewa ko-ga nureru, ko-ga nureru
[If you love your child, give me a good umbrella.
[The broken umbrella that you gave me has got your child wet.

(Shiga, 14-b: 214)

As a variation of this type of repetition, there is a type pf literary rhetoric that uses repetition of the same word(s), called “shiri-tori-uta [word-chain songs]”, which often take the style of a dialogue. The following text is a typical example of such “shiri-tori-uta” (a dialogue between by A and B):

Otsuki nonnon kou-nonnnon [A & B: The moon is shining, koh non non.
Yunbe-no dango-no zeni yokose [A: Pay me for a round-cake you ate last evening.
Zenigai nakerya kaneyokose [A: If you don’t have silver, give me copper.
Kane-ga nakerya funbaku no [A: If you don’t have copper, I will take your clothes.
Funbakeba samuizo [B: If you take my clothes, it will be cold.
Samukerya atarem [A: If you’re cold, sit down by a bonfire.
Atareba atsui zo [B: If I sit down by a bonfire, it will be too hot.
Atsukerya hishare [A: If it is too hot, crawl.
Hisshareba shiri-ga ite [B: If I crawl away, it will be painful.

(Saitama, 8: 170)

The “shiri-tori-uta” style is usually adopted in narrative songs, in which a word-chain may make it easier for a listener to follow the development of a story. This means that this type of rhetoric is a useful method of the continuity and development of the story.
The so-called “sandwich style” mentioned in my analysis of Scots and Gaelic lullabies, is found in Japan, as well. The following text is an example:

[e.g. 4.2.2.4.]
Fūra niire niire-yo
Totan-ga funée-no jōuki dechi
Senbi-to fūzukya kōte-yaru
Fūra niire niire-yo
Nakuto wanwan-ga tsuichi-kuruzo
Fūra niire niire-yo

(Ōita, 23-b: 212)

In terms of stylistics, it is extremely important in Japanese prose to arrange the syllable pattern in each sentence. For instance, “haiku”, a famous style of Japanese poetry, has a five-seven-five syllable pattern. Here is a well-known haiku poem written by Matsuo Bashô:

[e.g. 4.2.2.5.]
Sa-mi-da-re-wo [Rain in May,]
A-tsu-me-te-ha-ya-shi [Streams together swiftly,]
Mo-ga-mi-ga-wa [The Mogami River.]

Likewise, the following two types of formula are common all kinds of folksong, including lullabies; seven-seven-seven-five [Type A], and seven-five-seven-five [Type B].³⁸ Basically, two sections that make up the first line, whose syllable number is seven-seven in Type A, and seven-five in Type B; and a second line with seven-five both in Type A and in Type B, make a kind of stanza.

Vocables are sometimes involved into this pattern, although they are often inserted as a kind of interjection, and not involved in the pattern. The following lullabies already introduced above are the examples of Type A and B. Here I will quote the first two stanzas:

[e.g. 4.2.2.6.]
U-to-te-ma-wa-re-ba ya-ka-ma-shi-ke-re-do
7 7
Ko-re-wa mo-ri-ko-no ya-ku-ja-mo-no
7 5
Koi-koi

³⁸ The syllable number seven is frequently exchanged for eight.
Ne-n-ne ko-ro-i-chi te-n-ma-no i-chi-de
Ka-bu-ra-so-ro-e-te fu-ne-ni tsu-mu
Koi-koi

[e.g. 4.2.2.7.]
Ne-n-ne-n ko-ro-ri-yo o-ko-ro-ri-yo
Bo-o-ya-wa yo-i-ko-da ne-n-ne-shi-na
Bo-o-ya-no o-mo-ri-wa do-ko i-t-ta
A-no-ya-ma ko-e-te sa-to-e i-ta

In the former example, the vocable, koi-koi, is excluded from the syllabic pattern. On the other hand, the other vocable, nennen-korori-yo okororiyo, in the latter example is included in the pattern. Roughly stated, Type B has spread throughout almost every region, meanwhile Type A is comparatively dominant in the western part of Japan.39

The only exception is Okinawa, where the traditional music has been rather independently preserved, as mentioned before. In Okinawa, there is another kind of syllabic pattern in traditional poetry: eight-eight-eight-six, called the “ryûka [songs of Ryûkyû (the former name of Okinawa)] style”. Here is an example:

[U-shi-ya ha-na fu-ga-chi u-ma ya ku-ra ka-ki-ti
Chi-mu-gu-ri-sa be-be-gwa ku-bi-ru-kun-che-ru
Hoi-hoi-hoi, nakunayo, hoi-hoi-hoi

][Cow have holes made in their noses, horses have saddles put on their backs
[And poor goats have rope wound around their necks.
[(vocal) Don’t cry. (vocal)

A-n-shi ta-ka-gu-mi-ya cha-ku-shi ne-ru-ku-yu-ru
Ji-na-n sa-n-na-n-ya u-mu-ru-ku-su-i
Hoi-hoi-hoi, nakunayo, hoi-hoi-hoi

[Only the eldest son takes the precious rice,

39 Akasaka insists that 7·7·7·5 patterned lullabies appeared comparatively late: that is, after the Edo Era (1603-1867). (Akasaka, 1994: 16-17)
The Second and third sons take medicine made of potatoes.

((vocable) Don't cry. (vocable)

(Okinawa, 26: 374)

Such a pattern is not an exclusive feature of lullabies, but it is discovered in other genres of folksongs as well, both in Okinawa and in the other islands of Japan. Therefore, a singer can develop a song in an impromptu fashion by attaching miscellaneous texts constructed with such sound regulations, one after another, depending on her or his feeling and emotion. As introduced later, there are a number of Japanese lullaby in which miscellaneous motifs not directly related to childcare or children are lined up, seemingly at random. One of the reasons for such a miscellany is probably connected with this syllabic pattern of Japanese poetry.

Finally, I will briefly assess the length of each text. In the Grand Collection, we can find various kinds of text in respect of the length, from the shortest one, which consists of vocables only, koro-koro, (e.g. Hokkaido, 1: 112) to the longest, that consists of twenty-eight stanzas, each of which contains two lines, i.e. fifty-six lines altogether (Kyoto, 15: 299). As mentioned above, since the majority of folksongs follow the syllabic pattern, one can easily adopt a phrase from other songs, no matter whether or not they are related to lulling a child. As a result, the same phrase is often discovered in different tunes. In this way, the singers of the past must have continued to sing, attaching proper phrases, at random, one after another until the child went to sleep. It seems to be, therefore, very difficult to categorise Japanese lullabies according to their length.

4.2.3. Rhyming and Other Phonetic Features

Rhyme is not much used in an intentional way in Japanese prose or verse as in English. However, we can discover some rhyme in not a few texts in the collection.

[e.g. 4.2.3.1.]
Nenne nasaimase kyō-wa nijūgo-nichi [Go to sleep, today is the 25th,
Asu-wa omae-no taijo-nichi taijo-nichi [Tomorrow is your monthly birthday.
Taijo-nichi-niwa akai-mama taige [To celebrate I will prepare some red rice,
Akai-mama-niwa toto soete, toto soete [Red rice with fish, with fish.

(Kyoto, 15: 284)
Especially, in the dialogue style of Japanese lullabies, it is common that one speaks or orders something and the other responds with the same pattern. In that case, a sort of rhyming sometimes appears. The shiritori-uta quoted above ([e.g. 4.2.2.3.]) develops as follows:

A: Samukerya atare
B: Atarebaatsuizo
A: Atsukerya hishare
B: Hisshareba shiri-ga iteh
A: Shiri-ga itakerya wata suke
B: Wata sukeba nomi-ga kuh
A: Nomi-ga kuttara kutsubuse
B: Kutsubuseba namagusai
A: Namagusakerya siru sue
B: Shiru sueba shoppaiya
A: Shoppakerya Mizu nome

Singer B responds comically and cleverly against the orders and threats of A. In Japanese grammar a conditional clause ends with the sound “[a]”, and an imperative sentence ends with the sound, “[e]”. As a result a sort of rhyming occurs in their dialogue.

In a counting rhyme, moreover, a kind of rhyming can be found. Moriko-uta that adopt a counting rhyme are found in most prefectures. The following text, collected in Akita, has similar content to those in other prefectures:

[e.g. 4.2.3.2.]
Ichi-ni tsurai-koto komori-no yakume
Ni-ni nigako-wo oe-to osharu
San-ni saketarete
Shi-ni shikararete
Go-ni gongo-to atama-wo harare
Roku-ni rokutamono hitokuchi kuine
Shichi-ni shijimisi-nado arae-to osharu
Hachi-ni hararete namida-de kurasu
Kyu-ni ku-site wagami-wo yatsusu
To-ni tototo komori-wo yamero

[One, I am a nurse-maid girl living a hard life;
Two, I am ordered to carry a baby on my back.
Three, I am ordered to do countless tasks.
Four, I am often scolded.
Five, I am beaten on my head so violently.
Six, I can't eat anything tasty.
Seven, I have to wash baby's nappies.
Eight, I live within tears because I'm beaten.
Nine, my hard lot makes me thin.
Ten at last, I will have to stop being a nurse-maid.]

(Akita, 3: 170)

As the underlining suggest, the first syllable of each number is the same as that of the following word. It is probably the most common style of rhyming in Japanese counting rhymes. This type of rhetoric seems to have helped the singer memorize the words along with her own miserable experience as a nurse-maid.
4.3. Musicological Analysis

Here I will analyse the musical features of Japanese lullabies using the same criteria as before, in the following order: metre, rhythm, scales and musical structure, and melody-line. As I mentioned before, all of the texts examined here are compiled and transcribed by local folklorists and musicologists. I will follow their transcripts although they may not necessarily be valid.

4.3.1. Metre

Looking through the collection, it seems that there are two characteristic features in the metres of Japanese lullabies. Firstly, 2/4 and 4/4 time are overwhelmingly dominant in comparison to 6/8, 3/4 or similar metres. We can discover a certain number of 6/8 and 3/4 metred songs, whilst many of these songs are temporarily adopted into a 2/4 or 4/4 tune halfway.40 See the examples:

[e.g. 4.3.1.1.] Tokushima, 22: 141

[e.g. 4.3.1.2.] Okinawa, 26: 391

40 In Nihon-no Kodomo-no Asobi-uta [Game Songs of Japanese Children] 1 (1969), Fumio Koizumi indicates a similar feature in Japanese children's game songs: "Although triple rhythm might be strange in view of traditional Japanese music, it is not extraordinary in term of children's songs. . . . There are, in fact, very few songs whose musical times are in triple rhythm from the beginning to the end, and in many cases they are mixed with a double rhythm" (Koizumi, 1969:1-399) [translated by Uno].
Secondly, in Japanese lullabies inter-changing or irregular metre is very common. In other words, Japanese lullabies are flexible in terms of metre. Here is an example:

[e.g. 4.3.1.3] Kumamoto, 25:224

The theory of “metre” was adopted in Western music composed after the Renaissance. Meanwhile, so-called “traditional or ethnic” music has been free from this kind of regulation. It is easy and natural to sing in the same metre to the end, so that many traditional songs casually suit it. But it seems to be also easy and natural for singers to change metre as they like, even if they have never heard the song sung with such interchanging before.

4.3.2. Rhythm

In the former chapters I focused on two kinds of snap rhythm: the Scotch snap (a semi-quaver plus a dotted quaver), and the bouncing snap (a dotted quaver plus a semi-quaver) in order to certify the assumption that so-called skipping rhythm is a characteristic feature of Scottish song, including lullabies. For the purpose of comparison, I will check for the same snaps in Japanese texts.

According to the general observation of the present collection, the rate of such ornamentation in the corresponding Japanese texts is very low in comparison to Scots and Gaelic. Nevertheless, there are certain some texts featuring snaps. In the example [4.3.1.3] introduced just above from Kumamoto (25: 224), we can find both types of snap rhythm. As reviewed in Appendix 1.3., Purser states that snap rhythms in Scottish songs are influenced by the rhythm of the language and the bag-pipe tunes of Scottish music (see p.350). Moreover, particularly in lullabies, there is seemingly a close relationship between these rhythms and the movement of a rocking cradle. However, those examples would require us to discover other contextual elements associated with these snap rhythms in
Japanese lullabies.

Although these are only hypotheses at the moment, I will briefly point out a few possibilities. First, some texts have been sung as dandling songs: i.e. singing while rocking a baby. When a mother or a nurse-maid girl is singing and bouncing her baby up and down, or rocking back and forth, or from right to left, the snap rhythm would suit the movement.\footnote{In my youth, I often saw such a nursing style in the Japanese countryside. Even when a mother kept her baby on her back, she took steps to the right and left, although it was not so strong a movement as rocking a baby in a cradle.} This means that such rocking, or vertical movement, used to soothe babies, which is not exceptional in Japan, may have influenced the rhythm of the lullaby.

Next, the adoption of other types of folksong into lullabies is another possibility. As in Gaelic folk literature, lullaby texts compiled into this collection include songs that were not originally lullabies but some other kind of song, like game songs for children, dancing songs, or various occupational songs. Whilst singing, the singers or listeners may have been rocking and swinging their bodies, or even dancing. We can assume that snap rhythms are, therefore, naturally adopted into such songs.

In relation to the rhythmical features, a triplet rhythm is common in Japanese lullabies. The tune in the example [4.3.1.3] (Kumamoto, 25: 224) also has this rhythm.

As mentioned in the linguistic analysis, traditional Japanese folksongs usually follow a particular syllabic patterns: seven-seven-seven-seven or seven-five-seven-five (or eight-eight-eight-six in Okinawa). The tune usually develops following the number of syllables. But it sometimes happens that the syllable number exceeds the formula. In this case, the triplet or something may be adopted in an impromptu way.

4.3.3. Scales and Musical Structure

First, I will check the scales used in Japanese lullabies by dividing them into pentatonic, hexatonic, seven-note scale, and others. As reviewed in the Appendix 1.3., traditional Japanese musical scales are divided into four types, which was established by Koizumi and his disciples: the miyako-bushi scale [doh-re b-fa-soh-la b-doh, or mi-fa-la-ti-doh-mi], the ritsu scale [doh-re-fa-soh-la-doh or soh-la-doh-re-mi-soh], the min'yō
scale \( [\text{doh-re}^\#-\text{soh-la}^\#-\text{doh}] \) or \( [\text{la-doh-re-mi-soh-la}] \), and the Okinawa (or Ryūkyū) scale \( [\text{doh-mi-fa-soh-ti-doh}] \) (waving underlines indicate an octave higher and dotted underlines indicate an octave lower).

Amongst these, the ritsu scale is similar to the 4 & 7th gapped pentatonic scale; the former has two pairs of \( \text{kaku-on}, \text{soh-doh}, \) and \( \text{re-soh}, \) whilst the latter has the key note \( \text{doh}. \) Because of this similarity, several Scottish (and Irish) folksongs have been welcomed by Japanese people after their introduction by the educational authorities of Japan a century ago.

Likewise, the \( \text{min'yō} \) scale consists of the same notes as the 4 & 7th gapped pentatonic scale: \( \text{doh}, \text{re}, \text{mi}, \text{soh}, \) and \( \text{la}. \) The difference between them is the key note. In the \( \text{min'yō} \) scale, the \( \text{kaku-on} \) are \( \text{la-re} \) and \( \text{mi-la}. \) Here is an example of each constructed on these two scales:

\[ \text{[e.g.4.3.3.1.] the ritsu scale, Aichi, 12: 273} \]

\[ \text{[e.g.4.3.3.2.] the min'yō scale, Miyazaki, 25: 404} \]

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Next, the *miyako-bushi* scale seems to appear most widely in the collection, although this scale is considered to have been the most recently created of the four scales. The following tune is a version of "*Edo-no Komori-uta*", the best-known lullaby:

[e.g.4.3.3.3.] the *miyako-bushi* scale, Tōkyō, 7: 317

Interestingly, this tune is often sung when transformed into the *ritsu* scale, as the following example shows:

[e.g.4.3.3.4.] Shiga, 14-b: 205

In practice, it is very easy to change the scale type since it only requires changing re flat into re natural, or the other way round. According to Matsuzawa and Watanabe, the proportion of *miyako-bushi*, *ritsu*, and *min'yō* scales in any one area differs from other areas in the same prefecture (see p.345). Therefore, this one tune that has spread all over Japan seems to have been sung according to the favourite scale of the singer.
The Okinawa scale is discovered only in Okinawa, the southern-most prefecture, and in its neighbouring prefecture, Kagoshima. Although other types of scale are also found, this scale is considered to be a distinct feature of traditional music in Okinawa. The following tune brings a feel of the Okinawa islands:

[e.g.4.3.3.5] Okinawa, 26: 363

Next, I will assess hexatonic (i.e. six-note) types. In our collection, as far as I have been able to check, fa, soh, la, and ti gapped hexatonic scales at least have been discovered. Here is an example of each:

[e.g.4.3.3.6] fa gapped: Kagoshima, 26:187

[e.g.4.3.3.7] soh gapped: Fukuoka, 23-a:224

[e.g.4.3.3.8] la gapped: Okinawa, 26:375

[e.g.4.3.3.9] ti gapped: Hyôgo, 18-a:215

The first tune is based on the min'yô scale with ti; the second one uses the miyako-bushi
scale with re; the third one is based on the Okinawa scale with re; and the fourth, the ritsu scale with fa.

Seven-note scale seems to be not so common in Japanese lullabies, although a few tunes based on this scale can be found in the collection. The following song from Miyagi is probably a variation of the min’yo scale:

[e.g.4.3.3.10.] seven-note scale: Miyagi, 4-a: 193

As other scale features in Japanese lullabies, not a few songs contain a small number of different notes, i.e. less than five. In the collection, the minimum number of notes is two — the following text consists of la and re:

[e.g.4.3.3.11.] Hokkaido, 1: 113

A three-note tune is regarded as the basic structure of the “tetrachord” theory reviewed in the second chapter. Probably related to this fact, many three-note tunes consist of the following three notes, which make up the min’yo scale: la-doh-re and misoh-la.

[e.g.4.3.3.12.] Hiroshima, 19-a: 195

Likewise, four-note tunes recognized as one of the four Japanese scales are often found. For instance, the following tune based on the miyako-bushi scale consists of mi, la, ti, and doh:
There is a rich abundance of simple lullabies consisting of few notes in Japan, in comparison to Scots and Gaelic examples as far as my investigation goes. However, it is possible to assume that in Scotland there were plenty of simpler crooning tunes actually sung for soothing children, which have not been picked up by researchers.

I will move on now to discuss the issue of the ending note. As mentioned above, within Japanese musical scales, two pairs of kaku-on, consisting of four notes, being equally important, usually form the end note. For example, in the miyako-bushi scale, the kaku-on are mi-la and ti-mi. The tune of this scale is basically constructed by means of these four notes, while it is sometimes accompanied with fa and doh, and it ends with one of these four kaku-on. In the first of the following songs, the end note is la. It is the same as the end note of so-called minor chord tunes, but the reason is different. The second one, also using the miyako-bushi scale, has a different end note, ti.
The same thing happens in other scales. As a result, a number of songs end with notes other than doh or la, which are considered to be orthodox ending notes in Western music theory.

4.3.4. Melody-line

First, I will discuss the widely-spaced leap, which is frequently discovered in Scots and Gaelic music. Looking through the collection, it seems to be uncommon in Japanese lullabies. In several tunes, however, this kind of melody-line is discovered. The song, [e.g.4.3.3.5.] (Okinawa, 26:363), introduced above, has one such leap. The following song provides another example:

[e.g.4.3.4.1.] Aomori, 2-a:215

Apart from this, we can discover tunes including new melodic phrase starts with the wide range, from the end note of the last phrase, although it seems that this is not considered to be a so-called “dramatic leap”. Here is an example (the fourth to the fifth bar):

[e.g.4.3.4.2.] Tottori, 20-a:201

In terms of melody-line, each of the four Japanese scales has an impressive melody-line. As mentioned before, the ritsu and min'yō scales are similar to 4th and 7th gapped pentatonic scale respectively, so that their melody-lines probably make Scottish people feel familiar with the tune. On the other hand, the Okinawa and miyako-bushi scales may
sound exotic to them.

Finally, we can discover several melodic ornamentations like a portament, *kobushi* [a sort of vibrato], grace notes, and leaping ending, in Japanese lullabies, although there are not so many examples in the transcribed music. The tune of [e.g.4.3.4.1.] uses *kobushi* (in the second and final bars) and grace notes (in the 2nd bar). The following tune has portaments and grace notes:

![Music notation]

These melodic ornamentations seem to be commonly used not only in singing lullabies but also in singing any other kind of Japanese folksong.
4.4. Literary Analysis

I will turn to the literary analysis of Japanese lullabies using the same criteria in previous chapters according to the personae, materials and environment, motifs, and groups divisions.

4.4.1. Personae

First of all, the first person of the texts will be assessed. Table 4.4.1. indicates the first person other than a mother in the collection. Because of the great number of texts, it is impossible to talk about all of the examples. Here is an outline of part of them, however.

Table 4.4.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st person other than mother (Text ref.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>father</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other family members</td>
<td>grandmother (15: 309),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>grandparent or great grandparent of 76 age (2-b: 196)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moriko</td>
<td>(many)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foster mother</td>
<td>muri-ani (26: 378)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>humans from stories</td>
<td>elder sister (26: 375),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>child (2-b: 206), moriko (2-b: 160)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>girl helping her lover(3: 312)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>animals from stories</td>
<td>bird (25: 209, 2-b: 200),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bee (3: 163)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>others</td>
<td>a woman longing for her lover (8: 326)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As introduced in the first chapter, nurse-maids frequently appear as the singers of the text. The following text which has already introduced in the linguistic analysis section as [e.g.4.2.3.2.] is a typical example:

[e.g.4.2.3.2.]
Ichi-ni tsurai-koto komori-no yakume
Ni-ni nigako-wo oe-to osharu
San-ni sabekarete
Shi-ni shikararete
Go-ni gongo-to atama-wo harare
Roku-ni rokutamono hitokuchi kuine
Shichi-ni shimishi-nado arae-to osharu

[One, I am a nurse-maid girl living a hard life;]
[Two, I am ordered to carry a baby on my back.]
[Three, I am ordered to do countless tasks.]
[Four, I am often scolded.]
[Five, I am beaten on my head so violently.]
[Six, I can’t eat anything tasty.]
[Seven, I have to wash baby’s nappies.]
Eight, I live within tears because I'm beaten.

[Nine, my hard lot makes me thin.

Ten at last, I will have to stop being a nurse-maid.

(Akita, 3: 170)

This type of lullaby, the so-called moriko-uta, is uniquely related to the social and economical history of Japan, as discussed in detail in the seventh chapter. In terms of the personae, the following people often appear in moriko-uta: (i) the child’s real family, including the parents or their daughter as an object of complaint and satire, (ii) other moriko both as fellow sufferers and as opponents, (iii) her lover, and (iv) her own parents. The above example [e.g.4.2.3.2.] might be considered a kind of protest song against the child’s family, and the next song involves direct satire:

[Uchi-no goryonsan-na garagara-gaki-yo
Mikake-yokeredo Shibu-gozaru
Yōi yōi

[My host mother is like an astringent persimmon: She looks good, but has sour mind. (vocal)]

(Fukuoka, 23-a: 225)

The moriko’s position is ambivalent. They sometimes appear as fellows singing the song together, but sometimes they slander one another. Here is an example of each:

[Maware maware-to ōkina-ie maware
Mitsukeretara ote-nigeyo, yōi yōi

[Let’s walk around together in the front garden of the big house.
If someone of this house find and scold us, let’s run away carrying babies on the back.

(Ōsaka, 16:338)]

[Anko tsura-miyo me-wa saru-manako, yōi yōi
Kuchi-wa wani-guchi emma-gao a-yōi yōi yō

[Look at that girl’s face. Her eyes are like a monkey’s. (vocables)
Her mouth is like a crocodile’s and her face is like a devil. (ibid.)

(Ōita, 23-b:223)]

Thirdly, some phrases from love songs are often adopted into moriko-uta. It is no wonder that the moriko, who are young girls dreaming of their future, express such desires through singing:
Washi-no omoi-wa, Asosan-ya no
Asa-no kiri-yori, mada fukai
Sora yōi yōi yōi yō
[My love with you is deeper
than the morning fog on Mt. Aso.
(vocable)]

Anata omoteka, washa natsuyase-ka
Obi-no futae-ga mie-mawaru
Sora yōi yōi yōi yō
[I’ve got lean because I love you, or exhaustion from the summer heat.
I have to wind the belt around my waist three times now, though it was just twice before.
(Ōita, 23-b: 219)]

Fourthly, many moriko-uta describe the strongest desire of moriko to go back to her home to see her parents again:

Hayo-mo yukitaya kono-zaisho koete
Muko-ni mieru-wa oya-no uchi
[I want to pass through this town as quickly as possible,
For I can see my parents’ house beyond.
(Kyoto, 15:321)]

Apart from the moriko, other singers can be found in Japanese lullabies. A grandmother is identified in a lullaby collected in Kyōto:

Kaka-ni ninto toto-ni nii
Kaka-ni niruto sho-waru-da
[Don’t become like your mother, but like your father.
If you become like your mother, you’ll become ill-natured.
(Kyoto, 15: 309)]

The child’s father in this text is probably the singer’s own son, who is still her beloved child, and the mother is, in a sense, her rival.

Meanwhile, as far as my research goes, I have discovered no particular texts in which the father is identified as the first person.

There is a narrative song sung as a lullaby, in which an elder sister is considered to be the first person:
This song is based on a folktale in Okinawa: a young farmer saw a beautiful woman who came down from heaven on a "tobi-jin [flying shawl]". She took it off, and while she was bathing in the stream, he hid it under the storehouse in order to prevent her from going back to heaven. He married her and had a daughter and a son. One day the mother heard her daughter singing this lullaby to her younger son. At last, she found the tobi-jin and went back to heaven.

This story is identified as a version of the story-type categorized into AT 413: marriage by stealing clothes. There is a similar tale amongst the Scottish mermaid stories. Like Gaelic lullabies, there are a number of Japanese lullabies related to folktales.

The abstract of the story is as follows: a father goes to Edo to work. His daughter, Osen, asks him to buy her a comb-case as a souvenir, and his son, Manhachi, asks for sweets. During his absence, the stepmother kills them by forcing them to walk on a bridge made of straw over boiled water, and pushing them into it. Just after this happening, a bird in Edo sings this song in the garden of the house where the father lives. He rushes back to his home and finds out what has happened.

44 Antti Aarne & Stith Thompson, The Types of the Folktale (1964). (FFC 184)
This type of lullaby must have excited children in bed, accompanied by the account of such horrific stories.

Furthermore, Japanese narrative songs have often a dialogue style, as mentioned in the second section of this chapter (p. 117). In this case, either one or two people plus the narrator appear as singers or personae in the song. We have already come across the former type of dialogue between a man and a friend who borrowed money for a rice-cake from him:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Otsuki nonnon kou-nonnon} & : \text{A & B: The moon is shining, koh non non.} \\
\text{Yunbe-no dango-no zeni yokose} & : \text{A: Pay me for a round-cake you ate last evening.} \\
\text{Zeni-ga nakerya kane yokose} & : \text{A: If you don’t have silver, give me copper.} \\
\text{Kane-ga nakerya funbakuzo} & : \text{A: If you don’t have copper, I will take your clothes.} \\
\text{Funbakeba samuizo} & : \text{B: If you take my clothes, it will be cold.} \\
\text{Samukerya atare} & : \text{A: If you’re cold, sit down by a bonfire.} \\
\text{Atarebaatsuizo} & : \text{B: If I sit down by a bonfire, it will be too hot.} \\
\text{Atsukerya hisshhare} & : \text{A: If it is too hot, crawl.} \\
\text{Hisshareba shiri-ga ite} & : \text{B: If I crawl away, it will be painful.}
\end{align*}
\]

Here is an example of the latter type:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Mukae-no hara-ni shika-ga naku} & : \text{A deer is crying over the field.} \\
\text{Sabishute nakuka tsuna yobuka} & : \text{Does it feel alone? Does it call its wife?} \\
\text{Sabishute nakkanu tsuna yobanu} & : \text{I do not feel alone nor call to my wife.} \\
\text{Asu-wa kono-yama kari-ga aru} & : \text{Tomorrow there will be hunting in this mountain.} \\
\text{Kokora-wa semashi ko-wa oshi} & : \text{There is not enough space to escape around here, and I have many children.} \\
\text{Nigeyoto sureba ko-ga oshushi} & : \text{It is difficult to escape from the hunters with them.} \\
\text{Tasuke-tamaeyo Yama-no-kami} & : \text{Therefore I am praying to the God of Mountain to help us.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[(\text{Saitama, 8: 170})\]

In this text, the first and second lines are a kind of narration, and from the third line the first person changes into a male deer which is worrying about his young facing the next day’s hunting. According to the compiler, this narrative song has been transmitted by the people dwelling in a remote, mountainous region, called Mera (Takahashi, 25: 408). The intimate relationship between the people of Mera and the mountains, where there is a lot of wild life, including deer, and where the God of the Mountain lives, is reflected in
the song.

Now I will move on to the second person characters of the texts: that is, the person assumed to be the listener. Babies are undoubtedly the main listeners in Japanese as in Scottish lullabies. It is interesting that the symbolization of the singers’ affection for the baby has a certain relationship with the cultural background.

Table 4.4.2.  

| Metaphorical Expression for Children (Text ref.) |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| animal          | monkey & calf & cat (25: 412), mice & rabbit (23-b: 210), sparrow (9-a: 202), pheasant (4-b: 188), tortoise (22: 294) |
| plant           | bamboo-sprout (4-a: 196), aubergine (23-b: 210) |
| food            | mochi [round rice-cake] (4-a: 196), bota-mochi [rice-cake covered with red beans paste] (15: 300) |
| others          | doll made of gold and silver (4-a: 196), oni [ogre] (26: 174) |

As illustrated in the former chapter, some little animals or birds (such as “lammie” and “birdie”) appear as metaphors for the baby in Scots lullabies. Japanese children, on the other hand, are described as neko-no-ko [kitten] or usagi-no-ko [a baby rabbit]:

[e.g. 4.4.1.11.]
Nemure nemure neko-no-ko [Sleep, sleep, a pussy cat.
Uttsuke uttsuke usagi-no-ko [Hush, hush, a child rabbit.
Nemuranto ojimon-ga tsureni-kuruzo [Otherwise a bogeyman will take you.
Hayō nemure neko-no-ko [Quickly sleep, a pussy cat.
Uttsuke uttsuke usagi-no-ko [Hush, hush, a child rabbit.
Nennen nennen-yo [(vocal)
Nennen nennen-yo

(Ôita, 23-b: 208)

Babies are also compared to mice, aubergines (both in the same text [Ôita, 23-b: 210]), mochi [a rice cake], hoyo-ko [a bamboo-sprout], a doll made of gold and silver (these three in the same text [Miyagi, 4-a: 196]). If their faces are dirty, they are referred to jokingly as bota-mochi [a rice cake covered with mushy red beans, whose colour is actually almost black].

In the following lullaby, the great deal of affection for babies is compared with the number of stars in the sky, sand-grains on a beach, or trees on a mountain:
Kono-ko-no kawaisa kagiri-nasa [How sweet is my child! Sweet beyond limit.
Ten-ni noboreba hoshi-no kazu [More than the number of stars in the sky,
Shichiri-ga-ha-ma-dewa suna-no kazu [Or the number of sand-grains
on Shichiri-ga-hama Beach,
Yama-dewa ki-no kazu kaya-no kazu [The number of trees or fall grasses
on the mountains.
(Shizuoka, 11: 198)

In moriko-uta [nurse-maid songs], the child’s family, other nurse-maid girls, and
their lovers often appear as the second person, as discussed above. Moreover, in the text
“Kaka-ni ninto” cited above, [e.g.4.4.1.6], the actual second person, to whom the
grandmother as the first person wants to give her message, is her daughter-in-law, i.e. the
baby’s mother; “Don’t become like your mother, but like your father. If you become like
your mother, you’ll become ill-natured.” (Kyōto, 15: 309). Related to such issue, the
lullaby as a cryptogram is can be found in folktales. The following song, categorised as an
asobase-uta [amusing song] by its compiler, is tought to be based on the folktale,
“Komori-uta Naisū [Secret Information through A Lullaby]”.

Ringajin-to gagajin-to
Danzuru-koto-wo monzureba
Ryosou-wo sessu-to gundansu
Kusa-ni soukou nakitoki-wa
Yamma-to yamma-wo kasanebeshi
Nennen korokoro korokoron

(Miyagi, 4-a: 182)

The abstract of the story is that a nurse-maid girl living in a Japanese style inn, who heard
of the plot by the inn’s master and his neighbour to assassinate a traveling priest, informs
to the priest of the plot by singing the above song as a cryptogram, whilst soothing a baby
on her back. In this case, the pretended second person, i.e. the listener, is a baby, but the
substantial listener is the priest.

In this way, it is probably one of the significant features of Japanese lullabies that
they sometimes have a particular substantial second person with the baby acting as a
decoy, and have the satirical or cryptogrammic function.

A particular person’s name is sometimes discovered as the persona of the Japanese
lullaby texts.

Table 4.4.3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Person’s Name (Text ref.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>actual people</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>historical</td>
<td>Hachiman Kotarô (5-b:194), Saibei (17-a:201),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ordinary</td>
<td>Miyochan (18-b:202), Hana-chan (24:292), Oyoshi (9-b:206), Matsugane &amp; Bunarumui (26:386),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fictional</td>
<td>Katsugarô (22:157), Tarô &amp; Jirô (20-a:196),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in stories</td>
<td>Ooku (23-b:216), Senmatsu (20-b:208), Oman (25:205), Osen &amp; Manpachi (25:209)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>Kotarô (24:297), Ichitarô, Nitarô &amp; San-no-tarô (17-a:212)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

First of all, I will briefly introduce the historical background of the above two historical people. Hachiman Kotarô is the name after a twelfth century legendary samurai warrior in the eastern Japan, Yoshiie Minamoto, whose nickname was Hachiman Tarô [son of the God, Hachiman]. In this song, the singer says, “If a new born baby is a boy, I will name him Hachiman Kotarô”. In Japanese “ko” means “a little”. “Hachiman Kotarô”, therefore, stands for “a youngster who will become a brave warrior like Hachiman Tarô”.

Saibei is said to be a village headman in Nara prefecture in the middle of the nineteenth century, who went to the high court in Edo to resolve the conflict with a neighbouring village, and never came back. The following song is said to have been composed by the local people who saw his wife, named Oiyo, who missed him:

[e.g. 4.4.1.14.]
Oi-yo saibei-wa mada modoranu-ka [Oiyo, didn’t Saibei come back yet?]
Madamo modoranu naga-no-tabi yoi-yo [Not yet. It’s a really long journey.]
Naga-no tabi-surya mi-wa tai-setsu-ni [During his long journey, I must keep well,]
Hito-no osewa-ni naranuyoni yoi-yo [Not to worry the people in my village about me.]

(Nara, 17-a: 201)

This text is in a dialogue style and the first person in the second stanza is Oiyo herself.

Next, among ordinary actual people in the table, Matsugane and Bunarumui have an interesting context. In Okinawa, there was a custom that they give the first born son the name of his grandfather and the first born daughter the name of her grandmother, as
warabi-na [names used only during childhood]. The song explains this custom as follows:

[e.g. 4.4.1.15.]
Konemanu na-ya no-dedu tabareru
Ushumainu na-nu matsungani tabareru
Suttuara suttuara matsungani tabarare
Hō-i yā-yo hō-i yā-hō-yō
[What child-name was this boy given?
[After his grandfather, he was named Matsugani.
[How wonderful! Matsugani, after his grandfather.
[(vocalise)

(Okinawa, 26: 386)

Thirdly, names of fictional people from the stories seem to have been transmitted among children through various types of folk narrative, like children’s game songs, puppet play, or storytelling, as well as lullabies. It is fair to say that Japanese lullabies have been deeply influenced by such folk narrative traditions.

Before moving to a different type of persona, supernatural beings, I will briefly look through the collection and analyse the situation of the children’s fathers and mothers. Fathers are, in general, illustrated as reliable people, working in the mountains, on a farm, in rice fields, factories, or on the sea; although there is such the comical exception of the father drinking too much shōchū [strong Japanese alcohol] and getting his best clothes for the new year dirty (Miyazaki, 25: 406).

Mothers are absent from many texts, too. They are working outside: digging up the potatoes (Kagoshima, 26: 187), cutting and gathering grass for thatch (Tokushima, 22: 156), picking tea-leaves (Kumamoto, 25: 188), or bringing salt water into the house in buckets (Tōkyō, 7: 308). As discussed in detail in the seventh chapter, in the traditional domestic life, young Japanese mothers did not look after their own children except for feeding them milk, but worked hard as farmers, merchants, craftswomen, or housekeepers. Instead of the mothers, elder siblings of the child or their grandparents or great grandparents took the role of childcare. In richer and bigger families, nurse-maids were employed. It is a natural consequence, therefore, that the motif of the mothers’ absence is often found in Japanese lullabies.

Now I will turn to the assessment of supernatural beings. Miscellaneous supernatural
beings — both threatening or evil ones and peaceful or holy ones — are found in Japan. The following list is not comprehensive:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Threatening</th>
<th>Supernatural beings (Text ref.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Threatening</td>
<td>wanwan-san [a dog monster] (25: 403)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>okame [a goblin?]</td>
<td>(15: 288, etc.), oni [an ogre] (15: 303), mokoa, mokko, moko, mouko, moumo (2-a: 208, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mimi-kiri-bōzu [a ghost that chops off men's ears]</td>
<td>(26: 362), enma [a king demon living in hell] (10-a: 196)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sleep personified</td>
<td>karajishi [a legendary Chinese lion] (6-a: 174)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>ten-nyo [a heavenly woman] (26: 375), oni [an ogre] (2-b: 198)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Evil beings that threaten children have various names and it is quite difficult to identify the origins of many of them. Amongst them, the following text in which a singer threatens a baby unwilling to sleep by calling up the names of supernatural beings is a typical example:

[e.g. 4.4.1.16.]
Nen-ne korori-yo okorori-yo [Hush-a-by, baby.]
Nageba yama-gara mokoakuroa-ne [If you keep on crying, from the mountain Moko will come.]
Naganede naganede konko-she [Don’t cry, don’t cry. Go to sleep.]

(Aomori, 2: 206)

In terms of threatening beings in Japanese lullabies, Daiken explains as follows:

Alternating kindness with harshness, when deserved, is the beneficent Belfana of Tuscany, and Hotin in Japan. Hotin is really a kindly man who distributes a sack full of sweetmeats, but he has eyes at the back of his head for spotting bad behaviour (Daiken, 1959: 27).

Based on his description, Hotin may stand for “hotel”, the god of business. However, I have no equivalent references.
Next, the several beings listed in the above table are regarded as holy beings relating either to Japanese Shintoism or Buddhism, who keep watch over children and help them out of their crises. Amongst these holy beings, *jizō* are the most crucial guardians for children in Japanese religious tradition. The following text describes one of their roles as guardian deities for children:

[In the river-shore of the world after the death,]
Sai-no kawara-wo nagamureba [You will find the *jizō* shining in gold there.]
Kogane-zukushi-no jizo-san-ga [With many children who have been led there,]
Amata-no kodomo-wo hikitsurete [He makes sand-mountains everyday.]
Hinichi mainichi suna-asobi [This handful of sand is for a father.]
Ichijō tsundewa chichi-no-tame [Another handful is for a mother.]
Nijō tsundewa haha-no tame

Chichi haha koishi-to naiteiru [Children are crying for their parents.]
Nakuna nagekuna osanago-yo [Don’t cry, and don’t miss them, my children.]
Shichigatsu nakaba-no jugonichi [On the fifteenth of July,]
Minna nokorazu tsureteiku [I will take all of you to your parents.]

(Fukuoka, 23-a: 220)

In religious belief *jizō* are considered to protect both dead and alive children as guardian deities. In this song, they promises the dead children, who are crying for their parents in the river-shore of the world after the death, to take them to their parents on the day of the mid-summer festival, when all the souls of the dead return to their home. This song is originally regarded to be a *go-eika* [a type of Buddhist hymn].

Thirdly, as far as my research work is concerned, there is no particular example in Japanese of sleep personified, like “Willie Winkie” in Scots. However, in the following song, *karajishi*, a legendary, fictional Chinese lion, seems to play a similar role:

[Look at Mt Tsukuba, look.]
Yā-i yama miro Tsukuba miro [From the direction of Mt Tsukuba,]
Tsukuba-no hō-kara karajishi-ga [Thirty-three *karajishi* are flying to us]
Sanjūsan-biki to jodokita [(vocable), Go to sleep]
Nennen nerenero [Go to sleep in the moonlight.]
Tsuki-no-yo-ni nen-e-shina

(Ibaraki, 6-a: 174)

In several annual festivals like at new year or in autumn, or a ceremony for building
a house, a karajishi dance performed by two people in a lion costume is very popular, as a supernatural being bringing good luck. Therefore it may be possible to consider it as a sort of sleep-personifying being.

Finally, there are some supernatural beings which appear as characters in folktales. Ten-nyo [a heavenly woman] introduced above [e.g. 4.4.1.7.] is a typical example. Moreover, in the following song, based on the story of “Momo Tarō [Peach Boy]”, one of the most famous Japanese folktales, we can find another supernatural being, the oni:

[e.g. 4.4.1.19.]
Shiba-no orido-no shizugaya-ni [An old couple were living,]
Okina-to ouna-ga sumaikeri [In a poor house with a door made of brushwoods.]
Okina-wa yama-ga takigi-tori [The husband went to the mountain to gather firewoods.]
Ouna-wa kawa-ga kinu-susugi [The wife went to the river to wash.]
... Nagare nagareru minamoto-ni [From upstream,]
Nagare kitareru momo-no-mi no [A peach came floating down the river.]
Yo-ni taguiaku ohkereba [Since it was incredibly big,]
Ana mezurashi-to mochi-kaeri [She brought it into their house.]
...
Inu saru kiji wo shitagaete [Followed by a dog, a monkey, and a pheasant,]
Oni ga-shima eto uchiwatar [He went to an island where the oni live.]
Oni-wo tairage sono-shima-no [He defeated them at last,]
Kogane shirokane kusagusa no [Gathered various jewels and gold from the island,]
Takara-wo osame kaerikite [Brought them back to his home,]
Ouna to okina ni sasagetari [And gave them to his parents.]

(Iwate, 2-b: 199)

Although the story itself has been well-known since the early period of the Edo era (1603-1867), this poetic style was presumably arranged rather recently, perhaps during the Meiji era (1868-1912), by a known or unknown poet. Such texts must have been recited both for the purpose of entertainment and for educational purposes.45

Let us now move on to the appearance of animals in Japanese lullabies. For Japanese children a dog is an ambiguous animal in the texts here consideration. It frightens both the babies and the nurse-maid girls as follows: “Nenagara shishi-ni kasedekera [If you don’t go to sleep, you will be fed to a dog]” (Aomori, 2: 210), “Onna-no komori-wa tsuraimono, Inu-me-ni hoerare ko-ni nakare . . . [My job as a nurse-maid is very hard. The dog

45 The tune of this text is adopted from “Edono komori-uta”. This fact seems to support my assumption about the origin of this text.
bark loudly at me and the child on my back cries. . . .]" (Iwate, 2-b: 212) Moreover, we can discover “chūkurai innukwa [a man-eating dog]” as a sort of threatening being (Okinawa, 26: 366).

On the other hand, it is sometimes seen in the role of a comical character, the so-called “a trickster”, in narrative songs such as this one:

[e.g. 4.4.1.20]
Kōsaka-minato-nya fune-ga tsuku
[Sailors arrive there too.]
Sendo-no koshi-niwa kane-ga tsuku
[To his waist sticks a gold coin.]
Sono-kane megakete zoku-ga tsuku
[A robber tries to steal it.]
Zoku-no ketsu-niwa kuso-ga tsuku
[To his bottom sticks a piece of jobby.]
Sono-kuso kazande inu-ga tsuku
[A dog sniffs at it.]
Inu-ga tsuitara wan-wan hoetsuku
[It barks and bites his bottom.]

(Okayama, 18-b: 212)

Meanwhile, we cannot find a cheerful scene between a dog and a child in texts of Japanese lullabies. Next, baby mice and a baby rabbit are symbols of a sweet baby, as mentioned previously. The following text explains the reason why a rabbit has long ears:

[e.g. 4.4.1.21.]
Nen-nen-ya nen-nen-ya
[Hush-a-by, hush-a-by.]
Nen-nen koyama-no ko-usagi-wa
[A baby rabbit was living in Mt. Nen-nen.]
Naze-ni omimi-ga o-nagai-no
[Why does it have such long ears?]

46 In Japanese, both the rabbit and the hare are called “usagi”. Rabbits were sometimes raised as livestock.

47 In Japanese, both hens and cocks are called “niwatori”.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4.4.5.</th>
<th>Animal (Text ref. is omitted)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>livestock</td>
<td>pig, cow, horse, goat, rabbit(^\text{46}), hen or cock(^\text{47})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pet</td>
<td>dog, cat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wild animals</td>
<td>hare, mice, deer, wolf, monkey, fox, raccoon dog, wild boar, weasel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wild birds</td>
<td>wild goose, cormorant, crow, kite, crane, snowy heron, pigeon, pheasant, hawk, plover, sparrow, skylark, owl, “gosho-no-iort” (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>others</td>
<td>yellowtail, sea beam, carp, horse mackerel, catfish, octopus, “big fish”, turban shell, turtle, crab, snake, toad, firefly, cockroach, ant, flea, bee, spider, cicada, snail</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Oya-no onaka-ni orutoki-ni  [Because when it was in mother's belly,  
Biwa-no hana-wo kuwaete  [It ate loquat flowers.  
Sorede omimi-ga o-nagai-yo  [As a result its ears have become long.  
Nen-nen-ya nen-nen-ya  [Hush-a-by, hush-a-by.  
Nen-nen-nen-nen nen-nen-ya  [Hush hush hush hush, hush-a-by.  

(Hiroshima, 19-a: 210)

The loquat, bearing a delicious yellow fruit, has long leaves and their shape is quite similar to the rabbit’s ear.

In another text, a sort of “Mother Goose”-type nonsense song, a cat takes the part of the main character as follows:

[e.g. 4.4.1.22.]
Nen-nen neko-no ke ttsu-sa mame-ga maikonda  [A bean put into the anus of a cat.  
Ogasan totte-kero  ["Mum, remove it please.”  
Tonde shimatta  ["It has already flown away.”  

Nen-nen neko-no ke ttsu kani-ni hasamareta  [A crab pinched the cat’s bottom  
Kaachan totte-kero  ["Mum, remove it please.”  
Nigete-shimatta  ["It has already run away.”  

(Iwate, 2-b: 198)

Cats and pigs are sometimes regarded as frightening animals that bite fretful babies:  
“Ndo-ga-e-no ko-ga nenne nenne senba, buta-to neko-to kite-ni kamuro” [If the child of my employer doesn’t go to sleep, a cat and pig will come and bite it]” (Kagoshima, 26: 178). Likewise, wolves that threaten babies are found in the collection (Hyōgo, 18-a: 206).48 Moreover, wild animals such as deer, monkeys, foxes, raccoon dogs, wild boar, and weasels are discovered.

Livestock such as cows or sheep, which are so popular in Scottish lullabies, rarely appear in Japanese, probably because these animals were transported into Japanese farms for the purpose of the livestock industry only around one hundred years ago.49

48 Yonekichi Deguchi, a Japanese folklorist, introduces the idea that “A tiger and a wolf will come” may be a soothing refrain for fretful babies. He says that these animals were originally regarded as protecting deities from evil spirits or devils, and that this idea was transmitted from China (Deguchi, 1909: 136-144). According to his theory, the former phrase was originally not used as a threat, but as spell for driving evil spirits away.

49 In Kagoshima and Okinawa Prefectures, however, one can find texts including cattle like cows, horses, and goats (Kagoshima, 26: 164 & 166; Okinawa, 26: 351). We should consider the agricultural uniqueness in this area where the livestock industry has
As listed in the above table, various kinds of wild birds appear in the texts. Such a variety and richness may suggest the intimate communication between Japanese children’s everyday life and birds.

Furthermore, since Japan, like Scotland, is surrounded by the ocean, aquatic animals are quite popular: fathers go fishing for sea bream (Ōita, 23-b:221), while mothers go to the island to pick up nina and sazae [turban shells] (Kyōto, 15:312). Likewise, turtles (Ōita, 23-b:222) and crabs ([e.g. 4.4.3.3.]) are quite popular characters not only in lullabies but also in Japanese folk narratives.

Insects also make frequent appearances: a firefly (Fukuoka, 23-a:218), cockroach (Akita, 3:156), ant (Saitama, 8:169), flea (Saitama, 8:170), and cicada (Fukuoka, 23-a:222) appear in the texts. Above all, the cicada with its loud cry has aroused the poetic imagination of the Japanese people as in:

[e.g. 4.4.1.23.]
Shimo-no-ya-no
Tsukutsuku-hōshi-wa naze nakyaru
Oya-mo nainoka ko-mo naika
Oya-mo hitori ko-mo hitori
Tatta hitori-no sono-ko-woba
Taka-kara surarete kyō-nanuka

[A tsukutsuku-cicada is perching on the wall of a house called “Shimo-no-ya”,
Why are you crying so gloomily?
Don’t you have any parents or children?
I had only one child.
But my only child was taken away by a hawk,
Just seven days ago.

(Fukuoka, 23-a:224)

According to the compiler, the singer of this song is said to be a mad mother whose husband and child were killed (Tomono, 1988: 225). The next song is, on the other hand, perhaps adapted from a bon-odori-uta [a dancing song in the mid-summer festival] or an ozashiki-uta [a party song]:

[e.g. 4.4.1.24.]
Koi-ni yaburete naku-semi yorimo
Nakanu hotaru-ga mi-wo moyasu, koi-koi

[To the cicada fiercely crying with a broken heart,
I prefer the firefly silently putting a fire to its own body.

(Ōsaka, 16: 332)

been flourishing for a long time.
4.4.2. Materials and Environment

I will move to the next topic, materials and environment described in Japanese lullabies. See Table 4.4.6.

Table 4.4.6.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Material &amp; Environment (Text ref. is omitted)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tools for nursing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bribes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seas and environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>landscape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>farm landscape</td>
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<tr>
<td>town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other special item</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Japanese people have not traditionally used a rocking cradle for nursing a baby. Instead, they made use of a sort of basket usually made of straw, called an “izumi”, “tsugura” or “ejiko”, in which a baby was put and taken care of. According to Yuki Ōtō, this material was also used for keeping the boiled rice warm, so that the name originates from the word for a “rice preserving case”. Usually it was put on the floor or the ground.

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50 In her following book, Ōtō mentions that there was a “yuri-kago [rocking basket]” made of bamboo in Saitama Prefecture, but since she does not explain it in detail we cannot compare it with a European type cradle.
directly, although it was also hung from the ceiling and rocked in cases when the baby was uneasy in a particular area such as Miyagi Prefecture (Ötô, 1968: 206-207).

There were several superstitions related to the “izumi” as follows: a knife or the like was put in the bottom to protect the baby from evil spirits (Nagano); an “izumi” borrowed from neighbourhood was never brought back (Nagano); it is also said that it should be made within one day (Sado Island in Niigata), etc. (ibid: 207-208).

In spite of these similarities, this material is not used in lullaby texts as far as I know, probably because the mother or nurse was rarely beside her baby but did her work while the baby was put in the “izumi”, in which case no lullaby would be sung during that time.

Food and drink are both used as reward for sleep and as punishment for unwillingness to sleep. The former items include sweets made from taros (Fukushima, 4-b:184), sweets, sugar and peaches (Yamagata, 3: 316), milk (Iwate, 2-b: 198), and such things. In the following text, we can discover “azuki-mamma (or sekihan) [boiled rice with red beans]” with meat, rice with salmon, ankoro-mochi [rice cake covered with sweet paste of red beans], shōyu-dango [dumplings covered with sweet paste of soy-sauce], potatoes, taros, and pears:

[e.g. 4.4.2.1.]
Nennero yā-e kōroko
Nenneko-shite ohinattara
Azuki-mamma-sa gokko katete
Moshimo sorega oiyanara
Shiroi mamma-sa sake-no-yo
Moshimo sorega oiyanara
Ankoro-mochi-ni shoyu-dango
Moshimo sorega oiyanara
Imoko-ni hodoko-ni satonashi-ko

[(vocable)]
[When you will wake up,
You can eat azuki-mamma with meat.
If you don’t like that,
Would you like white rice with salmon?
If you don’t like that,
Would you like ankoro-mochi and shōyu-dango?
If you don’t like that,
Would you like potatoes, taros, or pears?]

(Iwate, 2-b: 192)

On the other hand, as a punishment for bad behaviour — that is, not going to sleep — the children are given “awa-botchi [mochi made from millet]” with pepper, as follows:

[e.g. 4.4.2.2.]
Ooron kororon yūte
Neta-ko-no muzosa
Okite naku-ko-no tsura-nikusa
Hayo neta mono-ni-nya

[Hush-a-by, hush-a-by,
A sleeping baby is so sweet;
A crying baby is so annoying.
To the one who sleeps quickly,]
Mochi is regarded as a special food eaten in religious ceremonies, while millet tended to produce bad-tasting food-stuffs usually kept for famine.

A toy-drum, called a den-den daiko, and a bamboo flute, called a shō-no fue, frequently appear as gifts for a baby. These musical instruments had been popular presents since the Edo era (1603-1867). They appear in the most famous Japanese lullaby, so-called “Edo-no-komori-uta [Lullaby in Edo]”, a variant of which is found in the first Japanese nursery-rhyme book, Dōyōshū (1842), and which seems to have been distributed all around the country in those days. As a result they have come to be adopted in other texts, too.

Kō-bako [an incense box], a mirror, red clothes and a pair of red sandals are chosen as gifts for girls (Kumamoto, 25: 184; Hyōgo, 18-a: 223). Related to this fact, the beautiful clothes often made nurse-maid girls gloomy because only girls from rich families could wear them, as described in the following text:

[e.g.4.4.2.3.]
Odoma kanjin kanjin an-shi-tacha yoka-shi [I'm a poor girl, while they are rich.
Yoka-sha yoka-obi yoka-kimon [The rich can wear a beautiful belt and beautiful clothes.
(Kumamoto, 25: 226)

Turning to the environment, a mountainous or agricultural landscape is described as the background to several Japanese lullabies, just like their Scottish counterparts. The view of the seashore including a sandy beach, port, or small island, is popular, as well. Open seas, called nada, are described as gyojō [a place for fishing], where a baby’s father is working.

And yet an urban landscape is not unusual. Tenma-no-ichi [A market in Tenma town] is introduced as a place to buy vegetables, including kabura [turnips] (e.g.4.2.1.11.) Ōsaka, 16: 332). Nurse-maid girls or other children carrying babies on their back walk the
streets or in the front gardens of big houses while singing lullabies ([e.g. 4.4.1.3.], Ōsaka, 16:338). They sometimes look up at the lantern’s lights of the amusement spots (Kanagawa, 8: 326). Besides, oya-no-zaisho [the place where their parents live] (Iwate, 2-b: 214) or oya-no-uchi [parents’ house] are described as places for which they long, as in the following: “Hayo-mo yuitaya kono-zaisho koete, Mukō-ni mieru-wa oya-no uchi [I want to pass through this town as quickly as possible. For I can see my parents’ house beyond].” ([e.g. 4.4.1.5.] Kyōto, 15: 321)

Among the many cities and towns, Shimonoseki was a memorable port town for girls living in the Kyūshū district several decades before the Second World War:

[e.g. 4.4.2.4.]
Oya-no nangi-de jūsan-no toshi Uraremashita-ga Shimonoseki [At thirteen years old, I was sold at Shimonoseki, Because my parents could not repay their debts. (Kumamoto, 25: 220)]

According to the compiler, the girls of poor families in Kyūshū were frequently sent to the place of the debt, either to richer families as nurse-maid girls, or to Shimonoseki port (or Kuchinotsu port), from where they went to foreign countries as prostitutes, called “karayuki-san [people going to China]” (Obara, 1982:220). The singers must have remembered their neighbourhood friends who had become prostitutes, whenever they sang this lullaby. I will discuss the historical background of this song in detail in the eighth chapter.

Concerning the weather, rain or snow was considered severe to nurse-maid girls standing outside. When the master (or mistress) of one such girl gave her a broken umbrella, she declares revenge: “Koh-ga kawaikerya yoi-kasa okure, yabure-gasa-dewa ko-ga nureru, ko-ga nureru [Thinking of your sweet child, give me a good umbrella. For one who gets wet by a broken umbrella is not me, but your child.]” (Shiga, 14-b: 214).

In contrast, shining stars and the moonlight create a peaceful atmosphere (Fukuoka, 23-a: 218). Meanwhile if in summer dry weather continues, troubling the farmers, they have a shamanistic ceremony for rain-making, called “ama-goī” (Ehime, 21: 195).

Weather metaphors are used to express the gloomy feeling of a nurse-maid girl, just like dark, heavy clouds: “Ano-ko miyoru-to teru-hi-mo kumoru/ Saeta tsukiyo-mo yami-ni
*naru yoi yoi* [When I look after the child, the sun is hidden behind the clouds./ And the moonlit night changes into darkness.]" (Ehime, 21: 195).

In addition, several particular dates are remarked as special occasions. First, *bon* [a few days around the fifteenth of July] was generally a vacation for nurse-maids. They could go back to their own house and stay with their parents during this period. Therefore in singing lullabies they are looking forward to *bon* as in the following song: "*Mori-to yûmona awarena mon-ya. Bon-to matsuri-ni tada hînaka* [A nurse-maid is a poor thing./ Her only holidays are the daylight of the *bon* and another festival]" (Ishikawa, 10-a: 220).

The twentieth of December was the final day of the employment period contracted between the maid's parents and the family she worked for, although there are some regional differences: "*Hayaku koi-koi shiwasu-no hatsuka* [Come soon, come early, the twentieth of December]" (Chiba, 6-b: 220).

Furthermore, a few weeks after child-birth, there was a sort of initiation, called "*miya-mairi* [the first visit to a shrine]". The parents and the family took the new born baby wearing red or similarly beautiful clothes to a shrine, where they pray: "*Issho kono-koko mame-na yo-ni* [I wish this baby's happiness and good health throughout his or her life]" (Okayama, 18-b: 206). After coming home, they had various ceremonies to celebrate the baby, to invite the mid-wife into their home with some close relatives and the neighbours.

The monthly birthday was a special day, too (Kyôto, 15: 284). *Azuki-meshi* [boiled rice with red beans] was prepared for the day, and the family took the baby to a shrine as well.

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51 A Morikô's holidays were usually during *bon* and *shûgatsu* [New Year], although there were different customs in some regions.

52 In some areas "*miya-mairi*" was a monthly custom on the twenty-fifth of every month: for instance in Ibara, Okayama Prefecture, mothers took their child or children to the neighbouring shrine. According to Taeko Okada, "*miya-mairi*" was great fun for young mothers in her childhood (during the 1920s), because they were usually working inside the house and there were very few opportunities for going out. On this day they could dress up without reservation (Based on my interview with her on the 8th December, 1995).
4.4.3. Motifs

Here I will assess the motifs used in Japanese texts corresponding to each of the Motifs A to J categorised in the second chapter. Since it is almost impossible to list up all the Japanese lullaby texts, amounting to 915 in total, compiled in the collection, I will analyse the features of each of motif, quoting the examples.

First, Motif A: lulling the child is, needless to say, very common. As mentioned in the linguistic analysis of this chapter, various vocables and set phrases are used for lulling a child: *nenen-yo, nennen korori-yo okororiko, ororon ororon ororon-yo, and böya-wa yoiko-da nenne-shina* [You’re a good boy. Go to sleep], and so on. The following text consists of vocables and lulling phrases only:

\[\text{[e.g. 4.4.3.1.]}\]
\begin{align*}
\text{Nenneko-ya nenneko-ya} & \quad \text{[vocable]} \\
\text{Nenneko-ya nenneko-ya} & \\
\text{Nero-teba-ya nero-teba-ya} & \quad \text{[Go to sleep, go to sleep]} \\
\text{Nero-teba nero-teba nero-teba-ya} & \quad \text{[Go to sleep, go to sleep, go to sleep]} \\
\text{Nero-teba-ya nero-teba-ya} & \quad \text{[Go to sleep, go to sleep]} \\
\text{Nero-teba nenênoka kono gaki-me} & \quad \text{[Go to sleep, what a naughty baby you are!]} \\
\end{align*}

(Miyagi, 4-a: 190)

At the end of the song the singer takes out her or his anger on the baby that is unwilling to go to sleep.

Secondly, Motif B: affection and eulogy is typically discovered in metaphorical expressions for children, as is comparison with the number of stars in the sky, sand-grains on a beach, or the trees on a mountain, as introduced before. Here is an example:

\[\text{[e.g. 4.4.3.2.]}\]
\begin{align*}
\text{Hah susasusa susayo susasusa susayo} & \quad \text{[(vocable)]} \\
\text{Kokeshi-bokko ki-bokko} & \quad \text{[A kokeshi doll, a wooden doll,]} \\
\text{Tsuchi-de koshadano tsuchi-bokko} & \quad \text{[A clay doll is made of clay,]} \\
\text{Wara-de koshadano wara-bokko} & \quad \text{[A straw doll is made of straw,]} \\
\text{Orae-no bokko-wa nani-bokko} & \quad \text{[Of what is my child made?]} \\
\text{Hah susasusa susayo susasusa susayo} & \quad \text{[(vocable)]} \\
\text{Gin-no usu-ni kin-no kine} & \quad \text{[With a silver mortar and a gold pestle]} \\
\text{Totsuki toka kagatte} & \quad \text{[For ten months and ten days]} \\
\end{align*}
Neru-hi-mo nezuni neriageta
Menkei menkei obokko
Hah susasusa susayo susasusa susayo
Kingin-bokko-no obokko
Mochiko-no youni potteri-to
Boyoko-no youni nobinobi-to
Menkei menkei todebokko
Bokkoto-dedagara nenneko surai
[I have kneaded it with no sleep
[It's you, my love, my darling.
[(vocable)
[You are a doll of gold and silver
[You are as soft as mochi
[You are as free as bamboo sprout
[You are a sweet and holy child
[My child, now, go to sleep.
(Miyagi, 4-a: 196)

There seem to have been some Japanese lullabies similar to those eulogistic Gaelic ones for heirs of clans, due to the maintenance of a feudal society in Japan until the nineteenth century. No particular equivalents are, however, found in this collection.

Motif C: guarantee of safety, is often described as a dialogue between a child and a nursing person (a nanny, nurse maid, or some elder sibling): the former asks where the mother and father are, and the latter sets it at ease by telling about what they are doing and where they are now. Here is an example:

[e.g. 4.4.3.3.]
Amma-ya-yo tachi-mo-chi
Amma-ya-yo ton-furi-ga
Hāru-chi itchando
Ton-furi-ga itchando
Yokkoro haiyō, yokkoro haiyō
[Where is my mother?
[Your mother has gone to gather taros
[She is working on the farm
[She is gathering the taros
[(vocable)
(Kagoshima, 26: 187)

Next, the texts involving Motif D: promises and bribes, are abundant as I have already noted. The occasion on which promises or bribes are served can be divided into five main cases: (i) the singer promises to do something for a child while he or she is sleeping, or to give something if he or she goes to sleep; (ii) a nurse-maid brings souvenirs from town to the child she is nursing; (iii) the next day is the child’s tan’jo-nichi [monthly birthday], or the day of the miya-mairi [visiting a shrine] and the child is promised gifts; (iv) a child is promised to have his or her fifteenth birthday celebrated with particular gifts; and (v) the baby girl of a liquor shop owner is promised particular bridal presents in the future. Here is an example of the last one:

[e.g. 4.4.3.4.]
Nennen sairoku sakaya-no-ko
[(vocable), you are my child, child of a liquor shop
Sakaya-ga iyanara yome-ni yaro [If you dislike this shop, I’ll send you out as a bride.
Yomeiri-dougu-wananinato [Here are my bridal presents to you:
Ichinya kobako ni-nya kagami [One, an incense case and two, a mirror,
San-nya Satsuma-no hayari-obi [Three, a fashionable broad sash made in Satsuma,

(Ōita, 23-b: 212)

Through the text, we can find the traditional wedding customs of Japan.

Turning to Motif E, prophecy, it is possible to consider the promises for the future introduced above ((iv) and (v) in Motif D), as a kind of prophecy, as well. Related to this, in the following text the singer tells the baby girl, Otome, that when she becomes mature she will be allowed to go to Edo, where she can wear fine clothes made from chirimen cloth: “Otome-ga ōkiku nattanara Edo-e yaru/ Oedo-ja chirichiri chirimen zukushi” (Chiba, 6-b: 212). In another text, the singer tells her or his son that she or he will let him go to a temple in order to learn the hokkekyō sutra when he becomes seven years old (Ōita, 23-b: 206). And in another text a pregnant mother sings, “Kondo konoko-ga otoko-n-ko-nara, soroban motasete gakkou-ni yaru/ Kondo konoko-ga onna-n-ko-nara, satohako motasete gakkou-ni yaru [If this baby is a boy, I will put him go to school with an abacus,/ If this baby is a girl, I will put her go to school with a sewing box.]” (Kagoshima, 26: 173). All of them can be regarded as a sort of good prophecy for the children.

On the other hand, a bad or ominous prophecy is rarely discovered. The following text is, however, probably considered one such example and used as a kind of threat to a naughty girl:

[e.g.4.4.3.5.]
Nenneko dotchan kame-no-kadotchan [(vocal), My little turtle
Sora nopperapan [You are so naughty.
Nopperapon-ni sodetarya moraito-ga nē [If you carry on such naughtiness,
Moraito-ga nagereba issho goke-da [You will not get married in your whole life
Issho goke, nisho goke, sansho goke [Nor in your next life, nor in your third.

(Ibaraki, 5-a: 182)

Next, it seems to be one of the most remarkable features of Japanese lullabies that they have various kinds of phrases that can be categorised into the Motif F group: threat. Here I will divide the examples into the following groups: (i) threatening beings come and abduct or eat the child; (ii) the child is taken to particular place and abandoned there; (iii)
the child is given some bad or poor tasting food; (iv) shabby clothes will be given to the child; and (v) the child is given some physical punishment (and killed, sometimes).

Table 4.4.7.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>threat</th>
<th>(i) threatening beings</th>
<th>(ii) abandonment</th>
<th>(iii) bad food</th>
<th>(iv) shabby clothes</th>
<th>(v) physical punishment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i) threatening beings</td>
<td>(supernatural beings) moko, mokko, mômo, mokoa, môko, okame, gongo, ganga, wanwan-san, oni, mimi-kiri-bôzu</td>
<td>mountain, river, rice-field, okeya [amusement house]</td>
<td>red pepper, millet dumpling with pepper, worm eaten potato, fish entrails</td>
<td>striped clothes, clothes made of rice straws</td>
<td>leaving it outside on a cold night until icicles hang from its body forcing the child to pull a nogamochi [wooden clothes box] putting seven stone on the child’s head putting suribachi [a large bowl] on the child’s head moxibustion cutting the child’s cheek slapping and punching the child, throwing it to the floor chopping the body into fine pieces like vegetables on a board frying the body like abura-age [deep-fried bean curd] roasting the body in a large iron pot hitting it to the death</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.4.7. gives a more detailed list of the threats in each of the five groups. Such a variety may suggest that the moriko were so frustrated by children who were unwilling to go to sleep that they tried to imagine as horrible scenes as they could, for their consolation.

Here is perhaps one of the fiercest scenes created by their imagination:

[e.g.4.4.3.6.]

Tsura-no nikui-ko-wa manaita-ni nosete  [A naughty child is put on a chopping board, Aona kiruyoni joki-joki-to  [Chopped into fine pieces like green vegetables, Kitte kizande abura-de agete  [Fried with oil, Otera-mairi-no ocha-no-ko-ni  [And served as biscuits worshipers at a temple

(Kyôto, 16: 305)

However, these phrases are substantially directed at their masters or mistresses who treat them just like slaves. The social background of the moriko institution will be discussed in detail in the seventh chapter.
The abundance of Japanese texts that include Motif G, weariness of childcare, has been already introduced (see [e.g.4.2.3.2.]). The correspondent phrases are frequently discovered in moriko-uta, and related to their desperation or misery. However, it is not only the moriko who were irritated by the child who is unwilling to go to sleep and keeps on crying. Mothers probably had similar feelings. According to Taeko Okada, mothers must have wanted to sing the following phrases when they felt very busy and heard the fiercely crying voices of their children [e.g.4.2.2.1.]: “Neta-ko-no kawaisa, okite-naku-ko-no tsura-nikusa [A sleeping child is so sweet; a child awake and crying is hard and not liked].” Therefore we should consider the fact that these so-called moriko-uta were not exclusively sung by moriko but shared by all the people who had a responsibility for looking after children.

The incidents or experiences categorised into Motif H — anxiety and sadness not related to childcare — can be divided into personal matters and social ones. The moriko-uta as a complaint about their poor circumstances might be included in the former. In the following text, considered to be a moriko-uta, there are no particular phrases related to children or childcare. Instead, the singer complains about having to do another hard job, kometsuki [husking rice] with a kara-usu [a tool for pounding rice using pedals]:

[e.g. 4.4.3.7.]
Hajimete kara-usu fumarekeri [I treadeded the pedals of a kara-usu for the first time.
Ashi-wo mitareba ashi-ni mame-ga kokonotsu [I discovered nine blisters on my feet.
Kokonotsu-no mame-wo mitareba [When I was looking at the blisters,
Oya-no zaisho-ga koishisa há-é [I got homesick.

(Iwate, 2-b: 214)

This text suggests that the moriko were sometimes ordered to do other domestic jobs like kome-tsuki.

On the other hand, there are several texts that engrave particular historical tragic incidents on the heart. The following song is, for instance, said to be connected with a

53 This is based on my interview of Ms. Okada in 1995: Ms. Okada is one of the tradititrs of ‘Chūgokuchihishō no Komori-uta [A Lullaby in the Chūgoku district]”, in which these phrases are included.
historical misery in Okinawa, the “Shimazu Invasion” of 1609:

[The moon rises like a singing flower.]
Tsuki-dinu hana-munu
Ba-ga kēh-ranu asabyō-ra
Hō-i cho-ga hō-i cho-ga

[We will sing together, too.]

[In older days,
Nkashū-mû-ya den-ya
Asubi-den adasō-nu
Hō-i cho-ga hō-i cho-ga

[We had often sung together in this way.]

[After the era of Yamato,
Yamatu-yūh-ni kakirari
Itafuda-ni mawasâ-ri
Hō-i cho-ga hō-i cho-ga

[A wooden notice for prohibiting song was circulated.]

[We cannot sing together any more.]
Asubi-den dugunē-hnu
Amai-den dugunē-hnu
Hō-i cho-ga hō-i cho-ga

[We cannot joyfully talk together any more.]

(Okinawa, 26: 388)

Previously Okinawa islanders were independent of Japan and they had a traditional form of entertainment of singing together, called “uta-gaki”. After being defeated by a “daimyō [feudal lord]” called Shimazu (who belonged to the Japanese shogunate government) in 1609, they were prohibited from enjoying “uta-gaki”. “Itafuda [A wooden notice for prohibiting something]” is a symbol of their surrender. The singer of this text expresses the grief of an occupied people. Such emotion must undoubtedly have been handed down from generation to generation for centuries through the singing of this lullaby. This text preserves something of the tragic history of Okinawa. I will discuss the historical background of singing lullabies along with some other texts in the eighth chapter.

Motif I — happiness & joy not related to childcare — will be related to various phrases belonging to love songs. They seem to be adopted from bon-odori-uta [dancing songs in the mid-summer festival] or ozashiki-uta [party songs]. The following phrases introduced before (e.g. 4.4.1.4.) is a typical example: “Washi-no omoi-wa, asosan-ya-no./ Asa-no kiri-yori, mada fukai [My love for you is deeper than the morning fog on Mt. Aso]”(Ōita, 23-b: 219).

Similar phrases often appear in moriko-uta since to sing lullabies was one of the
limited numbers of opportunities for *moriko* to express their feelings and desires. Here is another example of their romantic feelings:

[e.g. 4.4.3.9.]

| Anta-yue-nara Asagi-no fukuro     | [I could become a beggar, |
| Kubi-ni kaketemo itoya-senu, koi koi | [If you are the reason. |

(Ōsaka, 16: 336)

Apart from such examples, the happiness of going home discovered in *moriko-uta* is another typical subject categorized into this motif as introduced before: ([e.g. 4.4.1.5.]

"Hayo-mo yuitaya kono-zaisho koete, / Mukō-ni mieru-oya no uchi [I want to pass through this town as quickly as possible. / I can see my parents’ house beyond]" (Kyōto, 15: 321).

Finally, phrases belonging to the miscellaneous group Motif J are discovered in songs which have been adapted from various other genres of song like children’s game songs (for example, ball bouncing songs, juggling songs), working songs (rowing songs, rice-planting songs, rice-pounding songs, weaving songs), *bon-odori-uta* [dancing songs for the mid-summer festival], *mune-age-uta* [ceremonial songs after building new houses], and *ozashiki-uta* [party songs]. In addition, narrative songs for amusing children, called *asobase-uta*, which are sometimes also sung as lullabies, often contain motifs which cannot be categorised into Motif A to I.

In relation to this, there are several texts which are considered to be based on particular stories consisting of legends which include historical incidents, and folktales. Table 4.4.8. shows the variety. Each of these stories has an interesting background. In Part III, the context of some texts listed above will be discussed in detail.

<p>| Table 4.4.8. |
| Content (Text ref.) |
| legend |
| child abduction by hawk (15: 310) |
| cruel mother affected by child abduction (23-a: 222) |
| suicidal daughter, Omuku (23-b: 215) |
| battle at Negoro Temple against Toyotomi (17-b: 188) |
| Shimazu Invasion of Okinawa (26: 388 &amp; 26: 392) |
| lament for missing husband, Saibei (17-a: 201) |
| ogre that cuts off people’s ears (26: 362) |
| missing brother, Senmatsu (2-a: 213) |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>folktales</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>marriage with a fox woman (4-b: 198)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marriage with a woman from heaven (26: 375)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marriage with a snake man (10-a: 218 &amp; 17-b: 190)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nurse-maid saving a traveler by singing a lullaby (4-a: 182)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>young man getting married with a rich girl by a bee’s help (3: 163)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bird informing stepmother’s murder (25: 209)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peach boy conquering ogre’s island (2-b: 198)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I will turn to the assessment of Ikegami’s “structural model for lullaby motifs”.

As Ikegami indicates, plenty of Japanese texts have a motif applied to Model (i)-(a) and (ii)-(c), meanwhile the other two have no correspondence (see p.356). The following text contains a set of these two models:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>e.g. 4.4.4.10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nereja nere-nere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menkoa nereja, yá-e yaé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netaraba chichi sanbe kerubecha, yá-e yaé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Go to sleep, sleep, sleep.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[My sweet baby, go to sleep, yá-e yaé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If you go to sleep, I will give you three spoonfuls of milk, yá-e yaé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If you don’t go to sleep, I will give you to wolves, yá-e yaé</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Iwate, 2-b: 198)

There are some other texts including either Model (i)-(a) or Model (ii)-(c). Motif D, promises and bribes in the present analysis, corresponds to the former, while Motif F, threats, to the latter. The singer might have chosen her or his favourite from these two models, depending on her or his present feeling, case by case.

4.4.4. Groups
Now I will analyse the characteristic feature of Group in Japanese lullabies based on the former assessment of Motif. Table 4.4.10, as introduced already in the second and third chapters, indicates the relationship between motif and group as defined in this thesis.

Table 4.4.10.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Motif</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I: child—happy</td>
<td>A: lulling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B: affection &amp; eulogy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C: guarantee of safety</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D: promise &amp; bribe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>E: good prophecy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II: child—sad</td>
<td>E: bad prophecy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F: threat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III: singer—sad</td>
<td>G: weariness of childcare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>H: anxiety &amp; sadness not related to childcare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV: singer—happy</td>
<td>I: happiness &amp; joy not related to childcare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V: others</td>
<td>J: others</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

First, although it may be needless to say, it would be worthwhile to notice that each of the motifs has corresponding Japanese texts. In Group I, there are not several simple texts consisting of only vocables and lulling phrases (Motif A). The amount of metaphorical expressions for children, categorised into Motif B, is remarkably rich and full of variety. Meanwhile there are no corresponding eulogistic motifs. Motif C, a guarantee of safety, is often expressed as the notice where a child's mother or its father is now and what she or he is doing. A promise to the child and a bribe for good behaviour are abundant both in quantity and variety. They are frequently accompanied by Motif F, threat in the case of bad behaviour. Good prophecy, Motif E, is often connected with Motif D, promise. In particular, some texts suggest that it was regarded as the best fortune for a young daughter to receive bridal furniture and some other gifts from her parents in celebration of her marriage.

Bad prophecy, belonging to Group II — child-sad — has an intimate connection with the other motif belonging to the same type, Motif F — threat. In other words, the singer predicts that unless the child stops crying and goes to sleep, particularly horrible things will happen to him or her. The variety of threats in Japanese lullabies has been already introduced (p. 151). It is probably a distinct feature that these threats are deeply
influenced by the everyday life of the moriko. For instance, they themselves might have sometimes been slapped, punched, or thrown to the floor by their employers. The clothes made of poor, striped cloth as an object of threat might have been their own. Moreover, it must have been very common for them to chop vegetables on a board or deep fry food in oil. This tendency is also applied to threatening creatures and places. Does this fact suggest a lack of imagination on the part of the moriko? This assumption may be right, in a sense. It will be discussed as a social background to the singing of lullabies in the seventh chapter.

Motif G and H in Group III — singer-sad — are often mixed in the same texts of moriko-uta. Meanwhile, another kind of Motif H, anxiety & sadness not related to childcare, is found in a number of texts based on certain tragic stories that may be either historical incidents (legends) or fictional folktales.

Motif I, happiness and joy not related to childcare, categorised in Group IV — singer-happy — is observed in moriko-uta, as well. However, phrases expressing the singers' happiness and joy often originate in other types of song, and the moriko seem to have adopted them into their lullabies to express similar desires.

Finally, a number of Japanese lullabies are categorised into Group V, others. For example, the narrative songs in a dialogue style which were sung not only for amusing children, but also for lulling them, belong to this group. The abundance of this kind of song is considered to be one of the distinctive features of Japanese lullabies.
4.5. Conclusion

I will summarize the textural and textual features of Japanese lullabies based on the above analyses from the three perspectives.

In the analysis from a linguistic perspective, the historical and geographical variety of several vocables was discussed. Amongst these vocables, the etymology of “ororon” seems to have a cosmological background related to the primitive function of singing. It has also become clear that further cross-cultural research of vocables would bring more fruitful results. Moreover, it has be discovered that they are divided into (i-a) ones used for lullabies only, (i-b) ones for other genres of songs as well, (ii-a) ones used in the lullabies sung by a single person, and (ii-b) ones used in the lullabies sung by a group.

Various kinds of repetition including word-chain songs and a sort of rhyme discovered both in the dialogue style and in counting rhymes probably indicate that repetitions are common rhetorical methods in both Scottish and Japanese songs and poetry.

Two types of syllable pattern, 7-7-7-5 and 7-5-7-5 in the lullabies transmitted in the main islands, and another type, 8-8-8-6, in the lullabies of the Okinawa Islands, all of which have been pointed out in previous studies, were confirmed in the present study. They are considered to follow the formulae of traditional Japanese poetry.

Finally, we found that the categorisation by length of the words proposed by MacLeod (see p.335) was not useful for the analysis of Japanese lullabies, because the syllable patterns allow any phrase containing miscellaneous motifs to attach to the former phrase only if they have the same syllable pattern. According to the time it took to get their children to sleep, the singers could enlarge or shorten the length of songs freely. Such a strategy is certified by plenty of lullaby texts compiled into the Grand Collection.

In terms of musicological analysis, the dominance of 2/4 and 4/4/ metres, the existence of certain numbers of songs free from regular tempo, and the comparatively rareness of snap rhythms are perhaps the rhythmical features common to various types of Japanese folksong. However, it seems to be one of the remarkable characteristics of lullabies that they are recited with a very slow tempo and a gentle voice.

The scales and melody-lines used in traditional folksong are, needless to say, discovered in lullabies, too. It is notable that two types of traditional scales, called the
"min-yō onkai" and "ritsu-onkai", similar to the fourth and seventh "gapped" pentatonic in Western classical music, may bring a feeling of nostalgia to Scottish people. In general, simple and plain melodies with a narrow range of pitch are common in Japanese lullabies. It must reflect both the circumstance of their singing and the age of the singers: the majority of lullaby singers other than young mothers were children or girls who were nannies or nurse-maids.

As one of crucial literary features of Japanese lullabies, it has become clear that various people other than the mother and child often appear as the first and second person ("I" and "you"). It seems to be connected with the abundance of nurse-maid and narrative songs. Related to this, we discovered that the subjects and motifs of nurse-maid songs are not limited to their feelings of isolation and sadness, which has been emphasized in most former studies. In fact nurse-maid songs include such subjects as friendship with other children or nurse-maids, criticism of their employers, and the dream for love. Consequently we should change our recognition of them into something more dynamic.

The variety and abundance of the motif of threatening a child is seemingly another literary feature of Japanese lullabies. In particular, a great number of threatening supernatural beings would, in particular, lead us to investigate their origin, as well as the original purpose of this sort of song other than the element of threat. I will discuss these issues in the sixth chapter.

Thirdly, there are a plenty of lullabies in which the words are perhaps adapted from various other kinds of songs, like children's game songs, working songs, ceremonial songs and party songs. Along with the abundance of narrative songs, such a miscellany in terms of subject is regarded as another textual feature of Japanese lullabies.

Finally, through the analysis of Groups the following fact has become clear: there are a great number of Japanese lullabies not belonging to Group I, which corresponds to the happy songs sung for children. It will be one of the most important subjects for the next stage of this thesis to investigate the context of such "peculiar" lullabies.
Chapter 5. Comparison of the Textures and Texts of Scots, Gaelic and Japanese Lullabies

In this chapter I will compare the lullabies in the three languages and cultures with each other based on the analyses in the previous three chapters. Through such comparison, both the similarities and differences of various aspects will be identified. The aim of this comparison is to clarify these similarities and differences, consider the potentially universal features of lullabies, and interpret possible reasons for such features from cultural, human-biological and psychological perspectives. Furthermore, the interpretation from the point of view of cultural background will be discussed, in particular detail, in the “contextual analysis” of Part III.

5.1. The Linguistic Perspective

5.1.1. Vocable and Other Set Phrases

Vocables are frequently used in the lullabies of all three languages. Table 5.1.1, is a list of the main vocables and the basic syllables from which they are compounded.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>vocables</th>
<th>basic syllables</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Scots</td>
<td>baloo balilli, bishy by, hee o wee o, hishie ba, hush-a-bye hurr hurr deo noo,</td>
<td>ba, bishy, by, dee, hee, hishie, hurr, hush, li (ly), loo, noo, wee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaelic</td>
<td>ba ba, faill i faill o, he-o-ho-ro hi ho ro, hill i rinn, hi ri hill u ill o ro ho ba ba e, hobhan hobhan, nail i bho ho hi, o ba o ba, o hi ho,</td>
<td>ba, bhan, e, faill, he, hi, hill, ho, i, nail, o, ri, rinn, ro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>ha-ran-yo, hoi-hoi, koi-koi, korori, nennen, nenkoro, ororon, yoi-yoi, yo-ho-ho</td>
<td>ha, ho, hoi, ko, koi, nen, ran, ro, ron, yo, yoi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are several similar syllables or sounds between Scots and Gaelic vocables: ba and ba; hee and he, hi; hurr and hill; li and ri, rinn. Interestingly, amongst the Japanese vocables, we can discover certain consonants that are the same: [h] and [r]. Moreover, as
mentioned in the second chapter, ba is used in a popular Japanese body-play rhyme as well as in a number of infant words. In the case of the similarity between Scots and Gaelic, we can presume that this is caused by mutual cultural influence and transmission. However, in case of the comparison amongst the three language, we must investigate some other reason from a human-biological or psychological viewpoint: for instance, the ease of pronunciation or the comfort of hearing these sounds is perhaps one possible reason. Further investigation from developmental phonetics will certify this assumption.

Next, we must pay attention as to whether or not a particular vocable is exclusively used in lullabies. So far as my research goes, all the Scots vocables listed above, ba ba in Gaelic, and, nennen and ororon in Japanese are considered to be vocables exclusively for soothing a child. Other vocables in both Gaelic and Japanese lullabies like hi ho ro and yoi-yoi are sometimes used in other types of song such as ceremonial and working songs that are recited by many people together. In this case, the meaningless syllables uttered after each stanza or sentence, called hayashi-kotoba or kake-goe in Japanese, seem to assume the role of maintaining the rhythm of the song and unifying the breathes of singers. Such utterances originally created for this purpose may have been adapted into vocables for lulling a child later because of their rhythmical sound sequences.

Several meaningful set phrases, sometimes accompanied by vocables, are commonly discovered in all of three languages. The following table shows the only some of them.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Set Phrase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Scots</td>
<td>birdie croon croon, burdie beeton, bye baby bunting, hush-a-bye baby lie still lie still,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaelic</td>
<td>cadal ciarrach mo luran [go to sleep, my child], gille beag o [little child], dean cadalan [sleep quietly], o ba ba mo leanabh [(vocable), my child],</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>nennen korori-yo okorori-yo bōya-wa hoiko-da nenne shina [(vocable), you’re a good boy, go to sleep], nenneko sassharimase [Go to sleep, my tender child], nenne koroichi takeuma Yoichi [Go to sleep, a toy bamboo horse, Yoichi]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

54 In fact, there is one example of a vocable, “ba ba ba”, in a lullaby collected in Mie Prefecture (14-a: 196).
Normally located at the beginning of the text, these rhythmical phrases directly or indirectly meaning “child (baby)” and “sleep” seem to have been favoured by mothers and other lullaby singers in addition to vocables.

5.1.2. Repetition and Other Stylistic Features

Lullabies in each of the three languages often adopt repetition as one of their literary devices. Above all, an A-A-A-B style is frequently discovered in Scots and Gaelic texts. Meanwhile, Japanese triple repetition is found only within the following vocable: “nenneko nenneko neneko-bai” (Fukuoka, 23-a: 222).

Various kinds of double repetition are very common in the lullabies of three languages. In particular, the so-called “sandwich” style in which the same phases appear in the first and the last line of the stanza seems to be a remarkable example.

Moreover, the so-called “word-chain song [shiritori-uta in Japanese]” is discovered both in Gaelic and Japanese lullabies: the final phrase(s) of the former stanza is repeated as the first of the next. This pattern probably helps infant listeners to follow the development of the story implicated in the words, so that they can more easily remember both the words and the story.

Apart from repetition, the syllable pattern in Japanese lullabies, divided into those with 7-5-7-5 syllables and those with 7-7-7-5, is a unique stylistic feature widely discovered in Japanese poetry. This pattern makes it possible (or easier) to mix phrases containing miscellaneous subjects into a text.

In respect of length, we can find a number of “long texts” consisting of dozens of lines, particularly in Gaelic and Japanese lullabies, but there are “minimal texts” consisting of only vocables, and “short texts” also. “Long texts” are often related to narrative songs, some of which perhaps have their origin in the ballad tradition of Scotland and the jōruri [lyrical narrative songs] of Japan. Because of the practical need to continue the song until the child sleeps, narrative songs have been favoured by mothers and nannies, and consequently some of them have been considered to be lullabies themselves.

Moreover, in Japanese lullabies there are a number of nurse-maid songs [moriko-uta]
categorised into the "long text" group, in which miscellaneous subjects, including the topics unrelated to nurse-maid job, are described one after another. As mentioned above, the syllable pattern makes it easier to attach phrases from different subject-matter, and the singers must have recited these impromptu. In this case, categorisation by the length seems to be meaningless.

5.1.3. Rhyming and Other Phonetic Features

Rhyme is another popular literary device adopted in all three language lullabies. It is particularly influential in Scots, whereas in Gaelic and Japanese the regulations concerning rhyme is comparatively flexible. Related to this, a dialogue style and counting rhymes in Japanese texts are often associated with a kind of rhyming. Counting rhymes are often discovered in other types of Japanese folksong as well as in lullabies. So far as I have investigated, on the other hand, no such equivalents have been found in Scots or Gaelic lullabies. Is this, then a uniquely traditional literary device in Japanese poetry? Enumerative songs such as acrostics may be considered as a slightly different type of structural device although I have not discovered any Scots and Gaelic lullabies containing this device up to now. Further investigation as to this seems necessary.

Finally, I will discuss the unique linguistic feature of the lullaby within the context of the various types of folksong. From a linguistic point of view, unique features are rarely discovered, except for the use of vocables. And even with vocables, there are not a few examples held in common with other types of folksong recited amongst adults, in both Gaelic and Japanese texts: for example, hi, ho, i, o, obhan, ri, and ro in Gaelic, and yoi-yoi, koi-koi, in Japanese, as mentioned in former chapters. On the other hand, all the vocables in Scots lullabies — “hush”, “baloo”, “bye” and so on — seem to be

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55 There are counting out rhymes in Scots nursery rhymes such as:

Ane's joy/ Twa's grief/ Three's a waddin/ Fower's death/ Five's a coffin/
Six a hearse/Seeven's a man/ In great distress." (Montgomerie, 1985: 11)

The first caught a tiddler/ The second caught a crab/ The third caught a winkle/
The fourth caught a dab/ The fifth caught a tadpole/ The sixth caught an eel/
But the seventh, he caught/ An old cart-wheel." (ibid, 1967: 16)

But they do not have the similar rhyming to the Japanese songs.
exclusively used for singing lullabies. Based on this evidence, it is possible to assume that this contrast between Gaelic and Japanese lullabies, and their Scots counterparts suggests a difference of distance or inter-relationship between the lullaby and other types. This means that Scots lullabies are comparatively independent from other types, whilst Gaelic and Japanese ones are intimately connected with other types. In other words, Scots lullabies are recognized as songs exclusively for children — nursery rhymes — while Gaelic and Japanese lullabies are seen as songs not only for children but also for the singers themselves.

At the moment, this interpretation is far from stable in the absence of further evidence. With the support of the analysis from musicological and literary perspectives, I will discuss this subject later on.
5.2. Musicological Perspective

5.2.1. Metre

First of all, I will reassess the metres of the lullabies in all three languages. Here they are divided into the following three types: (a) duple (2/4, 4/4 and others), (b) triple (6/8, 3/4 and others), and (c) heterometric (metre changes, or non-metric). Here are the tables of Scots and Gaelic lullabies introduced in former chapters rearranged.

Table 5.2.1. (Scots)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Metre type</th>
<th>Text no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) duple</td>
<td>2b, 2d, 7c, 7d, (8a, 8e, 8f, 8i)56, 13, 19d, 20d, 33, 36a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) triple</td>
<td>3a, 3b, 3d, 3e, 5, 6a, 6b, 6c, 7b, 7e, 8a, 8e, 8f, 8i, 11b, 14a, 14b, 16a, 16b, 18, 21c, 23b, 25, 28, 31, 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) heterometric</td>
<td>22a, 22b</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.2.2. (Gaelic)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Metre</th>
<th>Text no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) duple</td>
<td>2, (5)57, 6b, 6f, 6g, 7, 8, 11, 14, 16a, 17, 21b, 24, 25, 27b, (31a), 33d, 33e, 36b, 41a, 41b, 42b-ii, 42b-iii, 42b-iv, 44, 45c, 50, 51, 52a, 53, 54a, 55, 57a, 59b, 60a, 60b, 66a, 66b, 67, 68a, 71a, 71b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) triple</td>
<td>4, 5, 6a, 6c, 6d, 6e, 9, 10a, 10b, 10c, 12, 13a, 15, 16c, 16d, (17), 19, 20b, 22a, 22b, 22c, 22d, 22e, 22f, 22g, 23, (24), (25), 26c, 27a, 28a, 28b, 29, 31a, 31b, 32, 35a, 35b, 36a, 37a, 37c, 37d, 38, 40a, 40b, 42b-i, 43a, 43b, 43c, 43d, 45a, 45b, 46, 47c, 49, 52d, 54b, 56, 57b, 58a, (59b), 59c, 61, 62a, 62c, 63, 64a, 64b, 65a, 65c, 68b, 71c, 72a, 72b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) heterometric</td>
<td>3, 13b, 16b, 21a, 33c, 48b, 70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since every version of what was originally the same song type is listed up, the precise ratio of each type is not statistically significant. Nevertheless, the profile of the samples suggests that contrary to the hypothesis of previous studies, we can discover no

56 S‘8 is considered to be the song consisting of two parts: the metre of part A is 3/4 (6/8 in S‘8e) and that of part B is 4/4.

57 The number circled with brackets indicates the text of the number mainly has another metre but occasionally takes the metre in the middle of tune or at the end.
distinct metrical features in either Scots or Gaelic lullabies, although triple metre is comparatively dominant. But it is significant that most of songs are metrical. This feature may be interpreted from a human-biological perspective: a lullaby is influenced by the clarity and regularity of its pulse.

Meanwhile, most Japanese lullabies are constructed in duple metre, although statistical data cannot be introduced here. Even if 6/8 and 3/4 appear in some tunes, most of them are temporarily transferred from 2/4 or 4/4 in the middle, and they go back to the original metre soon after. Compared with Scots and Gaelic tunes, there are very few Japanese lullabies sung in triple metre. This result may confirm the interpretation about traditional Japanese nursery or children’s songs put forward by Washizu (see p.359).

Based on the comparison between English nursery rhymes and Japanese children’s game songs, she regards the latter as usually having a stomping rhythm just as a “sumō-wrestler” stamps heavily on the “dohyō-ground”. This rhythm should be regarded, she suggests, as an ichi-byōshi [one musical metre] although many musicological scholars judge it as 2/4 or 4/4 according to the Western musical theory. This Ichi-byōshi or stomping rhythm, suitable for the phonetic structure of Japanese, has a regular stress so that it can be categorized as duple metre rather than triple, which definitely has both a stronger and a weaker stress. In addition, a singer often changes the length of particular notes in an impromptu manner, and consequently a number of songs are transcribed as having irregular metres. In short, Japanese nursery or children’s songs, including lullabies are comparatively free from metre.58

Washizu’s proposal about the inter-relationship between the phonetic structure of language, the dominant metre of nursery rhymes, and the singers’ educational intention, seems to implicate an interesting area for cross-cultural study. However, the result of my research concerning Scots lullabies does not necessarily support her hypothesis. Unlike the English nursery rhymes she assessed, a significant number of Scots lullabies are constructed using metres other than 6/8. What does this suggest?

In order to find reliable answers to these questions, we need a greater number of texts, but I will make a suggestion. As discussed in the first chapter, it was considered, in general, that a lullaby is a kind of song for children, so that both its tune and words are

58 This fact is contradictory to my former interpretation based on human-biology: that is, the influence of pulse. There must be some other factor for such a heterometric.
suitable for children in the sense of its educational purpose. However, in practice, the lullabies sung in everyday life do not necessarily follow this ideological motivation. Miscellaneous songs have been adapted into lullabies. If the tunes of other types of song that prefer some different metre have been frequently adapted, the metre dominant in lullabies is likely to be influenced by them.

For the purpose of testing this hypothesis, it is necessary to examine the relationship between the metre and the content or subject of the words. If the content or subject which is not related to childcare or children themselves is frequently discovered in songs containing the metre that is not triple, the hypothesis will be confirmed, to some degree. So far as I have looked at Scots lullabies, however, there are no particular differences in the content of song with triple metre and those in duple metre.

5.2.2. Rhythm

Firstly, the snap rhythms discovered in the tunes of Scots and Gaelic lullabies will be compared with each other. The following two tables are revised from Table 2.3.2. and Table 3.3.2. introduced before:

Table 5.2.3. (Scots)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Snap Rhythm</th>
<th>Text no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Scotch snap</td>
<td>2b, 7d, 19d, 23b, 25, 28, 36a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bouncing snap</td>
<td>2b, 2d, 3d, 5, 6a, 6b, 7d, 8a, 8e, 8f, 8i, 13, 14a, 14b, 16a, 16b, 18, 19d, 20d, 21c, 22b, 23b, 25, 28, 31, 33, 36a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>even rhythm only</td>
<td>3a, 3b, 3e, 7b, 7c, 7e, 11b, 34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.2.4. (Gaelic)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Snap Rhythm</th>
<th>Text no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Scotch snap</td>
<td>4, 6c, 6f, 6g, 7, 9, 10b, 11, 16a, 16b, 16c, 17, 19, 20b, 22c, 22d, 22e, 22f, 22g, 24, 31a, 33c, 33d, 33e, 35b, 36b, 41b, 42b-i, 44, 47b, 50, 52a, 52c, 54a, 57a, 58a, 63, 65a, 66a, 67, 71b,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bouncing snap</td>
<td>2, 3, 4, 5, 6b, 6f, 6g, 7, 9, 10a, 10b, 11, 12, 13a, 13b, 14, 16a, 16c, 17, 19, 22a, 22c, 22d, 22e, 22f, 22g, 24, 25, 27b, 29, 31a, 31b, 33c, 33d, 33e, 35b, 36b, 40a, 40b, 41b, 42b-ii, 42b-iii, 42b-iv, 45a, 45c, 47b, 47c, 48b, 50, 51, 52a, 53, 54a, 54b, 55, 56, 57a, 58a, 59b, 60a, 60b, 62a, 62b, 63, 65a, 66a, 66b, 67, 68a, 70, 71a, 71b, 71c, 72b,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
According to these tables, both the Scotch snap and the bouncing snap appear frequently in both Scots and Gaelic lullabies. This result may confirm the interpretation by Purser and Collinson that to accent first syllables in Gaelic and Scots influences the frequency of the Scotch snap. In addition to such linguistic element, it seems to have a certain relationship with nursing style: the Scotch and bouncing snap are considered to be suitable accompaniments to vertical movements used for rocking a cradle, which is something traditionally unfamiliar in Japan. Moreover, other cultural habits like music and dance can never be neglected.

On the other hand, a certain number of Japanese lullabies involve the use of these snaps, although their appearance is comparatively rare. It is possible to make a few suggestions about the reason for this from the viewpoint of the context. First of all, some texts might have been sung as dandling songs — sung while rocking a baby. When a mother or a nurse moves her baby up and down, back and forth, or from right to left, the songs containing these snap rhythms suite this physical movement.

Another factor may be discovered in the adoption of other types of songs into the lullaby canon. As in Gaelic ones, Japanese lullabies are often adapted from other types of song like dancing songs, rowing songs, or various working songs in which snap rhythms are quite common.

In conclusion, it is fair to say that although the phonetic structure of the language certainly influences the metre and rhythm of lullabies, it is not exclusive but only one factor.

5.2.3. Scales and Musical Style

Next, I will re-assess the use of scales and some musical styles. According to these two tables, the 4 & 7th gapped pentatonic scale along with its variants, the 4th gapped hexatonic and the 7th gapped one, is distinctly frequent in both Scots and Gaelic lullabies, or as Purser puts it, “our [= Scottish people’s] fondness” (Purser, 1992: 16). Aside from

| other types of snap rhythm | 6d, 6e, 16d, 21b, 27a, 42b-iv, 45b, 52a, 52d, 53, 58a, 66b, 68a, 71a, 72a, 72b |
| even rhythm only           | 6a, 8, 10c, 15, 21a, 22b, 23, 26c, 28a, 28b, 32, 35a, 36a, 37a, 37c, 37d, 38, 41a, 43b, 43c, 43d, 46, 49, 57b, 59c, 61, 64a, 64b, 65c, 68b |
this, most of the songs categorised into the “other” group are simple tunes consisted of “tritonic” and “tetramonic” modes.

Table 2.3.3. (Scots)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale type</th>
<th>Text no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4 &amp; 7th gapped pentatonic</td>
<td>3a, 3b, 3d, 3e, 12b, 20d, 23a, 36a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other types of pentatonic</td>
<td>9b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th gapped hexatonic</td>
<td>6a, 6b, 7c, 21d, 28, 31, 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th gapped hexatonic</td>
<td>2b, 2d, 8e, 8i, 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other types of hexatonic</td>
<td>17a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heptatonic (seven-note scale)</td>
<td>8a, 8f, 17b, 19, 22c, 23b, 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>others</td>
<td>5, 7b, 7d, 7e, 15, 33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.3.3. (Gaelic)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale type</th>
<th>Text no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4 &amp; 7th gapped pentatonic</td>
<td>2, 3, 6f, 16c, 20b, 21a, 21b, 22b, 23, 27b, 31b, 36a, 36b, 38, 42b-ii, 42b-iii, 42b-iv, 44, 46, 47b, 48b, 52c, 59b, 59c, 66b, 68b, 72b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other types of pentatonic</td>
<td>(7), (28a), (54b)⁵⁹, 55, 60a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th gapped hexatonic</td>
<td>6b, 10a, 13a, 14, 16b, 28b, 29, 35a, 35b, 37a, 37c, 37d, 41a, 45c, 54a, 64a, 64b, 65a, 66a, 68a, 71a, 71b,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th gapped hexatonic</td>
<td>6g, 9, 10b, 10c, 11, 15, 22a, 22e, 22f, 22g, 26c, 31a, 33c, 33e, 40b, 47c, 57a, 71c, 72a,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other types of hexatonic</td>
<td>4, 6e, 16a, 42b-i, 43b, 43c, 43d, 50, 52a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heptatonic (seven-note scale)</td>
<td>5, 6a, 6c, 12, 13b, 16d, 17, 19, 22d, 24, 25, 27a, 32, 33d, 40a, 41b, 45a, 45b, 49, 53, 56, 57b, 58a, 67, 70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>others</td>
<td>8, 51, 52d, 60b, 61, 62a, 62c, 63, 65c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Turning to Japanese lullabies, their scales are based on four types of “tetrachord”: the *miyako-bushi* scale *doh-re b-fa-soh-la b-doh* or *mi-fa-la-ti-doh-mi*, the *ritsu* scale *doh-re-fa-soh-la-doh* or *soh-la-doh-re-mi-soh*, the *min’yō* scale *doh-re#-fa-soh-la#-doh*

---

⁵⁹ G-7 & 54b are the 3rd & 7th gapped pentatonic but can be changed into a 4 & 7th gapped scale with a change of the key mode from C to F. G-28a is a 1st and 4th gapped pentatonic but can be changed into a 4 & 7th gapped one with a change of the key mode from C to G.
or [la-doh-re-mi-soh-la], and the Okinawa (or Ryūkyū) scale [doh-mi-fa-soh-ti-doh].

Amongst the four, the ritsu scale is similar to the 4 & 7th gapped pentatonic scale: the former has two pairs of kaku-on, soh-doh, and re-soh, while the latter has a key note doh. In addition, the min’yō scale consists of the same notes as the 4 & 7th gapped pentatonic scale: doh, re, mi, soh, and la. The difference between them is, likewise, the key note. In the min’yō scale, the kaku-on are la-re and mi-la. As a result, particular Japanese folksongs, including lullabies, based on these two scales may sound familiar to Scottish people.

Kennedy-Fraser pointed out one century ago that the 4 & 7th gapped pentatonic can be found in Chinese and Japanese music, and this may reflect a certain cultural interrelationship between West and East through the several minority people living around the Arctic Ocean (Kennedy-Fraser, 1909: xxx-xxxii). This kind of “diffusionism” was denied by the next generation of anthropologists and folklorists because of its selective and biased comparison. This type of pentatonic scale has been discovered in many other parts of the world, so that the above hypothesis is now considered to have almost lost its credibility as an academic theory, although we cannot neglect the possibility of “Arctic cultural circle or connection”.

Structurally simpler tunes consisting of “tritonic” and “tetratonic” modes are more commonly discovered in Japanese lullabies than in Scots and Gaelic. They seem to be a kind of “original or primitive” lullaby reflecting the maternal (or parental) affection for the child.

Concerning the end-note, we can discover a number of texts ending with notes other than doh or la in the lullabies of all three languages. The following two tables indicate that although doh ending is dominant both in Scots and Gaelic lullabies, soh and re endings are not exceptional, particularly in Gaelic. As discussed in the fourth chapter, both the preference for two types of church mode, the Mixolydian (soh-la-ti-doh-re-mi-fa-soh) and the Dorian (re-mi-fa-soh-la-ti-doh-re), and the preference for ending in a different mode, seem to be related to this. This phenomenon is found not exclusively in lullabies, but also widely in other types of Scots and Gaelic songs.

60 A dotted underline stands for a higher octave, while a wavy one stands for a lower octave.
Meanwhile, in respect of the performance, or the actual usage of lullabies, the feeling of “circularity” created by such endings seems to be effective for inducing sleep.

Table 2.3.4. (Scots)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>End-Note</th>
<th>Text no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>doh</td>
<td>2b, 2d, 3a, 3b, 3d, 3e, 5, 7c, 7d, 7e, 8a, 8c, 8e, 8f, 8i, 11b, 14a, 16a, 16b, 18, 19d, 23b, 25, 28, 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re</td>
<td>13, 20d, 21c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soh</td>
<td>6a, 6b, 7b, 22b, 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la</td>
<td>33, 36a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.3.4. (Gaelic)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>End-Note</th>
<th>Text no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>doh</td>
<td>3, 4, 6b, 6d, 6e, 6g, 10a, 12, 13a, 15, 16c, 16d, 17, 19, 27b, 29, 35a, 35b, 38, 40a, 42b-iv, 44, 46, 51, 52a, 52c, 52d, 53, 55, 57a, 58a, (59b)61, 59c, 60a, 60b, 61, 62a, 62c, 63, 64b, 68b, 70,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re</td>
<td>2, 6c, 6f, 9, 13b, 14, 16b, 20b, 22c, 22d, 22e, 22f, 22g, 23, 26c, 28b, 31a, 31b, 33c, 33d, 33e, 37a, 37c, 37d, 47b, 56, 64a, 66b, 71a, 71b, 72a,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi</td>
<td>6a, 8, 32, 48b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa</td>
<td>7, 54b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soh</td>
<td>5, 10b, 10c, 11, 16a, 21a, 22a, 24, 25, 27a, 36a, 36b, 40b, 41a, 42b-i, 42b-ii, 43b, 43c, 43d, 45a, 47c, 50, 54a, 57b, (59b), 65a, 65c, 67, 68a, 71c, 72b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la</td>
<td>21b, 22b, 28a, 41b, 42b-ii, 45b, 45c, 49, 59b, 66a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many Japanese lullabies end with notes other than doh or la, as well. Although this happens due to the structure of the “tetra-chord” (see p.355) and although we can also find such endings in other types of song, the sound effect and the feeling of circularity, seems to be similar to Scots and Gaelic songs ending in soh or re.

5.2.4. Melody-line

In terms of the melody-line, first, I will reassess the occurrence of widely-spaced leaps. The following tables indicate that, although a considerable number of Scots and

61 G-59b ends with la in the 1st, 2nd & 5th stanzas, doh in the 4th, 6th & 7th, and soh in the 3rd stanza.
Gaelic lullabies include widely-spaced leaps, the ratio is not as high as expected from previous studies of Scottish music. This result may be related to the situation in which lullabies are actually sung. The “vital melody-line” created by widely-spaced leaps is likely to cause a dynamic stepwise motion, which is not fit to soothing and lulling a child. In spite of this musical preference of the Scottish people, such a functional factor seems to influence the rareness of Scots and Gaelic lullabies that include a widely-spaced leap.

Table 2.3.5. (Scots)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Widely-Spaced Leaps</th>
<th>Text no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sixth degree</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>up</td>
<td>8a, 8e, 8f, 8i, 14a, 16a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>down</td>
<td>6a, 6b, 8a, 8e, 8f, 8i, 21c, 23b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seventh degree</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eighth degree</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>up</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>down</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no correspondence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.3.5. (Gaelic)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Widely-Spaced Leaps</th>
<th>Text no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sixth degree</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>up</td>
<td>2, (4)(^{62}), 5, 6a, 6b, 6f, 15, 17, 19, 21a, 22e, 22g, 24, 33c, (40a), 40b, 41a, 42b-i, (45a), 45b, (47c), (49), 53, 54b, (59b), 66a, (71a), 71c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>down</td>
<td>(6b), 6c, 13a, 14, 17, 19, 22b, 22c, (25), (27b), 33c, 33d, (36b), 42b-iii,(43c), (43d), 45c, (47c), 53, 54b, 55, 56, (60a), 66a, 66b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seventh degree</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>up</td>
<td>20b, (28b), 53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>down</td>
<td>22e, 22f, 22g, 70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eighth degree</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>up</td>
<td>6c, 21a, 22a, 41b, 54b, (55), (56), 66a, 66b, 67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>down</td>
<td>5, 6a, 11, 13a, 15, 26c, 32, 38, 40a, 45b, 52c, 53, 58a, (68b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ninth degree</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>up</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>down</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no correspondence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{62}\) The texts of numbers with brackets have widely-spaced leaps across the bar.
In Japanese lullabies widely-spaced leaps rarely appear as seen in the former chapter. We can interpret the reason for this as follows: in addition to the functional factor mentioned above, such leaps are not so common in Japanese folksong as a whole.

Finally various melodic ornamentations such as the portamento (glissando), tremolo (trill), and grace notes, are adopted in the lullabies of all three languages. (See the examples in the former three chapters.) They seem to be strongly influenced by the textural features of each culture's musical tradition.

Related to this, Ainu people, the aboriginal minority in northern Japan, have a unique vocalization exclusively used for singing lullabies, called "hororuse", as mentioned in the fourth chapter (see p.108). “Hororuse” is created by making a trembling noise deep in the throat and is said to be an imitation of the sound of birds. However in the lullabies of the three languages, particular vocalizations or melodic ornamentations used exclusively in lullabies have not been discovered as far as my investigation goes.
5.3. Literary Perspective

5.3.1. Personae

At the outset, I will focus on the characters in the first and second person, in order to discover particular texts not belonging to what might be termed “typical lullabies”: that is, a text in which a mother appears as the first person, “I”, and her child appears as the second person, “you”.

There are a number of texts in which the first person is obviously not a mother, and the second is not a child. Looking through such “non-typical lullabies”, both the essence and the variety of lullabies actually having been sung and transmitted for many generations, will be unveiled. My intention is to unearth such songs. The result of the analysis in the lullabies of the three languages can be summed up as follows:

Table 2.4.1. (Scots)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st person other than mother</th>
<th>Text no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>father</td>
<td>2b, 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>others</td>
<td>baby-sitter (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>63, unknown (7, 18, 19 &amp; 20), wren? (32)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.4.1. (Gaelic)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st person other than mother</th>
<th>Text no.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>father</td>
<td>2, 16, 22, 53, 55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other family</td>
<td>grandmother’s sister (72)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid-wife, nanny</td>
<td>33, 41, 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foster mother</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>milkmaid</td>
<td>4, 5, 19, 20, 44, 65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hunter, shepherd</td>
<td>68, 70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fairy, water-horse</td>
<td>1, 34, 37, 47, 53, 55, 57, 59, 66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

63 S:6 is said to have been composed by ‘Minnie o Shirva’, a baby-sitter in Fetlar, although there is no particular expression suggesting the singer’s identification.
humans in fairy stories | 26, 42, 45, 57, 64  
---|---
others | woman longing for her lover (10), widow (24 & 61), swan (21), white dog (51), unknown (40, 54 & 58)

Table 4.4.1 (Japanese) ⁶⁴

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st person other than mother</th>
<th>Text ref.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>father</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other family</td>
<td>grandmother (15:309), grandparents or great grandparents (2-b:196)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moriko</td>
<td>(many)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foster mother</td>
<td>muri-ani (26:378)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>humans in stories</td>
<td>elder sister (26:375), child (2-b:206), moriko (2-b:160)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>animals in stories</td>
<td>bird (25:209, 2-b:200), bee (3:163)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>others</td>
<td>woman longing for her lover (8:326)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These three tables distinctly indicate the variety of characters appearing in the lullabies of the three languages. Although texts having the first person other than a mother are not necessarily abundant in Scots, fathers and “others” including a baby-sitter are the main characters in several texts.

In Gaelic lullabies, the variety of first person characters is richer than in Scots. The following three factors seem to be related to this: (i) the adaptation of other working songs like milking songs, (ii) the connection with narrative songs or stories for amusing children, and (iii) the reflection of occasional, ceremonial songs like funeral songs and laments.

As for Japanese lullabies, the connection with folk narrative is very strong, as well. Moreover, the role of the moriko is central. Meanwhile, there are no particular “Japanese father’s lullabies” as far as I have investigated.

Corresponding to the variety and abundance of first person characters, the second person other than a child is often discovered in all of the three languages. Related to this,

⁶⁴ Since the volume of the texts compiled into the collection is too great, the only some examples are listed up here.
there are several Japanese lullabies in which the substantial second person is different from the superficially portrayed one. This means that the singer gives a particular overt or covert message to others, pretending to soothe her or his child. The content of the message frequently includes a warning, a satire or criticism: from a grandmother to her daughter in law, from a moriko to a traveler (in the story, called “Komori-uta Naitsu [Secret Information through a Lullaby]”), from a moriko to her employers and to another moriko, or from the oppressed to intruders (e.g. Okinawa, 26: 388, see pp.260-261). We can discover a similar situation in the following Gaelic lullaby (cited only English):

Go from the window, my love, my love
Do not come here again, my dear, my dear
Go from the window, my love, my love.
The father of my children is lying beside me.

(G-9)

The singer warns her lover to “go from the window” because “the father of my children is lying beside me”, whilst soothing her child.

In this way, the existence of a substantial second person is one of the most significant features of lullabies intimately related to the function of singing them. It means that to sing particular lullabies has a function of sending a message to someone other than the child. I will discuss this function in the next part in detail.

Next, I will compare the metaphorical expressions for children in the three languages.

Table 2.4.2. (Scots)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Metaphorical Expression for a Child (Text no.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>animal</td>
<td>lamb (6, 8 &amp; 15), fly (6), pet (6), bird (8), horse (23), hen (23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plant</td>
<td>flower (6), silver tree (11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>others</td>
<td>peerie mootie (30)65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

65 The meaning of peerie mootie is unknown.
Table 3.4.2. (Gaelic)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Animal</th>
<th>Metaphorical Expression for a Child (Text no.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>calf</td>
<td>&quot;not a seal’s blue cub, not a seagull’s grey chick, not the otter’s wry whelp, not the lean cow’s puny calf&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sheep</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rowans</td>
<td>nuts (13), hazel nuts (13), cinnamon clusters (13), cinnamon (15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>others</td>
<td>honey (13), playmate (15)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.4.2. (Japanese)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Animal &amp; Plant &amp; Food</th>
<th>Metaphorical Expression for a Child (Text ref.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>plant</td>
<td>bamboo-sprout (4-a: 196), aubergine (23-b: 210)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>food</td>
<td>mochi [round rice-cake] (4-a: 196), bota-mochi [rice-cake covered with red bean paste] (15: 300)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>others</td>
<td>doll made of gold and silver (4-a: 196), oni [ogre] (26: 174)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All of these expressions are fascinating, for they are strongly connected with the natural and cultural environment of each society, as well as the cross-cultural similarity of people’s imagination, even if some of them — a fly or silver tree in Scots, an aubergine or oni in Japanese — seem to be strange to non-native speakers.

Thirdly, I will compare particular people’s names that appear in the lullabies.

Table 2.4.3. (Scots)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>People’s Name (Text no.)</th>
<th>Person’s Name (Text no.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>actual</td>
<td>historical Coulter (2), Black Douglas (24)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fictional people in stories</td>
<td>Adam and Eve (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unknown, others</td>
<td>Cockie Bendie (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tozie Mozie (32), General Ozie (32), Wild Wullie (32)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

66 Tozie Mozie, General Ozie and Wild Wullie in S’32 are regarded to be the names of wrens, although the context of this song is unknown at the moment.
Comparing the lullabies of the three languages, we can point out two things: historical people’s names are abundant in Gaelic, and fictional people’s names in stories are abundant in both Gaelic and Japanese. The former definitely reflects the strong connection of Gaelic lullabies with the laments and the eulogistic songs for clan’s heirs. The latter is, on the other hand, probably related to the adaptation of various kinds of folk narrative in Gaelic and Japanese lullabies.

Let us, then, move to another kind of persona — supernatural beings. In respect of this subject, Gaelic and Japanese lullabies show a remarkable contrast towards each other. Amongst the four types of supernatural being, the group of “others” is large in Gaelic, whilst threatening and peaceful beings are abundant in Japanese. The “Others” of Gaelic lullabies are supernatural beings not directly related to soothing the child, but based on fairy stories. The people in Gaelic society, interestingly, do not seem to have had such a strategy for lulling their

### Table 3.4.3. (Gaelic)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person’s Name (Text no.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>actual people</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>historical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Griogal (6), Ailpeineach cair (30), Coinneach, Mhic oinnich (33), Iain Mhuideartaich (41), Domhnall Gorm (48),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ordinary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anna (3 &amp; 15),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>fictional people in stories</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mhorag (2, 53, 62), Mor (16), Dhumnchadh (17), Domhnuit (35), Cuibrachan (52), Leodach, Chotunich, etc.(59),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>unknown, others</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eoghan (24), Ruarachan (32), Uilleim (36), Dhomhnaill (60), Diuram, Mac Ruairi, Iain, Lochlainn, Ruairi. (58), Ruairidh (63), Camshronach (63), Morag (72)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 4.4.3. (Japanese)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person’s Name (Text ref.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>actual people</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>historical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hachiman Kotarō (5-b:194), Saibei (17-a:201)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ordinary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miyo-chan (18-b:202), Hana-chan (24:292), Oyoshi (9-b:206), Matsungani &amp; Bunarumui (26:386), Saburō (4-a:186)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>fictional people in stories</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>unknown, others</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kotarō (24:297), Ichitarō, Nitarō &amp; San-no-tarō (17-a:212)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
children as using particular supernatural beings like "Willie Winkie" in Scots, although they have a rich tradition of supernatural beings.

The abundance of threatening beings in Japanese lullabies is partly influenced by the poor condition of the *moriko*. As mentioned before, the only possible opportunity for expressing their sadness or of complaining was through singing lullabies to the family’s baby who dealt with her badly.

However, we need to think of another factor, for there are various kinds of ways of threatening children without bringing in supernatural beings. In other words, it is thought that there was a particular reason for introducing them into lullabies other than for threatening the child. In my hypothesis, there might be a religious or mystic purpose: an incantation to protect the baby from evil supernatural beings. This subject will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2.4.4. (Scots)</th>
<th>Supernatural Beings (Text no.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>threatening</td>
<td>fairies (3), the Black Douglas (24), Chrystie Cleik (27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peaceful</td>
<td>Adam and Eve (1), angels (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sleep personified</td>
<td>Lang Willie (6), Wee Willie Winkie (35)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>others</td>
<td>Davie Daylight (33)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3.4.4. (Gaelic)</th>
<th>Supernatural Beings (Text no.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>threatening</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peaceful</td>
<td>angels (39 &amp; 43)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sleep personified</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>others</td>
<td>weird woman (1), water-horse (2, 53 &amp; 55), fairy lover (26, 64 &amp; 66), mother’s ghost (31), fairy woman (34, 37 &amp; 59), mermaid (35), fairy (45 &amp; 52)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4.4.4. (Japanese)</th>
<th>Supernatural Beings (Text ref.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| threatening            | *wanwan-san* [a dog monster] (25:403), *gongo* (19-b:193), *ganga* (20-b:218) *
|                        | *okame* [a goblin?] (15:288), *oni* [an ogre] (15:303), *mokoa, mokko, moko, mouko, moumo* (2-a:208) |
I will turn to the next topic, the introduction of animals into lullabies. I have categorised them into five groups according to their relationship to human life and their biological features: livestock, pets, wild animals, wild birds, and others.

The following three tables suggest an intimate relationship between the domestic life and natural environment both in Scotland and in Japan. Livestock like cattle and sheep are familiar in Scots and Gaelic, while wild animals and birds, particularly aquatic animals, frequently appear in Gaelic and Japanese lullabies. Various sorts of fish, seashells and insects are, moreover, not unusual in the Japanese canon. These animals appear not only as animals, but also as personae, behaving just like humans and metaphorical figures for human children. This means that the role of animals is distinctly important in the lullabies of all three languages.

Table 2.4.5. (Scots)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Animal (Text no.)</th>
<th>livestock</th>
<th>pets</th>
<th>wild animals</th>
<th>wild birds</th>
<th>others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lamb (6 &amp; 20), sheep (6 &amp; 21), mare (6), cow (6, 10, 21 &amp; 26), goat (21), hen (23 &amp; 35), cock (35),</td>
<td></td>
<td>cat (32 &amp; 35), dog (35), turtle (32)</td>
<td>rabbit (7), deer (6 &amp; 21)</td>
<td>laverick (6), crow (6), robin redbreast (12), birdie (8 &amp; 21)</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.4.5. (Gaelic)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Animal (Text no.)</th>
<th>livestock</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bull (4), calf (5, 15, 16, 26, 27, 59, 65 &amp; 70), cow (16, 18, 20, 22, 33, 44, 59 &amp; 65), cattle (19, 27, 38, 40, 54, 57, 58, 65 &amp; 67), lamb (26 &amp; 59), sheep (27, 28, 29, 34, 57, 59 &amp; 72), horse (26, 33, 55, 57, 58 &amp; 59), goats (34), pig (50), cock (33, 58 &amp; 60), hen (58)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4.4.5. (Japanese)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Animal (Text ref. is omitted)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>livestock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wild animals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wild birds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>others</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.3.2. Materials and Environment

In the former three chapters, I analysed the materials and environment dividing them into five categories: (i) tools for nursing, (ii) bribes for soothing a child, (iii) landscape, (iv) weather, and (v) other special circumstances. Here I will compare the results of my analysis.

First, such tools for nursing as cradles, beds, cots and animal skins frequently appear in Scots lullabies. There is, interestingly, only one correspondence to this in Gaelic and none in Japanese, although various tools must have been used. Although I do not have any confident idea for explaining this result, it is possible to say that people in Japanese and Gaelic society did not regard tools for nursing as significant enough to be involved in their song. In Scots society (or more precisely, in the society where Scots is used as the mother tongue), on the contrary, such tools that gives children comfort, might have been appreciated as a kind of bribe for soothing them.

Table 2.4.6.(Scots)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>tools for nursing</strong></th>
<th>cradle (3, 8b, 8e, 8f, 8g, 8h, 8i, 16b, 28 &amp; 29), bed (10, 12, 15 &amp; 35), cot (34), rabbit skin (7), lamb’s skin or bull’s skin (20), teat (29)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>bribes</strong></td>
<td>toffee (1), candy (2), cake (17), drop (18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>landscape</strong></td>
<td>sea (2c-d, 6, 8g, 8i, &amp; 34), field (4 &amp; 26), ben (23), glen (16a &amp; 26), hill (16a), mountain (21), town (18 &amp; 35),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>weather</strong></td>
<td>snow (6), windy (8 except a &amp; c),</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 3.4.6. (Gaelic)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>tools for nursing</strong></th>
<th>blanket (3),</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>bribes</strong></td>
<td>birds (69)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>landscape</strong></td>
<td>sea (2, 6, 9, 10, 13, 27, 35, 36, 38, 40 &amp; 54), mountain, glen, or ben (20, 26, 27, 30, 34, 40, 52, 53, 59, 68 &amp; 70), moorland, pasture, or hill (13, 17, 22, 27, 37, 45, 58, 59 &amp; 65), knoll (2, 37, 64 &amp; 66)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>weather</strong></td>
<td>rain or storm (2, 6 &amp; 10), snow (39), fog or mist (52 &amp; 56)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>other special item</strong></td>
<td>potato famine (7), graveyard (16, 24 &amp; 26), black disease (50)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 4.4.6. (Japanese)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>tools for nursing</strong></th>
<th>--</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>bribes</strong></td>
<td>sweets, sugar, peach, salmon, meat, potato, taro, pear, milk, mochi [rice cake], dango [dumpling], sekihan [boiled rice with red beans], den-den daiko [toy drum], shō-no fue [bamboo flute], kō-bako [incense box], mirror, red clothes, red sandals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>punishment</strong></td>
<td>awa-botchi [mochi made from millet] with pepper,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>landscape</strong></td>
<td>sea (seashore, sand beach, port, island, nada [open sea]), mountain (including Mt. Tsukuba, Mt. Aso), farm and rice field, town (Tenma-no-ichi [market in Tenma town], front gardens of big houses, amusement spots, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>weather</strong></td>
<td>fine (moonlight, stars), rain (including thunder and shower), snow, frost, hail, fog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>other special item</strong></td>
<td>oya-no-zaisho [a place where their parents live], amagoi [a shamanistic ceremony for rain-making], bon [mid-summer festival], 20th December, miya-mairi [the first visit to a shrine], a monthly birthday</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Secondly, with regard to bribes used for soothing children, various sweets and other
food are found both in Scots and in Japanese lullabies. The variety of bribes in Japanese lullabies reflects the struggle of the nurse-maids, whose principle job was to lull the child. She must have used her full imagination for the job. A counter example, bad food as a punishment, is therefore sometimes prepared as well. Meanwhile, there are very few correspondences to such bribes in Gaelic lullabies. The people might not have been fond of using bribes on their little children, although this is far from a confident interpretation.

Thirdly, the landscape is perhaps one of the key elements for investigating the social background as well as the natural, geographical background of the tradition of singing lullabies. The industry, social life in local communities and the domestic life are often described along with the landscape.

On the whole, we can discover the similar landscape and social background amongst the three groups. Both Scotland and Japan are countries surrounded by the ocean and both are mountainous places, so that the people have basically lived with "the earth and water": they have engaged in agriculture, including farming, hunting and forestry, and the fishing industry. Such circumstances influence the large number of texts to a more or less degree. In this sense we can consider that the lullabies herein under discussion are, in general, rooted in the "soil". However there are significant number of lullabies in which the landscape is imaginary, and different from the actual scenery of the region in which the lullabies have been sung. In other words, they are based on fairy stories and other folktales, which are rooted in the "inner-soil" or identity of the Scottish or Japanese people.

Fourthly, the weather described in lullabies reflects a psychological elements as well as the natural environment. The preference for bad weather such as rainy, stormy, windy or snowy conditions discovered in the lullabies of all of three languages must be connected with the depression or grief of their singers.

Finally, several special circumstances relating to particular social institutions or historical incidents, are described both in Gaelic and Japanese lullabies. Some of these might have been sung in order to remember the institution or incident and pass it on to the next generation. In short, such pieces might be considered a kind of "commemorative song", a matter which will be discussed in the eighth chapter.
5.3.3. Motifs

In previous chapters, I categorised the motifs used in lullabies into the following categories: A: lulling, B: affection and eulogy, C: guarantee of safety, D: promise and bribe, E: prophecy, F: threat, G: weariness of childcare, H: anxiety and sadness not directly related to childcare, I: happiness and joy not directly related to childcare, and J: others. Let us now compare the results.

Since the Japanese texts were not listed in a table because there were too many, I will compare the characteristic features of the lullabies in all three languages without reference of their quantity.

Table 2.4.7 & 3.4.7.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motif</th>
<th>Scots (Text no.)</th>
<th>Gaelic (Text no.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A: lulling</td>
<td>2b, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 28, 29, 31, 33</td>
<td>6, 7, 8, 13, 14, 22, 23, 25, 28, 32, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 47, 50, 55, 56, 59, 60, 72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B: affection &amp; eulogy</td>
<td>25, 30</td>
<td>13, 15, 18, 23, 29, 30, 33, 34, 36, 38, 41, 43, 47, 48, 55, 59, 62, 63, 67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C: guarantee of safety</td>
<td>3, 6, 7, 8, 14, 20, 24</td>
<td>8, 11, 22, 46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D: promise and bribe</td>
<td>2b, 17, 18, 29</td>
<td>37, 60, 67, 69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E: prophecy</td>
<td>good: 2c</td>
<td>3, 15, 22, 27, 33, 35, 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bad: 4, 8</td>
<td>6, 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F: threat</td>
<td>12, 16b, (24), 27</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G: weariness of childcare</td>
<td>4, 8, (19), 23</td>
<td>7, 16, 25, 28, 49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H: anxiety &amp; sadness not related to childcare</td>
<td>4, 8, 11, 16a, 26</td>
<td>6, 7, 9, 10, 16, 22, 24, 25, 39, 40, 46, 50, 53, 56, 57, 58, 61, 62, 66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I: happiness &amp; joy not related to childcare</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>56, 64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J: others</td>
<td>1, 2, 6, 9, (12), (16b), 25, 31, 32, 33, 34</td>
<td>1, 2, 4, 5, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 26, 31, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 44, 45, 47, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57, 59, 62, 64, 65, 66, 68, 70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 184 -
Firstly, Motif A is familiar to the lullabies of all of three languages. It is probably the basic motif, for the principle or original purpose of singing lullabies is to lull a child. However, a number of Gaelic lullabies do not include this motif, as analysed in the third chapter. Japanese lullabies have the same tendency. Why does this happen? It is related to the final purpose of this thesis to investigate the proper answer to this question, so I will leave this at the present stage.

Motif B seems to be another basic motif. Various kinds of metaphorical expression for children discussed above exhibit this motif. The eulogy for a clan’s heir discovered in Gaelic lullabies is another remarkable feature categorized into this group. There are no equivalents in Scots or Japanese as far as I have investigated.

Various examples categorized into Motif C are discovered in Scots lullabies: (i) assurance of the singer’s existence beside the child, (ii) notice of a mother’s (or father’s) present location, (iii) guarding by holy spirits, and (iv) protection from evil spirits (or threatening beings). In a few Gaelic lullabies (i) is found, meanwhile (ii) and (iv) are common in Japanese lullabies.

As discussed above, the texts including Motif D — promise and bribe — are the most abundant in Japan in terms of the variety. They are mainly divided into five cases: (i) a singer promises to do something for a child while he or she is sleeping, or to give something if he or she goes to sleep; (ii) a nurse-maid promises to bring souvenirs from town to her nursing child; (iii) the next day is the child’s tan’jo-nichi [monthly birthday], or the day for a miya-mairi [visit to a shrine] and the child is promised something in celebration; (iv) a child is promised particular gifts on his or her fifteenth birthday; and (v) the promise of certain bridal presents in future. On the other hand, the promise by a fairy woman in one Gaelic lullaby (G-37) is an interesting example based on folk narrative tradition. Meanwhile, in several Scots lullabies, sweets are used as a bribe to soothe the children.

Two contrary types of prophecy are discovered in all of three languages [Motif E]: joyful or good prophecies, and ominous or bad prophecies. The former is often connected with two other motifs, affection and eulogy [Motif C], and promise and bribe [Motif D]. Particularly the eulogistic songs for a clan’s heir in Gaelic lullabies express the hope for his glorious future.
In Scots and Gaelic lullabies the latter frequently reflect the singer's hard situation, which is related to another motif, the singer's anxiety and sadness not directly related to childcare [Motif G]: poverty, the death of husband, famine or whatever. Moreover, some ominous prophecies discovered in Gaelic and Japanese texts may also function as a threat [Motif F], too.

The frequency of Motif F, threat, is remarkably different in Gaelic and Japanese lullabies. This motif rarely appears in the Gaelic canon, while it is very popular in Japan. The threats discovered in Japanese texts can be categorized into five groups: (i) threatening beings come and they abduct or eat the child, (ii) the child is taken to particular place and abandoned there, (iii) the child is given some bad or poor tasting food, (iv) shabby clothes are given to the child, and (v) the child is given some physical punishment (and killed, sometimes). These are usually found in Japanese nurse-maid girl's songs. Threats categorized into (i) and (ii) are discovered in Scots lullabies, too. Among them, two songs belonging to (ii) have a well-known motif, the "baby on the tree-top will fall down" (S-12 & 16b).

Motif G, weariness of childcare, frequently appears in the songs sung by a person who is not the mother of the child, for instance, the moriko of Japanese lullabies. A few equivalent texts are discovered in Scots (S-19). However, weariness of childcare may be a naturally-occurring feeling in the singer's mind, even if the child is her or his own. Particularly in the case when the singer is suffering from severe conditions, as mentioned in Motif E, the job must have been felt a heavy task. Several Scots and Gaelic lullabies express such severe conditions surrounding mother singers.

Anxiety and sadness not related to childcare is perhaps one of the most basic and universal motifs in the traditional, although omitted from the lullabies in classical or popular music. A certain number of texts include this motif in all of three languages. In the local communities of pre-modern times, including both Scotland and Japan, young mothers usually engaged in domestic work had very few opportunities to demonstrate their feelings. Singing lullabies was one of those very limited opportunities. The singers, whether they were mothers or not, have expressed various kinds of feelings and emotions through lullabies. Why was it that the lullaby was chosen as the form to demonstrate such feelings when there are various types of song? I will discuss this question in detail from
the point of view of the social background in the seventh chapter.

Compared with Motif H, the texts including Motif I, happiness and joy not related to childcare, seldom appear. However, a few texts describing the passionate feeling of a woman who is looking forward to seeing her lover or husband, categorised into this group, are discovered in all three languages. Aside from this, the moriko’s going home in Japanese lullabies is considered to be another typical example of this motif.

Finally, the other group of miscellaneous motifs displays an intimate relationship with (i) folk narrative tradition and (ii) other types of folksong. Several narrative lullabies of the “Mother Goose’s type” are discovered in Scots and Japanese, meanwhile a number of Gaelic and Japanese lullabies are based on fairy stories and other legends or folktales. Songs (or lyrics) expressing various emotions not connected with childcare or with children were chosen from other types of folksongs. It is not uncommon to find examples of this in Gaelic and Japanese lullabies. Above all, the following case is the most common in Japan: miscellaneous words adapted from other genres are bound one after another like a patchwork and are sung using the same tune. It was the tune, particularly the rhythm and tempo with which the singer was concerned.67 The words were a secondary matter.

Nevertheless, we can discover several Gaelic and Japanese tunes adapted from other types of song. Were they chosen just at random? Were there any particular unique features of the folksongs in terms of words or tunes that made them suitable for adaptation into lullabies? The answers to these questions will be investigated according to the issue of context in Part III.

Moving on to Ikegami’s “structural model for lullaby motifs”, I will compare the results of my analysis in the former three chapters. In Scots lullabies there are four texts that fit Model (i-a) precisely, one text that fits Model (ii-c), and one that partly fits (i-b). Amongst them, such sweets as a candy, cakes, and drops, as well as teat, appear as a “good consequence”. Bad consequences in (i-b) and (ii-c), on the other hand, include the appearance of threatening beings like “the Black Douglas” (S-24) or “Chrystie Cleik” (S-27).

67 This consideration is based on the interview to several Japanese informants during my fieldwork.
Meanwhile, in Gaelic lullabies, very few texts correspond to Ikegami’s model. In Japanese lullabies, moreover, Model (i-a), (ii-c), and examples including both are frequently discovered, whilst there are no correspondences to (i-b) and (ii-d). In summary, it is considered that Ikegami’s model does not propose the unique features of Japanese lullabies, but can be applied, more or less, to Scots lullabies, too. Nevertheless, it is far from a universal feature across cultural borders, for Gaelic correspondences are rarely discovered.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'sleep'</th>
<th>(i) obey</th>
<th>(a) good consequence (reward)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(ii) not obey</td>
<td>(b) avoid bad consequence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(c) bad consequence (punishment)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(d) not take good consequence</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.4.8 & 4.4.8.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>Scots (Text no.)</th>
<th>Gaelic (Text no.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i-a</td>
<td>2b, 18, 19, 29</td>
<td>(68)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-b</td>
<td>(24)</td>
<td>(11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii-c</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii-d</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.3.4. Groups

As a final part of my literary analysis, I will compare the various groups previously outlined. Although here the reference number for the Japanese lullabies cannot be indicated, there are a certain number of texts corresponding to each of the motifs, as discussed in the fourth chapter. Looking through the table and the analysis undertaken to date, I will briefly point out four features of these Groups.

Firstly, contrary to general anticipation, a certain number of texts belong to Groups II to V in all of three languages. Secondly, each of them has slightly different features to each other. In Scots lullabies, Groups III and V are prevalent. In Gaelic, lullabies with Motif H, Group III, and Group V are distinctly popular. Meanwhile, in Japanese, lullabies
with Motif F (categorised in Group II), Motif G (in Group III), and Group V are frequently discovered.

Thirdly, there are a substantial number of the texts include more than two groups in all of three languages. This means that in one text various or contrastive motifs are involved together. Fourthly, the abundance of Group V texts throughout suggests the strong influence of other genres of folksong, folk narratives, or folk tradition in general.

Table 2.4.9 & 3.4.9.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Motif</th>
<th>Scots (Text no.)</th>
<th>Gaelic (Text no.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I: child—</td>
<td>A: lulling</td>
<td>2b, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 28, 29, 32, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 44, 45, 47, 48, 50, 55, 56, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 68, 70</td>
<td>6, 7, 8, 13, 14, 22, 23, 25, 28, 32, 34, 37, 38, 47, 50, 55, 56, 59, 60, 72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B: affection &amp; eulogy</td>
<td>25, 30, 31</td>
<td>13, 15, 18, 23, 29, 30, 33, 34, 36, 38, 41, 43, 47, 48, 55, 59, 62, 63, 67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C: guarantee of safety</td>
<td>3, 6, 7, 8, 14, 20, 24</td>
<td>8, 11, 22, 46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D: promise &amp; bribe</td>
<td>2b, 17, 18, 29</td>
<td>37, 60, 67, 69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>E: good prophecy</td>
<td>2c</td>
<td>3, 15, 22, 27, 33, 35, 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II: child—</td>
<td>E: bad prophecy</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6, 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F: threat</td>
<td>12, 16b, (24), 27</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III: singer—</td>
<td>G: weariness of childcare</td>
<td>4, 8, (19), 23</td>
<td>7, 16, 25, 28, 49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>H: anxiety &amp; sadness not related to</td>
<td>4, 8, 16a, 26, 36</td>
<td>6, 7, 9, 10, 16, 22, 24, 25, 39, 40, 46, 50, 53, 56, 57, 58, 61, 62, 66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>childcare</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV: singer—</td>
<td>I: happiness &amp; joy not related to</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>56, 64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>childcare</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V: others</td>
<td>J: others</td>
<td>1, 2, 6, 9, 11, (12), (16b), 25, 32, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 44, 45, 47, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57, 59, 62, 64, 65, 66, 68, 70</td>
<td>1, 2, 4, 5, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 26, 31, 34, 35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.4. Conclusion

Now I will conclude my comparative analysis of the textural and textual features of the lullabies in the three languages for their similarities and differences. Beforehand, we must remind ourselves of the shortage of Scots lullabies collected for the present study. Here the Scots texts are mainly taken from printed materials, particularly nursery rhyme books, so that the categorisation and selection depends on the judgment of the various compilers or editors. This means that a number of Scots songs actually sung for soothing and lulling children might be omitted by them in case of the songs in which the motifs of soothing and lulling or some other “child-happy” type motifs corresponding to Group I in my categorisation, are not included.

Meanwhile, I was able to collect a lot of Gaelic lullabies through my own field work and from the Archive of the Department of Celtic and Scottish Studies. Here the judgment of the singers with regard to the song types was respected. This means that, no matter what the content is, when the informants say, “I sang (or am singing) this song as a lullaby”, the song is considered to be “a lullaby”. Most of the printed materials compiling Gaelic lullabies basically follow this principle. The Grand Collection of Japanese Children’s Songs is based on the same concept. In short, we must include the bias towards the texts used for the present analysis into consideration.

There are four similar features discovered in the lullabies of all three languages. First, all of them are firmly based on the musical, poetic and literary traditions of each culture. The following features seem to be especially remarkable: rhyming in Scots, the syllable pattern in Japanese, several types of repetition in all of three languages, duple or single metre in Japanese, snap rhythms in Scots and Gaelic, the fourth and seventh “gapped” pentatonic in Scots and Gaelic, four types of “tetra-chord” scales in Japanese, the “circulatory” ending in all three, the realistic description of natural environment and human-life in all three, and the fantastic description of the imaginary world in Gaelic. These features are found not exclusively in lullabies but also in various types of folksong and folk literature in each culture.

Secondly, related to the first feature, the lullabies of all three languages are strongly influenced by other types of folksong and folk literature. A number of texts are originally
identified as nursery rhymes for amusing children, children's game songs, working songs, ceremonial songs, religious songs, narrative songs for entertainment, or party songs, etc. The words in some cases, and the tunes in other cases, are adapted from these types of song.

Thirdly, the variety of subject or content described in the lyrics is considered to be another common feature in the lullabies of all three languages. Although a certain number of texts include vocables for soothing a child, lulling phrases and maternal or parental affection as the typical or original subject for lullabies, we can discover plenty of texts not categorised into this group (= Group I in my categorisation). This seems to be connected with the variety of functions that lullabies have. This will be the main subject in my contextual analysis in the following chapters.

Fourthly, in the lullabies of all three languages, the music is primary and the lyrics are secondary. This means that the tune is more important than the words for lullaby singers. This is backed up by the fact that not a few texts consist of vocables only, or of set phrases, or just humming. It is also confirmed by my fieldwork, in which several informants told me that the music is more important.

Next, I will outline different three features. From the point of view of motif or subject, we can discover a substantial number of Gaelic and Japanese lullabies not considered to be songs for babies or infants, but as songs for youths and adults, although most of the Scots examples are considered to be for children only, except for a few songs like “Hishie baa” (S-36), whose subject is the regret of a single mother. According to my division of “folklore in childhood” introduced in the first chapter, most Scots lullabies are categorised into “folklore for children”; meanwhile there are a number of Gaelic and Japanese songs that can be identified as “folklore surrounding children” in terms of the subject. In the Gaelic and Japanese folksong tradition, lullabies seem to have been regarded not only as a type of “children's song” or “nursery rhyme”, but also as a type of “working song or occupational song by women”. In Scots, however, lullabies have been basically considered to be simple nursery rhymes since the publication of the second edition of Popular Rhymes of Scotland by Chambers in 1842.

Such a different attitude between Gaelic and Japanese, and Scots lullabies may reflect a difference in their view of children. According to Philippe Ariès, the French
historian, in France after the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, children have been regarded not as “a small adult”, but as “a special, innocent and pure being” who should receive special care and be introduced to the “valuable” culture created or arranged for them (Ariès, *L’Enfant et la vie familiale sous l’Ancien Régime [Century of Childhood]*: 1960).

In England, following such a historical trend or change of view concerning children on the Continent, the publication of nursery rhyme books started in the middle of the eighteenth century. It is possible to say that such phenomena indicate the separation of children’s culture from its adult counterpart. In Lowlands and other areas where Scots lullabies have been recited, similar circumstances may have been observed for the last few centuries.

Until recently, on the other hand, in Gaelic and Japanese societies, children have been regarded as those who should be introduced to the culture shared with adults as well as having a special culture created for them until recent years. As a result, the symbolic distance between children and adults was comparatively close in Gaelic and Japanese societies rather than that in Scots culture. But this interpretation is far from a final conclusion.

Next, a relationship with fairies and other fantastic stories in Gaelic lullabies is more frequently discovered than in Scots and Japanese, both of which seem to prefer realistic subjects and motifs, except for the appearance of evil, threatening supernatural beings, and sleep personified. This feature may be interpreted as a reflection of the strong tradition of fairy tales in Gaelic culture. Moreover, it is perhaps another reason that various customs and beliefs connected with “fairies” or the like have been transmitted in Gaelic society. Narrative lullabies involving fairies must have been sung for the purpose of education as well as for amusement.

The abundance of realistic subjects and motifs in Japanese lullabies, on the other hand, is distinctly influenced by the “komori-bōkō [nurse-maid apprenticeship]” system as a social institution after the eighteenth century. A great number of songs containing miscellaneous subjects and motifs related to poor nurse-maids have been composed.

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68 In Japan, the radical transformation of the view of children is said to have happened in the sixties of the last century.
Although there are of course a number of fantastic Japanese lullabies, the total balance between realistic and fantastic subjects seems to be uneven.

Thirdly, in relation to the lullabies sung by nurse-maids and nurse-children, the words and tunes of some Japanese lullabies reflect the style of performance in that they have been often sung by groups, in unison in some cases and using a dialogue style in others. This type of lullaby suggests the historical fact that nurse-maids and nurse-children came together and looked after their employer's children or younger siblings. The child was held on the back and sung to. So far as my research goes, there is no corresponding Scots and Gaelic lullabies seemingly sung by a group.

These features discovered through the textural and textual analysis demand detailed investigation of the contexts to the lullabies in Scotland and Japan.
Part III. Contextual Analysis of Scottish and Japanese Lullabies

In this part, I will investigate the context of Scottish and Japanese lullabies. Here, “context” is used as the meaning defined by Alan Dundes in his *Interpreting Folklore* (1980), which runs as follows: “The context of an item of folklore is the specific social situation in which that particular item is actually employed.” (Dundes, 1980: 23) I will focus on the cosmological, social, and historical background and, following these, the challenges for preservation of traditional lullabies. In order to make my discussion clear as well as unique, I will utilize my own fieldwork as much as possible, along with various literary sources.

Before starting the analysis, we should note the categorisation of Scottish lullabies. In the former chapters on textural and textual analysis, Scots and Gaelic lullabies were dealt with separately. In the contextual analysis, however, it seems to make more sense not to attempt to discover “Scots-ness” and “Gaelic-ness”, since my aim is not to distinguish between them. As discussed in the former part, each has some considerably unique features. However such a difference or uniqueness should not be considered to be discontinuous or based on independent origins. It is undeniable that Scots and Gaelic lullabies have had a strong interrelationship for centuries, as several originally Gaelic lullabies translated into English or Scots and transmitted amongst non-Gaelic society for generations suggests. In this sense, it is more reasonable to regard several of the contextual characteristics of both Scots and Gaelic texts together as “Scottish-ness”. Based on this consideration, the context of Scottish (containing both Scots and Gaelic) lullabies will be compared with the Japanese contexts.

Chapter 6. Cosmological Background to Fairy Lullabies

6.1. The Changeling as a Motif in Scottish Lullabies

One Scots lullaby (<S-3> in my collection), named “Bressay Lullaby” after the island in the Shetlands where it was collected, is comprised of the following lyrics:

(ref.) Baloo, balilli, baloo, balilli,
Baloo, balilli, baloo ba.
Gae awa, peerie faeries, Gae awa, peerie faeries,
Gae awa, peerie faeries, Fae wir bairn noo.
(ref.)

Dan come boanie angels, Ta wir peerie bairn,
Dan come boanie angels, Ta wir bairn noo.
(ref.)

Dey'll sheen ower de cradle, O' wir peerie bairn,
Dey'll sheen ower de cradle, O' wir bairn noo.
(ref.)

In this song, the meaning of the vocable, “baloo, balilli”, is unknown at the present time. However the phrases following it, “Gae awa, peerie faeries, . . . Fae wir bairn noo”, suggest that it might have been a sort of spell or charm for protection.

Meanwhile, another Scots lullaby, “O can ye sew cushions” (<S-8> in my collection), involves the following phrase: “and can ye sing bal-lu-loo when the bairn greets”. Since this text first appeared in The Scots Musical Museum, vol.5, published in 1797, we can identify that “bal-lu-loo” had the meaning “lullaby” at that period.

According to these two texts, it is possible to propose the following hypothesis concerning the origin of the vocable, “baloo” or similar vocables: it had been a charm to protect babies as well as acting a soothing sound, and it also gained the meaning of “lullaby” by the end of the eighteenth century. The fact that “baloo” or the like may have had two meanings, “a lullaby” and “a charm”, moreover, seems to suggest one of the further functions of singing lullabies: the protection of a child against harmful acts of supernatural beings.

In the Scottish folk tradition, both in Gaelic and non-Gaelic society, it is the “changeling” that has been considered typical of this harmful acts of supernatural beings. As reviewed in Appendix 1.2., of his article, “Gaelic Lullaby: a Charm to Protect the Baby?” (1989), Breandan O’Madagain investigates the relationship between Gaelic lullabies and the “changeling” in order to prove the function of singing lullabies mentioned above, or in his words, “a charm to protect the baby from being abducted by the Si/Sithichean”. With regard to the above “Bressay Lullaby”, it is supposed that the
Shetlanders have had a strong influence from the Gaelic (or Celtic) tradition,69 is adopted as a significant piece of evidence for his proposal.

A Gaelic lullaby, “Mo Cubhrachan” (<G-52> in my collection) is another example, although O’Madagain does not refer it:

<G-52a>
Och, Och, nan Och! mar tha mi fhéin!
Mar tha mi fhéin! mar tha mi fhéin:
'Och, Och, nan Och! mar tha mi fhéin!
'S mo shùil an déidh mo Chùbhrcachan!

[Alas, alas! In what grief am I,
In what grief am I, in what grief am I
In what grief am I,
Searching for my Cubhrachan.

Shiubhail mi’n gleann, o cheann gu ceann,
Shiubhail mi’n gleann, o cheann gu ceann,
Ach, O! cha d’fhuaire mi’n Cùbhrcachan.
[But oh, found not the Cubhrachan.

Fhuair mi lorg an dobrain duinn,
An dobrain duinn, an dobrain duinn,
Ach, O! cha d’fhuaire mi’n Cùbhrcachan.
[I found the track of the brown otter,
But oh, found not the Cubhrachan.

The lyrics express the grief of a young mother who has lost her child and searched for it in vain. In another version (<G-52b> in my collection), she left her child lying in the field to gather blueberries and never found it again.70 Although there is no indication of “fairies” or the like, a belief in the changeling idea (or abduction by fairies) certainly seems to lie behind this narrative song. This motif was so attractive even to the people in non-Gaelic society that an English version has been transmitted for decades, known as “A Highland Fairy Lullaby”.71 Here is a version sung by Sheena Wellington, whom I

69 In his article, on the other hand, “Trolls, Hillfolk, Finns, and Picts: The Identity of the Good Neighbors in Orkney and Shetland” (1991), Alan Bruford points out the strong sense of the Orcadians and Shetlanders' own identity connected with Nordic tradition, such as: “The legend is that they are all descended from Vikings who took the islands by force in the Dark Ages and massacred all the inhabitants, and remain closer spiritually as well as geographically to Bergen than to Edinburgh; these are not the Northern Isles of Scotland, but the Southern Isles of Norway.” (Peter Narváez, ed, The Good People: New Fairylore Essays. 1991: 116)

70 According to Narvaez, in Newfoundland, North America, the berry-field is considered a typical kind of liminal space where the fairies frequently appear. (Narvaez, 1991: 338)

71 This consideration and the title of the English version are based on my interview
interviewed in my fieldwork in 1992: 72

<S-G2>
I left my baby lying here, lying here, lying here,
I left my baby lying here, to go and gather blueberries

(ref.) Hovhan hovhan, gorrie o go, gorrie o go, gorrie o go
Hovhan hovhan, gorrie o go, I’ve lost my darling baby O.

I found the wee brown otter’s track, the otter’s track, the otter’s track,
I found the wee brown otter’s track, but could not find my baby O.

(ref.)

“Mo Cubhrachan” (or “A Highland Fairy Lullaby”), along with “Bressay Lullaby”, suggest a relationship with a belief in the changeling, and seems to support O’Madagain’s proposal about the possibility of the magical function of lullabies.

His proposal leads us into further investigation about: (i) the Japanese counterpart to the fairies, changeling, and the customs concerning childcare and the protection of the babe; (ii) the cosmology of people who have lived with “fairy”; and (iii) the functions of lullabies in which supernatural beings that are harmful to children appear.

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72 This English version is very similar to the one compiled in Puirt mo Sheanamhar (1907), edited by T.D. MacDonald. See my collection <G-52b>.

with Ms. Wellington.
6.2. Changeling and Protection

Before starting further investigation of these matters, it is necessary to establish the meaning of the concept of “changeling” and, above all, who or what the “fairies” are. There have been numerous studies and publications on fairies since the late nineteenth century that it is impossible to cover all of the arguments. Here I will focus on the cosmological feature of fairies, referring to the latest accomplishment, *Scottish Fairy Belief* (2001), written by Lizanne Henderson and Edward J. Cowan. Led by the former study by Peter Narváez, they clearly define fairies as “liminal creatures”:

As fairy activity was generally associated with specific temporal and spatial locations, so humans were most likely to meet with the lychnobious people at certain times or dates, in particular places. Such locations of time and space can be described as ‘liminal’, a term derived from Latin *limen* (threshold). The concept of liminality, applied here to the supernatural landscape, is usually associated with the work of Arnold van Gennep, on rites of passage. He identified ‘liminal rites’ as ‘rites of transition’, that ambivalent in-between state during a rite of passage when a person moves from one biological (as in puberty) or social situation to another. Following the lead of folklorist Peter Narváez on the subject of fairy belief in Newfoundland, van Gennep’s temporal usage of liminality can be supplanted with a spatial interpretation and applied to the fairy landscape of Scotland. Fairy belief, as with many folkloric traditions, established ‘proxemic boundaries on the cognitive maps of community residents, boundaries which demarcated geographical areas of purity, liminality, and danger’ (Henderson and Cowan, 2001: 39).

The concept of “liminality” seems to precisely express the ambiguous or ambivalent feature of fairies, who have been “described by negatives, being neither angels, devils, nor the souls of deceased men” by Walter Scott (ibid: 18). They possess both characteristics of various antinomies such as angels versus devils (or good and evil), humanity versus wildness (or civilization versus nature), mortality versus immortality. They dwell in various liminal areas: between cultivated fields and forest or moorland (the

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74 In Notes, Henderson and Cowan indicate the following three references of this quotation: Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (1979), 94-130; Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (1960); and Peter Narváez, *The Good People: New Fairylore Essays* (1991), 337. From the last one they directly quote this passage.
hills and knolls we find in folklore), between on-ground and underground (in wells and caves), between earth and water (on the banks of lochs and rivers). Moreover, they emerge in particular liminal periods such as between daytime and night, or between summer and winter, especially confronting humans who are between death and life (babies or elderly people, that is), or between child and adult (adolescents or brides and bridegrooms).

Along with the concept of “liminality”, another keyword for the cosmological interpretation of the image of fairies would be “boundaries”:

Not exclusive to, but nonetheless of great significance to the supernatural landscape, is the concept of boundaries which are applicable to many areas of folk life and lore, such as folk customs, material culture and folk beliefs. Any discussion of supernormal creatures, metaphysical experiences or supernatural landscape is almost impossible without some grasp of the fundamental role boundaries play; they exist at the junctures between the world of the natural and the supernatural. . . .

Boundaries between regions and territories, ‘like boundaries between years and between seasons, are lines along which the supernatural intrudes through the surface of existence’. Crossing them can prove a physical, a spiritual, or a mental event. They can be intersected intentionally or unintentionally, by humans or non-humans, symbolically or substantively. Every human being, indeed every living thing, has crossed some sort of boundary, for instance, in the eternal cycle of birth, copulation and death. (ibid: 43-44)

With their ability to cross freely between “This-world” and “Another-world”, fairies emerge from the boundaries of various levels in space and time, in order to help or force human beings, who usually live in “This-world”, into contact with “Another-world”.

A belief in changelings, “of human babies stolen by the fairies who left fairy children in their place” (ibid: 95), is considered possibly one of most brutal images of contact with “Another-world” led by fairies. This means that confronting the newborn baby of deformity, who looks like the creature coming from “Another-world”, people attribute this happening to a fairies’ behaviour.

In Spirits, Fairies, Gnomes, and Goblins: An Encyclopedia of the Little People (1996), Carol Rose defines this belief as follows:

In European folklore the fairies coveted the beautiful, robust, well-fed children of humans instead of their own sickly, ugly offspring. As a result
fairies were said to steal human babies left unattended before baptism and leave in their place the Changelings of their own. The Changeling could be recognized because it was not only wizened and ugly, but also lacking in normal development and was frequently precocious for its supposed age. Alternatively, if the fairy had no “child” to leave, then an enchanted log of wood might be left that shriveled and “died” almost immediately; or an aged member of their group who was willing to be cosseted by feigning the likeness of the human child might be substituted.

Although the Changeling phenomenon is substantially European folklore, there are other societies in North America and the Far East with similar beliefs (Rose, 1996: 64).

The last phrase would arouse the interest in similar beliefs in Japan, which belongs to “the Far East”. Before moving on to the investigation of Japanese counterparts, however, we will confirm various practices concerning childbirth and childcare in Scotland that were thought to protect and prevent children from the changelings.

In her Scottish Customs: from the Cradle to the Grave (1992), Margaret Bennett introduces the following childbirth practices have been undertaken for this purpose: bathing the child in cold water, passing it through peat smoke, wrapping it in its parents’ garments, putting a silver coin, cross, or Bible under the sheet of the cradle, putting the baby in a used or borrowed cradle (sometimes used after placing a cock or hen in it), not-praising to the baby, and, above all, baptism (Bennett, 1992: 23-74). Such customs would make us imagine that there once were certain charms for protection. As noted in the first chapter, Jewish mothers, for example, chanted a spell in the baby’s sleeping room, “Avaunt thee, Lilith”, based on a Talmudic legend (see p.9).

According to Cass-Beggs: taladh in Gaelic, an equivalent term to “lullaby”, has another meaning — “enchantment”,

The Hebridean croons or mouth-music songs were considered more important than a lullaby, for they not only helped the baby to go to sleep, but exerted a kind of magic which strengthened the little one to whom the song was sung. It is no mere accident that in the Scots-Gaelic the word for lullaby “taladh” also means “enchantment” (Cass-Beggs, 1969 :34).

In Carmina Gadelica 1 (1900), moreover, the following incantation of “coesrig cadail [sleep consecration]” is discovered (only the English translation is quoted):

I am lying down to-night,
With Father, with Son,
With the Spirit of Truth,

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Who shield me from harm.

I will not lie with evil,
Nor shall evil lie with me,
But I will lie down with God,
And God will lie down with me.

God and Christ and Spirit Holy,
And the cross of the nine white angels,
Be protecting me as Three and as One,
From the top tablet of my face to the soles of my feet.

Thou King of the sun and of glory,
Thou Jesu, Son of the Virgin fragrant,
Keep Thou us from the glen of tears,
And from the house of grief and gloom,
Keep us from the glen of tears,
From the house of grief and gloom. (Carmichael, 1900: I-87)

Such an incantation, in addition to the Jewish mothers’ chanting spell and Cass-Beggs’ interpretation of a magical meaning of the word taladh, leads us to the following hypothesis: in former days there were particular Scottish lullabies used as charms to protect babies from the changeling, and “The Bressay Lullaby” might be an example that has survived.75

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75 We can discover a few similarities between the phrases in the incantation and ones in “The Bressay Lullaby” such as: “Nor shall evil lie with me” and “Gae awa, peerie faeries”; “And the cross of the nine white angels, Be protecting me as Three and as One” and “Dan come boanie angels, Ta wir peerie bairn.”
6.3. Japanese Counterparts: Ubugami and San’iku-Girei

In Japan, there are various kinds of the beliefs in supernatural beings called “mononoke [strange or mysterious beings]” in Japanese, some of which are thought to try and capture children or cause them to die. Kappa [a river-child, in its literal meaning], for instance, is said to live in the river and try to pull swimming children into the depths and drown them. So far as I have investigated, however, there are no particular beliefs about mononoke who try to abduct human babies and leave their own babies as substitutes. Instead, as mentioned in the fifth chapter, various mononoke appear in lullabies as threatening beings, who try to bite or eat babies.

Meanwhile, Ubugami [God of Birth], one of miscellaneous Japanese Gods, whose number amounts to eight hundred and eight, is believed to be the one who controls childbirth and predicts the future of newborn babies. In its etymology, ubu means “to give birth” and possibly originated from the word “soul” and gami meaning Gods. The following happenings have been attributed to Ubugami: sterility, hard labour, stillbirth, illness or disability, and infant death. As a result, various kinds of practices concerning childbirth and childcare, san’iku-girei in Japanese, have been executed in order to please the Ubugami and prevent its vicious conduct.

Here I will introduce several customs transmitted in Yonago, a seaside city in Tottori Prefecture, located in western Japan. This information is based on fieldwork I undertook from 1994 to 1999.

6.3.1. anzan-kigan [prayer for an easy delivery]

A woman hoping to become pregnant or who wants an easy delivery goes to the Shinto shrines in which Ubugami is enshrined. In the front garden of one of Ubugami shrines near Yonago, named the Ichi-no-miya Shrine, there is a flat, natural stone called the “ubu-ishi [the Ubugam Stone], which is approximately two square metres in width.

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76 An animated film directed by Hayao Miyazaki, “The Princess Mononoke” (1997), has gained an international reputation.

77 The ethnography was compiled into one of the volumes of the official archives, entitled Shinshū Yonago Shi-shi [New Edition of the Chronicles of Yonago City], vol.5: Folklore, published in 2000.
and forty centimetres in height. This stone is said to give magical power to women who sit on it and who wish to become pregnant or have an easy delivery.

The visitors to another Ubugami shrine, the Hibayama Shrine, bring back go-shinsui [holy water] said to be effective for causing pregnancy or an easy delivery. There was a taboo that pregnant visitors must not say, “How hard”, on their way to the shrine which stands on the top of Mt. Hibayama. If the taboo is broken, they are said to suffer from a hard delivery.

6.3.2. obi-iwai [celebration with a maternity belt]

On the Day of the Dog, which originates in the old Chinese calendar, during the fifth month of pregnancy, a pregnant woman is given a maternity belt called an iwata-obi accompanied with rice and azuki red beans by her parents. After visiting an Ubugami shrine, a mid-wife wraps the maternity belt around the belly of the expecting mother. Following this ceremony, her husband’s parents, her own parents, other family members and relatives, go-betweens, the mid-wife, and the couple eat sekihan [boiled rice with azuki bed beans] together as a meal to celebrate her pregnancy.

To choose the Day of the Dog is generally believed to be due to the safe and abundant delivery of dogs. Meanwhile, in Japanese folklore, including folk narrative, dogs appear as guardians more frequently than any other animal, and sometimes fight against evil beings like oni (ogres) with the heroes of folktales, like the best-known folktale, “Momo-tarō [The Peach Boy]”. In another well-know folktale, “Hanasaka-jii [The Old Man Who Made Trees Bloom]”, a dog possessing magical power brings good luck to a good-natured old man while bringing bad luck to a bad-natured neighbour. The choice of the Day of the Dog is probably based on such a folk belief of dogs as guardians.

6.3.3. taboo during pregnancy

A pregnant woman must not have a meal cooked on the same stove as other members of her family. She is also prohibited from entering the holy room where Toshi-gami [The God of Time] is enshrined. She must avoid attending funerals if possible. Too much drinking of green tea causes the baby to be dark coloured. Keeping the toilet clean is said
to bring her an easy delivery. To touch with her own belly while looking at a fire is said to cause the baby to have a birthmark. To eat the meat of hares causes a cleft lip.  

6.3.4. birth and delivery in toilet

A toilet was used as a place for birth and delivery until the late nineteenth century. There was a belief in a Toilet God not exclusively in Yonago but in many places in Japan, and a small wooden shrine enshrining the God was placed in the corner of the ceiling in lavatories. The Toilet God was believed to help a pregnant woman have an easy delivery.

There is a mythical story of a goddess, from whose excrement various types of grains and treasures emerge, the so-called “Heinu-vere” cycle named after an Indonesian goddess, has been widely discovered in Asian, Central and South American, and the Pacific islanders’ folk narratives, and appears in Japanese myths and folktales. This story may suggest that the Mongoloid people in these areas have shared the idea that excrement is the origin of new life or wealth. The custom of birth and delivery in the toilet seems to have been influenced by this idea.

6.3.5. cushion filled with ash

A new-born baby was at first laid on a special cushion filled with wooden or straw ash. It was fifty centimetres in width and one metre in length. The baby’s body was often covered with the ash since the cloth of the cushion was torn. This practice may be related to the belief that ash contained a magical power which protects a newborn baby.

6.3.6. treatment of atozan [placenta]

The placenta, called atozan in Japanese, was considered not just unwanted remains of the birth, but an invaluable object in which a soul exists, just like the newborn baby.

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78 In her paper, “Fairies and the Folklore of Disability”, Susan Schoon Eberly describes a similar belief in Europe: “A child born with a cleft lip, for example, might be viewed as the offspring of a human mother and a father who was a cat or a hare (or a “familiar” in the form of one of these animals)” (Eberly, 1991: 230).
Since the soul, not receiving its human body, was believed to be furious or violent, some mystical treatments were practiced. The place where the placenta was put was divided into (i) a special grave for placentas far from the house in order to keep it away from the family, and (ii) the ground under the backdoor, probably in order to stamp it out. There was also a custom of feeding the placenta to the mother just after giving birth in the form of *miso* [soybean paste] soup. This practice can be interpreted as the symbolic regain of the soul which was once released with the placenta, as well as giving high protein, which might help the exhausted mother to recover.

6.3.7. *sute-go* [ritual child abandonment]

Within a few days after birth, a child born in the following particular situations was ritually abandoned either on the road in front of the house or at a crossroad, and soon after, picked up by neighbours who had brought up many children in good health, and who were asked to do so by the parents. Following this ceremony, they visited the neighbours, called *hiroi-oya* [parents picking up the child] to receive their child in exchange for *sake* [Japanese rice liquor] and fish as a reward. Children who were ritually abandoned included: (i) those born when the father was forty-one, counting in the old Japanese way (forty in the present way of counting), which was regarded an ominous age, (ii) those whose mother was in late in her child-bearing, or (iii) those whose elder brother or sister was dead. It was believed that such children were born with a sick spirit, leading to an ominous future. Therefore the child must take on a fine spirit or a kind of energy for life. But, it is possible to interpret the practice in another way: since the life of such a child tends to be abducted by the *Ubugami*, the parents have to deceive the God, so that they ritually offer it their child before the actual abduction is undertaken, and pretend to have received another child with a fine spirit.

6.3.8. *se-mamori* [amulet worn on the back of the child's gown] and other customs related to clothing

A diamond-shaped ornament, two centimeters in length, called a *se-mamori*, was put to in the centre of the back of a child's gown. It was believed to have a magical power
protecting the child from evil spirits or the *Ubagami*. It was also believed that the child wearing a gown with such a *se-mamori* would be rescued by the *Ubagami* when he or she was drowning or fell into fire.

There were other customs related to children’s clothes, which were not collected from Yonago by myself, but based on a literary source edited by Yuki Òtô, *Ko-yarai [Sending a Child into Society]* (1968). People preferred to use old clothes, particularly the parents’ garments, to make the baby’s gown. Secondly, it was taboo to sew a baby’s gown before birth. These customs could be interpreted as a sort of practice for preventing from evil attempts by the *Ubagami* or other supernatural beings on the child’s life.

6.3.9. *miya-mairi* [visiting a shrine after birth]

Approximately one month after the birth, both the mother and the child visited a shrine, either the *Ubagami* Shrine or the *Ujigami* [Local Guardian God] Shrine, accompanied by the family and midwife. Just like baptism and churching in Scotland, they had to avoid contact with others because of their fragile condition before *miya-mairi*. After coming back home, the parents and the grandparents called at several neighbours with their newborn baby to introduce him or her to people. This was called the “*ako-mise* [showing our baby]”. Following it, the family had a party in which they invited the relatives and neighbours. The menu comprised of *sekihan* [boiled rice with azuki red beans], red and white *mochi* [rice cakes], grilled sea bream or other red fish, and so forth.

6.3.10. other customs and practices in other regions: *fuku-go* & *oni-ko*, *ejiko*, *shiko-na*, *oni-no-nenbutsu*, *hororuse*

In some areas of Japan, on one hand, a disable child was called a “*fuku-go* [child bringing fortune]”, whose family was said to flourish in the future because of the child. On the other hand, the child was sometimes called an “*oni-ko* [child of an ogre]” or “*kata-ko* [half human child born between a human and an ogre]”, who was kept away from other people, by concealing it in a house, by abandoning it in the mountains, or by infanticide. The latter seems to be based on a similar belief in changelings.

In many regions a round box made of bamboo or straw, called *ejiko, izumi, tsugura,*
or some such name was used in place of a cradle. Just like in Scotland, there were various practices about this box: to use a new ejiko should be avoided, otherwise a raw fish is fed to a cat in the box before it is used for the baby; a knife is put in the bottom as an amulet.

Giving the child a shiko-na, meaning an "ugly name", was another popular custom for preventing evil attempts by the Ubugami or other spirits on the child. The following "ugly names" were given to the newborn baby as childhood name: Sutekichi [Boy discarding Luck], Toro [Tiger Girl], Kuma [Bear Girl].

In Shiga Prefecture, moreover, there has been a custom that a picture of an oni [ogre] reciting a spell called the "oni-no nenbutsu [ogre's spell]" is stuck on the ceiling of a bedroom. The picture is believed to be effective at stopping the baby's crying at night.

Furthermore, Ainu people have imitated the sound of pigeons made by rolling the tongue, called "hororuse" in Ainu, whilst singing lullabies, as mentioned in the fourth chapter (see p.108). The Ainu people are said to have had the idea that birds are holy spiritual beings, called kamui. According to John Batchelor, it was a taboo to imitate the voice of such birds as cuckoos, woodpeckers, and nighthawks, because such behaviour is a blasphemy against the kamui and causes misfortune (Batchelor, 1995: 338-374). Following his investigations, we can suppose that hororuse have had a certain mystical meaning, probably a charm for protection.

Among Japanese lullabies, a vocable considered to be an imitation of the pigeon's voice is discovered in Hachijō Island, a small island in the Pacific far south of mainland Japan. Although the origin of the vocable is not known, an idea about the on pigeon's voice similar to that of the Ainu people might have been transmitted to the islanders.

In summary, we could discover a number of similar Japanese customs for childbirth related to the belief of an evil attempt by supernatural beings on the child, although the Japanese counterpart to a fairy in Scotland is regarded as one of the miscellaneous Japanese Gods, Ubugami [the God of Birth], and various evil mononoke [mysterious spirits]. Such a similarity suggests that there was a certain common social background behind these customs in the two countries. Before discussing this common social background as the origin of a belief in the changeling or something similar, I will interpret the origin of evil spirits appearing in Japanese lullabies as threatening beings for children.

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6.4. Origin of Evil Spirits in Lullabies

Up to now I have not come across a Japanese lullaby text which distinctly contains the motif of a charm against supernatural beings, although “on the basis of traditional Japanese lullabies, . . . there is a close similarity between the way the lullaby is performed and the way magic is performed” (Ikegami, 1986: 105).

Instead, there are a number of texts involving the motif of threats by various evil spirits, as analysed in the fourth chapter. In Scots lullabies, we can also discover an ogre like “Chrystie Cleik” (<S-27> in my collection). What is the origin of this motif? I will investigate it looking at a Japanese lullaby which appears in the biography of Prince Shôtoku (574-622 AD), Shôtoku-Taishi Den, written in the first half of the fourteenth century. The lullaby has the following words (only English translation is cited here):

Go to sleep, baby boy,
Under the veranda there is a puppy,
Under the plum tree there is a mekirara.
Attaching a band around the waist of the Nennen boy,
I will let the Roro boy pull him.
Where did the wet nurse go?
She went to a river by the road to wash nappies.
Nennen nennen rorororo,
Under the plum tree there is a mekirara.

In the third line of this lullaby, “mekirara” is interpreted as “an animal or a imaginalional ogre whose eyes are twinkling”, according to Toranoshin Agô and Masahiro Manabe. “They must be threatening beings for children . . . A singer threatens a child unwilling to sleep by using the name.” (Agô and Manabe, 1976: 123)79

At a glance, this seems to be a comprehensive interpretation based on the abundance of threatening supernatural beings in Japanese lullabies. However, the singer of this song is one of wet nurses and the listening child is Prince Shôtoku, who was considered a charismatic politician as well as a kind of Buddhist saint. It is hard to believe that the biographer quoted the lullaby, which seems to be a traditional one sung by local people at the period, for such a respectable child, whilst recognizing that it includes a threat.

79 There are different interpretations about the origin of mekirara by other scholars: a plant’s name (Okada, 1927: 141); an old name of placenta (Makino, 1999: 13).
Moreover, there are no particular phrases related to the threats in this lullaby. We should here investigate another interpretation.

In Japan, there is “the notion of Koto-dama”, meaning that a word itself has a soul or life and a certain mystical or supernatural phenomenon appears when a particular word is recited or written down. A similar belief in the mystical power of language is probably widespread all over the world. Several customs and practices both in Scotland and Japan mentioned in the former sections are connected with this belief: not-praising the baby, shiko-na, and the speaking taboo during the visit to the Ubugami Shrine. A variety of euphemisms for fairies like “the good people”, “the gentry”, “the people of peace” or “little people”, can be a custom originated in this belief, too.

One of the most popular motifs in folk literature based on this belief would be “Guessing name of supernatural creature gives power over him” (C432.1 in Motif Index of Folk Literature by Stith Thompson) or the “Fairy leaves when he is named” (ibid: F381.1). Both in Japanese and British folktales we can discover a particular type including these motifs (“Dialogue with a Crab Monster” in Japan, “Tom Tit Tot” in England, and “Habetrot” and “Whoopity Stoorie” in Scotland). 80

It is no wonder that these motifs have been adopted into lullabies: the phrase, “Under the plum tree there is a mekirara”, is not a threat to the child but a charm for protection of the holy infant from an evil spirit seemingly staying beside the child, by means of reciting the name.

This hypothesis can/will be applied to the origin of other lullabies in which the threatening supernatural beings appear to some degree. These lullabies seem to have originally contained a charm to protect the child from evil spirits, but transformed into lullabies with threats used to soothe fretful children or release the singers’ frustrations, as the belief in the mystical power of words decayed.

In short, the origin of the lullabies involving threats by supernatural beings might be in charms to protect the baby from such evil spirits, and we can find a plenty of examples in Japanese lullabies.

6.5. Cosmology Involving Supernatural Beings

As the next stage of our discussion, we cannot help but ask the following question: why have people transmitted the lullabies as charms to protect the baby from evil attempts by fairies or other supernatural beings? In other words, what is the social background to the belief in these evil attempts of the spirit world? Along with this, the next question is particularly crucial: which kind of cosmology was imaged by the people who believed in these supernatural beings?

Henderson and Cowan divide the theories on the origin of changelings proposed both in previous works and by themselves into five types: (i) kidnapped children by pre-Celtic peoples or Druids as recruits for their diminished forces, or as sacrifices in their rites; (ii) medical interpretations such as deformity or disease; that is, ‘folk explanation’ for disabled children with ‘identifiable congenital disorders’; (iii) the symbolization of the ‘tension between nature and culture’; (iv) the reflection of the parental feelings of anger and rejection for cranky, crying, wakeful, tiresome children; and (v) the cultural legitimization of infanticide (Henderson and Cowan, 2001: 210-211).

The first theory is improbable and unprovable, influenced by the idea of “survival” in evolutionism, which flourished in the late nineteenth century. All the other theories seem acceptable. The second and fifth seem to be simply understandable interpretations based on practical considerations, focusing on the relationship between the belief and its social background and, above all, on social demands. Before modern times, because of the underdevelopment of medical technology or sanitary facilities, a great number of babies and infants died from epidemics or unexpected accidents, and more of them must have lain in bed ill, or suffered from physical or mental disability. Along with this, in some cases parents were seemingly forced to murder their children because of poverty or some other reason. When confronting such painful situations, instead of presenting the medical explanation about the occurrence of disabled children or the honest confession of a commitment to infanticide, people may have ingeniously made use of supernatural beings. Such an interpretation is certainly reasonable, but in a sense, too reasonable. In other words, it seems to express a world that centres around the human and the practicalities of human society, reflecting a modern, “civilized” point of view. The fact that the cosmology
of people who have transmitted a belief of changelings or the like is different from ours is neglected. This means that although the social situation mentioned above is without doubt connected with the belief, it is by no means a sufficient explanation.

The same criticism can be applied to the fourth theory, which is considered to be based on “psycho-functionalism”, as influenced by the psycho-analysis of Sigmund Freud. The interpretation of folk belief as a projection of people’s unconsciousness is certainly understandable, but it can never sufficiently explain the emergence of supernatural beings.

Consequently, it seems to be inevitable that we examine the third theory — the interpretation as the symbolization of the ‘tension between nature and culture’ — in order to understand the cosmology of people who have transmitted a belief in changelings or, more widely speaking, a belief in fairies or other supernatural beings.

I have already introduced the cosmological explanation of fairies proposed by Henderson and Cowan as “liminal creatures”. Here I will draw the whole picture of the cosmology involving fairies in detail, based mainly on their proposal, and backed up some other studies on this topic by Robert Kirk (1691), Peter Narváez (1991), Margaret Bennett (1991), and Alan Bruford (1991).81

Our cosmos is constructed of two opposite spaces: “This-world” and “Another-world”. The following phrases relate to the former: “human space”, the “space of tame nature”, the “world in which the happenings can be explainable”, the “ordinary world”. The latter, on the other hand, includes the following: “wild space”, the “space of wild nature”, the “world in which the happenings are unexplained”, the “transcendental world”.

Between these two spaces, there is a space of liminality, or a boundary. In a geographic sense, this space corresponds to hills, knolls, caves, wells, banks of a loch (river or sea) and similar such places, from which one can reach “wild spaces” such as forests, the subterranean, and the submarine, and in which there are gates leading to “Fairyland”, although the fairies themselves can freely come and go among these three spaces.

Human beings usually live in This-world, but sometimes visit Another-world by

81 The first of these is referred to in Henderson and Cowan, Scottish Fairy Belief (2001), and the other three studies are compiled in Narváez, The Good People: New Fairylure Essays (1991). Among them, Bennett discusses Kirk.
walking into it, being drowned, or by flying through such gates, by accident or enchantment of fairies.

This dynamism is applied to the concept of time, too. Our cosmos is constructed of two opposite stages in time: the “stage of life” and the “stage of death”. Daytime belongs to the former while a night belongs to the latter. Summer belongs to the former while winter to the latter. And in the cycle of life, needless to say, the former corresponds to “living” and the latter to “death”. These two stages exist in the cycle of the days, seasons, and life and death. As such, there is a period of liminality or boundary between the two stages, just as in the case of spaces: between daytime and night there is evening and dawn; between summer and winter there is Halloween and Beltane, and between life and death there are the processes of childbirth and dying.

Liminal periods are also discovered within each of the two stages. The living period, for instance, can be divided into “childhood” and “adulthood”, therefore adolescence or the period before or after marriage is considered a liminal period. Likewise, midnight, mid-summer, and mid-winter are liminal periods.

As already presumed, during such liminal periods, humans tend to meet with fairies, which themselves are identified as liminal and ambiguous beings.

Table 6.5.1. and 6.5.2. will help to make this idea clear:

[Table 6.5.1. The “Two Worlds and Liminal Space”]
### Table 6.5.2: The “Two Stages of Time and Liminal Periods”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>This-world</th>
<th>Liminal Space</th>
<th>Another-world</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>human space</td>
<td>hills, knolls</td>
<td>wild space</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>known space</td>
<td>caves</td>
<td>unknown space</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>space of tame nature</td>
<td>banks</td>
<td>space of wild nature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>explainable world</td>
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#### Stage of Life

- **Day**:
  - Daytime
  - Evening
  - Night
- **Season**:
  - Summer
  - Halloween
  - Winter
  - Beltane
- **Cycle of Life**:
  - Alive stage
  - Before/after dying
  - Dead stage
  - Birth and infancy

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<td>Dead stage</td>
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Based on this cosmological theory, it is suggested that belief in changelings consists of the following elements: a newborn baby as a being of a liminal period, and its deformation or disability, its sudden death or disappearance, or disorderly behaviour like screaming at night, as unexplained things. It was the fairies who could explain such unexplained happenings with a member of This-world in a liminal period.

There's so much in life that you can't explain and . . . to say that you don't believe in any of that, I mean it's senseless really, isn't it? Because there are so many things that happen that just make you think, and you think "Well, there must be something . . . like spirits" . . . I don't know. (Peigi Bennett, quoted from Margaret Bennett, 1991: 113)

The fairies bridge between This-world and Another-world, bring both good and bad luck to human beings crossing the borders, and ring the alarm from the point of view of Another-world. Through the existence and behaviour of the fairies, we can touch, understand, and "learn" about Another-world, just like the schoolchildren in Balquhidder, Perthshire:

Most convincing of all is the children's belief that the fairies teach us lessons—simple respect and regard for nature, whether it is the perpetual care for plants or fungi that grow in our vicinity, or the daily attention to our teeth. "The fairies make you think about these things." (ibid: 113)

The Japanese counterpart, the belief in the Ubugami, in other Kamigami [Gods] and mononoke [strange or mysterious beings], has the same cosmological structure, except for several small differences concerning their categorization and the way they are worshipped. Japanese Gods are set apart from other supernatural beings because of their holiness. They are believed to control both nature and human life, and bring both good and bad luck. They have been enshrined both in public places and in the rooms of each private house, by the establishment of wooden shrines of less than twenty centimetres to more than forty metres in height, in which particular objects like a paper with letters, a stone, or a mirror, symbolizing the Gods, who themselves have no particular form, are settled.

On the other hand, mononoke are not the object of worship although, along with the Kamigami, they are believed to bring both good and bad luck to people. They have been described or drawn either as hybrid figures with human children and other creatures, or as created by the human imagination, and consequently some of them remind us of deformed
children. For instance, there remains a folk legend concerning the origin of *Kappa* [River Child], one of the supernatural beings, that human children killed by their parents and thrown off into the river are reborn as *Kappa*.

In spite of such differences in terms of categorisation and the way of worship, the relationship of the *Kamigami* and *mononoke* to human beings — the position within the cosmology of Japanese people who have transmitted their belief in them — seems to be very similar to the situation in Scotland.

Moreover, this cosmology is perhaps not one that relates to particular people or society of the past, but is possibly shared amongst people and societies across cultural, ethnic, or historical borders, since it possesses a contemporary and universal value, of which the children in Perthshire were instinctively aware.
Looking through the cosmological background of several Japanese and Scottish lullabies involving the motif of a belief in changelings, fairies or their Japanese counterparts, it has become clear that the function of lullabies is not limited to the original purpose of singing them, i.e. to induce a child to sleep.

Firstly, these lullabies have the following further function: they are a prayer for the avoidance of unexpected or unexplained misfortunes towards a child and for the realization of unexplained fortunes. The prayer was directed to the fairies or whatever, as liminal beings, which are considered to be representatives of Another-world, warning humans of their “human-centric” behaviour, without respect of nature or Another-world that surrounds This-world, as well as being messengers delivering human wishes to Another-world.

Secondly, it is needless to say that such lullabies as prayer were directly sung to a human child. Even if the baby child cannot understand the meaning of the words, elder siblings or other children listening to the song beside the baby must have understood it and created their own cosmology. In this way, singing lullabies has an educational function. The children in Perthshire mentioned above must have been taught various things concerning nature or Another-world by their families and neighbours as well as by nature itself, although it is not sure whether or not they have heard lullabies involving fairies.

Furthermore, lullabies are also sung for the singers themselves, as pointed out by Daiken, which was reviewed in the first chapter. In this case, as referred to before, some parents may have released their “feelings of anger and rejection for cranky, crying, wakeful, tiresome children”. Through singing the lullabies about changelings or horrific spirits, others could have soothed and healed their grief or fear caused either by receiving a disabled or deformed child, or by committing infanticide. Thus, thirdly, to sing lullabies has a healing function for the singers.

These three functions of lullabies will be reassessed in final conclusion.
Chapter 7. The Social Background to Non-Mother Lullabies

7.1. Three Types of Non-Mother Lullabies

As mentioned in former chapters, although the first person of the lyrics of lullaby texts is generally considered a mother, there are actually a number of both Scottish and Japanese lullabies in which various people except mothers take the part of the first person. Such texts, which could be called “non-mother lullabies”, seem to be divided into three types: (i) narrative songs, (ii) lulling songs sung by non-mother singers, and (iii) songs adapted from other genres.

Firstly, in various kinds of narrative or lulling songs connected with folktales or legend, it is not necessary for the first person to be a young mother. The following Gaelic song, called “Uamh’n Oir [The Cave of Gold]”, <G-42> in my collection, is one of the best-known narrative lullabies:

[version (a)]
Mu ’n till mise, mu ’n ruig mise;  [Ere I return, ere I attain,
Mu ’n till mise a uamh ’n Oir.  [Ere I return from the Cave of Gold

(*Gaelic words of the following verses are not given in the collection)
[The young of the goats will be goats of the crags,
[And the little calves become great kine.
[Creel-bearing horses will be riding-steeds,
[And babes, borne in the bosom, men, bearing arms.
[But never more shall I return.

[version (b)]
Chaill mo ladh a luths!  [My hand has lost its power
Chaill mo ladh a luths!  [My hand has lost its power
Chaill mo ladh a luths!  [My hand has lost its power
Thrēig an Lūd-ag mi!  [And my little finger is gone.

[version (c)]
Mo dith, mo dith gun tri ladh.  [My loss, my loss that I lack three hands
Mo dith, mo dith gun tri ladh.  [My loss, my loss that I lack three hands
Dā lāimh ’sa phiob, dā lāimh ’sa phiob,
Dā lāimh ’sa phiob, ’s lāimh ’sa chlaidheamh.

(*Gaelic words not given)
[Grievous my state without three hands! Two hands, etc., etc.

[version (d)]
This song is said to be based on an ancient legend in several islands including Skye and Mull that a piper goes into a mysterious cave (leading a party), and attacked by a being like monster, never comes out from there. Why, and by whom, has such a folk narrative been transmitted as a lullaby, which is seemingly sung for a baby child who cannot understand the meaning of the words? It is crucial to investigate these so-called “transmitters”, who take the part of the messengers of narrative lullabies.

Secondly, some lullabies have, instead of a mother, someone else like a wet nurse, baby-sitter, a nanny, an elder sibling, a grandparent, or a neighbour looking after the baby. One Shetland lullaby, <S-6> in my collection, is regarded to be one of this type since it “is said to have been composed by “Minnie o Shirva”, who was once a well-known baby-sitter in Fetlar” (Shetland Folk Book 4: 23):

Da boatie sails an da boatie rows,
Dey set der sails an dey hail der towes.
Hush-a-baa-baa me peerie lamb,
De faider is comin awa frae fram.

Da sheep dey baa, an da craas dey craa,
Dey flap der wings an dey flee awa,
Hush-a-baa-baa, me peerie flee,
Auld Da’ll be comin wi shalls ta dee.

Da burnie rins an da burnie rowes,
Da lambs dey dance over da hedder-cowes,
Hush-a-baa-baa, me traesir dear,
Dey’ll naebody hurt dee whin Mami is near.

Da laverick lifts an he sings ta aa,
Da winter comes wi da caald an snaa,
Hush-a-baa-baa, me peerie flooer,
Lang Willie is loin ahint da door.

Da mares dey bål an da kye comes hame,
We lay wis doon ida Gödie’s name,
Hush-a-baa-baa, me peerie ting,
He covers wis aa wi His holy wing.
Another important topic is the various cooperative ways of nursing children in Scotland and Japan, as part of the social background to non-mother lullabies.

Thirdly, some of non-mother lullabies are thought to have been adapted from other genres. For instance, the following Gaelic lullaby, <G-20> in my collection, is perhaps originally a milking song:

```
Crodh-laoigh nam bodach,
Crodh-laoigh nam bodach,
Crodh-laoigh nam bodach,
‘Gan togail ri gleann.
Ma tha mo thogair,
Ma tha mo thogair,
Ma tha mo thogair,
Cha’n eil mo chrodh ann.
```

```
Crodh-laoigh nam bodach,
Air fiair ’s air fodair,
Crodh-laoigh nam bodach
‘Gan togail ri gleann.
Ma tha mo thogair,
Ma tha mo thogair,
Ma tha mo thogair,
Cha’n eil mo chrodh ann.
```

[The milking cows of the old men
[The milking cows of the old men
[The milking cows of the old men
[Being lifted to the glen
[If they are, I don't care
[If they are, I don't care
[If they are, I don't care
[There are none of mine there

```
Crodh-laoigh nam bodach,
Air fiair ’s air fodair,
Crodh-laoigh nam bodach
‘Gan togail ri gleann.
Ma tha mo thogair,
Ma tha mo thogair,
Ma tha mo thogair,
Cha’n eil mo chrodh ann.
```

[The milking cows of the old men
[On grass and fodder
[The milking cows of the old men
[Being herded to the glen
[If they are, I don't care
[If they are, I don't care
[If they are, I don't care
[There are none of mine there

(MacDonald, 1907: 21)

Although such adapted lullabies seem to include miscellaneous motifs and origins, we can discover a certain relationship between them and women’s domestic life. The investigation of women’s life reflected in lullabies is another major topic in our analysis of context.

In this chapter, my discussion will be undertaken from the three aspects mentioned above: (i) the transmitters of narrative lullabies, (ii) cooperation in the nursing of children, and (iii) women’s life as reflected in adapted lullabies, in that order. Through the discussion, I will propose some functions carried out by lullabies as my conclusion.
7.2. Transmitters of Narrative Lullabies

I will discuss the transmitters of narrative lullabies as divided into three groups: family, people in local society, and traveling people.

Since the summer of 1992, I have undertaken fieldwork in Barra and Shetland in order to understand the social background to the tradition of singing lullabies. Amongst several informants in these islands, above all, the late Mrs. Nan MacNeill (born in 1936), and her neighbour, Miss Mairi MacDonald (born in 1942) gave me a lively account of the children’s and women’s life at Eoligarry, the northern seaside area of Barra, in the forties and fifties of the last century.82 And in Japan, over the last decade, I have undertaken successive fieldwork in Awa Town (Tokushima Pref.), Yonago City (Tottori Pref.), Sekigane Town (Tottori Pref.), Yōka Town (Hyōgo Pref.), Asahi Village (Gifu Pref.), Takane Village (Gifu Pref.), Kamiyahagi Town (Gifu Pref.), and Ibara City (Okayama Pref.), all of which are located in the west of Japan. In particular, the interview with Mrs. Taeko Okada (born in 1910) and the late Mrs. Yoshino Fujii (born in 1907), both in Ibara, provided an invaluable source for the present paper.83 Along with the contributions of other informants, their recollections will be used as basic source material for the following discussion.

7.2.1. Family

According to Mrs. MacNeill and Miss MacDonald, it was a general tendency in Barra that men told stories to their children while women sung songs, including lullabies. Even though men could sing some lullabies, they preferred humming or repeating vocables accompanied with melodies to singing meaningful lullabies, except in the case of a public performance like a ceilidh, where they recited various songs – possibly including lullabies – for an audience. (Nan’s father was said to be a great story-teller.) Therefore, mothers and grandmothers and, in some cases, aunts, elder sisters or great-

82 Interviews with them were held at the Eoligarry School on 12 May, 1993, and at Nan’s house on 22 August, 1994.

83 The interview with Mrs. Okada and Mrs. Fujii was held at Mrs. Okada’s house in Ibara, on 2 March, 1996. Communication with Mrs. Okada is still being conducted.
grandmothers played a role in the transmission of lullabies, in the family.

In Japan, there was a similar distinction between the genders, too. Men seldom sang lullabies or other nursery songs to children, although it was they who sang songs in various public situations such as ceremonies and feasts. Women sang to their children in private situations.

Amongst the female members of the family, the grandmother was an especially important transmitter of lullabies. According to Mrs. Okada, for instance, it was not her mother but her grandmother who mainly looked after her in her infancy. She used to spend all the time with her grandmother even during sleep, and learned various children’s game songs and nursery rhymes, including lullabies, from her, since her mother was very busy running the family ‘sake’ distillery. Moreover, there was another reason: she was the eldest daughter. It was the custom, particularly in richer or higher class families, that the eldest daughter should be looked after and brought up by the grandmother with strict discipline. As a result, she found out later that her brothers and sisters did not know several of her favourite songs, which seem to have been sung only to her by her grandmother. The following narrative lullaby, called “Otsukisan-no uta [Song of the Moon]” by her, was one of her grandmother’s songs:

Otsukisan nanbo, [How old is the moon?
Jū-san kokonotsu [Thirteen and nine year of age.
Sorya manda wakaizo [It’s so young.
Wakai-toki-ni ko-wo unde [I had a baby in my youth.
Osugi-ni dakasho [Shall we ask Osugi to hold the baby in her arms?
Osugi-wa iyaiya [No, don’t ask Osugi.
Otama-ni dakasho [Shall we ask Otama to hold the baby in her arms?
Otama-wa iyaiya [No, don’t ask Otama.
Kōya-no sedo-no [Then I will ask a middle-aged woman taking water,
Mizukumi-kakasan-ni dakasho [From a well at the backdoor of the dye house.

According to Isao Migita, a variant of this song, seemingly a traditional nursery rhyme, is first discovered in the Dōyōshū (1820) but the phrase, “otsukisama ikutsu, jūsan nanatsu-doki [How old is the moon? Thirteen and seven years of age]” appears in a haiku-poem anthology, Haikai Konzan-shū (1651). Since then, a number of variants have been recorded in various types of literatures and collected in most of prefectures in Japan. The
original meaning of the story of the song is unidentified. Mrs. Okada learned such an old song from her grandmother, who was born in 1850.

The family transmitter of lullabies would have depended, without doubt, on the private situation of each family, so that her case might not necessarily be generalized. However, through my previous fieldworks, it is surely fair to say that, in general, grandparents and elder siblings mainly looked after the baby child instead of the young mothers, who were busy housekeeping, farming, or doing various kinds of business, so that the role of the grandparents as transmitters of folk narrative, including lullabies, was crucial.

7.2.2. People in Local Society

Contributors to the transmission of folk narrative were by no means limited to within the family. Mrs. MacNeill recollects a neighbour lady who had a lovely voice, and sang songs and told stories almost every night to the children: not only her own children but also other children who visited her house and who eagerly listened to her songs and stories.

As mentioned later on, the cooperation of nursing children was a natural phenomenon in her local society during her childhood in the 1940s. “We helped each other. It’s quite natural.” Through such intimate communication and cooperation in local society, a number of various folk narratives must have been transmitted to the next generations.

A similar scene would have been probably seen at the same period in Japan. Meanwhile, there was another element concerning the transmission of folk narrative in local society. According to Mrs. Okada, in the Takaya area, Ibara-city, where she has lived since her childhood except for a decade when she was married and lived in Tokyo until the death of her husband, the activity of Christian (Protestant) church, called the Takaya branch of the Japanese Christian Church, was flourishing during a few decades at the beginning of the last century. Whether or not they were children from Christian families, they joined the church every Sunday, played games, sang songs, and received presents.

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She vividly remembers the beautiful voice of her neighbour, Mrs. Ima Ueno singing hymns. Mrs. Ueno, a cousin of Mrs. Okada’s grandmother, sang a number of children’s folksongs, including lullabies, along with sacred songs for children there. It is interesting that Christian churches have contributed to the transmission of children’s folksongs in a comparatively rural area of Japan.

Meanwhile, the role of Buddhist priests in local societies should not be neglected. We can discover a number of narrative lullabies involving Buddhist thought or Buddhist deities in Buddhism like Jizó, which seem to have been spread mainly by the priests of local societies. For example, the following song, which is said to be sung by the mother of Kenji Miyazawa, a poet and writer of children’s literature, is considered to have originated in an old Buddhist hymn, called “wasan”, sung as early as the late of the twelfth century (English translation only).\(^{85}\)

```
Black Jizó along the road, whose head was bitten by a rat
Now, Rat is a genuine Jizó.
That’s wrong; Rat is caught by Cat.
Now, Cat is a genuine Jizó.
That’s wrong; Cat is caught by Dog.
Now, Dog is a genuine Jizó.
That’s wrong; Dog is caught by Wolf.
Now, Wolf is a genuine Jizó.
That’s wrong; Wolf is threatened by Field-Fire.
Now, Field-Fire is a genuine Jizó.
That’s wrong; Field-Fire is put out by Water.
Now, Water is a genuine Jizó.
That’s wrong; Water is drunk by Horse.
Now, Horse is a genuine Jizó.
That’s wrong; Horse is ridden by Man.
Now, Man is a genuine Jizó.
That’s wrong; Man worships Jizó.
Now, Jizó is a genuine Jizó.
Black Jizó along the road, whose head was bitten by a rat
```

(Satô, 1995: 11)

Since the words can circulate endlessly, the singer can continue until the child goes to sleep. The story of this song suggests such ideas in the world of Buddhism as

reincarnation, the transience of life, or the omnipresence of holy spirits. Jizō also appears as a humorous persona, whose head was bitten by a rat. Through listening to such a lullaby the basic image of Jizō and Buddhism must have been naturally passed on to children. The priests must have sung several these wasan and their simpler versions to children along with story-telling to their parishioners at the weekly or monthly regular meetings, for the missionary purpose. Consequently, they have contributed to the transmission of folk narratives in local societies.

7.2.3. Traveling People

The transmission of folk narrative is not limited to within the local society but frequently extended across its borders. Various contact and communication with other people must have enriched the folk narrative tradition in society. Firstly, someone in the society who had gone to another town and heard particular stories or songs with curiosity may have brought them back to his or her own town. Secondly, it is possible that immigrants, newcomers or temporary residents diffused particular narratives into the society. Mrs. Okada, for instance, remembers a narrative nursery song, called “Kaminari-san-no uta [The Song of Mr. Thunder], learned from seasonal workers coming from other regions employed in her family ‘sake’ distillery.

Thirdly, and above all, the role of traveling people as transmitters was inevitable both in Scotland and in Japan. In my collection of Scots lullabies, several songs including the following one (<S-25>) are identified as having been transmitted by traveling people:

Oh, I hae twa bonny bairnies, the finest of aa,
They cheer up ma hert when their daddy’s awa:
I hae ane at my feet an anither on my knee,
An they kindly look up and say ‘Mammy’ tae me.

(ref) Mammy tae me, Mammy tae me,
They kindly look up and say ‘Mammy’ tae me.

Noo here’s the guidman comin hame fae the ploo:
“It’s foo are ye wifie, an foo are ye noo,
Oh, foo are ye wifie, an foo are ye noo,

86 Lafcadio Hearn, an Irishman naturalized in Japan, proposes the omnipresence of holy spirits in his annotation of a variant of this song, in A Japanese Miscellany (1901).
An foos the wee bairnies since I gaed awa?

(ref)

(SA1973/161/6)

According to Mrs. MacNeill, there were very few opportunities for traveling people came to Barra, the southern-most island of the Western Isles. However it does not mean that these very few visitors have not contributed to the folk narrative tradition and music of the island. As an episode attesting this, the late Miss Morag MacAulay (born in 1911) told me that at eighteen she was given a song, called "The Fair Maid of Barra", by Donald Alan MacDonald, who was regarded as "a bard" by Miss MacAulay. He visited the island in 1928 and composed the song for her since he was so fascinated by the beautiful voice of the young girl.87 Similar cases must have sometimes happened.

In Japan there were various types of traveling people, too. Mrs. Okada nostalgically recollects them in her childhood as follows [translated into English by Uno]:

In those days although there was no particular entertainment, plays by traveling people were held at a temporary theatre-hut for a week once a year. During that period, the whole village was buzzing with excitement.

Next, at a temple or shrine fair, the stage for a nozoki-karakuri [a toy peep show] was set up in the open front space and various kinds of street stalls opened, and it was so exciting with a crowd of visitors. Moreover, a puppet theatre group sometimes came from Awa [Tokushima Prefecture at present]. . . . I remember the Awa puppet show unconsciously with the fragrance of kin-mokusei [orange-coloured olive blossoming in the late autumn].88

The Awa puppet show, a puppet play accompanied by jōruri or gidayū-bushi [narrative songs accompanied with a shamisen or Japanese lute], was especially popular as a form of entertainment both for children and for adults in West Japan, from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the first half of the twentieth century. Consequently, not a few narrative lullabies and other types of children's songs originated from or were related to the jōruri songs. The following narrative lullaby is said to be originally a jōruri

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87 The interview with Miss MacAulay was held at Castlebay, Barra, on 21 August, 1994

88 This recollection was recorded by herself in February, 1996. I transcribed it and with annotations compiled it into a fieldnote, which was published as a paper, entitled "A Study of the Context of "The Lullaby in the Chugoku District": (1)" in Memoirs of Tottori Women's College 33 (1996): 49-60.
song called “Meiboku Sendai Hagi [A Famous Old Bush Clover].”\(^{89}\)

Ura-no ura-no jisanoki-sa  [On the branch of a jisa tree in the back garden
Suzume-ga sanbiki tomatta  [Three sparrows were perching
Ichiwa-no suzume-ga iukotonya  [One sparrow said,

... Yunbe gozatta hanayome-ga  [A bride coming here last evening said
Porori porori-to nakiyansu  [With tears pouring down;
Oraga ototo-no senmatsu-wa  [My brother, Senmatsu, went to a gold-mine
Nanatsu yatsu-kara kinzan-e  [At seven or eight years of age.
Kin-wa denuyara Shindayara  [I wonder if he cannot find a gold, or if he is dead.

(Yamagata, 3: 306)

Moreover, Awa’s puppet show itself is described in lullabies such as:

Hah, Tonto Tokushima-ni shibai-ga dekete  [In Tokushima a puppet show opened.
Hah, Taiko tatakeba Ame-ga furu  [With the sound of drum it started raining.

(Tokushima, 22: 140)

Besides, Isao Migita proclaims that the best-known Japanese lullaby, “Edo-no-komoriuta [A Lullaby in Edo]” spread to every prefecture from Hokkaido to Kagoshima except Okinawa through the saru-mawashi-gei [monkey show] performed by traveling people. In these shows, monkeys played to the accompaniment of the narrative songs, in which the lullaby was inserted (Migita, 1991: 166-171). Moreover, particularly in eastern Japan, a group of goze [blind women bards singing narrative songs and playing the shamisen or Japanese lute], were welcomed by local people in every remote area in winter. Their repertories were comprised mainly of tragic love romances, but stories for children could be included.

To summarize, traveling people have contributed to the spread of narrative songs, including lullabies, across the borders of local society, taking the role of mass media like TV, radio, or records and tapes, before the period of the Second World War.

\(^{89}\) This is based on Fujisawa, ibid: 166-172.
7.3. Cooperative Nursing

Nowadays, both in Scotland and Japan, it is mainly the young mother’s job to look after the baby child except in the case of leaving the child in a crèche or at a grandparents’ house during working hours. However, until the first half of the last century, in local societies where the relationship between the dwellers was much stronger in comparison to the present day, people helped each other and shared the various labour. Nursing children was no exception and cooperation has influenced the singing style of lullabies as well as their content.

As reviewed in Appendix 1.2., the komori-bōkō custom “in which teen-age girls, usually of poor families, who are too young to be live-in housemaids, serve a wealthy family as live-in nannies to look after new-born babies” (Masuyama, 1989: 146), possibly considered a type of cooperative nursing, has affected a large number of Japanese lullabies, which are in general called moriko-uta [nurse-maid songs].

What was the actual life of a moriko like? I will introduce the recollections of Mrs. Fujii, who had experience as a moriko in her younger days. Mrs. Fujii, born in 1907, to a farming family as the third daughter of seven children, worked as a moriko, employed by a land owner and money-lender in a town, a few dozen kilometres south of her home village, at thirteen years of age, after she graduated from primary school. At seventeen, she moved to Mrs. Okada’s house in the same town and worked there as a jochū [a house maid] until twenty-two years of age, when she got married.

According to Mrs. Fujii, even during her primary school days, she was often absent from school because she was ordered by her parents to look after her own younger siblings as well as small children in the neighbourhood; “I didn’t go to school so often.” She has no memories of listening to any lullabies or folktales from her parents or grandparents, who were perhaps too busy and poor to spend time on her or on their other children. She did not play any games except juggling balls, nor sing any sort of children’s songs, including lullabies, but exclusively looked after other younger children or helped her family to work in the farm or house. During the period she worked as a moriko,

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The moriko were frequently employed from some different village or town. In this sense, this custom is not precisely cooperative nursing in local societies.
consequently, she did not sing any lullabies, including moriko-uta, to the children of her employers.

In her former employer’s house, there were two moriko including her and two housemaids, all of whom were from some remote villages near the town. She was often bullied by the children of her employers. Her daily life was preoccupied with looking after the children from early morning to late evening. She used to go to the dry riverbed with the child on her back along with other moriko employed in neighbourhood, and played juggling balls or hand-clapping together there. They also had a chat, mainly complaining about their hard job and criticizing their employers. One of them had been working as a moriko since she was ten years of age. None of them sang lullabies.

A salary was paid, but her father came to take it before she could spend it. There were no holidays except a couple of periods in a year when she could stay at her home: two nights each during the bon festival holiday (13th to 15th August) and the New Year holiday (4th to 6th January). In spite of receiving no presents from either her parents or from her employer before or during holidays, she looked forwards to going back to her home.

After moving to Mrs. Okada’s house, she was loved by the mistress, the mother of Mrs. Okada, and did not suffer from any bullying by the children. When she left the family to marry, she was given several pieces of bridal furniture and several kimono.

It should be noted that Mrs. Fujii and her fellows never sang any lullabies to the children they were looking after. Through my previous fieldwork, I have often come across recollections by informants such as: “we (or our parents) were too poor and busy to sing songs or tell stories to children.” In respect of the moriko-uta, however, it must be true that they were created in conditions of poverty and busyness. Nevertheless, the amount of moriko-uta collected in particular regions, like the Kyushu district, is significantly greater than other regions although the komori-bōkō custom existed in most prefectures except Okinawa. Her case and the geographical unevenness in the abundance of moriko-uta may suggest that some other conditions, for example, the so-called “fūdo [climate]” of the singing tradition, would be vital to the creation and transmission of moriko-uta.

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91 It should be noted that the interview with Mrs. Fujii was held beside Mrs. Okada.
Apart from this, there were particular *moriko-uta* sung by a number of *moriko* divided into two groups as follows (English translation only):

A: Look at her face; her eyes look like a monkey’s, *Yoi-yoi*
And her mouth looks like a crocodile’s or a demon’s, *A Yoi Yői-Yô*

B: Look at your own face; it looks like a red-bean cake, *Yoi-yoi*
You had better put yellow bean powder on your face, *A Yői Yôi-Yô*

A: Stop such an embarrassing criticism unless you’re my parent, *Yoi-yoi*
Only my parents can tell me such things, *A Yői Yői-Yô*.

B: We must sometimes give such embarrassing criticism, *Yoi-yoi*
Since your parents cannot point it out, *A Yői Yői-Yô*.

... (Ōita, 23b: 223)

This lullaby is well-known as "*Ume-no uta-genka* [Battle Song of the Ume region]". A few dozen children, either boys or girls, carrying babies on their backs, gather in the open space of a village. They are divided into two teams. The one side which starts this battle song is called the *okuri* [the offering team] and the other is called the *kaeshi* [the responding team]. The *kaeshi* must recite a phrase responding to the *okuri*, which is often provocative. Next the *okuri* must follow the *kaeshi*’s former phrase in turn. And this "battle song" continues until one team cannot respond appropriately.

This text tells us there was a custom of group nursing by children, in which particular lullabies were used for the purpose of entertainment. Until the mid twentieth century, except for a handful of upper class families, older siblings were the people who mainly did the job of nursing children in the daytime, because their mothers were busy managing various other jobs. Children played games together, their younger siblings held tight with a band on the back. "*Uta-genka*" was a kind of children’s game as well as a type of lullaby.

Additionally, we should pay attention to the connection with "*uta-gaki* [(love) song dialogue]", a traditional amusement for youths, which was widely practiced in South and East Asia, including Japan, and which is still practiced amongst minority peoples living in South East China. Boys and girls go up to the top of a hill or mountain, face each other from a certain distance, and recite provocative or romantic phrases mutually. A boy who had found a favourite partner would, in due time, come up to escort her to particular spots
around the fields, where the couple would talk. The Japanese “uta-genka” performed by children seems to be an imitation of this “uta-gaki”. Children who had seen it must have tried to adopt it into their games, as some sensual or comical phrases of the lullaby text suggest. Today there are no children who carry their young brothers or sisters on their backs or play “uta-genka”, therefore the lullaby text is the only surviving evidence of this traditional game.

The following text is another kind of child-nursing song, which is said to have been loudly sung by a group of boys and girls who marched through the town, holding babies on their back (English translation only):

Round and round the big house,  
If someone finds you, let’s run away carrying babies on the back

Round and round the big garden  
After walking round three times, we were scolded by the housekeeper

This baby often cries; I don’t know why  
I wonder if it needs milk, or feels sleepy? . . .

(Osaka, 16: 338)

According to the compiler, Isao Migita, singers walked together from the open fields and the streets to the front garden of the big house, where they sang more loudly in order to irritate the housekeeper or the master of the house, who is assumingly arrogant towards the children. When he appeared to scold them, they ran away shouting some parting remarks. The singers of this text were considered to be neither mothers nor nurse-maids forced into employment, but local children. Some of them were looking after their own younger siblings, others were caring for the children in neighbourhood as the mean of learning “what society is” (Migita, 1980: 339).

As in the case of the former “uta-genka” text, they must have sung this “marching lullaby” for fun. Moreover, it is probably safe to say that through singing these songs they not only became better friends with each other but also managed to overcome the frustration or boredom caused by the caretaking.

Up to this point, I have found no particular Scottish texts which could be considered “cooperative lullabies” sung by many people together. However, I came across several
instances of "cooperative nursing" or a kind of "mutual caring" as a traditional, social institution. First, I will introduce one case in Lerwick, Shetland, based on an interview with the late Ms. Rohda Bultar, who was born in Lerwick in 1929. She told me that in her childhood there were various local people who took part in nursing babies: "the howdie [the midwife]", "nursing mother (a wet-nurse: woman who helped several women to feed their babies)", "mam-goila [the god-mother]", and "the name-father or mother (a respected person who gave his or her name to a new born baby)". They are said to have had a close relationship with the baby throughout their lives.

There was also a custom of employing an old lady who had no relatives any more, as a nurse. The family gave her residence as a reward for nursing for several months or years. And when the child had grown up, another family would ask the old lady to help them. Through this rotation system, the local community took care of the old lady, who took care of the children in the local community, too. The following lullaby, <S-21d> in my collection, recorded from Ms. Bultar who referred to the songbook, Shetland Folk Book, vol. 1 (1947), may have been sung and passed on through this system of cooperative nursing for both babies and old people, according to her:

Hushie baa baetie Minnie's [= Mother has] gaen ta Saetie
Fir ta pluck an' fir ta poo
Fir ta gather cadie's 'oo [= For to gather orphan lamb's wool]
Fir ta buy a sheep's skin
Ta row Eerie Orrie in
Hushie baa loo, baa loo, baa loo
Hushie baa loo, baa loo loo. (Shetland Folk Book 1, 1947:45)

Another example relating to "cooperative nursing" is the case of a midwife taking care of a neighbour's children in Barra. Mairi MacDonald and Nan MacNeill told me that in their childhood there was a midwife in their local community who was good at storytelling and singing. Mothers asked her to look after their children while they worked, and she agreed. According to them, although she had her own child she never distinguished it from the other children. Some older children sitting beside her must have learnt her stories and songs naturally. In this way, "cooperative nursing" must have contributed to the transmission of various kinds of folklore, including lullabies.

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92 The interview was held at her house in Lerwick on 27 May, 1993.
It is certainly true to say that people have sung a variety of miscellaneous songs for actually lulling their children. Each singer may have her or his favourite and personal lulling song(s). However a particular song having no relationship to lullabies has sometimes come to be shared and passed on amongst people living in a local community. Even though there are no phrases or words relevant to children or any kind of lulling in it, people may have considered it “a lullaby”. Such adaptation from other types of song is not uncommon both in Scotland and Japan, and it has a strong connection with women’s life. Here I will discuss the origins of several “adapted” Scottish and Japanese lullabies, and their relationship with women’s life.

In some previous studies, which I reviewed in Appendix 1.2., we can find descriptions concerning the inter-relationship between Gaelic lullabies and other kinds of song. For instance, Ross points out that three rowing songs printed by Tolmie can be “heard from oral tradition at the present time, one as a waulking song, one as a cradle song, and one as a spinning song” (Ross, 1957: 145). Bruford proclaims “milking songs as being much in the mould of lullabies…” (Bruford, 1978: 6).

In my collection, there are several texts probably adapted from milking songs. The following text, <G-44> in my collection, is included in this group:

Mo ghaol-s’ a’ bhó nacheil breabach
Mo luidh-s’ a’ bhó nacheil breabach
Mo ghaol-s’ a’ bhó nacheil breabach
'S nach cuir eagal air a' bhuaichaill’

[My love the cow that doesn’t kick
[My favorite the cow that doesn’t kick
[My love the cow that doesn’t kick
[And that doesn’t frighten the cowherd

( SA 1970/86 B6)

Bruford analyses the reason why they have been adopted into lullabies as:

‘... no matter how wild she was, the cow would stand still for you when she heard the song. ... When they went to the fold they always had some song or other for the cows, and the cows used to lick them’ (Mrs. Anne Morrison, South Uist, Tocher 7: 219). The words may use vocables, descriptive names of the cows, or prayers, but the commonest element is bare-faced flattery ... .

The tunes are often in a suitably pastoral style, an andantino 6/8, like lullabies... ( Bruford, 1978: 6)
His analysis suggests that the function of milking songs is similar to that of lullabies, that is, soothing. The only difference between them is the object: a cow in milking songs, and a human baby in lullabies.

Likewise, Kennedy-Fraser indicates the intimacy between milking songs and lullabies quoting Martin Martin:

The Milking Songs or Cow’s Lullabies are among the quaintest of the old croons . . . . Touching the use of the taladh or soothing croon by the people of the Isles 200 years ago, Martin Martin, in his most entertaining account of the Western Isles, published in 1703, says of these lullabies: “When a calf is slain it’s an usual custom to cover another calf with its skin to suck the cow whose calf hath been slain, or else she gives no milk, nor suffers herself to be approached by anybody, and if she discover the Cheat, then she grows enraged for some days and the last remedy to pacifie her is to use the Sweetest Voice and sing all the time of milking her” (Kennedy-Fraser, 1909: 74).

There are some other genres of seemingly adopted Gaelic lullabies in my collection.

<G-65b>

Tha bó dhubh agam, tha bó dhubh uam I have a black cow, I’ve lost a black cow. 
Tha bó dhubh agam, tha bó dhubh uam I have a black cow, I’ve lost a black cow. 
Tha bó dhubh agam, tha bó dhubh uam I have a black cow, I’ve lost a black cow.
’S tha tri bo breac, air an leacaich iad shuas. [There are three speckled cattle on yonder hill-side.]

’S i bhainnireach againne bradag nan taod [Our milk girl is a little halter thief.]
’S i bhainnireach againne bradag nan taod [Our milk girl is a little halter thief.]
’S i bhainnireach againne bradag nan taod [Our milk girl is a little halter thief.]
A dh’oladh am bainne’s a mhealladh na laoigh. [Who would drink the milk and deceive the calves.]

(SA1959/64 A1)

<G-68a>

Tha na féidh, o-ho! [The deer are there, O-ho!]
B’è na féidh iad! [The deer—certainly they are (or how wonderful they are).]
Tha na féidh, o-ho! [The deer are there, O-ho!]
Aire a’ Bheinn árd. [High up the Ben.]

(ref.) Allaila hò hó-an! Allaila hò ho! Allaila hò hó-an! O hó-an ó.

Leig an cù tiutha; [Slip the dog after them;]
Cuir an cù unnt’; [Set the dog on.]
Leig an cù riutha; [Send the dog after them.]
An cù donna dall. [The dog useless and blind.]
It seems that the former text is originally a cowherd’s song and the latter a hunter’s song. It is uncertain why such genres of songs have been considered and sung as lullabies. Nevertheless these texts suggest that both dairy farming and hunting were really familiar jobs for the people.93

In addition, the tune of G-43, “Mo ghaol, mo ghradh [Christ Child Lullaby]”, discussed before, was adapted probably from a waulking song, meanwhile the words were written by Father Ranald Rankin in 1855, according to Margaret Fay Shaw (Shaw, 1955: 155).

Apart from working songs, as pointed out in many previous studies, there is another crucial genre of song which have an intimate relationship with Gaelic lullabies. It is the lament. In my collection, five texts (<G-6, 10, 16, 24, and 61> in my collection) probably belong to this group (see p.238). Above all, “Griogal Cridhe [Beloved Gregor]” is such a moving song that it has gained popularity both as a lullaby and as a lament.94 Here is a variant, <G-6b> in my collection, which was collected and compiled by Francis Tolmie into the *Journal of the Folk-Song Society*, vol.16 (1911):

'S ioma hoidhche fhliuch is thioram,
Side na seachd sian,
Gheibheadh Griogal dhomhsa creagain,
Ris an gabhainn dion.  

[Many a night of rain, or fair,  
(or tempest raging wild,  
(Gregor would find for me a rock,  
and shelter from the storm.

(ref.) Òbhan! Òbhan! Òbaniri! Òbaniri o [(vocables)  
Òbhan! Òbhan! Òbaniri!
'S mór mo mhulad 'mór.  

(Great is my grief, and great!
[I climbed to the room above  
(and searched the room below,  
[but did not find Gregor, beloved,  
[sitting at the board.

Dhirich mi dh'an t-seòmar mhullaich,  
'S theirinn mi'n tigh-làir,  
'S cha d'fhuair mise Griogal cridhe,  
'Na shuidhe mu 'n chlár.

(ref.)

93 In Japan there is a deer’s lullaby, as introduced in the fourth chapter (see p.132). This text suggests that deer-hunting was popular in Japan, too.

94 In his latest CD album, *Glen Lyon* (Foot Stompin’ Records 2002), Martyn Bennett records this song sung by his mother, Margaret Bennett.
According to Tolmie, this song has the following context:

The above lullaby is well known throughout the Hebrides, though the incidents mentioned in it occurred on the mainland. The subject is the mourning of a young lady, a daughter of Campbell of Glenlyon, for the death of her husband, Grigor Roy, an outlawed MacGregor, who was executed at Kenmore, on Loch Tay, by command of Sir Colin Campbell of Glenurchy, in 1570 (ibid: 197).

It is still unclear, however, why such laments have been sung or regarded as lullabies, either. This question will be discussed after the introduction of Japanese counterparts.

I will turn to Japanese adapted lullabies. The following text was collected as a lullaby in Fukuoka Prefecture, but the compiler explains that it has also been sung in children's ball-bouncing games in several regions like Tōkyō, Kanagawa, Saitama, although its origin is unknown (Tomono, 1987: 218):

Ano-yama-ni hikaru-wa [What is lighting on the mountain?]
Tsuki-ka hoshi-ka hotaru-ka [Is it the moon, a star, or a firefly?]
Hotaru-nara ote-ni toro [If it's a firefly, I will catch it.]
Otsukisama-nara ogami-ku [If it's the moon, I will worship it.]
Ororon ororon-bai [(vocable)]

(Fukuoka, 23a: 218)

Meanwhile, in terms of the consideration of the origin, there is an interesting variant I came across in my fieldwork in Sekigane-town, Tottori Prefecture. This variant, which includes the following similar phrases, has been sung as a “tane-uta [a rice-planting song]”:

Daisenyama-ni hikaru-wa [What is shining on Mt. Daisen?]
Tsuki-ka hoshi-ka hortaru-ka [Is it the moon, a star, or a firefly?]

(Uno, 1996: 92)

95 My fieldwork in Sekigane-town was undertaken on several days in August, 1994.
96 I compiled this text into an ethnographic book, entitled Sekigane-chō no Minwa to Uta Asobi (Folktales, Songs, and Children's Games & Play in Sekigane-town), 1996.
According to the informant, Mr. Gen’ichi Kômura, the work of rice-planting demanded many workers and took a long time — from early morning to late evening. Since the work was so hard, they used to sing together as a diversion, particularly as they started to feel tired in the evening. The words match this situation. For exhausted people it was perhaps difficult to identify the light in the distance. Moreover rice-planting is generally completed in June when fireflies can be seen over the rice-fields. In this sense, we can consider that the words in this song are suitable as a rice-planting song. Although it is too early to distinctly conclude its origin, it was possibly adapted from a working song, like rice-planting, into a lullaby as well as into various children’s game songs.

The next text is said to be originally a rowing song (funa-uta in Japanese).

| En’ya makka go-en  | En’ya makka go-en | [(calling phrase in rowing) |
| Orae-no meko-wa  | Jokotama-ya       | [My little girl, you’re like a crystal. |
| Nennero-ya       | Nennero-ya        | [Go to sleep, go to sleep. |
| Sagata-sa egusage| mamedero-ya       | [I will go to Sakata. Be well until my return. |
| En’ya makka      | go-en             | En’ya makka go-en |

(Yamagata, 3: 316)

Without the first and last phrases (a calling phrase in rowing), there are no words directly indicating the song’s origins. But it is not difficult to imagine the context: the singer must be a boatman on a river, and the father of the little girl who is “like a crystal”. Now he is going to Sakata-town, leaving his daughter behind. Following these phrases, he asks her what she wants him to buy in Sakata. This text was probably sung by boatmen at first while rowing on the river, and then it became a lullaby with such a lulling phrase as “nennero-ya nennero-ya [Go to sleep, go to sleep].”

Thirdly, the following lullaby is identified as a kometsuki-uta [a husking song] according to the compiler, Mizuo Chiba:

| Hajimete karausu fumarekeri | [I pedaled a karausu for the first time. |
| Ashi-wo mitareba ashi-ni mame-ga kokonotsu | [I found nine blisters on my feet. |
| Kokonotsu-no mame-wo mitareba | [When I was looking at the blisters, |
| Oya-no zaisho-ga koishisa ha-e | [I got homesick. |

(Iwate, 2b: 214)
These words suggest that the singer was perhaps a young house-maid (jochū in Japanese) employed by a rich farmer. She had to deal with various laborious jobs including husking the rice using a tool known as karasusu in Japanese. If the family had a little child, childcare would be added to her work. While pedaling the karasusu, she mourns her misfortune and looks forward to returning home. At this moment the distance between this text and the moriko-uta [nurse-maid songs] becomes much closer: it could easily be adapted into a lullaby.

Aside from the adaptation of working songs, there is the following borderline case. In the following song, the words are borrowed from miscellaneous types of folksong. The tune is similar to the well-known lullaby, “Edo-no komori-uta”:

Koko-no goie-wa medetana goie yoi-yoi [This is a blessed family, yoi-yoi (vocal)]
Tsuru-to kame-toga mai-asobu yoi-yoi [A crane and a tortoise are dancing together.]
Sami-no ne-ga suru taiko-no ne-suru yoi-yoi [I hear the sound of a Japanese lute and a drum.]
Kawai otoko-no koe-mo suru yoi-yoi [I also hear the voice of my lover.]
Kawai kawai-to yo-wa dakishimete yoi-yoi [You hold me tight, saying, “You’re charming” at nights]
Hiru-wa tagai-ni shiranu kao yoi-yoi [But in the daytime both of us pretend there’s nothing between us]
Washi-ga shindara tabako-de yaite yoi-yoi [When I die, burn my body with tobacco]
Kiseri sotoba-wo tatetekure yoi-yoi [And build a stupa of tobacco pipes, please.]

(Ōita, 23b: 222)

The first stanza was often found in a celebratory song on the completion of a new house. The second and third stanzas are borrowed either from a so-called ozashiki-uta [a banquet song], or from a bon-odori-uta [a dancing song for the mid-summer festival]. The fourth stanza is, furthermore, often found in moriko-uta [nurse-maid songs] although its origin is unknown.

How did such eclecticism happen? If a child is unwilling to go to sleep, a singer must keep on soothing it. Consequently she or he would adopt any sort of lyrics, even though their subject has no relationship with lulling a child. In other words, continuity has priority over the subject of the words in this case.
Adaptation is a common strategy to "improvise" the lullaby for the emergent purpose. Both in Scotland and Japan a great number of lullabies originated as various working or occupational, ceremonial, religious, dancing songs, and so forth. Table 7.4.1 lists these "Adapted or Cross-border Lullabies". The latter indicates songs which have been sung in various situations, including lulling or soothing children, and which cannot be considered to be "adapted lullabies" because of the uncertainty of their origin.

Table 7.4.1. "Adapted or Cross-border Lullabies"

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<td>banquet song (23b: 222)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>festive songs</td>
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<td></td>
<td>occasional songs</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Christmas hymn (G-43)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

In the Scottish case, it is important to keep a similar rhythm to the rocking of the cradle and the baby, as well as to perform the function of "soothing". On the other hand, the words of Japanese folksongs usually have several types of syllabic formula such as five-seven-five-seven, seven-seven-seven-five, seven-five-seven-five, or whatever. Japanese lullabies, except those in Okinawa, follow the seven-seven-seven-five or seven-five-seven-five formula, as mentioned in the fourth chapters, so that it is quite easy to adapt particular phrases written in the same syllabic formula from other kinds of song even if they have no relationship to lulling a child.

Furthermore, apart from such linguistic factors, we must consider another element: the relationship between adapted lullabies and women’s life. Among the various types of "adapted or cross-border lullaby", many of them are connected with women’s life in one
way or another, although there are a few exceptions like a sailor’s song, a cowherd’s song, a hunter’s song, or a hawker’s song. For instance, ball bouncing games were dominantly played by girls in Japan. Secondly, except for the four types mentioned above, which are basically considered masculine works, the working songs listed up in the table were sung during the monotonous, time-consuming and laborious tasks mainly done by women. They were sung in order to reduce or forget their exhaustion, as well as to help move their bodies rhythmically.

Thirdly, banquet songs, *ozashiki-uta* in Japanese, were originally sung by *geisha* [professional female entertainers trained in traditional dance and music]. Therefore particularly feminine feelings and passions for their lovers are often involved in this kind of songs. Moreover, the mid-summer festival dance, a *bon-odori*, was one of the most exciting and joyful events, particularly for the younger generation who were living away from their hometown during the rest of the year. *Moriko* [nurse-maid girls] are certainly included to this group.

Finally, it is probably true to consider that laments, funeral songs, and religious songs have been transmitted to the next generation mainly by women. In everyday life, for instance, before breakfast or going to sleep, such solemn songs must usually have been usually sung by a mother, grandmother or other women in the family to young children. It may be regarded as a kind of spiritual education through song, as undertaken by women.97

In short, from the songs which constantly surrounded women’s life and which were carefully kept in their minds, particular songs have been adapted because of some other reason (like the linguistic factors mentioned above) and sung as lullabies.

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97 As mentioned in the former section of this chapter (p.223), the influence of a lullaby sung by Kenji Miyazawa’s mother, a writer of children’s literature, is perhaps a typical example. I have discussed this case in another paper, “Miyazawa Kenji-ni-miru Komoriuta-no Genrōkei [Proto-landscape in a Lullaby Sung to Kenji Miyazawa]” in *Jidd Shinri* [Child Study], November, 2001.
7.5. Lullabies Reflecting The Singer’s Circumstances

I will continue to discuss women’s circumstances reflected in particular lullabies without limiting the discussion to non-mother lullabies. In my interview with Ms. Sheena Wellington, a singer-songwriter of Scottish folk music from Dundee, she chose to sing the following song first of all, when I asked her to sing a Scottish lullaby: 98

Hush-a-bye, babby, an babby lie still,
Yer drunken auld faither’s awa for a gill;
He goes tae a pub at the tap o the hill,
So hush-a-bye, babby, an babby lie still.

(S-17a, my own recording, unpublished)

Why did she choose to sing this song first amongst the various Scottish lullabies she knows? “This tune is of course originally ‘Rock-a-bye baby’”, she explained, “but this is a local one, the local Scottish one.” In what respect is her version considered “the local Scottish one”? I will compare it with the well-known, general version compiled by Cass-Beggs (1969):

Rock-a-bye, baby, on the tree top,
When the wind blows the cradle will rock;
When the bough breaks the cradle will fall,
Down will come baby, cradle, and all.

Based on the method adopted for my former textual analysis, the motifs in this text include (i) go to sleep, baby, in the cradle rocking on the tree-top [Motif A, lulling], and (ii) be careful, you might fall down if the bough breaks [Motif E, prophecy-bad, or Motif F, threat]. On the whole, this text demonstrates a light black-humour, or nonsense joke, which seems to be a favourite of the English people, and therefore can be easily found in English children’s literature and nursery rhymes. It can also be categorised as Group I or II in my division discussed in the former chapters.

On the other hand, Ms. Wellington’s version has the following two motifs: (i) lie still, and go to sleep, baby [Motif A, lulling], and (ii) your old father is drunken (or suffers from alcoholism) and never come back from the pub [Motif H, anxiety & sadness not

98 The interview was held at the School of Scottish Studies on 5th July, 1992.
related to childcare. It can be categorised as Group III [singing inwardly with a sad feeling]. In other words, it is a mother’s complaint about her drunken husband.

In the interview, Wellington told me that this song was linked to the social problem of alcoholism: “Alcoholism has really been a problem in Scotland, particularly in Dundee”. I will confirm her comment, based on various references.

In his article, “The legend of drunken Scotland” (1992), Daniel Paton states that in the nineteenth century there was the following legend:

... the Scots were either the most drink-sodden people in Europe or exceeded in alcoholic excess only by the Swedes and the Lapps. This reputation, already well established by 1877, has proved difficult to shake off, and the stereotype of drunken Scotland persists into the present day (Paton, 1992: 10).

He suggests that this reputation was created in the third, fourth and fifth decades of the nineteenth century:

This was a period of rapid industrialization and urbanization which disrupted the pre-industrial and social order in the areas touched by it. Grant and Ritson (1983), reviewing modern evidence, suggest that, in periods of rapid social change, people acquire new drinking habits but do not so readily abandon the old. Their hypothesis fits well the experience of the working classes of newly industrialized Scotland. Alcohol had an important place in pre-industrial society (ibid: 10-11).

The temperance movement, which was begun in 1829, at last succeeded in stopping people’s preference for alcohol in the second decade of the twentieth century, and until the fifth decade of the century Scotland’s drink consumption was low. However, in the 1950s alcohol consumption began to rise again influenced by a new radical social change, followed by recession. It is said that by the 1970s Scotland had regained its former reputation and alcoholism causes a serious problem in this country, along with smoking and drugs.

In his successive classic piece of social history, A Century of the Scottish People, 1830-1950 (1986), T.C. Smout reproduces the miserable scene of working class families living in the cities in the nineteenth century:
The male comradeship of the work place was thus renewed in the pub in the evening, with the correlation the wife was obliged to stay behind in the tiny home to mind the children. The equation made a tradition: drink plus bad housing equaled male self-indulgence and female isolation (Smout, 1986: 139).

It is certainly possible to consider that the “local Scottish” version of “Rock-a-by, Baby” was created by one such isolated wife and spread amongst others suffering similar circumstances throughout the cities of Scotland although the period of its creation is unclear.

“O can ye sew cushions” is probably one of the most popular Scots lullabies, and without doubt seems to reflect the social circumstances of local people living in seaside areas. The following text is a version compiled by William Cole (<S-8g> in my collection):

O can ye sew cushions? And can ye sew sheets?
And can ye sing ba-la-loo when the bairn greets?
(ref.) And hee an baw birdie and hee an baw lamb
And hee an baw birdie, my bonnie wee lamb
Hee O wee O what can I do wi’ you?
Black’s the life that I lead wi’ you.
Monny O you little for to gie you.
Hee O wee O what can I do wi’ you?

I biggit the cradle all on the tree top,
And the wind it did blaw, and the cradle did rock.
(ref.)

Now hush-a-ba, lammie, and hush-a-ba, dear,
Now hush-a-ba, lammie, thy minnie is here.
(ref.)

The wild wind is ravin’, thy minnie’s heart’s sair;
The wild wind is ravin’, and you dinna care.
(ref.)

Sing ba-la-loo, lammie, sing ba-la-loo, dear,
Does the wee lammie ken that his daddie’s no here.
(ref.)

Ye’re rockin’ fu’ sweetly upon my warm knee,
But your daddie’s a-rockin upon the saut sea.
The whole text vividly draws the picture of the everyday life of a fisherman’s wife and her feelings. In the first stanza, the singer is afraid that her little daughter will not become a good wife who can sew cushions and sheets. Her family is too poor to raise many children, so that she has no self-confidence in bringing happiness to her baby: “Black’s the life that I lead wi’ you, / Monny O you little for to gie you, / Hee O wee O what can I do wi’ you?”

In the second stanza, the same motif that we find in “Rock-a-bye, baby, on the tree top” appears, as the Opies indicate. Although it is uncertain whether or not there was a custom of setting or hanging “the cradle on the tree top” in Scotland, the phrase, “the wind it did blaw, and the cradle did rock”, reminds us of a heavy gale, which is common in Scotland. The heavy gale and a rocking cradle also symbolize the uneasy feeling of the singer; “the wild wind is ravin’, thy minnie’s heart’s sair”. Her anxiety is perhaps caused not only by the poverty but also by the absence of her husband, who is probably a fisherman, “a-rockin’ upon the saut sea” in a heavy gale. The singer wishes for his safe return while rocking the cradle and singing the lullaby.

Thus we can conclude that this song is a typical reflection of traditional life in Scotland and the private emotions of Scottish women.

Meanwhile, both in a Scots (<S-36b> in my collection) and one Japanese lullaby, the cross-historical subject of a single mother is discovered:

Oh hishie ba, fur Ah’m yer ma  
Hishie ba ma bairn o;  
It’s hishie ba, fur Ah’m yer ma  
But Guid kens fa’s yer faither o.  
When I was a maid o sweet sixteen  
In beauty all a-bloomin o,  
It’s little, little did I think,  
That at seventeen I’d be greetin o.  
Oh hishie ba, fur Ah’m yer ma . . .

(Bennett, 1992: 74)

[English translation only]

The boy and the girl were like river-dragonflies.
A baby was born very soon between them in the river.
When the mother took the baby child to the shrine,
At the back of the shrine, she suffered from stomachache.
It was so painful that she called a doctor.
She rejected the medicine the doctor told her to take.
"You must take it even if you don't like it."
But she soon recovered by sleeping with the father of the child.
But she soon recovered by sleeping with the father of the child.

(Kumamoto, 25: 202)

These examples suggest that this subject has a cross-cultural universality, as well.

Now I will turn to another topic, the moriko [nurse-maid girls]. Since having already discussed some aspects of the moriko and the moriko-uta [nurse-maid songs] as a unique context for Japanese lullabies, here I will focus on the feelings and emotions that the moriko-uta reflects.

Complaint as to their misfortune is perhaps one of the most essential motifs in these songs. However, the maids were not always moaning: the threat and satire against the babies and their employers played an important part of their singing:

A sleeping child is so charming,
A crying child is so provoking
Such a naughty child should be kicked into the rice-field
As soon as it comes out, I will kick it in there once again

(Ōita, 23b: 225)

The daughter of my host family was wound with thread.
The son was knocked with a stick
The host-mother rushed to come out of the house
The host-father fell down from the side-board.

(Uno, 1991: 199)

Through singing such provocative songs, moriko made fun of their host families.

When I collected the latter from a local woman, Mrs. Hisako Akiyama, living in Awa-town in Tokushima Prefecture, she told me that in previous days young mothers used to sing such threatening or rebellious lullabies standing on the windward side of the house on purpose, in order to let their mothers-in-law, called shutome in Japanese, hear them

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They stressed the harshness of their circumstances as *yome* [women living with their husbands’ family after marriage], “I was just like a *moriko*.” According to Mrs. Akiyama, even if *shūtome* understood the words, she could not accuse the *yome*. “because the *yome* could insist, ‘I am just singing. It’s such a song’”.

In pre-modern times in Japan, the eldest son inherited the property of his family and lived with his parents after marriage. Strongly influenced by Confucianism, in which *kō* [respect for parents] was considered a principal virtue, his wife had to take care of her parents-in-law with respect as much as she could, while receiving various pressures from them. The following lullabies crudely describe such pressure, in contrast to the former lullaby:

Kaka-ni ninto toto-ni nii  
Kaka-ni niruto shō-waru-da  
[Don’t become like your mother, but like your father.  
If you become like your mother,  
you’ll become ill-nature...](Kyōto, 15: 309)

Nenneko shanse toko shanse  
Nikui yome-no hara-kara  
Kouyu kawaii ko-ga dekita  
Nenneko shanse toko shanse  
[(vocable)  
From the womb of that provoking *yome*  
Such a lovely baby was born  
(vocable)]  
(Miyazaki, 25: 418)

In the former text, the *shūtome* professes her hostility towards the *yome* and her affection for her own son through singing this song. The latter without doubt expresses similar emotions. Her singing must have reached the ears of the *yome* and made her feel sad.

Looking through these lullabies that reflect the conflict between the *yome* and *shūtome*, we may conclude that a lullaby can become “an invisible weapon” in a sense for women.

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100 The interview was held at her house in Awa-town, Tokushima, on 25th July, 1989.
In this chapter I have investigated various social backgrounds to non-mother lullabies and lullabies reflecting women’s life. Through this investigation, I discovered several functions to singing lullabies, some of which were not revealed in the former chapter.

Firstly, to sing lullabies, particularly in the case of narratives, has the function of entertainment. Fairy lullabies, for instance, have not only educated child listeners as to views of world or cosmology, but also fascinate them as a kind of entertainment. Babies cannot understand the meaning of the words, of course, but they can enjoy the rhythm, tune and atmosphere. Moreover, the lullabies were sometimes performed in front of more than two listeners. In that case, other elder listeners sitting or lying beside the baby must have been attracted by the stories themselves, as well as by the tunes. It must have been such “indirect listeners” who have eagerly learned narrative lullabies and, later on, transmitted them to the next generation.

Secondly, a lullaby can become a device for expressing various kinds of the singer’s emotions. Particularly for women mainly engaged in housekeeping, singing lullabies was one of the limited number of opportunities for them to release their depression and frustration. In this sense, we can consider lullabies to have a healing or “cathartic” function. However, some kinds of lullaby have been used for more positive or aggressive purposes: courtship, criticism or satire of an indirect but actual listener. A lullaby can, thirdly, sometimes become an invisible weapon.

Furthermore, people have shared particular lullabies sympathetically for many generations. Through singing lullabies together, the Japanese moriko must have felt that she was not isolated from others. Through singing lullabies as a lament, the singer, and possibly the child listener as well, must have felt that she or he was keeping in touch with the person who had passed away. In contrast to the third function, fourthly, a lullaby can also become a band joining people to each other, possibly across class, society, culture, or generation.

The fourth function will be reassessed in the following chapter, focusing on the historical background to several songs which can be considered to be “commemorative lullabies”.

Chapter 8. Historical Background to Commemorative Lullabies

The enchantment of a song depends exclusively on its uniqueness: that we cannot find any substitute for that song. The capacity of our mind seems to be influenced by how many “songs that have no substitute” we possess. For such songs are accompanied with various private memories that surround them. A song is like a floppy-disk of our life: when we listen to the song, the scenes filed in our memory are clearly visualized into the screen of our mind (Osada. 1996: 4 [English translation by Uno]).

At the end of the former chapter, I proposed a possible function of lullabies: to join people’s minds across societies and generations. In this chapter, this function will be examined by the analysis of the historical background to several so-called “commemorative lullabies” discovered both in Scotland and Japan.

First, I will introduce two Gaelic texts related to emigration, or so-called “exile”, during the 18th and 19th centuries and, secondly, investigate the social circumstances of this historic incident referring to previous studies on this subject. Following that, the transformation and localization process of these songs will be traced in historical order up to the present time. Moreover, after the introduction of their Japanese counterparts and the analysis of the features of commemorative lullabies, I will assess the function of this sort of lullaby in the conclusion.

8.1. Lullabies Remembered in Exile

In an interview held in July, 1992, Ms. Sheena Wellington sang two lullabies originally transmitted in Gaelic: one was “The Highland Fairy Lullaby”, and the other one was “Christ Child’s Lullaby” as follows:

My love, my treasured one are you  
My sweet and lovely son are you  
You are my love, my darling new  
Unworthy I of you  
Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia,

101 Hiroshi Osada, Amerika-no Kokoro-no Uta [American Songs of the Heart], 1996.
102 See p. 197.
Your mild and gentle eyes proclaim
The loving heart with which you came
A tender helpless tiny babe
With boundless gifts of grace

Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia,

King of kings most holy one
God the son, eternal one
You are my God and helpless son
High ruler of mankind

Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia,

Table 8.1.1. [music]

It was a simple but highly impressive tune, both lyrical and spiritual. And although I am neither a Christian nor Scottish, I was genuinely moved. The words obviously suggest the motif of Mary’s singing to the Holy Child, consequently it may be no wonder that the tune is so full of spirituality. Each religious song must, however, have a unique origin and history in terms both of the words and the tune. The encounter with this song led me to my quest to look for Scottish lullabies.

As Ms. Wellington pointed out, this song was originally a Gaelic one. The following version, <G-43c> in my collection, was collected by Margaret Fay Shaw and compiled with the title, “Taloadh ar Slanair [Our Saviour’s Lullaby]”, in *Folksongs and Folklore of South Uist* (1955):

Mo ghaol, mo ghrádh, is m’fhéudail thu,
M’ionntas úr is m’èibhneas thu,
Mo mhacan alainn ceutch thu,
Cha n-fhiù mi fhéin bhith ’d dhàil.
Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia.

Ged as leanabh diblidh thu,
Cinnteach ’s Righ nan Righreath thu,
’S tu ’n t-oighre dligheach, firinneach
Air Rioghaech Dhe nan Gràs.

[My love, my dear, my darling Thou
[My new treasure and my joy art Thou
[My beautiful fair Son art Thou,
[I am unworthy to be near Thee.
[Alleluia, . . .

Although Thou art a helpless babe,
‘Tis certain Thou art the King of Kings
Thou art the true and rightful heir
To the Kingdom of the God of Graces

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Bu mhór sòlas agus ioghnadh  
[Great was the wonder and the joy]
Buachaillean bochda nan caorach,  
[Of the poor shepherds of the sheep]
Nuair chuala iad na h-áinglean glaodhaich,  
[When they heard the angels proclaiming]
"Thàinig Slànair thun an t-saoghail."  
["A Saviour has come into the world!"
'T susa grian gheal an dòchais,  
[Thou art the white sun of hope]
Chuireas dorchas air fògairt;  
[Who will banish darkness from us;]
Bheir thu clann-daoin' bho staíd bhàrrnaich  
[Mankind Thou wilt redeem from sorrow]
Gu naomhachd, soilleireachd, is eòlas.  
[To sanctity, light and knowledge.]
Hosanah do Mhac Dhàibhidh,  
[Hosannah to the Son of David,]
Mo Righ, mo Thighearna, 's mo Shlànair,  
[My King, my Lord and my Saviour.
'S mòr mo shòlas bhith 'gad thàladh,  
[Joyfully sleep I lull Thee,]
'S beannaichte am mensg nam mnài mi.  
[Blessed amongst women am I.

(Shaw, 1955: 154-155)

Table 8.1.2. [music]

The words correspond to Wellington's version and the tune is almost the same except the final melody-line: "re-la-doh-re-re" [a wavy underline indicates an octave lower], compared to "re-doh-so-mi-re-re". "This hymn is sung", according to Shaw, "at Midnight Mass on Christmas Eve in South Uist and Eriskay" (Shaw, 1955: 155). In respect of both the words and the tune, this song is considered to be suitable as a Christmas hymn.

So far as I have investigated, this song first appeared in printed form in Transactions of the Gaelic-Society of Inverness XV in 1889, with twenty-nine stanzas. Colin Chisholm, the contributor for this periodical, indicates the origin of the words as follows:

The following memento, or "cuimhneachan," was written by the Rev. Ranald Rankin, C.C., and given by him to the children of his congregation at Moidart, when he was parting with them for Australia, in 1855... The Rev. Ranald Rankin (W.D.), Australia, died in 1863, aged 64 (Chisholm, 1889: 239).
Why did the Rev. Rankin leave his home country for Australia? We cannot help but imagine the relationship between this song and the Highland Clearances and Exile, from the 18th to 19th centuries.

Meanwhile, concerning the tune, Shaw points out the similarity to a waulking song: “The tune is like a waulking song of which the first line in some versions is ‘An cuala sibh mar dh’eirich dhomh-sa?’” (ibid: 155). It is likely that the Rev. Rankin adapted or arranged the tune from a waulking song, since a number of hymns have similar origin: that is, adaptation from folksongs or popular songs in the local society. The fact that this tune is familiar to Highlanders seems to have contributed to the wide distribution of this hymn in some degree.

However, its survival as a traditional lullaby sung both by non-Gaelic as well as Gaelic people is perhaps caused not only by this factor, but also by the historical circumstances surrounding the origin of the hymn mentioned above. This means that this hymn must have become a somewhat special ‘folksong’ because of the connection with the episode of its creation, which is related to Exile. I will confirm this hypothesis through the following discussion.

There is another example of Gaelic lullaby text: “Dean Cadalan Samhach [Sleep Softly]”. I came across this song during my fieldwork in Barra for the first time in the summer of 1992. When I was interviewing Mrs. Anne Kearney, a former school teacher, she sang the following song, which is registered as <G-22f> in my collection.103

Dean cadalan samhach a chuilein mo ruin
Dean fuireach mar tha ’s tu an drasd an ait ur;
Bidi oigearan againn lan beairtas is cliu,
Ma bhios tu ’nad airidh is leat fearaigin dhiu.

[Sleep softly, darling of my heart,
[Stay as you are, you’re in a new place.
[We shall have young men full of riches and renown:
[If you are worthy one of them will be yours.

Gur th’ ann an Amaireaga tha sinn an drást
Fo dhubhar na coille nach teirig gu brath,

103 The interview was held at her house in Castlebay, Barra, on 20th August, 1992.
Nuair dh' fhalbhas an dúblachd 's an thionndas am blàths;
Bidh cnothan, 'us úbhan 's an t-sìuchar a' fás.

['Tis in America where we are now,
In the everlasting darkness of the woods;
When the winter is over and warmth returns,
Nuts and apples and (maple) sugar will grow.

Tha sinne mar Innseanaich cinn teach gu leòr,
Fo dhubhar nan craobh cha bhí aon againn beò,
Coin-alluidh 'us beistean ag ëigheach 's gach froig,
Tha sinne nar n-èiginn o 'n thrèig sinn Righ Deòrs'.

[We are like Indians surely enough,
In the gloom of the forest no one will survive,
With wolves and beasts crying in each nook;
We are in trouble since we abandoned King George.

Mo shoraidh an dràst, gu Ceann-t-Saile nam bò,
Far 'n d' fhuair mi òg m' arach nam phàiste beag, òg;
Bhiodh òigearan sgoinneal air bhonnaibh ri ceòl,
'Us nìghneagan dualach 's an gruaidh mar an ros.

[My best wishes and welcome to Kintail of the cows,
Where I was brought up in my childhood when I was young;
There were brown-haired youths on their feet to sing,
And curly-haired girls, with cheeks like the rose.

Table 8.1.3. [music]

Despite understanding none of meaning of the words, I was fascinated by the melancholic
but noble tone in the melody, and I could not help asking where or how this unforgettable
atmosphere had been created? After singing, she explained the content of the song briefly
as follows:

As far as I understand it, a father is singing to his little girl, once they have
gone across to America. And what I heard was that the child's mother had
died on the voyage across. But her father assured her that everything would
be allright.

(Kearney/Uno, 1992)

For a young researcher of traditional lullabies, this song seemed to be extraordinarily unique in respect of the following two points: the singer is a father, and the subject is the migration to America. Along with my attraction to the tune, the whole content of the words were so fascinating that it led me to the investigation of its historical background.

Since then, I have successively collected several versions of this song, accompanied with the information about its origin. In Songs Remembered in Exile (1990), John Lorne Campbell gives the following annotation after the version of Hector MacKinnon, <G-22b> in my collection:

Sister Margaret MacDonell says that the poem was made by John MacRae 'Ian Mac Mhurchaidh' who emigrated from Kintail in Scotland to North Carolina around 1774. It was one of the earliest Gaelic songs made in North America (Campbell, 1990: 84)

Through referring to literary sources including the ones above, the subject of Exile as the historical background to this lullaby has emerged. As in the case of "Christ Child's Lullaby", this song seems to have changed from being a private song written by an emigrant father in the eighteenth century, into a traditional one shared by people dwelling on both sides of the Atlantic, through successive transmission over a couple of centuries.

Now we must trace what it is that has encouraged the people to transmit these lullabies as commemorative songs.
8.2. Into Exile: The Highlands from 18th to 19th Century

It is almost impossible to describe Scottish history during the 18th and 19th centuries without touch on the theme of Exile. Here I will briefly summarize the various factors leading to Exile referring to several previous studies on the subject.104

As a political factor, after defeat at the Battle at Culloden in 1746 the Jacobites, mainly settling in the Highlands, were forced to move from their homeland. Next, there were several economical events which successively happened. Firstly, as a result of the enormous success of potato farming because of the introduction of lime fertilizer, the population of Highlanders radically expanded to a state of “over-control”, so that emigration to the New World was recommended by the local government. Secondly, along with the defeat of the Jacobites, the so-called “clan system” as a feudal and blood-related society in the Highlands was replaced with a community based on a monetary economy. People who had rejected such economic modernization, or failed to follow the current of the times attempted to restart their lives in the New World.

Meanwhile, thirdly, based on the dominance of a monetary economy, limited kinds of merchandise were given priority after the eighteenth century. Especially, the demand for beef and wool rose in the English market and has caused the enlargement of stock farms and the enclosure by Highland land owners. Consequently, a great number of poor crofters were forced to move from their residences: this is the so-called Highland Clearances.

Moreover, the Potato Famine that broke out in the late forties in the nineteenth century fatally damaged agricultural society in Ireland and Scotland. The Gaelic lullaby, “Ba ba, mo leanabh beag”, <G-7> in my collection, is considered to “have been composed at the time of the potato famine in 1848, when conditions in the Highlands and the Isles were nearly dreadful as in Ireland” (Shaw, 1955: 143):

Bà, bà, mo leanabh beag,  
Bidh tu mòr ged tha thu beag,  
[You will be big although you are wee,  
[Ba, ba, my little babe,  

Bà, bà, mo leanabh beag,
Cha n-urainn mi ‘gadh thàaladh.

Dé, a ghaoil, a nì mi riut
Gun bhainnne ciche agam dhut?
Eagal orm gun gabh thu thur crup
Le buigead a’ bhuntàta.

[Ba, ba, my little babe,
[I am not able to soothe you.

What, love, will I do for you.
[For I have no breast milk for you?
[I fear that you will get the croup
[From the softness of the potatoes.

It is uncertain whether the singer who grieves saying, “I have no breast milk for you”, is a father missing his wife, or a mother suffering from an illness too serious to feed her milk. But it is without doubt desperation that preoccupies this song.

A chain of such political and economical incidents drove Highland people to leave their homeland. David Craig summarized it as follows:

From the early 1800s onwards, peaking after 1815 and again after the Potato Famine in 1846, the estate managers drove families out by the thousand, serving eviction orders, using fire and force if need be, and they joined the influx to the industrial cities, the efflux to the New World and the Antipodes (Craig, 1990: 7).

According to Campbell, “Emigration of Gaelic-speaking Highlanders to the New World had begun before 1770; originally to the Cape Fear district of North Carolina, associated with the name of Flora MacDonald, after 1745. . . . The American Revolution discouraged further Scottish immigration into North Carolina; by the 1770s it had become diverted to eastern Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, and particularly to the Island of Cape Breton . . . .” (Campbell, 1990: 1-2) In Australia, meanwhile, the development of the woolen industry in the 1830s and 40s, and the gold rush in the 1850s induced a great number of immigrants from Britain and Ireland.105

Most of them were poor crofters or unemployed,106 and in order to spiritually support them, the church dispatched a number of priests and staff to the New World and to Oceania. The Rev. Rankin, who contributed the lullaby “Christ Child’s Lullaby”, must

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105 This abstract of the history of migration to Australia is based on the following book: Masami Sekine and others, An Outline of Australian History (1988).

106 Robert MacDougall’s The Emigrant’s Guide to North America (1998), written in Gaelic and published at first in 1841, edited by Elizabeth Thompson and published in 1998, indicates there were not a few emigrants of middle-class families who saw the prospect of a better life in North America or had a curiosity and love of adventure (xvi-xxiii pp.).
have been one of them.

In addition to these general factors, there were some special regional factors. I will follow the case in Barra, where I have successively done fieldwork. In this case, the misconduct of General Roderick MacNeil, last chief of the MacNeils of Barra, should be noted. His father started the kelp industry in 1775 and promoted it amongst the major part of the islanders, who had previously engaged in self-supporting farming and fishing. “The manufacture of kelp was in full swing in the Hebrides by 1785”, but “by 1821 the boom in the kelp price was collapsing. The fall began in 1814, when trade with Spain revived, including imports of barilla” (ibid: 39 & 42). However, General MacNeil failed to overcome the crisis and his father’s deed of succession imposed various obligations upon him. “He struggled on for a number of years trying to make money out of Barra by various means, but in the not so long run bankruptcy and the sale of the estate were inevitable.” (ibid: 48). Campbell concludes the proceedings of this tragedy in the island as follows:

Untrained in business and facing a falling market in kelp and cattle, General Roderick MacNeil of Barra failed; his estate was sequestrated on 7 October 1836. . . . The trustee’s suggestion that two-thirds of the population of Barra be transported to America almost reminds one of Stalin contemplating the transportation of some tiresome minority to Siberia. Truly the prophesy about the seventh Ruairi was fulfilled in the years following the death of Col. Roderick MacNeil of Barra who died in 1822; the miseries of the island culminated in the potato famine of the 1840s and the evictions made by General MacNeil’s successor in 1851. In the circumstances the survival of the magnificent oral traditions of the island was almost a miracle. (ibid: 52)

It is not difficult to imagine that various songs, including two lullabies introduced above, associated with such historic incidents were successively composed and transmitted in sad commemoration.
8.3. Wandering Lullabies: Transformation and Localization

I will next follow the trail of the transmission of these two songs. The “Christ Child’s Lullaby” was published in a periodical, the Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness 15 (1889), a Gaelic hymn collection (1893), and in Songs of the Hebrides 1 (1909) by Marjory Kennedy-Frazer.

During a few decades from the end of the nineteenth to the beginning of twentieth century, several Gaelic folksong collections were published in succession. In addition to the Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness, and Songs of the Hebrides, I have referred to the following books and periodicals as far as they involve lullabies: The Gesto Collection of Highland Music (1895) by Keith Norman MacDonald, the Puirt-a-Buel or Mouth Tunes Suitable for Dances (1901) also by Keith Norman MacDonald, the Carmina Gadelica, vols. 1 & 2 (1900) by Alexander Carmichael, the Puirt mo Sheanamhar (1907) by T.D. MacDonald and the Journal of the Folk-Song Society (1899- ). Here it is necessary to trace the historical circumstances during the period.

Radical social change as well as the successive political and economical incidents mentioned above, starting from the beginning of the eighteenth century, dreadfully damaged Highland people’s life and Gaelic culture itself. Moreover, the Education Act of 1872 attempted to exclude Gaelic completely from schools. Frank Thompson describes the circumstances in schools at this period as follows:

Under the new regime of this Act, the use of Gaelic was actively discouraged in the schools. The appointment of English-speaking or English teachers was common— as was the punishment of children for speaking Gaelic in schools and in the playground. The device of the ‘maide-crochaidh’ (a stick on a cord) was commonly used to stigmatise and to punish children speaking Gaelic in the schools. Its use is reported as late as the 1930s in Lewis (Thompson, 1979: 5-6).

It is no wonder that suppression of the Gaelic language caused a reaction from Highland people: “Resistance to eviction, agitation in the press, and the formation of associations to promote the welfare of the Highland people” (ibid: 6) was common. The foundation of An Comunn Gaidhealach [The Highland Association] (1891) and the first National Mod (1892) discussed in the following chapter are considered to belong to this movement. The successive collection and publication of Gaelic folk tradition, including
folksongs, can also be recognized in the context of such a movement to preserve Gaelic.

Turning back to the “Christ Child’s Lullaby”, it has continued to be sung in the Hebrides throughout the twentieth century, particularly as a Gaelic Christmas hymn. Meanwhile, it is considered to have spread into non-Gaelic society through its English translation. In the middle of the last century, a version in South Uist was collected by Shaw and compiled into *Folksongs and Folklore of South Uist* (1955), as mentioned before.

As far as I have researched, the following several versions recorded and released by professional folk musicians are available for comparative appreciation. From the point of view of folkloristic analysis, versions which have often been arranged according to the preference of the singers or producers cannot be regarded to have the same value as the sound archives collected from non-professional informants, but at least they suggest the popularity of this song on either side of the Atlantic. The versions include those by Sheena Wellington from Dundee; Boys of the Lough from Scotland & Ireland; Shawn Colvin from the United States; Margo Carruthers from Canada, who sings a Gaelic version from Nova Scotia.  

“Dean Cadalan Samhach” has continued to be sung both in Scotland and the New World, although it is uncertain when the song came back across the Atlantic to the composer’s homeland. The earliest literary archive of this song, as far as I know, is *The Gesto Collection of Highland Music* (1895) edited by Keith Norman MacDonald. In this music book, the words of the song, entitled “Dean Cadal ’S Fan Samhach a Chuillean a Ruin”, are omitted (<G-22a> in my collection).

In *Songs Remembered in Exile* (1990), a version (<G-22b>) sung by Hector MacKinnon of Cape Breton in 1937, whose ancestors came from the Isle of Muck, is compiled by John Lorne Campbell. Successive recordings of several versions of this song were, moreover, undertaken by the staff of the School of Scottish Studies. They include

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versions by Catherine MacNeill of Barra, recorded in 1957 (<G-22c>); by James Campbell of Kintail, recorded in 1957 (<G-22d>); by Nan MacKinnon of Vatersay, recorded in 1960 (<G-22e>) amongst others. Interestingly, the tunes of these versions are remarkably different from another. Table 8.3.1. indicates the first eight bars of each version plus Mrs. Kearney’s version (<G-22g>, recorded in Barra in 1992) as introduced before:

Table 8.3.1.

<G-22a>

<G-22b>

<G-22c>

<G-22d>

<G-22e>

<G-22g>
It is possible to interpret that the variety of tunes reflects the historical transformation and localization of the song as a typical feature of "folk" or "traditional" song. Each version must have its own covert history related to either particular personal or social circumstances, although it is very difficult to trace either of them.

In the nineties of the last century, this song was adopted into the repertory of one of the best-known Gaelic-Scots folk gands, Capercaillie, \(^{108}\) and included in a couple of music books which were published mainly for primary school children and amateur choirs who would join the National Mod.\(^{109}\) Through the contribution of such mass-media, it seems to have regained its popularity among Gaelic society today.

This kind of standardization of folksong created by mass-media is a serious problem which should be argued out in detail,\(^{110}\) but it is fair to say that various kinds of mass-media — the production of CDs, the publication of music books, and competition in the National Mod — have significantly contributed to the vivid transmission of the tragic history of the Gaels and of Exile to the younger generation.

\(^{108}\) Capercaillie: *The Blood is Strong* (1995) [SURCD 014]. Their version is similar to that of Hector MacKinnon’s (<G-22b>).


\(^{110}\) I will discuss this in the following chapter.
8.4. Japanese Counterparts: Two Lullabies and Their Contexts

Amongst the large repertoire of In Japanese lullabies, we can discover several "commemorative songs", too. Here I will introduce two such songs and discuss their contexts. First, the following lullaby transmitted in Okinawa, the southern-most islands in Japan, tells metaphorically of the hardships of the islanders from the beginning of the seventeenth century to the present time:

Tsuki-dinu hana-munu [The moon rises like a singing flower.]
Ba-ga kéraru asabyôra [(vocable)]
Hôi chôga hôi chôga

Mukashu-ru-yâ daken-ya [(vocable)]
Asubi-den adasô-ru
Hôi chôga hôi chôga

Yamatu-yu-ni kakirari [In older days]
Itafuda-ni mawasâri [(vocable)]
Hôi chôga hôi chôga

Asubi-den dugunénu [(vocable)]
Amaï-den dugunénu
Hôi chôga hôi chôga

Table 8.4.1. [music]

According to the compiler, Nobuo Sugimoto, the Okinawa islanders were economically, politically and culturally independent of Japan and they had a traditional form entertainment, called "utagaki", or communal song, that lasted up until the sixteenth century. In 1609, Shimazu, a feudal lord in Satsuma, who belonged to the Japanese shogunate government, defeated the islanders and demanded enormous periodic gifts corresponding to a heavy tax from them. Moreover he prohibited this "utagaki", and the "itafuda [a wooden notice prohibiting it]" became a symbol of their surrender. The singer of this text expresses the grief of an occupied people (Sugimoto, 1980: 388).
In 1879, Okinawa was legally absorbed into "Yamato [the islanders' name for Japan]" like the Ainu people, who were dwelling in the opposite end, the northern-most part of the Japanese islands. During the Second World War, the Japanese military government considered the islanders to be so-called "sue-ishi [sacrificial stones]" for the people of mainland Japan, consequently more than 140,000 islanders, one fifth of the population, became victims.

After the war, Okinawa was occupied firstly by the United Nations, and then by the United States until 1972. Even today, after their return to Japan, twenty percent of the land is occupied by American military forces, which amounts to seventy-five percent of the total area of American bases in Japan. In November, 1995, a vicious rape by an American soldier stirred the fury of the islanders, not only against the U.S. but also, maybe much more, against the Japanese government, which forced such an imbalanced situation on them. Nevertheless, the political situation has not changed even up to the present time.

We can conclude that the islanders have suffered from the severe, miserable politics of the Japanese government for nearly four centuries. Their feelings must undoubtedly have been handed down from generation to generation for centuries through singing the above lullaby, "Tsuki-dinu hana-mumi". In this sense, it is considered that this lullaby fulfills the function of commemorating the tragic history of Okinawa.

To move in, amongst numerous cities and towns, Shimonoseki was an especially memorable port town for the girls of poor families living in the Amakusa Islands, in Kumamoto Prefecture, during a few decades of the early twentieth century. The following song reminds us of this:

Oya-ga nangi-de jusan-no toshi [At thirteen years old, I was sold to Shimonoseki
Uraremashitaga Shimonoseki [Because my parents could not repay their debts.
Shimonoseki-kara koi-tono tegami I received a letter, saying, "Come soon".
Ikazo-narumai nakunakumo [I must go there, crying with desperation.

(Kumamoto, 24: 220)
According to the compiler, Teruo Uemura, the girls of poor families in Amakusa, some of whom had not yet reached the age of graduation from primary school, were often sent in place of some debt either as house-maids and nurse-maids to richer families, or to Shimonoseki port (or Kuchinotsu port), from where they went abroad to China, Russia, the Philippines, Indonesia, or Thailand, as prostitutes. They were called “karayuki-san [literally people going to China]” (Uemura, 1982: 220).

It seems that the words of this song were originally recited not by the moriko but by the “karayuki-san” themselves, and afterwards the moriko adopted it as one of their lullabies because of their sympathy for their fellow-suffers. Both were “deserted girls” sold in place of the debt of their parents. Through the text, we can hear the mournful voices of numberless girls struggling with hardship during this period in Japanese history.
8.5. Features of Commemorative Lullabies

In the former sections of this chapter, we looked through several lullabies directly or indirectly related to particular historical incidents. Which sort of incidents or topics have been selected and transmitted as the subject of commemorative lullabies? I will trace some features and analyse the reason why such features can be observed.

Table 8.5.1 is a list of commemorative Scottish and Japanese lullabies picked up from my collection of Scottish (both Scots and Gaelic) lullabies and Nihon Warabe-uta Zenshū [The Grand Collection of Japanese Nursery Rhymes and Children’s Songs]. (In the table, the texts marked with an asterisk indicate that their relationship with a particular historical incidents or topics is comparatively vague.)

Table 8.5.1 “List of Commemorative Scottish and Japanese Lullabies”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>title or first line</th>
<th>text no</th>
<th>subject</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hush-a-bye, babby</td>
<td>S-17a</td>
<td>the social problem of alcoholism caused to some extent by recession</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Griogal Cridhe</td>
<td>G-6</td>
<td>the death of Grigor Roy, an outlawed MacGregor, who was executed at Kenmore in 1570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ba, ba, mo leanabh beag</td>
<td>G-7</td>
<td>the potato famine of the 1840s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dean cadalan samhach</td>
<td>G-22</td>
<td>emigration to the New World</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coinneach Og *</td>
<td>G-33</td>
<td>eulogy for one of several MacKenzie chiefs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taladh an t-sneachda</td>
<td>G-39</td>
<td>the massacre of Glen Coe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mhnathan a’ ghlinne so</td>
<td>G-40</td>
<td>the terrors of a cattle-raid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taladh Chriosda</td>
<td>G-43</td>
<td>written by the Rev. Rankin when he left for Australia in 1855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taladh Dhomhail Ghuirm</td>
<td>G-48</td>
<td>Donald Gorm of Sleat, Skye, who died in 1617</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O ba o i, mo leanabh *</td>
<td>G-50</td>
<td>the Black Death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oi-yo Saibe-wa</td>
<td>J-17a: 201</td>
<td>Saibe, a village headman, who died for the villagers in the middle of the nineteenth century</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negoro-no Komori-uta</td>
<td>J-17b: 188</td>
<td>The Negoro Temple set on fire by Hideyoshi Toyotomi in the end of the sixteenth century</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saga komori-uta</td>
<td>J-24: 134</td>
<td>eulogy for Seiun Shimomura, a local samurai soldier in the sixteenth century</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oya-no nangide</td>
<td>J-24: 220</td>
<td>prostitutes sent abroad in the early twentieth century</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsuki-dinu hana-munu</td>
<td>J-26: 388</td>
<td>Shimazu’s conquest of Okinawa in the seventeenth century</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
in order to let the next generation know how they lived, and how we can live humanely. . . . In lullabies, in particular, the history of our village is implicated, and game songs teach children how to communicate with other people. (Itami, 1992: 39 [English translation by Uno])

In the spring of 1946, Ms. Abe started collecting various kinds of warabe-uta from people in her hometown and, consulting with Mr. and Mrs. Kikuchi selected the original versions amongst them. Following this, she asked them the meaning and historical background of each text, which amounted to more than one hundred, by July of the same year. Consequently, she recognized the fact that a number of warabe-uta have unique metaphorical meanings related to the local history in and around her hometown. The songs have reflected the point of view of the weak and of minorities, for centuries.

According to Ms. Abe, the following historical topics are metaphorically implicated in each of the four komori-uta [lullabies and songs for amusing infants]: satire against Yoritomo Minamoto, the first shōgun [the feudal governor of the whole country] at the end of the twelfth century, in “Karasua Appa [A Mother Crow]”; criticism against the secret sexual liaison between a priest and a jōrō [a woman from high society who has become poor] in the Medieval Period, in “Ozuna Obana [Hello, Sir and Madam]”; a legendary crofter in the Medieval Period becoming a millionaire by picking up a purse, in “Senpuku-yama [Mt. Senpuku]”; satire against Seishin-ni, a female ruler in the seventeenth century, in “Kinzan-Kuro [Hardship of the Gold Mine]” (ibid: 51-88).

The fact that there were at least four commemorative lullabies in this town leads us to presume that numerous similar songs must have been transmitted throughout the whole country, although only five can be identified as this sort of lullaby from among more than nine hundred texts compiled in The Grand Collection. It seems to be partly because most folklorists working on this subject, at least in Japan, were preoccupied with collecting the text rather than understanding the context, so that the metaphorical meanings behind the cheerful, childish, or senseless phrases hidden by the weak and by minorities have not been sufficiently investigated.

At the present stage it is difficult for me to assess whether or not such a tendency in folkloristic study can be applied to the Scottish situation. However, the idea of nursery rhymes and children’s songs implicating historical incidents, satire and aphorism must have been common to many countries, as it can be observed from Mother Goose or
8.6. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed so-called commemorative lullabies, in which historical incidents are either directly or metaphorically described from a local point of view, and as expressions of the weak and of minorities.

Through this discussion, it has become clear that such lullabies have a function of encapsulating/preserving the history and the wisdom of the local people for tackling the hardship of real, everyday life and for overcoming these hardships. Owing to the transmission of these songs, such historical “oral” documents have been handed down to generation after generation, and distributed into different societies, regions, or countries. As a result, they have had the function of joining people who belong to separate societies, cultures or periods. Such functions are not exclusive, but certainly unique features of commemorative lullabies.

The warabe-uta of Tōno have almost all vanished during the sixties of the last century. The extinction of such songs equals the loss of history and the wisdom implicated in the songs. Along with this, the bonding of people through song must have been lost or have decayed.

Both in Scotland and Japan traditional culture has confronted near extinction after radical economical change in the fifties and the sixties of the last century. Against such “modernization”, however, several attempts to preserve traditional culture have been undertaken in both countries. In the following chapter, I will focus on this issue.
Chapter 9. Attempts to Preserve Traditional Lullabies

9.1. Contemporary Circumstances around Lullabies

In the former chapters I have mainly discussed former circumstances surrounding Scottish and Japanese lullabies based on literary sources and the recollections of informants. Through that discussion, several functions performed by traditional lullabies have been disclosed. Such functions seem to explain why a number of traditional lullabies have been transmitted over many generations in each country.

However, the social circumstances surrounding traditional lullabies radically changed after the Second World War, especially during the 1950s and 60s in both countries. Firstly, oral transmission, which was once the most common style of handing down particular lullabies to the next generation, has been replaced by various kinds of mass media such as TV, the CD, music tapes, or whatever. People can easily let their children hear a particular song or piece of music to induce the children to sleep, without directly singing something themselves.

Secondly, along with this, young mothers or other people looking after children have come to enjoy various kinds of entertainment through these media in or out-side the house, in comparison to people in former times. They no longer need to sing some melancholic lullabies for their own healing.

Thirdly, cooperative child nursing within a local community has decreased so that it has become difficult to share particular lullabies within the local community or to transmit them to the younger generation. In addition, there are very few opportunities for small children to spend time with their grandparents, great grandparents and other elderly people. As a result, the transmission of lullabies from the elderly to the young has become difficult.

Today, on the one hand, we can easily find miscellaneous songs and music entitled “lullabies” on the CD shelves in music shops, from classical to so-called “healing music”. We also find “music for soothing children accompanied by the sound of a mother’s pulse and blood flow”. In the children’s book corner of bookshops, there are various picture books of nursery rhymes that include lullabies and consist both traditional, orally
transmitted lullabies and literary ones created by known poets and composers. Such lullabies, what we may term "current lullabies", are intimately related to the commercialism of mass-information and mass-production society. They seem to be distributed among young parents, who actually need them for the purpose of soothing their children.

On the other hand, traditional lullabies that are strongly connected with a local community and have mainly been transmitted from a mouth to ear for generations are now asleep in libraries as fossilized specimens. They hardly ever reach young parents, except for a limited number of texts compiled into the kinds of picture books mentioned above, like "Hush-a-bye, Baby, on the tree top" and "Wee Willie Winkie". In short, the replacement of "traditional lullabies" by "current lullabies" can be considered to be one of contemporary circumstances surrounding lullabies both in Scotland, Japan and other developed countries.

It may be an inevitable phenomenon caused by modernization and too difficult to stop. However, we should appreciate some of the invaluable functions of traditional lullabies, as discussed in the former chapters.

One of the definitive distinctions between traditional lullabies and current ones seems to exist in the fact that the former are intimately related to people's life and history. The context is as crucial as the text. Meanwhile, the text is everything in current lullabies. It means that people have often intentionally or unintentionally transmitted the stories related to particular traditional lullaby texts: the circumstances of their composers and singers, or the social or historical background in which they were created and handed down. In short, the transmission of traditional lullabies parallels the culture and history of the society they belong to.

Mairi MacDonald, one of my informants in Barra, points out in her answers to the questionnaire I prepared and sent by post in the autumn, 2001:

They (= traditional lullabies) are very much part of Gaelic culture and are very pleasing to the ear . . . I feel that on our own island the younger generation are taking an interest in Gaelic songs and can hopefully be persuaded to include lullabies as being an important part of our heritage.
The consciousness of “the lullabies as an important part of our heritage” was certainly shared by a number of informants I have met in the Hebrides and the Shetlands for the last ten years. Based on this recognition, various activities for preserving or reviving traditional lullabies have been undertaken. Among them, I will mainly discuss the National Mod here, which has been already briefly introduced in the former chapter. Next, the Japanese counterpart, “Komori-uta-no Sato Zukuri [Hometown of Lullaby Project]” in Takaya-chô, will be discussed. Thirdly, other attempts to preserve local children’s culture in Shetland and Osaka will be introduced. Finally, based on their evaluation, I will give some proposals concerning the future of traditional lullabies.
9.2. The National Mod

The National Mod of An Comunn Gaidhealach (The Highland Association) has been described as the annual occasion when Gaels emerge from their hiding places in the Highlands, the Islands, and their homes in entrenched pockets in urban subtopia to sing songs, recite poetry and show that they and their language are still alive and kicking (Thompson, 1979: 5).

Although it is not easy to assess whether or not their attempts have been successful, no one would be able to neglect the contribution of An Comunn Gaidhealach and their annual event, the National Mod, in the preservation of Gaelic literary and musical culture since their establishment in the 1890s. For the purpose of the objective assessment, we must look back its history. Here I will give an outline of that history and its characteristic features, referring to two printed sources written by Frank Thompson, The National Mod (1979), and History of An Comunn Gaidhealach: The First Hundred (1992).

9.2.1. Before the Establishment of The Mod

As the most crucial factor for the founding of The Mod, the historical process of the linguistic retreat of Gaelic should be noted. Since the reign of Malcolm III c.1093, “Gaelic begins to lose its role in Court and as a legal language” (Thompson, 1992: 5). Then, Reformation had on its agenda the destruction of the whole of Gaelic culture, which was intimately connected with Catholicism. “Highland chiefs had to send their children to the Lowlands for an English, and therefore Protestant, education” (ibid: 2). Moreover, after the eighteenth century, radical changes in politics, in the economy and its society in the Highlands, damaged Gaelic life severely. Unification with England in 1707 caused the Jacobite Rising, which ended in tragic defeat, and led to the destruction of the clan system. The development of a monetary economy further strengthened the influence of English culture. The Potato Famine and the Highland Clearances, moreover, brought about a reduced Highland crafting population, as discussed in the eighth chapter of this thesis. Furthermore, “the Education Act of 1872 completely excluded Gaelic from the school” (Thompson, 1979: 5).
Under the new regime of this Act, the use of Gaelic was actively discouraged in the schools. The appointment of English-speaking or English teachers was common — as was the punishment of children for speaking Gaelic in schools and in the playground. The device of the ‘maide-crochaidh’ (a stick on a cord) was commonly used to stigmatise and to punish children speaking Gaelic in the schools (ibid: 5-6).

This act of suppression of the Gaelic language is considered to be one of the most definitive factors which led those who had a serious anxieties about the extinction of the language as the root of Gaelic culture, to found various organisations and societies including An Comunn Gaidhealach.

The reaction against the decay of Gaelic society and the suppression of the Gaelic language was realised at first by the establishment of several regional Gaelic societies, among which Comunn Gaidhlig Inbhir-nis [the Gaelic Society of Inverness], founded in 1871, took on the role of propagandizing for the preservation of Gaelic culture through annual meetings and the periodical, Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness. As I noted in the former chapters, various Gaelic folksongs, including some lullabies collected from local people, have been introduced through this periodical. The Society also organised competitions in Gaelic in the schools, “but the effect of the Education Act of 1872 was to mark the everyday language of the Highland people as an intruder in the schools of the Highlands and these competitions gradually fade away” (ibid: 6).

In the 1880s, the battle for land-reform designations by Highland crofters arose and effected the establishment of The Crofters Act of 1886, giving crofters security of tenure. Although this was “regarded as being far from a ‘final solution’” (Thompson, 1992: 7), it caused the demand for a particular nationwide society for Gaelic language and culture, which would create a social “Highlander” identity giving a large landless population self-confidence and courage, besides some political figures to represent them.

The direct ancestor to An Comunn Gaidhealach is discovered in the Lorn Ossianic Society formed in 1872, which “had among its aims and objects the cultivation of the Gaelic language and Celtic literature, the preservation of the traditions of the country, and the collecting of books, manuscripts and relics bearing on the history of the Scottish Highlands” (1979: 6). The Society conducted Highland Games and the contests in Gaelic singing and recitation held in Oban in September of each year. Although it foundered in
the early 1880s, “not because of any failure to attract support, but more due to administrative difficulties” (1992:11), some of the surviving members attempted to set up a successor. They realised this as An Comunn Gaidhealach.

9.2.2. Birth

On 30 April, 1891, the first meeting of An Comunn Gaidhealach [The Highland Association] was held in Oban. Modeled on the Welsh Eisteddfod, the society decided to organise an annual gathering termed ‘Am Mod Gaidhealach’, or simply the ‘Mod’ (that is, moot). They declared their objective to be:

1. To promote the cultivation of Gaelic Literature and Music and Home Industries in the Highlands.

2. To encourage the teaching of Gaelic in Highland Schools.

3. To hold an Annual Gathering at which competitions shall take place and prizes be awarded.

4. To publish at intervals a volume of such prize compositions as may be selected by the Executive Council.

5. To raise by means of Members’ Subscriptions and of Donations a fund which shall enable the Association to carry out these objects. (based on Thompson, 1992: 14)

The first Mod was held in the Argyleshire Gathering Hall, Oban on 13 September, 1892. There were ten competitions including “poetry, prose, musical composition and compilation, solo and choral singing” (Thompson, 1979: 7). “In fine sunny weather the proceedings began at 11 am and ended at three in the afternoon . . . The small but definite success of the first Mod held in Oban in 1892 must have gladdened the hearts of the founders of An Comunn and its organisers” (ibid: 7-8). In this way the Mod was born.

9.2.3. Development

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112 This date is based on Thompson’s book of 1992. His 1979 book, however, notes the date to be May, 1891.
Since then, the National Mod as an annual gathering of musical and literary culture in Gaelic has been held for one hundred and ten years. During the long road to the present, it is true that there were not a few changes concerning the direction and points of emphasis in response to various internal and external pressures. Here I will pick up some of the most important actions and reactions.

During the last decade of the nineteenth century the number and variety of competitions within the Mod increased, as well as the number of competitors. As such, the annual gathering had become popular. On the other hand, because of the reduction of the rural population, the society, which had the role of transmitting Gaelic language, music, and literature, started to advocate Highland home industries through the publication of their magazine, *An Deo Ghreine* (1905- ). There was also an Employment Bureau "for the purpose of assisting Gaelic-speaking people to find suitable employment" (1912- ), and a regular depot for handspun and hand-woven tweeds in Glasgow (1913- ). Moreover, they planned to found a university college in the Highlands as a base for studying and dispatching Gaelic culture, but in vain.

*An Comunn Gaidhealach* had a regular exchange of delegates from similar societies in two other Celtic countries: Irish *Feis-Ceoil*, and the Welsh *Eisteddfod*, who were the original models for the Scottish society. The aim was to seek for particularly useful strategies against the decrease in the Gaelic population.

Such various endeavors of the society in the early stages were, however, unsuccessful. The Census shows a continuous population decrease of Gaelic speakers: 254,415 (6.84% of the total population of Scotland) in 1891; 230,806 (5.57%) in 1901; 202,384 in 1911; 151,159 in 1921; and 130,000 in 1931. Thompson analyses the reasons for the decline in the number of Gaelic speakers according to three factors: (1) the demasculating of land use in Highlands and Islands, (2) social deprivation as a second class citizen, and (3) neglect in the provision of services such as water and drainage, roads and the like. He also points out that the social situation of the Gaelic language in Scotland is different from the two neighbouring countries. In Wales and Ireland their own languages had fused with nationalism, whilst "Scottish cultural leaders associated Gaelic with Catholicism and rebellion" (Thompson, 1992:50). *An Comunn* itself had no direct connection with any political party or activity. Such a liberal attitude might have
weakened the centripetal force of the society. Moreover, he criticizes the backward-looking trait amongst its members as "once a glorious Gaelic heritage" (Thompson, 1992: 63). It seems to be true that the society could not take truly efficient steps to prevent the decline of Gaelic. Nevertheless, the Gaelic population would almost certainly have been worse but for *An Comunn Gaidhealach*.

Although it has continuously been confronted with various problems, the National Mod has survived for more than a century keeping the following features: competition, a traveling venue, and fund-raising for the work of *An Comunn*, which aims at the preserving and reconstructing Gaelic culture and industry. It has, as a result, had certain unique functions: of increasing the interest in Gaelic culture of the people living in or outside Highland society; of discovering young Gaelic talents, of promoting their growth; and to draw thousands of Highlanders to an annual festival as if it were a "home-coming party".

Lullabies have often been chosen as prescribed songs for the competition. They have been considered to be suitable for junior competition, probably because of their simple melodies in comparison to other types of folksong. For instance in the 2001 Mod, "Taladh Throtairnis" was chosen as the prescribed song for solo singing for girls 9-12 years, and "Taladh Nan Eilean" for two-part choral singing ages 13-18. Along with this fact, junior competitors have often selected lullabies for "solo – traditional (song of one's own choice)" as I observed in the 2001 Mod. Moreover, lullabies have sometimes been prescribed songs for seniors. In the 1994 Mod, "Dean Cadalan Samhach", <G-22> in my collection, was chosen as one of two prescribed songs for choral singing (female voices). In this way, a number of children and adults who have joined to the Mod have been singing lullabies in order to win the competition.

This is no more than an outline. Now I will start to analyse the role of the National Mod concretely, and, based on my own fieldwork, evaluate its success in traditional lullabies.

9.2.4. Fieldwork

9.2.4.1. Interview of Competitors
Here I will introduce Ms Claire-Ann MacNeil, from Barra, who was the winner of the solo singing in 1993 Mod. I met her for the first time at Eoligarry School, located in Northern Barra, on 12th May, 1993 with nine other primary students, three local women, and a music teacher, Margaret MacNeil, who kindly arranged this opportunity to listen to Gaelic nursery rhymes and interview her students. Just after they started singing from the songbook, *Caidil Gu Seimh* (1991), I noticed a girl with an outstandingly beautiful voice. This was Claire-Ann.

Next our meeting was a year later, in August 1994. In the so-called Post-bus, a public car for delivering mails and transporting passengers, in the island, I accidentally listened to a Gaelic lullaby, “Mo Chubhrachan” (G-52 in my text number), sung by a memorable voice through the wave of a radio program on the concert of National Mod 1993. The next day, in my interview with Claire-Ann held in her house at Northbay I noticed the voice was Claire-Ann herself.

I asked Claire-Ann and her mother some questions concerning her family background of her remarkable ability to sing Gaelic songs, including lullabies. She was born on 21st August, 1983 at Northbay, Barra. Her father was a sailor and had stayed in Japan for several years. Her mother was a housewife. Both of them were born and brought up in this area. Claire-Ann was the eldest child and had two younger brothers and one sister. At the time, she was in the seventh grade of Eoligarry School.

Yusuke Uno (YU): Do you use Gaelic instead of English with your family and your friends?
Claire-Ann MacNeil (CM): Yes, a lot. With most of my friends I talk half in Gaelic. But with my family I talk in Gaelic, most of the time.
YU: And in your school, you are learning Gaelic. Do you enjoy learning it?
CM: Yes, yes. It’s quite good. We’ve got to watch the video of the Gaelic project. And we like other things to get, including spelling.
YU: Oh yes, I know. Spelling is very difficult to learn.

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113 *Caidil Gu Seimh* is a textbook for school children studying Gaelic songs compiled by two music teachers, Alasdair Barr and Alma NicShimidh. It consists of 26 songs, mainly traditional lullabies, with music. I had an interview with them in September, 2000. Their opinions on the purpose of the publication of this book and the preservation of Gaelic lullabies, will be introduced in the fifth section of this chapter.
CM: Spelling and reading are what I need to learn.
MM (her mother, Morag MacNeill): Speaking in words is comprehensive. It’s fine. But when you’re going to read and write, it’s very difficult because you tend to go back to English. Spelling is totally different.

YU: How do you feel when singing or listening to Gaelic lullabies?
CM: I like it. It’s really nice, actually. Most of the lullabies are very nice.
YU: Do you often sing Gaelic lullabies?
CM: Well, not really lullabies, but I like a lot of Gaelic songs, most of the songs.
YU: Which sort of songs do you like particularly?
CM: I don’t really have a favourite, but I like all the songs with nice words. Most of them have nice tunes.
YU: Do you want to remember Gaelic lullabies? When you become a mother, do you want to sing lullabies to your own children?
CM: Yes, I’d like to keep going, yes. It’s quite important.

YU: These days young mothers don’t use traditional Gaelic lullabies but just switch on the radio, TV, a tape recorder, or put on a CD instead of singing themselves. In my opinion, they should use their own voices. They should hold their babies and sing songs naturally.
CM: Yes, the babies would go to sleep easier, instead of carrying on the rock of TV going on something.

YU: Yesterday I met a schoolteacher. She said that these days young mothers could not speak Gaelic and nor sing Gaelic songs. They just put on the radio or TV. It’s a pity. But in your case it’s different.
MM: Yes, it’s not the same as that.

(asking Morag MacNeill)

YU: Which sort of songs have you been singing as lullabies to your children?
MM: Quite various, gentle sorts of songs, various. Eventually that will send a child to sleep.
YU: Did you choose Gaelic ones intentionally? Or doesn’t it matter, English or Gaelic?
MM: I always sang Gaelic songs to do. They just came to my mind naturally. It’s just natural.
YU: It is not for the purpose of education, is it?
MM: No, it was just natural to sing those songs as well as to talk to them in Gaelic.
YU: As you are singing to them, were you using any text, or music books?
MM: No, they just came down (from generation to generation). I sang what my parents were singing for me in my childhood. It’s just a sort of heritage.
YU: Have you ever listened to Gaelic lullabies and other songs from your mother or any others?
MM: Yes, we have. That’s right. Initially, you know. And then, at school you would get lullabies as well as other songs.
YU: Do you remember a particular person who was a very good singer or a
good storyteller in your neighbourhood?
MM: Well, when we were brought up, there were many good singers in the village, you know, quite a lot.

Four years later, on 30th August, 1998, I visited their house once again. Claire-Ann had become fifteen years old and was a student of secondary school.

YU: Do you listen to so-called traditional Scottish or Gaelic songs still now?
CM: Sometimes, not very often. I listen to mainly pop songs. But I do listen to Gaelic songs, occasionally.

YU: How and when do you listen to them? By tape-recorders, CDs, or Gaelic programs on TV, or in public performance like concerts, or in ceremonies, or in school, or in private situation with your family and friends, or anything else?
CM: I listen to tapes and CDs of them. I’ve got some in my house. Also I watch television in which people are singing them. There’re sometimes Gaelic program especially for it. I hear them outside as well, like sometimes when we go to dance. It’s social. But everyone meets together. With bands, and prayer songs, wedding songs and hymns I hear in Gaelic. And, that’s usually here. I hear them here, most of time. And my auntie, she usually teaches me songs. If I go to the National Mod competition I have, my aunt teaches me traditional songs, because she knows quite a few songs and she hands them down to me. So I learned them in that way.

YU: Even in school do you listen to them?
CM: No, in school, not really. (She explained to me that in secondary school the opportunity of studying Gaelic decreased in comparison to that of her primary school days.)

YU: Which type of traditional song do you like to listen to?
CM: Just any kind, really, just whatever, waulking songs, lullabies, I usually listen to anything.

YU: Now I want to ask you questions about your experience of lullabies. Have you ever heard anyone singing traditional lullabies?
CM: Yes.

YU: Where, when, or from whom did you hear them?
CM: Well, when I was a baby, when I was younger, my mum used to sing them to me when I was going to sleep. So sometimes I sing them to my cousins. So it’s usually in the house you hear lullabies. And, sometimes, a few people sing them in ceilidhes. But, it’s not very often you hear them singing lullabies.

YU: Has your mother been singing traditional lullabies to you during your infancy?
CM: Yes.

YU: What is the title or the first line of a lullaby you heard from your mother or from others?
CM: Well, there are quite a few, aren’t there? (asking her mother) “Suilean dubha, dubha, dubha”, ye, “Suilean dubha”.
YU: Can you sing it now?
CM: I have to think about the words. . . . OK!
(Claire-Ann sang it looking at a music book.)

YU: Have you sang songs for lulling children, not your own children, of course, you’re a young girl, but to your younger sisters or brothers?
CM: Yes, when they were younger, I used to sing them to them.
YU: Which types of songs have you sang to them for the purpose, I mean, for the purpose of lulling them? Traditional ones, or classical lullabies, or English nursery rhymes, I mean, Mother Goose melodies like “Hush-a-bye, baby, on the tree top”, or pop songs? So did you sing only traditional lullabies or any others?
CM: Well, I sang some nursery rhymes, and pop songs just known through the radio, tapes and CDs, that kind of stuff. So I think a variety of stuff, just anything, really.
YU: What is your favourite song to sing to your younger brothers and sister?
CM: Well, I do not really have a favourite. It’s not one certain tune I sang for them.

YU: So, the next section (of my questions) is about the attitude towards the preservation of traditional lullabies. In your opinion, what is the difference between “traditional” and “non-traditional” songs, including lullabies? What is the definition of “traditional”?
CM: Well, traditional really is when you’ve passed it down through the families. Traditional ones you don’t really get written in music. But more recently they are written. There are books and you’ve got music with them. So you can learn them and anybody can learn them. But also traditional ones are usually communities’ airs or things like that.
YU: Do you think (that) it is necessary to preserve traditional lullabies?
CM: Yes, I think so, all the time.
YU: Why? What is the significance and function of traditional lullabies in the present time?
CM: It’s just nice to know your own culture. When I had a trip to Tonga islands, there was a cultural exchange. So we were showing them our own culture and we were shown Tonga culture they are keeping on. Just sort of that. If you have your own traditional culture, you can explain it through generations. Just keep going through the families.

YU: In your opinion, what is the most useful or efficient method to preserve traditional lullabies?
CM: Just to maintain to teach through the families. And, the Mod helps a lot. Because a lot of people learn the songs to compete there, and just, people get together and learn songs. Like my friends we used to get together, sometimes, to learn a few songs.
YU: In your opinion what is the best contribution of the National Mod?
CM: Well, as I said, it keeps people learning new songs. Because they wouldn’t have reason to learn the songs if there wasn’t anything to look forward to.
YU: What do you demand of the National Mod in the future?
CM: Just really to keep going, and keep the children to get new order to keep them, learning the songs. They’ll know their own culture. And they’ll know traditional songs, because they wouldn’t learn them without it. So, just really to keep going, so that younger children will have a goal (to learn Gaelic culture).
YU: So, don’t you think (there are) any weak-points or (things) lacking about the attitude towards present National Mod?
CM: No, I think it’s quite good. And the place gets moving around Scotland, different places every year, so you would go to the place where you might not think to go. You would go there because of the Mod. So you’ll get to different places in Scotland.
YU: Some people say they don’t like competition, and they should just come together like a festival, rather than competition. What’s about your opinion?
CM: Well, I think competition is good. I’ve enjoyed the competition. Because there’s a festival as well, through the whole year. Competition is just good. Because you’ll get to the festival and get to the competition as well.
YU: You can enjoy both.
CM: Yes, that’s right. And you’ll learn more in the competition, more feeling to be competitive. In a festival you just learn some and that’s it. You wouldn’t go into it deeper.
MM: In competition, you need a lot of extra works. You have to sing with and by the music. You have to really learn the music and the meaning of the words. So teachers have that side of the story, you know. You have to sing a song just like a story, which is a written one. You have to put the feeling of the authors into the song rather than just singing.

In this interview Claire-Ann sang “Suilean dubha” and “Cadhal cha dean mi” (G-10), her mother Morag sang “Dean cadalan samhach” (G-22) and “Ha ho ro Maolruainidh Ghlinneachain” (G-37), and her sister, Mairead, born on 27th October, 1988, sang “Ille bheig” and finally “Caidil gu seimh” with her mother, referring to the music book, Caidil Gu Seimh.

The case of the MacNeill family seems to show an ideal example of the oral transmission of traditional songs within a family. From their birth, Claire-Ann, Mairead and two other children must have listened to various Gaelic songs including lullabies sung by their parents (both their father and mother were members of a local choir) and by their grandparents. As their mother, Morag, pointed out in the interview,
they have learned Gaelic songs quite naturally without any specific intention. After going to school, Gaelic media programmes made it possible for them to systematically and intensively learn the Gaelic language and culture, including songs. In particular, participation in the Mod has become an invaluable motivation for them. They have repeatedly practiced the prescribed songs in the Mod in front of their parents and received some advice from them in their house. Moreover, their parents themselves must have practiced the prescribed songs for senior choirs in the Mod in front of their children, too. Both the parents and children have spent intensive hours soaking in these Gaelic songs because of the Mod. It means that all of them have tried to improve their ability to sing Gaelic songs in order to join the Mod and win the competition. In this way, the Mod has surely become an important event for the MacNeill family.

10.2.4.2. Observation of the 2001 Mod

The Royal National Mod 2001 (Mod Nan Eilean Siar 2001) was held at Stornoway, Lewis, from 12th (Fri) to 20th (Sat) October. I visited there and observed the junior competitions and the evening concert in particular. Here I will present my criticism of the Mod through such observation, focusing on the matter of children.

My first impression of the Mod was the variety and the large number of the types and classes in the junior competition. The junior section in the 2001 Mod consisted of the following types and classes:

Conversation (age 5-8, 9-12, 13-15, 16-18), Storytelling (5-8, 9-12, 13-15, 16-18), Poetry Recitation (5-8, 9-12, 13-15, 16-18), Prose Reading (13-15), Bible Reading (9-12, 13-15), Presenting a Psalm (U13, U18), Drama (U13, U18), Action Song (U13), Understanding (16-18), Solo Singing (5-8), Solo Singing Girls (9-12, 13-15), Solo Girls (16-18), Solo Singing Boys (9-12, 13-15), Solo Boys (16-18), Solo Singing (U18), Solo -Traditional (U13), Traditional Singing 13-15, Girls Traditional (16-18), Boys Traditional (16-18), Duet (U13, 13-15), 16-18), Choral Unison (Primary, U13, 13-18, U18), Choral Puiit-a-beul (U13, 13-18, U18), Folk Groups (U18), Piano (U13), Keyboard (U13), Fiddle (U13, Groups), Accordion (U13, U18), Chanter (U13), Bagpipes (U13, 13-15, 15-18), Melodeon (U13, U18), Clarsach (Introductory, Elementary, Intermediate, Advanced, Duets), Additional Class

114 This data is based on the official handbook, Comunn na Gaidhlig: Bidh failte agus
Some groups like "Solo Singing Girls" are, moreover, divided into two classes, "Learners" and "Fluent", according to the grade. All of these competitions were held for only three days (the 13th, 15th and 16th). One person usually registered for more than two competitions for both solos and groups, consequently competitors seemed to be forced to spend a busy time according to the tight schedule. Since the venues were located at several areas apart from each other, some programmes were delayed because of the competitors' late arrival. I saw not a few groups of school children rushing to the next venue. They looked very busy. Although the rich variety of competition enlarges the opportunity to participate for junior competitors, such a tight schedule may make it difficult for them to enjoy communicating with other school children and become friends. It means that the function of the Mod as a vehicle for inter-communication amongst the younger generation in Gaelic society tends to be lost. In my opinion, the society should reduce the number of competitions for juniors to some degree.

Secondly, I noticed that the number of girl competitors was much larger than boys. For instance, there were sixty-two competitors for "Solo Singing Girls 9-12 years, Fluent [C44]" held on October 16, so that they needed qualifying contests divided into two sections before the final. Meanwhile the number of competitors for "Solo Singing Boys 9-12 years, Fluent [C45]" was just thirteen, 21 percent of the number of girls. The members of mixed gender junior choirs were mainly girls, too. The imbalance in the sex of junior competitors is considered to be another problem.

In general, girls may have stronger interest in music and literature rather than boys, who tend to be intrigued by sport. Unless participation in the Mod is made compulsory for school children, the society must think of particular strategies for increasing the number of boy competitors like the establishment of some types of competition especially attractive to boys.

Thirdly, there was a variety of vocalization and other singing styles among the competitors in Solo Singing Girls 9-12 years Fluent Group (C44 Final), which I attended.

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*furan gur feitheamh aig Mod nan Eilean Siar 2001 comhla ri (2001).*
The prescribed song was "Taladh Throtarnis", a lullaby. Some competitors seemed to perform too artificially for a lullaby consisting of comparatively short words and a simple melody. They changed the vocalization unnaturally from soft to powerful in each stanza. Such a singing style was obviously influenced by their instructors’ intentions to distinguish them from other competitors in order to win the competition.

Fortunately, the winner was not the girl who sang with such artificial vocalization, but a girl who sang naturally and simply. After the competition, I asked her and her mother whether her singing style was influenced by her mother’s instruction or by a school teacher. Her mother told me that she could not speak Gaelic, and that her daughter liked singing and enjoyed learning Gaelic songs in her school. Even in her case, we can consider that the music teacher’s influence was distinctly strong.

It seems to be crucial to bring up truly outstanding instructors who do not persist in winning the competition with a showy performance, but try to lead their students to sing traditional songs as much as possible in the original style.

Finally, I will present some positive views of the present Mod and its future. During my stay in Lewis and Harris, I had a chance to see a local women’s choir in Harris who entered in the competition practice, and to interview the members on their views of the Mod.

In the town hall where they practiced, a dozen children brought by their mothers were watching the lesson. They sometime looked bored and crawled behind the bench but anyhow they attended for an hour. In the interview after the lesson, one primary school boy said that he likes to listen to his mother’s singing Gaelic songs. One member who had an outstanding soprano voice told me that she was not Scottish but from Australia. After coming to the island and joining the choir, she gained an interest in learning Gaelic songs.

As indicated in the interview with the MacNeill family, the Mod gives people a good opportunity to come into contact with Gaelic songs — both the younger and the elder generations — even if they were unfamiliar with them before. It is a starting point and their experience of Gaelic culture can be enlarged afterwards. It is certain that the Mod provides a unique opportunity for people both familiar and unfamiliar with it to periodically and intensively experience Gaelic culture.
9.3. Local Lullaby Project

There is a small town in Japan, Takaya-chō, which promotes a project, called “Komori-uta-no Sato-zukuri [Creating the Hometown of Lullabies]”. The project aims at vitalizing the community and at reviving the bond of the people through a local lullaby, so that we will name it “Local Lullaby Project”, in short. In this section, I will discuss the features of this project through tracing its history and through my own fieldwork for the past seven years.

9.3.1. History

Takaya-chō, located in the western area of Ibara City, Okayama Prefecture, flourished as a posting station since the Edo Era (1603-1867). One can still see some traditional wooden architecture reminding visitors of its past prosperity today. With industrial and economical development, various kinds of modern culture were brought to the town. Not a few international artists in the fields of music, literature and art, including Denchū Hiragushi (1872-1979), a sculptor, and Taishi Ueno (1902-2001), a tenor singer, were brought up or living in or near the town.

In 1906 Takaya Protestant Church was established and it played a central role in the distribution of various modern culture to the local people, both Christians and non-Christians, as well as being a station for a mission until the 1930s, when the Japanese military government imposed strict restrictions on Western culture, including Christianity.

It all started in March 1928: a young tenor singer from Takaya sang a lullaby he had heard from his mother in his childhood, to a composer. The singer was Taishi Ueno, and the composer was Kōsaku Yamada. Deeply impressed by its beautiful tune and the tender maternal affection of its lyrics, Yamada is said to have asked Ueno to give it to him. In April, he published the piece entitled “Chūgoku-chihō-no Komori-uta [A Lullaby in the Chūgoku District]”, which was based on the lullaby sung by Ueno and artistically arranged by Yamada as follows:
"Chūgoku-chihō-no Komori-uta" (arranged by Kōsaku Yamada)

1. Nenneko shasshari mase
   Neta-ko-no kawaisa
   Okite naku-ko-no nenkororo
   Tsuranikusa
   Nenkororo nenkororo
   [Hush-a-by, go to sleep.
   A sleeping baby is so sweet.
   A weeping one who is unwilling to sleep,
   Is so annoying.
   (vocal) ]

2. Nenneko shassharimase
   Kyō-wa nijugonchi-sa
   Asu-wa konoko-no nenkororo
   Miya-mairi
   Nenkororo nenkororo
   [Hush-a-by, go to sleep.
   Today is the 25th.
   Tomorrow is the monthly day,
   For my child to go to a Shinto shrine.
   (vocal) ]

3. Miya-e maitta-toki
   Nanto-yute ogamusa
   Issho konoko-no nenkororo
   Mamena-yoni
   Nankororo nenkororo
   [In the Shinto shrine,
   What shall we pray?
   May my child live healthily in peace,
   To the end of its life.
   (vocal) ]

Table 9.3.1. Yamada’s version [music]

Soon after its publication, another singer recorded the song on a commercial record, which made it very popular. Ueno is said to have felt disappointed by its title since he wanted Yamada to entitle it “Mother’s Lullaby”, which reminded him of his mother. However he often sang Yamada’s version as part of his repertoire not only in Japan but also in Italy where he studied in the 1930s.

In 1948 the song was compiled into an authorized music textbook for high school students so that it has been sung by a number of teenagers for many years. Meanwhile, the origin of the song and the process to Yamada’s version were gradually forgotten. Even local people in Takaya had forgotten about the song’s history.

A high school teacher and folklorist living near Takaya, called Shigehiro Shibaguchi, changed that situation. Looking through a music textbook in 1964, by chance he noticed the footnote of the “Chūgoku-chihō-no Komori-uta” indicating Okayama Prefecture as the origin of the song. He started his research for the roots of the lullaby, and consequently,
not only did he discover the process by which Yamada’s version was born, but he also found several local informants who could sing various original and traditional versions, or “traditors [moto-uta denshōsha in Japanese]”. He published his findings in several magazines and local newspapers in the 1970s.

After the Second World War, the textile industry prospered in Takaya for a couple of decades but, after recession in the 1970s, the town lost the liveliness. This was reflected in the decrease of its population. In the middle of 1980s the middle-aged members of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Ibara City, who were struggling to find some good idea for vitalizing the city in recession, came across articles on the above lullaby and planned to “Vitalizing the City through the Lullaby”. Among those members there was, by chance, Rokusaburō Okada from Takaya, the son of Taeko Okada, who was a relative of Taishi Ueno and one of “traditors”.

Okada and other staff launched a project named “Hometown of Lullabies, Ibara”, in cooperation with Ibara City Council. The project included: (a) the foundation of a music tower, monuments, a community house for parents and children called “Wakuwaku Dragon House” and Kyō-ga-maru Open Theatre, (b) broadcasting the tune through the city by cables twice every evening (at five and nine o’clock), (c) gifting a cassette tape of the lullaby to newborn babies, (d) the establishment of the “Japanese Lullaby Festival” (1986-1995), (e) the creation of the “National Lullaby Summit” (1987- ), and (f) the authorization of traditors. It is necessary to explain (d), (e) and (f) in detail.

In 1985, the Committee of the Japanese Lullaby Festival [Nihon-no-Komori-uta Jikkō līnkai in Japanese] was founded. The mayor of Ibara City was named as the chairman, and the president of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the chairman of the Lions Club, a deputy mayor, and some other influential people in local government and the economy were on the list of members. Along with this, the Executive Committee, in which Okada was nominated as chairman, was established and it started preparations for the festival.

The first festival was held in Ibara City Hall on 16 November, 1986. The programme consisted of a symposium entitled “Thinking of Japanese Lullabies”, a performance of Japanese drums by local percussionists, and the recital of twenty traditional Japanese lullabies from all over the country and sung by local traditors. Along with it, there was the
exhibition and sale of local agricultural and industrial products.

The Lullaby Festival continued as an annual event until 1995. The contents were mainly divided into the following four groups: concerts by professional folk or classical singers and musicians, recitals by local amateur singers and musicians, lectures and a symposium about lullabies and childcare, and a “New Lullaby Contest” through advertising for new compositions.

Beside the festival, the Executive Committee planned a “National Lullaby Summit”. Following the start of the seven-nation summit, the idea of a “summit” became fashionable and various kinds of “summit” were undertaken all over the country in the 1980s. The Committee wanted for local governments in Japan to join the summit and explained its concept and purpose. As a result, the following five municipalities responded to join the first “Lullaby Summit”, which was held in Ibara as the part of the “Japanese Lullaby Festival in 1987” on 14 November, 1987: Numazu in Shizuoka, Shimabara in Nagasaki, Iwade in Wakayama, Amakusa and Itsuki in Kumamoto. The six mayors participated in the meeting and discussed way of cooperation and inter-relationship with the aim of revitalizing their communities. They have had an annual (every other year later on) meeting by rotation. Some new members joined and several others withdrew over fifteen years, but the summit has been held up until the present (2002).

At each summit there was a concert performed by traditors of each traditional lullaby, so that the Executive Committee authorized Taeko Okada as the first authorized traditor of “A Lullaby in the Chūgoku District”. However since it was very difficult for Okada, over eighty years old at the time, to make the long journey to other “summit” municipalities, her teenage disciple, Yūko Tanimoto, has taken on the role of the second authorized traditor.

In 1995, the Committee decided that the Japanese Lullaby Festival would end on its tenth anniversary, and that the festival changed from one aiming at an increase in the popularity of the city and boosting the economy, which demanded an enormous cost, into a simpler more homemade event intimately connected with the local people. Meanwhile, both the Committee and the Executive Committee disbanded and a new committee called
"The Committee for the Music Festival in the Hometown of Lullabies, Takaya" was re-organized. This meant that the initiative of the festival was given to local people living in Takaya, free from the administration. Since then, the renewed Music Festival has been held almost every year. The main participants were local people in Takaya: in particular, primary and secondary school children, as performers as well as audience, although there were some other additional programs like concerts by professional musicians or lectures.¹¹⁵

A new railway line named the "Ibara Line" was opened in 1999. The station located in the centre of Takaya was named "Hometown of Lullabies, Takaya". One can hear the tune of "A Lullaby in the Chūgoku District" (Yamada's version) automatically played by a musical box when one steps on the platform of the station. In the open space in front of the station there is an information board about the song, with a figure of a mother holding her baby on the back, and a portrait in relief of Taishi Ueno, who died in 2001.

9.3.2. Fieldwork

Since 1995, I have interviewed the following people in and around Takaya and Ibara City: Taeko Okada, the first “authorized traditor”; Rokusaburō Okada, her son and a chairman of the former Executive Committee; Yūko Tanimoto, the second “authorized traditor”; Yae Tanaka, an “unauthorized” traditor who can sing another type of what is probably the original version; the late Yoshino Fujii, a former nurse-maid working in the family ‘sake’ distillery where Ms. Okada was born; Shigehiro Shibaguchi, a folklorist and Buddhist priest who discovered the origin and history of the lullaby; four primary school girls who take lessons for singing the “authorized version” of the lullaby by Ms. Okada; and several former and present staff on the project. In addition, I have observed the Festival and Ms. Okada’s lessons several times whilst checking literary sources in the city library. The result of my fieldwork is partly included in the former chapters in the present paper.

9.3.2.1. Interview

¹¹⁵ In the 2002 Festival, on 23 November, 2002, Kyōko Kawaguchi, a disciple of Taichi Ueno, had a concert and I myself gave a lecture.
Here I will introduce the opinions of the staff and “traditors” about the project and the transmission of the lullaby. First, in an interview held in 1995, Mr. Okada summarized the original purposes of the project as follows: (1) vitalization and image-up of the city, (2) transmission of the lullaby to next generation, and (3) recognition of the importance of the relationship between parents and children. He considered that the project was relatively successful for ten years, particularly concerning (1), but that the event gradually became stereotyped and mannered. According to him, people should attempt to create “modern lullabies for the new generation” as well as to preserve traditional ones. They should also change the concept of the festival from its dependence on famed musicians and scholars to the voluntary participation of local people, which would lead them to have more opportunities to sing lullabies and recognize the importance of the relationship between parents and children. His opinions seem to reflect to the alternation of the project in 1996, more or less.

Mr. Okada pointed out the desirable direction or policy for renewing the project as divided into the following five aspects in my interview in 1998: (1) a festival held by the voluntary participation of local people, (2) the creation and distribution of modern lullabies for the new generation, (3) international communication by means of singing lullabies, especially by inviting foreigners studying in Japan, (4) the fulfillment of building plans including the foundation of museums and the reconstruction of historic streets, and (5) bringing up successors — both traditors of the lullaby and coordinators of the festival.

Yōji Ueno, present secretary of the Executive Committee, in my interview in 2001, emphasized the importance of continuity, which will lead citizens to understand and sympathize with the aim of the project. Although financial support by local government is limited — one million yen (approximately five thousand pounds) per a year — he hopes the festival will continue to be homemade and voluntary as much as possible.

According to my interview with Taeko Okada in 2001, the most significant effect of

116 The interview was held on 8 December, 1995.
117 The interview was held on 8 November, 1998.
118 The interview was held on 22 July, 2001.
the Local Lullaby Project for her to have an opportunity to keep in touch with the younger generation through instructing them in the lullaby. From approximately 1988 to 1889, she instructed Yūko Tanimoto, a ten-year-old girl at the time living near Ms. Okada's house, exclusively through oral transmission, word by word for one year. Moreover, she has given lessons to four primary school girls every Sunday except the first weekend in a month since October 2000. The lessons seem to give her the invaluable pleasure of transmitting a lullaby connected with her own memories to young girls, so that she can maintain her youth.

Table 9.3.2. Ms. Okada's version [music]

Ms. Tanimoto, a kindergarten teacher now, who has participated in the Festival in Ibara and the summit in other places as an authorized traditor since 1990, appreciates the friendship with other participants and encountering with other lullabies in the places where they still survive. "My world has spread a great deal thanks to my participation in the project". Secondly, based on her experience as a kindergarten teacher, she insists that it is especially important to introduce lullabies and other nursery rhymes to young mothers as well as to children, for children probably seldom listen to them from their mothers. It seems that there are very few books of nursery rhymes that includes lullabies suitable for young mothers and children, and very few opportunities to come into contact with lullabies or learn them. She hopes that the project will introduce the importance and

119 The interview was held on 21 July, 2001.
120 My interviews with her were held on 2 March, 1996 and 21 July, 2001.
pleasure of singing lullabies to local people, mothers and children in particular, as much as possible.

9.3.2.2. Participation and Observation of the Festival in 2002

“Festival of Hometown of Lullabies, Takaya, 2002” was held on 23 November, 2002. I participated in the event as a lecturer. The program and timetable were as follows:

Part I: Music Festival in Hometown of Lullabies
(at the Gymnasium of Takaya Secondary School, 13:00-15:30)

1. Takaya Secondary School Brass Band
2. Pop Corn (Amateur Women's Choir living nearby)
3. Kyōko Kawaguchi (Professional Singer, Pupil of Taishi Ueno) with Yūko Hirai (Pianist)
4. Fukuyama Ensemble “Dream” (Amateur Men's Choir living nearby)
5. Introduction of the cities and towns entering the Summit of Lullaby
6. Kurashiki Academy Ensemble (Professional String Quintet living nearby)
7. Children’s Choir of the Fifth Grade (age 10-11) in Takaya Elementary School

Part II: Lecture and Gallery Concert (at Hanatori Art Museum, 17:00-18:30)

1. Lecture by Yusuke Uno (Assistant Professor, Baika Women’s College)
2. Song and Piano by Kyōko Kawaguchi and Yūko Hirai (introduced above)
3. Guitar by Takuo Fujishiro (Professional Guitarist living nearby)

The day was a national holiday and it was a bright and warm day in autumn. This may reflect the fact that the number in the audience of Part I in the afternoon was over 350 although Part II in the evening attracted only about 70. Most of the participants were the local people, whether amateurs or professionals, living in/near Takaya except Kawaguchi, Hirai and myself. The audience for Part I was mainly local, too. This must have been due to the first policy of the project expressed by Rokusaburō Okada above: to carry out the festival by the voluntary participation of local people.

Meanwhile, I felt that this event was still organized and directed by the force of local government and particular economical leaders in the town. The majority of the audience for my lecture were so-called “influential citizens” like general managers of companies, chairmen of several committees, and local politicians, most of whom wore dark-coloured suits. Before my lecture, the mayor of Ibara City made a short speech in which he emphasized the vitalization of the city through “A Lullaby in the Chūgoku District”.
The first part of the Festival held in the gymnagium of Takaya Junior High School in the afternoon was certainly produced for "ordinary" local people. However, the unveiling ceremony of the relief of Taishi Ueno in the morning, and the lecture and evening concert as the second part seemed to have been planned for a limited number of people. Twenty days later, Yōji Ueno, secretary of the festival, told me by phone that they had to arrange Part II for the people who supported or sponsored the festival from their political or economical stands. It does no seem to be easy for the project to keep an independent position due to the necessity of financial support. This is perhaps one of the most serious dilemmas of the project.

The “National Summit of Lullabies in 2003” is planned in Ibara for the autumn of 2003. We should watch the ‘colour’ of the event: that is, the balance of guests and local participants (or professionals and amateurs), and the influence of local government and economical leaders. Moreover, they should not only organize events like the music festival but also create an environment suitable for “the hometown of lullabies”, where every evening one can hear lullabies being sung naturally by parents and other members of the family from every house in which there are babies. At that stage we can consider the project to have been successfully completed.
9.4. Other Attempts at Preserving Lullabies

In the former two sections I introduced the Gaelic Mod and the Local Lullaby Project in Takaya, Japan, in detail. Each of them has a unique history and characteristic features, so that it is very difficult to simply compare the two. However, it is also true that they have some similarities and both of them seem to have achieved certain results while also facing some problems. Therefore we need to evaluate these later on. But before that, I will briefly introduce some other attempts directly or indirectly related to the preservation of traditional lullabies.

9.4.1. Attempts in Shetland

To begin with, I will discuss various attempts at preserving lullabies in Shetland. After deciding the theme of my thesis in 1992, I started fieldwork both in Barra and in Shetland in order to understand the actual situation of these two areas of Scottish culture: one especially influenced by Gaelic or Irish culture and the other by Scandinavian. Needles to say, the Shetlanders have transmitted their unique culture and tradition as the closest islands to Scandinavia. The study of folklore in Shetland has a unique and graceful history since the foundation of the Shetland Folk Society and its publication of *Shetland Folk Book vol.1* in 1947, from which I have quoted several Scots lullabies in the present thesis. In this sense, the islands seemed very attractive for people in my field of research work.

Through my fieldwork in these islands, I wanted not only to discover the special features of the musical heritage of the Shetlands, but also to know local people’s attitude towards its preservation and revival. My research in Shetland has continued for seven years including four field trips there. As a result, I was able to collect several local, traditional lullabies and explanations of their contexts: in particular, the custom and beliefs with regard to childbirth and childcare.121 I also visited two primary schools, Hamnavoe Primary School in Burra Isle and Bressay Primary School in Bressay Isle, to

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121 Part of my fieldnotes relating to Shetland, an interview with Stella Sutherland, was compiled as “The Context of Shetland Lullabies: Sung and Told by Stella Sutherland” and published into *Tocher* 51 (1996).
ask children about their interest in traditional culture, and particularly in lullabies and children's songs. Beside this, I inquired of several schoolteachers, members of Shetland Folk Society (including John Graham, the president of the Society at the time), and some other local people about the methods or strategies useful for transmitting traditional culture to the younger generation.

In the interview of 25 August, 1998, Chris Brown, Educational Adviser of the Shetland Islands Council, told me that the actual activities and projects for preserving traditional culture, especially for children, could be divided into five groups: (1) the publication of *The Kist* [meaning “box”] (1996), textbooks with cassette tapes for studying dialect organized by the Scottish Consultative Council on the Curriculum [SCCC], (2) the publication of *Classic Children's Games from Scotland* (1996) by Kendric Ross, a textbook with illustrations for learning traditional children's games and play, (3) the publication of *Da Sang at A'll Sing Ta Dee* (1973), a music book for learning Shetland folksongs edited by the Shetland Folk Society, (4) the foundation of the “Story Telling Group in Shetland” (expected in 1999) for giving children and adults an experience of listening folktales and other stories, supported by the Scottish Story Telling Centre, and (5) planning new curricula using dialect called “Teaching Dialect” and including the following three types: Drama and Play Using Dialect, Playing Game Using Dialect, and Local Studies (history, geography, industry, wildlife, etc.).

Among these, (1) (2) and (4) are nationwide projects, while (3) and (5) are original to Shetland. Above all, I have an interest in the fifth project, “Teaching Dialect”. Michael Hanna, head teacher of Hamnavoe Primary School, told me about the activities in his school in an interview held on 24 August, 1998. Shetlander poets and elders are invited to the school to read their poems, sing traditional Shetland songs, and talking in dialect. Students sometimes go out to a port to study some fishing skills from local fishermen, like mending nets. They explain these skills intentionally using dialect as much as possible. The feature of this activity is to connect the language or literary culture with the local people who have used and transmitted them in their actual daily lives. Children can study about these things in everyday situation. It is possible, for instance, to go out to a private house to listen to a traditional lullaby sung by an old lady, who soothes her grandchild in a traditional nursing style such as using a cradle. They may also learn how to hold the baby.
or rock the cradle as well as how to sing the lullaby.

It seems to be important for children to experience the traditional way of life as closely as possible and imagine the feelings of their ancestors. Because a dialect or a traditional song using dialect is originally rooted in the everyday life of the local people. By listening to dialect rooted in the life of the people, the children must be deeply impressed and given an interest in their local community and its history. In this way, the younger generation is able to come into contact with other generations in a heart-felt way by means of dialect and traditional songs, including lullabies.


Here I will introduce the “Warabe-uta Oya-ko Circle, Momo” organized by Junko Yamamoto in Takatsuki, Osaka. Her activity in this area will give us some important suggestions with regard to the transmission of traditional nursery songs, including lullabies, today.122

Ms. Yamamoto was born in 1944 and, has dealt with picture book reading and the management of a cooperative private library for children, or “bunko katsudo” in Japanese, since 1975. Beside this, she has started working as a lecturer on the subjects, “Mothers’ and Children’s Hand-Playing Songs” and “Mothers’ and Children’s Enjoying Picture Books” organized by Senri Children’s Library, which is part of the Osaka YWCA since 1977. In 1994 she joined the Society of Kodály Children’s Songs to study Kodály method — an internationally-famous method for teaching music using folk music the Hungarian composer, and scholar and teacher of ethnic musicology, Kodály Zoltá’n (1882-1967). Based on her various experiences, she established the “Warabe-uta Oya-ko Circle, Momo” in 1997. “Momo” is held for about twenty mothers and children aged 0 to 5 once a month, and she instructs them on how to sing nursery songs and play the games.

Ms.Yamamoto recognizes that nursery songs are the literature with which children meet for the first time. Through their enjoyment of nursery songs they can gain an interest

122 This report is based on my own fieldwork held on 4 March, 2003, as well as a dissertation by Kaori Hirota, “Education related to Traditional Children’s Songs in Japan”, the Department of Children’s Literature, Baika Women’s College (2000).
in words, language and literature, as well as communication with other children. With this kind of recognition, before lessons she studies as much as possible the origin and history of the songs she is going to teach in order to understand the overt and covert meanings included in the song, and the feelings of the singers of old. Related to this, she respects the rhythm and sound, which bring life to the words, so that dialect is regarded as an invaluable element of the nursery song if it contains dialect.

Most of the songs she selected for the lesson are traditional nursery rhymes because she considers that the feelings of numberless people from times of old have been involved in them, and that, consequently, whether an adult or a child, one can feel relaxed or comforted when hearing them.

The basic atmosphere between her and the participants is not that of an instructor and her students, but of mutual participants. For every participant, to experience and enjoy singing nursery songs, whether the mother or their children, an instructor or student, is the primary aim of "Momo". One mother participant says that she comes here not only to let her child learn songs, but also to learn how to spend a happy time with her child. In the questionnaire undertaken by Ms. Yamamoto, another mother said that she could feel self-confident as a parent through the nursery songs. Since, through the activity with her child in "Momo", she knows which sort of songs are suitable for her child who is in particular situations such as, anger, sleepiness, sadness, tiredness, or whatever, she can soothe or play with her child using the proper nursery song according to the situation. Through this comment, the most important thing seems to be that she herself enjoyed playing and singing nursery songs with her child: such experiences make it possible for her to see and feel anything from the point of view of the child.

The types of song sung in this circle are mainly songs with actions, or play songs, but Ms. Yamamoto sometimes sings lullabies, for soothing the children and probably the mothers as well. Her work seems to give us some important suggestions.
9.5. Evaluation

9.5.1. Evaluation of the Mod

First of all, I will evaluate the Mod as introduced in the second section of the present chapter. As many informants pointed out, the Mod firstly creates a strong motivation in children's minds to learn the traditional culture of their local community. The competition demands more intensive learning, which may stimulate them to study the object and its historical or social background more deeply. Furthermore, such an experience may induce a recognition of social and cultural identity. Secondly, it often strengthens the bond with the family. A participating child must practice at home day after day, where his or her family who listen to and advises. If the parents or grandparents are native Gaelic speakers, they become private instructors and the whole family work towards winning, as in the case of the MacNeill family. Thirdly, it usually creates and broadens bonds with friends. Choir singing gives a participating child the opportunity to cooperate with other choir members. Through meeting with other participants from different places during the Mod, they can keep in touch with them afterwards. In addition, their view of the world will be widened and deepened through participation in the Mod since it held at different places each other.

The negative point to the Mod is related to the attitude of the instructors, who place too much emphasis on winning. As a result, the performance of competitors led by such an instructor often becomes unnatural and, lacking the original feeling as a piece of traditional culture connected with the everyday life of the local people. In particular, traditional lullabies usually have a simple and short form and thus may be unsuitable for the competition, in which a certain amount of artificial performance is demanded in order to distinguish the competitors from one another. But it is necessary to nominate lullabies as prescribed songs for the purpose of giving participants an opportunity to come into contact with them. Therefore, the most important thing is for instructors to teach them to sing these songs as naturally as possible. In this sense, to bring up sensible instructors who understand the context of the songs is perhaps one of the most urgent problems, along with several critical points mentioned before in the former section, such as the imbalance between the number of boy and girl participants, and the tight schedule and
excess of groups in the junior competitions.

9.5.2. Evaluation of the Local Lullaby Project

The history of the Local Lullaby Project in Takaya is recent so that it seems to be very difficult to give it a definitive and final evaluation. However the philosophy of the project — to unify local people, whether adults or children, by the feeling of "tenderness" brought about through singing lullabies — can be appreciated at the present time when the relationship between children and parents, or the young and the old generation, is often in crisis both in Scotland and in Japan. Related to this, I remember one eleven-year-old girl taking a lesson by Taeko Okada. In the interview she told me with a smile that she could feel tender feelings and receive the applause of her mother after she sang it. Although such an invisible effect is difficult to realize soon, it must do so gradually.

Secondly, unlike the Mod, this project concentrated on only one text, "A Lullaby in the Chūgoku District". Consequently the participants can easily make it the nucleus of their own identities, which will lead them to self-consciousness and self-confidence in their native place. This means that the affection towards the song may become the foundation of the identity of the local children, who can sing the same traditional, local song together.

The risk of the project will appear when it gives priority to visible effects like economical income and industrial activation rather than invisible ones like good relationship between children and parents, or the feeling of tenderness among local people. In order to escape from the risk, the staffs must organize various local people, both children and adults, to join the project as voluntarily as possible, and continue it as long as possible. It will take a time to realize the philosophy.

They must also create a particular place for touching with the lullaby and other local culture in everyday life, in addition to the event. For example, an unused classroom of primary school or a common room in nursery home for elderly people should be utilized for the place. Because it seems to be comparatively easy in such places for various

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123 The interview was held on 14 September, 2001.
generations to join, play and communicate each other. The cooperation with local government will be so important in this case.

9.5.3. Evaluation of Preservationary Attempts in Shetland

Through the fieldwork in Shetland I was deeply impressed by the positive attitude of the head teacher and the educational adviser of the council to preserve the local, traditional culture, including the local dialect. They have arranged a variety of ways by means of which children can come into contact with various kinds of local culture and knowledge. In particular, the knowledge of local people and the community is appreciated and made use of. In a sense, these attempts can be regarded as a kind of “open education” by the release of students out of school and the commitment of local people.

The problem is the response of parents. According to Mr. Brown, the educational adviser, there is a considerable percentage of parents that is indifferent to the “Teaching Dialect” project. Some others consider that teachers should concentrate on teaching standard English. Such parental attitude must influence the children, who may come to have no interest in studying local culture. Therefore the coordinators and teachers should repeat the philosophy of the project to the local people, including parents, as well as children. Along with this, needless to say, they should try to organize as attractive a program as possible, which will make it possible for the children to positively and independently participate. In other words, the motivation of the children seems to be the key to the success of the project.

9.5.4. Evaluation of Circle “Momo”

The priority of the circle for children and parents organized by Yamamoto, named “Momo”, is to attempt to find alternative media that connects children with traditional nursery songs. In old times, the family and the local community had the role of “traditor”. Along with modernization and social change, school and mass media have displaced them. However, the object is basically an oral tradition which demands face to face communication, so that mass education in school and through broadcasting by mass media is fundamentally flawed. In such a problematic situation at the present time, the
circle "Momo" re-establishes the function of the former local community, where people cooperated in bringing up their children. The majority of young mothers of nuclear families living in cities in Japan are said to feel isolated. A circle for children and parents like "Momo" will give them a good opportunity to escape their isolation as well as learn the practical technique of how to play with their children.

Unlike the school projects or those of local government, such an activity is basically voluntary. This means that the parents as participants have a strong motivation. As mentioned before, this is considered to be one of the most important factors for the preservation of traditional culture, including lullabies.

The success of this kind of activity depends on the ability of its instructors, and at the moment it does not seem that there is a sufficient number of good instructors to meet the needs. In order to keep their position as workers, the instructors need a steady income, so that various publishing companies for children are coordinating this kind of circle. In this case it often takes very expensive to join the circle and inferior instructors are sometimes employed because profit comes first. It is an urgent problem to bring up able instructors in colleges and institutes who can joyfully instruct parents and children in children's songs, games and play. The establishment of a kind of authorized license for such instructors may be useful. The financial support by a local government is indispensable, as well.

9.5.5. Opinion and Proposal

Through my research over the last ten years, I have asked a number of informants about the relationship between modernization and traditional lullabies, and about useful methods for preserving the latter. Here I will introduce several selected opinions and proposals.

First of all, there are some negative or pessimistic opinions as to this issue. For instance, Anne Kearney, a former school-teacher living in Barra, told me that most of the mothers are from the mainland, therefore they cannot speak Gaelic nor do they have an interest in it, either.124

124 This is based on an interview held on 20 August, 1993
However there are positive views, also. Mairi MacDonald, born in 1942, a housewife in Barra, points to the role of the school, mass-media, and the home for preserving and transmitting traditional lullabies. She expressed her confidence about their survival on her island as follows: "I feel that on our own island the younger generation are taking an interest in Gaelic songs and can hopefully be persuaded to include lullabies as being an important part of our heritage" (cited before).125 Sarah Morrison, born in 1972, a hotel manager in Harris, has a similar opinion to Ms. MacDonald. She considers it necessary to preserve traditional lullabies since it is "important to retain and value our culture and heritage". She emphasizes the role of the school and the family, who should teach these things to the young generation.126

Next, John Graham, president of the Shetland Folk Society, points out the importance of school education and mass media. He adds that his society has contributed to transmitting traditional culture to the young generation through the publication of their collection and the organization of an annual fiddle festival and other events.127

Michael Hanna, head teacher of Hamnavoe Primary School in Shetland, explains that he undertook the project of "Teaching Dialect" in his school because children can learn about "the old times" through studying it. It seems to be the most important thing, according to him, for parents to support their child’s motivation for studying dialect and other aspects of traditional culture, including local lullabies, in order to preserve them. As teachers, they should keep on teaching the value of local culture, which will be hopefully handed down from today’s children to their families, neighbours, and the local community on the whole. In this sense, the role of the school as an organ that plants the seeds of local culture is considered to be invaluable.128

125 I quoted from her answer to my questionnaire. I received the letter in November, 2001.

126 Her comment is based on the same questionnaire. I used it in my interview with her on 15 October, 2001.

127 The interview was held in his house in Lerwick, Shetland on 23 August, 1998.

128 This is based on an interview of 24 August, 1998.
Alma Jamieson, Alma NicShimidh in Gaelic, the music teacher and one of the compilers of the Gaelic lullaby anthology, *Caidil Gu Seimh*, values the Gaelic media program in addition to the Mod.\textsuperscript{129} She insists that, compared with thirty years ago, people have become conscious of the importance of Gaelic culture because of the program. Meanwhile, children’s attitudes seem to basically depend on those of their parents. Some children have an interest even if their parents cannot speak Gaelic. Since the program is not compulsory but voluntary, it is crucial to lead the parents to recognize the importance of Gaelic as a language as well as a culture, and to persuade them to let their children study it.

Furthermore, Alasdair Barr, another compiler of *Caidil Gu Seimh*, points out the value of the Local Mod held at each local area every June. According to Barr, most of the participants in the Local Mod are children. The competitors of the National Mod are selected there, but the participants also enjoy Gaelic culture as a local festival. Concerning the future of Gaelic lullabies, added to the National and the Local Mod, he emphasizes that the work of universities and other institutes with regard to Gaelic study is invaluable. Moreover, music and language teachers are considered to have an important role.

Needless to say, the word “Gaelic” or “Shetland” in the comments above can interchanged with other languages or areas. Now, based on the above evaluation and opinions, I will outline my own opinion as a conclusion to this chapter.

\textsuperscript{129} The interviews with Barr and Jamieson were both held on 3 September, 2000.
9.6. Conclusion

What is needed for the preservation and survival of traditional lullabies in the present time? Above all, it is necessary to recognize their value. Lullabies are worth transmitting even today firstly because they are considered to be part of the heritage of the local community. This means that we can discover various pieces of social history as reflected in the feelings of the local people through lullabies. In short, the various feelings such as maternal (or parental) affection, anger, sadness, joy, hope, and despair of our ancestors are condensed in each traditional lullaby. The reason why we feel relaxed when we sing traditional nursery songs is, therefore, to be found in the fact that they are like matured wine blended with the various feelings of unknown people over a long period of time.

They are valuable, secondly, because they are regarded as an invisible cord of tenderness that runs through a family, school, or local community. Through singing and listening to lullabies, the relationship between the singer and the listener, becomes deeper and stronger. Moreover, we can remember or reconstruct the feelings of our ancestors who composed and have transmitted these lullabies. In this case, a bond with others beyond time and space can be realized. It seems to be a first step to enlighten all the people, parents and their children in particular, as to the value of traditional lullabies.

Next, we should arrange a variety of contact channels for different traditional cultures. Both children and adults should be able to gain access to them by means of various people around them and through the media: from family, friends, neighbours, teachers, or instructors; and through TV, radio, publications, or the Internet. Even considering only school activities, there can be variety of projects, as we observed in Shetland.

Related to this, another key point is to use both periodical and everyday activities. Events like festivals and competitions are an undoubtedly useful method for intensive study, but ordinary activities in the home, school and at a community centre or such, are indispensable. We can make this culture truly our own through the repetition of practice day after day just as our ancestors did. This is the most effective way, therefore, to connect the ordinary activity with the preparation for big events, and to utilize the event as the next step to the ordinary activity.
Thirdly, we should find and bring up the following three types of specialists: "traditors" as performers of traditional culture, instructors, and coordinators. In the case of a systematic project, the division and cooperation of these three types of specialist will contribute to the success of the project. The joyful experience of coming into contact with traditional culture during childhood may lead the young generation to become specialists. The two girl traditors, Claire-Ann MacNeill and Yūko Tanimoto told me that both their dreams were to become a music teacher who teaches traditional children's songs.\footnote{At the moment they are in contrary situations. Ms. Tanimoto is realizing her dream and works as a teacher in a kindergarten now. Ms. MacNeill, on the other hand, has been suffering from a traffic accident in 2001 and struggles with severe injuries even now.}

Finally, we should organize our various activities as attempts to preserve traditional culture into "convivial" ones.\footnote{I referred the concept of "conviviality" from Ivan Illich, Tools for Conviviality (1973).} All the participants, whether competitors or examiners, traditors or audience, instructors or learners, performers or coordinators, should have a positive and cooperative attitude in order to enjoy the event in each of situation or position. In short, the highest priority is to rejoice together. Through enjoying various traditional lullabies, we must be able to realize our lives as convivial beings connected with various people beyond time and space. At that stage, traditional lullabies will be reborn into the present time.
Part IV. Conclusion

Chapter 10. Conclusion

As I mentioned in the Preface, the purpose of this comparative study is neither to find the cultural link or cultural distribution between Scotland and Japan, nor to emphasize the cultural differences between West and East. What I wanted to understand was the reason why people have sung and transmitted lullabies.

At the initial stage of this study I found many texts not seeming to express "the maternal affection for babies" both in Scotland and in Japan. Some are depressing, others threatening. Although with regard to such Japanese lullabies many scholars have considered them to be the effect of a social institution, komori-bōkō [nurse-maid service], naturally, their Scottish counterparts are not covered by this theory. Eventually, I tackled this study in order to discover an alternative answer.

In Part I, I tried to establish the base of the present thesis through criticizing previous studies of the concept of lullabies. I defined the concept of traditional lullabies discussed in this study as songs consisting of three aspects: "songs sung while soothing babies" as the situation of performance; "oral" as the basic style of transmission; and "traditional" as the recognition of the local people.

Part II contains four chapters and was directed at the textural and textual analysis of lullabies in the three languages and their comparison. From the linguistic viewpoint, vocables play a crucial role in all of the lullabies. They include various other kinds of rhetoric, such as rhyming, repetition, regular sound sequence, dialogue style, counting rhymes, and so forth, all of which are rooted in the literary tradition of each language. Above all, the most important matter in all of the three languages was the rhythm of the words, which is mainly created by such rhetoric.

Musicological analysis suggests that although Scots and Gaelic lullabies prefer triple metre, there are not a few exceptions, especially in Gaelic. Japanese lullabies using triple metre are, on the other hand, seldom found. Likewise, snap rhythm is more frequently found in Scots and Gaelic lullabies rather than in Japanese. They are probably influenced
by the rhythm of the language. In respect of scale and melody, I discovered several similar features among the lullabies of the three languages: use of the fourth and seventh note gapped pentatonic scale, a plain melody-line, and the second and fifth note ending, for example. Moreover, the minor seventh note seems to add “a Scottish (or Celtic) taste” to the tune. On the other hand, Japanese lullabies sometimes adopt two other types of pentatonic scale, called the “miyako-bushi” and “Okinawa”, both of which are unfamiliar to Scottish songs.

In the literary perspective, I analysed the lullabies focusing on “personae”, “materials and environment”, “motifs” and “groups”. Through that analysis, we concluded that lullabies in each of the three languages have a strong connection with their cultural, social, and historical backgrounds, and all of them include the general “motifs” described by Brakeley. In terms of “groups”, by distinguishing “the lullaby sung for a baby” from “the lullaby sung for others including the singers themselves”, I discovered a number of texts in all three languages belonging to the latter. In addition, it became clear that texts including the so-called “unhappy” motifs were abundant in Gaelic and Japanese in particular. The results of these analyses led me to change my image of lullabies into a more realistic one, which demanded an understanding of the reason why people in Scotland and Japan have transmitted such lullabies: in other words, the discovery of the actual functions of singing traditional lullabies, through contextual analysis.

The third part was divided into four chapters. In the former three chapters I tried to discover these actual functions, based on the analysis of the cosmological, social, and historical backgrounds of particular Scottish and Japanese lullabies. From the analysis of cosmological background to fairy lullabies in Chapter 6, I discovered the following three functions: (a) as a prayer for avoiding unexpected or unexplained misfortunes against a child and the realization of unexplained fortunes, (b) as an education on a view of nature or the “Otherworld”, and (c) for healing a singer’s grief and fear. In Chapter 7, through the discussion of the social background to non-mother lullabies, I abstracted four functions: (a) entertainment, (b) healing or catharsis, (c) criticism or “invisible weapon”, and (d) bond joining people to each other. Moreover, the analysis of historical background to commemorative lullabies in Chapter 8 suggested that they have three functions: (a) to memorize the history and wisdom of local people, (b) to transmit historical documents,
and (c) to bond people.

These functions abstracted from each of three contextual analyses can be reorganized into eight categories: (1) prayer, (2) education, (3) healing of singers, (4) entertainment, (5) criticism, (6) bond, (7) memorization, and (8) transmission of history. Furthermore, needless to say, we must not forget the original function of singing lullabies, (0) soothing or nursing.

In the last chapter, I focused on the attempts to preserve traditional lullabies in Scotland and Japan, and introduced my own proposals concerning this subject, based on the evaluation of several present activities and reference to the opinions of several informants. They were: (1) to recognize the value of traditional lullabies as part of heritage of a local community and an “invisible cord” of tenderness binding a family, school, or local community, (2) to arrange a variety of contact channels traditional culture, including lullabies, (3) to discover and bring up traditors, instructors, and coordinators, and (4) to organize these activities into convivial ones.

Finally, let us turn to the questions proposed in the Preface: “what benefits have children gained from such folklore traditions?” and “what is really necessary for children, especially for Japanese children struggling with social and mental problems at the present time?”

What has become clear through the investigation of the functions of singing traditional lullabies and the attempts at preserving them can be expressed symbolically: that singing lullabies is to construct a bridge between a singer and a listener. Here “a listener” should be interpreted in its broader meaning. First, “a listener” means the child as the “direct listener”. Secondly, “indirect listeners”, like elder siblings and others listening to the song beside the child are included, too. Thirdly, the unknown writer and composer of the song, and the song’s ancestors as “characters” in the song and former traditors can be considered to be “indirect listeners” when the singer looks back on them and visualizes the situation where the song was born. Fourthly, spiritual or supernatural beings as the object of singer’s prayer can be recognized as another type of “indirect listener”. Furthermore, the singer sometimes becomes an “indirect listener”, in the case that the singer releases her or his depression and feels healed by the lullaby by “singing inwardly”.

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Today, in a society preoccupied with "virtual realities", children need "bridges", which are constructed both by "imagination" and "actual human communication" by means of an actual voice and the direct touch of others. Through this kind of convivial experience, they must naturally learn something important by themselves.

This is not the final answer to these questions, of course, and I hope it will be reinforced or corrected by further studies.
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Appendix 1. Review of the Literature

Various kinds of literature directly or indirectly related to lullabies, and mainly published in Britain and Japan, will be reviewed in an order arranged by the perspectives the writers adopt: folkloristic and historical; musicological; linguistic; psychological; biological; and comparative and cross-cultural. Each category is not completely isolated from the other, nor does any belong precisely to just one of these categories. However, this categorization indicates that various kinds of approaches are possible, and help us come to an understanding of which approach is most effective when trying to clarify the function and the significance of singing lullabies.

1.1. Textual Compilation

Before reviewing the literature on the study of lullabies from any particular perspective, I will make a brief survey of the books and booklets of textual compilations, dividing them into five groups: worldwide, British, Scots, Gaelic, and Japanese. It should be noticed that only selected titles are reviewed here among the number of literary sources on this subject; some others were also referred in the textural and textual analysis, Part II in the main text.

1.1.1. worldwide

To my knowledge, there are not so many geographically wide-ranging books of nursery rhymes and lullabies.132 Looking through them the following two tendencies can be pointed out: the miscellany of categories and the imbalance of the texts from different areas of the world. Firstly, various kinds of text belonging to different categories are compiled together as “lullabies”. In The Lullaby Book (1985) compiled by Richard Carlin, for instance, classical songs composed by Mozart and Brahms, poems and aphorisms written by Shakespeare and Blake, and several traditional lullabies from the different part

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132 Instead, we have been able to discover a number of CDs and cassette tapes compiling nursery rhymes and miscellaneous lullabies from around the world in the music shops both in Scotland and Japan, particularly during the last few decades.
of the world are compiled and mixed together. Such a miscellany seems to be due to the fact that these music books were not published for academic purposes, but for practical use. In this case, the music of pieces called “traditional lullabies” is often arranged into simpler or artistic forms, and therefore we had better avoid using them as literary sources for the present study.

Secondly, in many music books found in bookshops and music libraries in and around Edinburgh, Western lullabies, especially English ones, constitute a great portion of the whole, even if in their titles they indicate that lullabies from “all around the world” are compiled there. This fact may suggest that the study of Non-Western lullabies, including cross-cultural, comparative study, with Western or English lullabies may be underdeveloped.

From an academic point of view, the following two books seem to be worthwhile as textual compilations of traditional lullabies from around the world: Leslie Daiken’s *The Lullaby Book* (1959) and Barbara and Michael Cass-Beggs’ *Folk Lullabies* (1969).

In the former book, Daiken compiles thirty-eight lullaby texts from around the world with their music. Some other lullabies are introduced as samples for his grand-scale analysis, too. They consist of (a) two African lullabies, (b) three American lullabies, (c) twenty-nine European lullabies including one English, two Irish, four Scottish and two Welsh lullabies, (d) one Haitian lullaby, (e) two Asian lullabies (one from China, the other from Japan), and (f) one Jewish lullaby. In addition, such specific songs are involved here as “Lullaby of the Traveling People”, “An Leanabh Sidhe (The Fairy Child)”, “The Old Man Rocking the Cradle”, “The Coventry Carol” and “The Rocking Carol”, all of which perhaps have a British origin. The balance of the textual compilation from different areas of the world is distinctly partial: European lullabies occupy more than three-quarters of the whole book.

In the latter book, Cass-Beggs compiles seventy-seven traditional folk lullabies from all over the world. Each text containing the words and music is accompanied by annotations and literary sources. Several impressive photographs of mothers and babies in different countries are accompanied. On the whole, the balance of lullabies from different areas is appropriate. Here the texts are divided into eleven areas: (a) seven texts from Canada, (b) five from the U.S.A., (c) thirteen from the British Isles, including three Scottish, (d) seven from Scandinavia & Northwestern Europe, (e) fourteen from Western
Southern Europe, (f) five from Central and Eastern Europe, (g) eight from Latin America, (h) three from Africa, (i) seven from Asia, including one Japanese, (j) four from Jewish people, and (k) four from other countries. Considering the abundance of the folksong collection in Europe and Anglo-America up to the present day, this seems to be reasonable.

1.1.2. British

According to Iona and Peter Opie, the first nursery rhyme book in the U.K. and the U.S.A. is *Tommy Thumb's Pretty Song Book*, probably published in 1744 (Opie, 1973: 11). The publication of *Mother Goose's Melody, or Sonnets for the Cradle* by John Newbery followed in 1760 (or, more likely, in 1765 or 1766). In this book, we can discover “Hush-a-bye, baby, on the tree top”, probably one of the most famous lullabies in the U.K. and in the U.S.A.

Among a great number of nursery rhyme books published in Britain over the past two-and-a-half centuries, the most significant ones both with respect to the number of texts and to their academic value are presumably the following two: *The Nursery Rhymes of England* (1842) by James Orchard Halliwell, and *The Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes* (1951) by Iona and Peter Opie.

In the former book, Halliwell divides nursery rhymes into fifteen sections. In the section, “Lullabies”, we can discover ten texts. Amongst them, No.209 and No.210 are two different versions of what was originally the same text, No.216 is a rhyme for finger play, and No.217 is a dandling song. Each text has a brief annotation, but there is neither music nor a reference source.

In 1868, Halliwell published a revised version, entitled *Nursery Rhymes and Nursery Tales of England*, in which the number of lullabies is extended to twenty-five, including eleven texts for amusing children. According to his categorization, Halliwell seems to regard lullabies not only as “songs for lulling babies” but also includes songs for amusing children often accompanied with movement such as dandling or finger-playing — “songs for babies” on the whole, as it were.

In their monumental book, *Dictionary*, the Opies adopt an alphabetical order based on “the most prominent word” instead of a subject order as used by Halliwell. In the
section “Baby” eight different lullaby texts including three Scottish ones are compiled. There are deliberate historical and cross-cultural analyses on each text.

Moreover, in their next book, The Oxford Nursery Rhymes Book (1955), they order the texts according to the subject like Halliwell (probably for the purpose of handy reading) and give us fourteen lullaby texts, in which six texts are also found in their former book. Three (or more likely four) Scottish songs, all of which were not included before, are added. The total number of lullaby texts is sixteen and the total number of Scottish lullabies is six (or perhaps seven). Since, like Halliwell, their compilations exclude music, we cannot make use of them for musical analysis.

1.1.3. Scots

As far as my research goes, the earliest compilation (or citation) of Scots lullabies is Ane Compendious Book of Godly and Spirituall Sangs, published in 1621. According to Robert Chambers, “Husie-ba, burdie beeton! Your mammie’s gane to Seaton” is found in this book (Chambers, 1870: 12). In the fifth volume of The Scots Musical Museum (1787-1803), the six volume collection of Scots Songs to which Robert Burns contributed, one of the best-known Scots lullabies, “O can ye sew cushions”, is included with its music.

It is fair to say that the history of systematic collection of Scots nursery rhymes starts with Robert Chambers’ Popular Rhymes of Scotland (1826, 1842, 1858, and 1870). According to the Opies’ bibliography presented in 1973, the first sighting of this book was in 1826 and here the section on ‘Nursery Rhymes’ contains only four rhymes.133 “But this was nevertheless a pioneer appeal to Scotsmen to ‘crack credit with their grandmothers, by inquiring after such homely and foolish things’ . . . The success of Chambers’ appeal in 1826 may be judged from the fact that he here [in a revision in 1842] records more than fifty rhymes and songs for the nursery”. Eventually, in the fourth edition in 1870, “the nursery rhymes are given pride of place at the beginning of the volume; and many further rhymes, now considered nursery property, appear elsewhere in the book. In fact this book has been drawn upon by the nursery anthologists, usually without acknowledgement, unceasingly ever since” (Opie, 1973: 13-14).

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133 Collinson, on the other hand, judges the number of nursery rhymes in this collection as five.
no lullaby text in the first edition in 1826, the following five texts of Scots lullabies are found in the second edition in 1842, accompanied with brief annotations and two with music: “He-ba-laliloo”, “Hushie-ba, burdie beeton! Your mammie’s gane to Seaton”, “Hush-a-ba, babie, lie still, lie still” (with music), “O can ye sew cushions” (with music), and “Hush-a-ba birdie, croon, croon”.

Chambers is anxious about the rapid decay of the traditional nursing style and nursery rhymes at that time (1842):

Nothing has of late been revolutionized so much as the nursery... In the realism and right-down earnest which is now demanded in the superiors of the nursery, and which mothers seek to cultivate in their own intercourse with the young, there are certain advantages; yet it is questionable (Chambers, 1842: 11).

It was in the same year that Halliwell published The Nursery Rhymes of England. Moreover, it was in 1846 that William Thoms wrote a letter to Athenaeum in which he proposes the urgent necessity of studying a new academic field with a coined term, “folklore”, as the lore of the people. The 1840s, in a sense, may be the turning decade in the social history of Britain.

According to Collinson, the remarkable collection of “Scottish nursery rhymes” following Chambers work is Alfred Moffat’s Fifty Traditional Scottish Nursery Rhymes. (1933). Moffat had a chance to access a manuscript collection of traditional Scottish airs probably written between the years 1845 and 1850, some of which were original airs collected by Chambers.

It has enabled me to furnish a number of old rhymes with their traditional melodies, many of which have been forgotten, or, at the most, now linger in the memories of only a few elderly people (Moffat, 1933: Introduction, quoted from Collinson, 1966: 157).

Consequently, this collection includes a number of texts, which are missing in Chambers.

Next, the couple, Norah and William Montgomerie, can be considered one of the greatest contributors to this subject in the twentieth century. Although their work has not

134 Here “Scottish” has the same meaning as “Scots” in Collinson’s concept.
been appreciated enough yet, their contribution to the collection of Scottish nursery rhymes and folktales seems to be as great as the work by the Opies. These two couples in Scotland and England (actually Norah Montgomerie is from England, while the father of Iona Opie is Scottish) have several similarities: they had an interest in nursery rhymes starting in the 1930s and 40s; they did not belong to any university or institute, but were independent scholars; and both husbands had a distinctive talent for literature. Therefore the Mongomeries are sometimes called "the Opies in Scotland".

At a first glance, the work of the Montgomeries might be regarded as the Scottish version of *The Oxford Dictionary* by the Opies. However the purpose of their compilation was definitely different from the Opies. In the "Introduction" of the 1946’s book, *Scottish Nursery Rhymes*, they fascinatingly state it:

Dear Scottish Nursery Rhymes . . . You will migrate, and dance in the minds and feet of children who have never seen Scotland, but will know of the country through you. You may travel across the Atlantic to America, or down under to Australia and New Zealand, where there are folk who once knew you and will welcome you. You are ambassadors (Montgomerie, 1946: 6).

The Montgomeries attempted to make Scottish nursery rhymes available to people living in other countries, as well as to Scottish children, both of whom were becoming less familiar with traditional rhymes as society was changing.

In this book, there are seven lullabies, including one accompanied by its music. Norah regrets that in those days the publisher did not appreciate their proposal for including the music to all the texts. The second book, *Sandy Candy: and Other Scottish Nursery Rhymes* (1948), was published in order to supplement the former one. Here two lullaby texts are found. And then, in a third volume, *The Hogarth Book of Scottish Nursery Rhymes* (1964), we can find seven lullabies, among which five texts have already been included in the 1946 book and one in that of 1948, although some

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135 William Montgomerie is a poet, and Peter Opie is a novelist. They have published several books apart from their works on "folklore in childhood".

136 In *Tocher 44* (1992), Margaret Bennett comprehensively introduces the works and profiles of the Montgomeries along with her interview of Norah Montgomerie.

137 This is based on private communication between the author and myself.
words are changed and some of spelling is different.

Their latest book, *Scottish Nursery Rhymes* (1985), has one new entry and five reintroduced lullaby texts. Eventually, the total number of Scottish lullabies compiled by them can be considered to number ten. The strong affection for Scottish nursery rhymes is impressively expressed in the introduction of the latest book:

That such rhymes [Chambers’s *Popular Rhymes of Scotland*] are different from the usual collection of English nursery rhymes was confirmed by Walter de la Mare’s remark to us, when he read our first collection, that his “one drop of Scottish blood began to dance” (Montgomerie, 1985: 3).

Along with their several picture books and Scottish folktale collections with many fascinating illustrations drawn by Norah herself, their contribution to the collection of “Scottish folklore in childhood” should never be undervalued.

Amongst the countless journals and periodicals on regional and local folklore in areas where people have used Scots, one of the most successful and valuable sources for academic purposes would be *Shetland Folk Book* by the Shetland Folk Society. Since 1947, nine volumes have been successively published, in which various genres of Shetland folklore have been collected and transcribed mainly by native Shetlanders.

In the first and fourth volume, five texts of traditional Shetland lullabies are compiled with music and annotations. In addition, contemporary lullabies composed in Shetland are included in the fifth volume. The society also published *Songs & Sights of Shetland* (1973) edited by Christine M Guy, a book of both traditional and composed songs by Shetlanders. Some lullabies compiled in journals are found here. For the preservation of local traditional culture, the role of this kind of local society is crucial. I will therefore not only utilize their collections, but also examine the history and contribution of this society in the ninth chapter with an interview of the former president, John Graham.

Finally, I will make reference to the latest Scots folksong collection including lullabies — the eighth and final volume of *The Greig-Duncan Folk Song Collection*

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138 It was revised in 1990, under the title, *Traditional Scottish Nursery Rhymes.*
edited by Emily B. Lyle, published in 2002. The song texts compiled in this series were collected by Gavin Greig and James B. Duncan in the first two decades of the twentieth century. This volume contains songs of parting and children’s songs, including twelve lullabies with their music, as well as general indexes, and commentaries on the whole collection.

1.1.4. Gaelic

As far as I referred, a Gaelic lullaby, <G-33a> in my collection, is first discovered in the periodical, *Transaction of Gaelic Society of Inverness* 7 (1878).

The first book of Gaelic nursery rhymes collection appears to be *Puirt mo Sheanamhahr* [Tunes of my Grandmother], edited by T.D. MacDonald and published in 1907. As the subtitle, “cronain agus puirt-altrum air son a’ chloinn-bhig [croons and nursing songs for little children]”, indicates, this small book includes various types of songs for children such as dandling songs, dancing songs, humorous songs and artistically composed lullabies, as well as traditional lullabies. Amongst the twenty-one texts, four are probably traditional lullabies.¹³⁹ The music is omitted.

Following this, a remarkable compilation was undertaken by Frances Tolmie and published as *Journal of the Folk-song Society* No.16, in 1911. In the introduction, the characteristic feature of this volume is described as:

The songs in this *Journal* which represent but a small section from Miss Tolmie’s mass of Gaelic memories and lore, have not only been skilfully taken down, translated and annotated by a Hebridean familiar with Highland Song from earliest infancy, but have received the valuable commentary of another Highlander, Dr. George Henderson . . . (Broadwood, Lucy E. 1911: v).

After some general information about the traits of Hebridean folksongs, mainly from a musicological viewpoint, twenty-two “cradle songs” are compiled along with their music. Each text has Gaelic words, an English translation, and an annotation concerning its origin, relevant texts, and so on. This volume can give us a grand perspective of the

¹³⁹ This consideration is mainly based on the suggestion by my supervisor in the Scottish and Celtic Studies, Morag MacLeod.
cultural characteristics of Gaelic lullabies.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, another monumental work, not only in terms of Gaelic children’s folksongs but also in terms of Gaelic folksongs as a whole, was revealed: Marjory Kennedy-Fraser’s *Songs of the Hebrides* has been successively published in three volumes dating 1909, 1917, and 1921 respectively.

Her compilation includes eight Gaelic lullaby texts with English translation and music for both vocal and a piano or a harp accompaniment. None of them appear in the above *Journal*. It is notable that, contrary to the *Journal*, she arranges both words and tunes, or revises them into more “artistic” piece, which may have contributed to introducing the aesthetic value of Gaelic song to the outsider. However, her arrangement also diminishes the original tastes of the Gael and the academic value for folkloristic study, therefore we should pay attention to the arrangement when using this book as a literary source.

Margaret Fay Shaw’s *Folksongs and Folklore of South Uist* (1955) could be regarded as one of the most successful achievements in terms of folksong compilation within a certain limited area. It also involves the everyday lives of local people, religious customs, folktales, ballads, superstitions, proverbs, and such matters. Shaw introduces twelve lullaby texts from South Uist sung in Gaelic accompanied with the music, an English translation, and an annotation in which she notes the singers’ names and the previous appearance of each text. One text is found in *Journal of the Folk-Song Society* No.16, and another one is included in *Songs of the Hebrides*.

In his six volumes of *Carmina Gadelica* (vol.1-2 published in 1900, vol.3 in 1940, vol.4 in 1941, vol.5 in 1954, and vol.6 in 1971), Alexander Carmichael gathers enormous numbers of Gaelic hymns and incantations together. In the fifth volume of this series, dozens of lullabies connected with fairy belief are introduced, accompanied by some legends and folktales. These texts were examined in detail in the sixth chapter, “The Cosmological Background of Fairy Lullabies”.

Finally, I will introduce three booklets compiled for practical use. First, *A Selection of Scottish Gaelic Songs* (1990) edited by The School of Scottish Studies is the one originally compiled for the lecture course, “Scottish Ethnology 1”. Amongst the various
twenty-eight of various kinds of Gaelic songs, seven texts are considered lullabies (texts 10, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, and 23). One can listen to the original voices singing these songs with a cassette-tape recording produced at the same time.

Next, Caidil Gu Seimh [Sleep Gently] (1991) was compiled by Alma NicShimidh and Alasdair Barr, both of whom are music teachers in Lewis, for the purpose of teaching school children Gaelic songs and, more extensively, Gaelic on the whole. Here there are thirty lullaby texts with music. It is regrettable for academics that, since the compilers give no annotations about the source of each text, it is difficult for non-experts of the Gaelic tradition to distinguish the traditional lullabies from those recently composed.140

A third source, Bruce Campbell’s Orain Nan Gaidheal [An Anthology of Favourite Gaelic Songs] vol.3: Gaelic sea songs, lullabies and others (1993), seems to have a more specific purpose: publication for the National Mod. The National Mod has helped revive and rebuild Gaelic music and literary art in Highland society. I discussed this issue in detail in the ninth chapter. Competitors joining this annual event have needed handy, proper textbooks. This booklet was published to meet this purpose. There are thirty-nine Gaelic songs with English translations and music by using sol-fa notation. Like the former booklet, the compiler does not mention the source of the texts introduced there.141

1.1.5. Japanese

I will move on to discuss textual compilations of Japanese lullabies. Shōtarō Sakurai asserts that the earliest recorded text of Japanese lullabies is the following verse: “mimoro-wa hito-no moru-yama, motobe-wa ashibi-hana-saki urabe-wa tsubaki-hana-saku, urakuwashi-yama-zo nakuko-moru-yama [Mt. Mimoro is a holy mountain that defends people. Japanese andromedas are in bloom at the foot. Camellias are in bloom at the top. What a beautiful mountain it is! It’s a holy mountain, which defends crying babies. (English translation by Uno)]” (Sakurai, 1948: 53). The text is found in the Man-yō-shū, the oldest collection of Japanese verse consisting of thirteen volumes compiled by Yakamochi Ōtomo and others at the end of the eighth century. It is not impossible to

140 MacLeod considers that thirteen texts are likely to be traditional lullabies of the thirty compiled into this booklet.

141 Only four are probably traditional lullabies, according to MacLeod.
consider this verse as a lullaby from the point of view of the motif, but it remains uncertain.

Meanwhile, Masahiro Manabe proclaims that the earliest record of Japanese lullabies is "Neire Neire Kobōshi [Go to sleep, Go to sleep, Little Baby]" in Shōtoku-taishi-den, the biography of Shōtoku-taishi, a legendary Japanese prince in the sixth and seventh centuries, probably written at the beginning of the fourteenth century. The lullaby was initially discussed in an article by Mareo Okada, "Kamakura-jidai-makki-no Komori-uta [A Lullaby at The End of The Kamakura Era]" (1927). Okada considers that the lullaby was popular with the local people at the end of the Kamakura Era.¹⁴²

Systematical compilation of nursery rhymes and children's songs including lullabies, has been successively undertaken after the eighteenth century. According to Akio Obara, a leading scholar of Japanese children's songs, the first collection of Japanese nursery rhymes and children's songs, called warabe-uta in Japanese, seems to be the Fude-no-kasu [Rubbish] (c.1704) edited by Gigaku Noma (Obara, 1991: 14). Only a fragment transcribed into a magazine in the fourth decade of this century still remains now. Noma was a samurai-warrior living in Inaba (Tottori Prefecture today). Like Halliwell, he is said to have written this book when he was in his twenties, although the reason why he attempted it is unknown. There are thirty-five texts including four lullabies, twelve game-playing songs, three songs about weather, seven animal songs, and ten word-play songs.¹⁴³

Next, Gyôchi Shaku's Dôyô-Shû [Nursery Rhyme Collection] (c.1820) is proclaimed as the earliest collection of warabe-uta that still exists. Shaku, a Buddhist priest and scholar of ancient Sanskrit, was born in 1778 and lived in Edo (the old name for Tokyo). In this book, he divides four lullabies into the following three types according to the purpose: nesase-uta [songs for lulling a child], mezame-uta [songs for a child who has just woken up, narrative songs], and asobase-uta [songs for amusing a child and play-songs]. This division has strongly influenced the following compilers of this subject.

¹⁴² In Chapter 6, I discussed the cosmological background of this lullaby in detail.

¹⁴³ Concerning this and the following three collections, I referred to Obara's laborious work, Kinsei Dôyô-Dôyô-Shû [Nursery Rhymes and Children's Game Collection in Pre-modern Japan], 1991.
After the Meiji Restoration, the new Japanese government attempted to change not only political and economical institution but also the social system and Japanese culture into something more Western. However, in contrast to this trend towards Westernization, some people tried to preserve traditional culture from decay or from transformation during the Meiji Era (1868-1912). The following two collections of nursery rhymes and children’s songs were undertaken by compilers who shared such a motivation: Azumaryūkō Jidai-kodomo-uta [Popular Children’s Songs of East Japan in Past Times] (1894) by Konseki Okamoto, and “Songs of Japanese Children” in A Japanese Miscellany (1901) by Lafcadio Hearn.

Okamoto, the son of a samurai-warrior, compiled two hundred and forty-three texts of nursery rhymes, and the songs and verses transmitted by children living in and around Tokyo before the Restoration. Facing radical political and social changes, he was worried about the disappearance of "old and good days", so that he recollected nursery rhymes and children's songs in his childhood and compiled them into this book. Curiously his motivation is quite similar to Chambers, the compiler of Popular Rhymes of Scotland (1826). He divides them into eleven types, including “lullabies”, in which six texts are introduced. All of them are regarded as nesase-uta [songs for lulling a child to sleep] and several dandling songs and the songs for amusing children are categorized into different types.

Hearn was an Irishman born in Greece and brought up in Ireland and England. He worked as a journalist in the United States in his youth, and lived in Japan for the last fourteen years of his life with his Japanese wife, Setsu, and four children. He loved Japanese traditional culture no less than the Japanese people themselves. He attempted to introduce traditional Japanese culture such as its superstitions, folklore and legends, to Western people through the series of volumes including the one mentioned above. In the section, “Songs of Japanese Children”, he divides them into six genres: songs of weather and sky, songs about animals, miscellaneous play-songs, narrative songs, “battledoor” (hane-tsuki in Japanese) and ball songs, and finally lullabies. As an introduction, he notes some features of Japanese lullabies concerning their motifs and vocables, which will be reviewed later on. Following this, twenty-two lullaby texts from different regions written in the Latin alphabet, are introduced with English translations and some annotations, but
without music.

Turning to the Shōwa Era (1926-1989), several genuine collections that are valuable to scholars appeared. First, *Nihon Dōyō Min'yō Kyoku-shū [Japanese Children’s Song and Folksong Collection]* 2 vols. (1933 & 1934) edited by Hiroshima Kōshi Fuzoku Shōgakkō Ongaku Kenkyū-bu [Music Teachers’ Society of the Primary School attached to Hiroshima College of Education] is the first compilation of Japanese nursery rhymes and children’s songs from a musicological viewpoint. All of the six hundred and fifty-eight texts, including forty lullabies, are accompanied by their music transcribed mainly by local musicologists. The aim of this collection was to develop the national education through singing folksongs and traditional nursery rhymes. The publication of these two volumes corresponded with militaristic nationalism in Japan. The editors criticize music education since the Meiji Era (1868-1912) that it had respected Western music too much, and suppressed Japanese music in saying that it was harmful to children. They demand change from such “Western-centrism”, and an appreciation of Japanese music.

It is interesting that Robert Burns is introduced as the person who succeeded in remaking the folksong of an “unknown” country, Scotland, into an immortal international song. “Hotaru-no-hikari [Firefly’s Light], originally entitled ‘Auld Lang Syne’” is used as an example in the preface to the above work (Hiroshima, 1934: iv). The compilers hope their collection will achieve something in the same line as Burns’ achievement.

Next, an ambitious project to collect Japanese traditional children’s songs was undertaken by Hakushū Kitahara, one of the best-known poets of modern Japan, who wrote a great number of poems for children and translated a number of “Mother Goose” rhymes into Japanese. After his death in 1945, the first of six successive volumes was completed and published by his students in 1947, entitled *Nihon Denshō Dōyō Shūsei [Japanese Traditional Nursery Rhyme Collection]* vol.1, *Komori-uta [The Lullaby]*. Here 3,448 lullaby texts are introduced and divided into eight sections based on geographical diffusion. The compilers did not only refer to enormous amount of literary sources over the past three centuries, but also undertook a grand-scale survey. We can consider that this is one of the most crucial compilations concerning this subject, except for the fact that there is no music.

In the 1970s, the period of post-development of the economy and of industry, when
the Japanese people started rethinking about what they had lost with all this radical social change, another crucial project to collect traditional nursery rhymes and children’s songs was announced and realized in the form of the publication, *Nihon Warabe-uta Zenshū [A Grand Collection of Japanese Nursery Rhymes and Children’s Songs]*, 28 vols, (1979-1992). This collection, led by Kenji Asano and three other leading scholars, and contributed to by over a dozen local folklorists and musicologists acting as researchers or compilers, is divided into twenty-eight volumes according to various prefectures in Japan, and includes 915 lullaby texts, each of which is accompanied by annotations and music. It also covers seven lullaby texts transmitted amongst the Ainu, a minority people living in Hokkaidō, the northern-most island of Japan. Since this collection seems to be the most reliable reference source based on contemporary, nationwide research, the Japanese literary textual analysis in the present study will mainly be quoted from this.

Finally, I will introduce a music book, titled *Nihon-no Komori-uta 50 Kyoku-shū [A Collection of Fifty Japanese Lullabies]* (1980), edited by Akio Obara. In this music book, Obara compiles fifty lullabies selected both for their geographic distribution, and for their aesthetic and educational value. He basically chooses one text from each prefecture in Japan, which consists of forty-eight prefectures. Here so-called *moriko-uta* [nurserymaid songs] are excluded, since he was worried about people’s misunderstanding that most of the famous and popular Japanese lullabies are *moriko-uta* because they have had a dominant part of commercialized record albums of Japanese lullaby collection, “despite the fact that in every region there are a number of peaceful, beautiful, warm and genuine *komori-uta* which will foster children’s aesthetic minds” (Obara, 1980: 1, English translation by Uno). He states that the main purpose of his compilation is to hand it out to mothers who hardly remember the traditional lullabies of their home region. He appeals to them, “Please let your sweet babies and children listen to you singing lullabies” (ibid: 2). Each text includes words and music arranged for solo vocal and piano, followed by concise annotations.

1.1.6. Summary

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144 Several volumes actually consist of "Jo-kan [a former volume]" and "Ge-kan [a latter volume], so that the total number of volumes amounts to thirty-five.
By surveying lullaby anthology and other compilations, we can recognise several features about the present situation of this subject. First, the number of texts collected and compiled into printed materials is distinctly different among the three languages considered: Scots, Gaelic and Japanese lullabies. The Montgomeries' first book in 1946 had been the largest compilation of Scots lullabies and the number is only seven. The *Greig-Duncan Folk Song Collection* vol.8 published in 2002 became the largest one to date but the number is still only twelve. Concerning Gaelic lullabies, *Caidil Gu Seimh [Sleep Gently]* (1991) contains thirty texts accompanied by music, although several non-traditional songs are included, whereas the *Journal of the Folk-song Society* No.16 (1911) includes twenty-two “cradle songs”. The nationwide, systematic research of Japanese lullabies has contributed to great deal of textual compilation: 3,448 in *Nihon Denshô Dōyō Shûsei [The Japanese Traditional Nursery Rhyme Collection]* vol.1, *Komori-uta [The Lullaby]*, first published in 1947; and 915 in *Nihon Warabe-uta Zenshû [A Grand Collection of Japanese Nursery Rhymes and Children’s Songs]*, 28 vols, published in 1979-1992.

However, such differences do not mean that there have been a small number of lullabies transmitted in Scotland in comparison to Japan. For, in the Card Catalogue of the Sound Archive of the Celtic and Scottish Studies at the University of Edinburgh [SA], I discovered at least fifty-five Scots texts and some hundreds of Gaelic songs, which will be listed in Appendix 3, “List of Lullaby Texts in Sound Archive Collection in the Celtic and Scottish Studies”, some of which will be used for this study. Further systematic nationwide, research must reveal a much greater tradition of singing lullabies in Scotland than presently documented. Concerning this study, the comparative shortage of textual compilation of Scots and Gaelic lullabies led me to undertake my own fieldwork for the collection of original materials as well as deliberate consultation in the SA for a long period of time. In Chapter 2 and 3 of main text, such things were introduced and analysed.

Secondly, we can observe two types of collector or editorial aim for the publication of nursery rhyme and lullaby books: for academic purposes as such producing materials for archives; and for the practical matter of lulling or amusing children. In Japan, the former is distinctly more prominent than the later as the two grand collections, the *Shûsei* and *Zenshû* indicate. This fact may suggest that traditional Japanese lullabies are no
longer regarded as “living, useful materials” for young mothers and their children, but as “dead archives” for historians, folklorists and ethno-musicologists.

In Scotland, on the other hand, the books categorised into the latter type, and frequently accompanied by attractive illustrations and pictures, are popular, whereas there are very few academic compilations. It may be related to the underdevelopment of the study of children’s folklore in this country mentioned at the beginning of the first chapter. Needless to say, it is desirable that both types of publication will flourish in the future.

Thirdly, looking through the various textual compilations, we can discover differences in categorisation of lullabies among the three languages. In general, a lullaby is categorised into a type of nursery rhyme or children’s song. Most Scots and Japanese song compilations adopt this categorization. However, in the majority of Gaelic compilations, lullabies are independent of nursery rhymes or children’s songs, and categorised into a kind of labour (occupational) song. Moreover, it sometimes appears in the genre of “fairy songs” or “narrative songs”. Japanese scholars such as Goichi Matsunaga and Keisuke Akamatsu insist that there are a number of Japanese lullabies not categorised into “children’s songs” but into “labour songs” or “women’s songs”, as discussed in the next section.

Related to my division of “folklore in childhood” discussed in the first chapter, lullabies as a type of nursery rhyme should be regarded as “folklore for children”, but lullabies as a type of labour song should be regarded as “folklore surrounding children”. Such differences in categorisation will become one of the crucial elements in discussing the function of singing lullabies.
1.2. Folkloristic and Historical Perspectives

It is not easy to explicitly define what the folkloristic perspective is, what the historical perspective is, or the difference between them. A lullaby, needless to say, has a close connection with other types of folksong and folklore, such as other forms of nursery rhyme, songs and rhymes made and transmitted by children, adult folksongs, ballads, folktales, legends, myths, and so on. In addition, a lullaby deeply reflects the so-called “folk-life”, i.e. the traditional ways of everyday life like nursing styles, nursing equipment, children’s clothes and food, and the work done by the child’s parents and family. In brief, the folkloristic perspective corresponds to the investigation of the cultural and social situation.

The historical perspective, on the other hand, as I define it, means the investigation of such historical background as the origin, diffusion, change and transformation, and decay, disappearance or revival of lullabies. However, these two perspectives are often mixed together within a single critical essay. As such, I will review them together here in the division of Scottish and Japanese articles.

In addition, we should note that, since I have come across very few articles on Scots lullabies from these perspectives, I will mainly review articles dealing with Gaelic lullabies.

1.2.1. Scottish

Looking through several articles discussing folkloristic and historical features of Gaelic lullabies, we can divide their arguments into six topics: (a) categorisation, (b) classification, (c) vocables, (d) connection with Si or fairies, (e) theme and motif, and (f) links with other types of song.

1.2.1.1. Categorisation

James Ross, for example, categorises Gaelic lullabies as “Occupational Songs”, along with milking songs, palming or clapping songs, rowing songs and spinning songs (Ross, 1957: 136). Francis Collinson also considers them to be “Gaelic Labour Songs”
(Collinson, 1966: 87-91). Curiously their categorisation contrasts strongly with the categorization of English lullabies, which have been usually categorised as a type of nursery rhyme or children’s song. As I discussed before, a lullaby has two faces: a song of childcare; and a song for the child itself. The judgment as to which is predominant over the other will affect the criterion of this categorisation. But there are some other influential elements. Ross states that his categorisation is based on four criteria such as the theme, the structure, the folk aetiology, and the song’s function. Is his categorisation acceptable not only for Gaelic lullabies but also for other lullabies in different cultural areas? We will examine this issue as it relates to Japanese lullabies.

1.2.1.2. Classification

Morag MacLeod presents her classification of Gaelic lullabies dividing them into four types:145 (1) long songs, of more than 4 verses; (2) short songs, with repetition, including what may have been milking songs originally; (3) songs which have been given the name Taladh which were composed by semi-professional bards, for heirs of clan chiefs, or other important personages (these may be ignored as part of the genre, however, as they would not have been used as lullabies); and (4) modern “composed” songs, which are sentimental and are usually composed by men, “lack spontaneity”. Types (1) to (3) will be the direct object of our present study. How does the length of a song relate to the content, subject, or the origin? We should testify these relationships not only in the case of Gaelic lullabies, but also those in the other two languages. Moreover, it will be important in the present study to investigate the role of semi-professional bards in the creation and transmission of Gaelic lullabies.

1.2.1.3. Vocable

The use of particular vocables is regarded by several researchers as one of the specific features of Gaelic lullabies. Francis Collinson, for instance, points out “the use of conventional vocables for soothing and endearment, characteristic of the Gaelic

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145 She introduced me her idea written in handout during our supervisory meeting on 21 August, 1998.
language. Examples include ‘O bà, O bà’ (cf. Lowland Scots ‘Baloo’), ‘Mo leanabh’ (my child), ‘mo chéile’ (my husband or wife, companion), and ‘Gille beag’ (little boy); and by the frequent exhortation of ‘Dian cadalan’ (go to sleep)” (Collinson, 1966: 87).

Alan Bruford introduces some “shushing sounds” in Irish lullabies like ‘seo hin’, ‘seo hu leo’, and the “sheep-like” ones in Scottish Gaelic and Scots lullabies like ‘ba hu’, ‘baloo’. He interprets the origin of those different types of vocables as follows:

One cannot perhaps say definitely that Gaelic borrowed it from Scots, but since Scots combinations as hishie-ba and ba-lillie are obviously related to English hushabye and lullaby itself, it seems likely that ba belonged to Anglo-Saxon and seo to Gaelic originally (Bruford, 1978: 4).

It would be worthwhile here to refer to the etymology and history of vocables in English lullabies outlined by the Opies: (1) ‘hushaby’ is after 1700; (2) ‘hush’ is after the sixteenth century, with the back-formation of husht; (3) ‘babby’ retains the old pronunciation of baby; (4) ‘rockaby’ is unrecorded in Oxford English Dictionary; (5) ‘rock’ is ancient, even in association with rocking the cradle; (6) ‘bye’ means sleep, and dates from at least the fifteenth century; (7) ‘lulla’ is the earliest quiescent word in cradle song; (8) ‘lollai’ is noted in an Anglo-Irish song (c.1315); and (9) ‘lullay’ is seen in John de Grimstone’s manuscript of 1372 (Opie, 1951: 6).

F. M. McNeill suggests that such Gaelic vocables as ‘ba-ba’, ‘ba-loo’, ‘hi-o-ho-ro’, ‘o-ah-o-ah’ have had a magical function:

... these nonsense rhymes may have been used magically. Traces of the belief in the lullaby as a charm to protect from enchantment linger in the Hebrides (McNeill, 1949: 16).

Her interpretation may be backed up both by the existence of incantations and prayers for protection compiled in the Carmina Gadelica by Alexander Carmichael, and by a Gaelic lullaby known as “MacLeod’s Lullaby”, which has been sung by foster-mothers of the clan MacLeod for their heirs to protect them from evil spirits. It is accompanied by a legend, according to Tolmie, which goes as follows:

One day in the island of Skye, many centuries ago, a woman of wonderful
aspect — in point of fact a fairy or “banshee” — appeared suddenly at the door of Dunvegan, the castle of Macleod of Macleod. She entered the castle without invitation, and went straight into the room where the infant heir lay asleep in his cradle. Taking him in her arms, she sang a song, of which the foregoing verses are only a fragment. Then, laying him down, she passed out of the castle, and vanished over the moor as mysteriously as she had come. Her fairy lullaby was ever after regarded as a charm to protect the young heir of Macleod from every evil (Tolmie, 1911: 176).

1.2.1.4. Connection with Si

In relation to the above interpretation of McNeill and the suggestion of Tolmie, Breandan O’Madagain attempts to propose the special function of Gaelic lullabies in his article, “Gaelic Lullaby: a Charm to Protect the Baby?” in Scottish Studies 29 (1989). According to him, although there are two such functions of lullabies in general — (1) to lull the baby to sleep, (2) to express the mother’s love for her baby — Gaelic lullabies have two other functions: (3) “soothing a cross or a sick child”, and (4) “a charm to protect the baby from being abducted by the Si/Sithichean” (O’Madagain, 1989: 29). He focuses on the fourth function.

At the outset, he traces who the Si are, how people have thought about the Si and how people’s attitude towards them changed historically. He describes them as “the gods of pre-Christian Celtic Ireland”; dwellers “in an otherworld palace under the hills and prehistoric mounds” and that “when someone died they went into the company of the gods or the Si”. He says that “the Si had the power to abduct humans prematurely, either babies or adults” and that “a mother would fear that her baby might be stolen by them, and a deformed changeling left in its place” (ibid: 29).

He develops his interpretation in the following sequence: (a) magic charms had been used as a protection against the Si, (b) there are both material charms and verbal charms, (c) some lullabies refer to abduction, (d) music had been considered as a supernatural instrument of power and associated with the gods or the Si, (e) vocables in lullabies have a formula like in a magic chant, and (f) vocables might remain in the original or primitive style of lullabies, by extension, of songs or music. Eventually, he proposes the possibility of the fourth function, i.e. that the lullaby is a charm to protect the baby from the Si.

He admits that some doubts about his hypothesis are left: there is little living evidence in the Gealtacht, and there are no references in written accounts from the
seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. Nevertheless, his hypothesis is still supported by the following two pieces of evidence: “the Bressay Lullaby”, a Scots lullaby transmitted in the Shetland Isles, in which the following phrase likely suggests this function, “Go away, peerie fairy, from my baby”; and by Japanese lullabies, in which a similar linguistic structure to the verbal charm is discovered.146 His consideration was reassessed in terms of both the Gaelic and Japanese context in the sixth chapter of this paper.

As a forerunner to O’Madagain, it would be worthwhile to introduce the assumption of McNeill. She points to the fact that many ancient Scottish songs, including lullabies, are “reputed to be of fairy origin”, and inquires, “who are the fairies?”:

They were originally either nature-spirits conceived in the imagination of animistic man, or the spirits of the dead. By the Middle Ages, however, this conception had merged in the popular mind with the folk memory of a small-statured people, the Neolithic and Bronze Age folk, who at one time inhabited the British Isles and many parts of the Continent (McNeill, 1949: 15).

She suggests the connection between the little imaginary men who live in green mounds, or a dwarfish population, and the Laplanders.

Next, the influence of Norse culture is discussed, based on the evidence that “there are about half-a-dozen what which have the same sort of neighing refrain” (ibid: 15), which are related to the “kelpie” or water-horse legend in the Norse:

The poor kelpie, or water-horse, forsaken by his brown-haired Morag, neighs his child to sleep. Matthew Arnold’s “Forsaken Merman” is based on this legend, which is popular throughout Scandinavia (ibid: 16).

Her assumption concerning the Scandinavian influence on fantastic Gaelic folk-narrative seems to be an interesting topic, although there is no space for discussing it in this paper. Collinson (1966: 88) and Alan Bruford discuss the connection of lullabies with supernatural or fantastic folk-narrative as follows: “many lullabies both in Ireland and Scotland are associated with fairy stories” (Bruford, 1978: 5). I discussed the connection with supernatural or fantastic folk-narrative in the sixth chapter.

146 This argument is the one proposed by Yoshihiko Ikegami, a Japanese linguist. I will review his article in the fourth section of this chapter.
1.2.1.5. Theme and Motif

The themes and motifs have been regarded as another remarkable element in Gaelic lullabies. McNeill, for example, indicates that Hebridean lullabies have the following motifs: augury, blandishments, bribes, a singer's own anxiety, the description of the natural environment, pride of birth (pride as the son of a clan), and so forth. Ross, meanwhile, point outs two specific motifs: laments by a widowed father or mother, and eulogies visualized as a grown warrior.

Collinson, following McNeill and Ross, states, "Sometimes a Gaelic lullaby is interwoven with a lament for the death of the infant's father, of which the best known is 'Griogal Cridhe'" (Collinson, 1966: 87), "Sometimes the Gaelic lullaby prophesies great deeds for the infant when he grows up" (ibid: 88). Moreover, Bruford discusses fairy songs, carols, and eulogies and laments (both of which are related to a clan system) as relevant subjects for Gaelic lullabies (Bruford, 1978: 5).

Here we might summarize their statements and divide the motifs into the following types: (a) the natural environment, (b) augury and prophecy, (c) blandishments and bribes, (d) eulogies and pride of birth, (e) a singer's own anxiety, particularly laments, and (f) some motifs linked to fairies or other supernatural beings. The clan system and the abundance of fantastic folk narrative (so-called "fairy tales") are pointed out as the social and cultural background.

1.2.1.6. Link with Other Types of Song

Ross discusses the inter-relationship with other occupational songs such as rowing songs, waulking songs and spinning songs (1957: 145). Following him, Collinson states, "As with the waulking songs, some of the lullabies seem to have served a dual purpose, that of being used for iorram (rowing songs) or rather, to put it a better way round, that some of the iorram were also used as lullabies" (1966: 88). She interprets the reason of this inter-relationship: "a song for the swing of the oars would suit equally well the slow rocking of an infant in its mother's arms" (ibid: 88-89).

Bruford, furthermore, adds milking songs to the list of songs linked with lullabies
It would be easy to agree, since milking songs have a regular rhythm that would be suitable also for rocking a child.

1.2.2. Japanese

1.2.2.1. motif

The earliest analysis of Japanese lullabies from folkloristic and historical perspective seems to be undertaken by Lafcadio Hearn (1901), as far as I know. He discusses the general feature of motifs in Japanese lullabies as such:

> Whether narrative or jingle, sense or nonsense, the verses usually contain some reference to those familiar things in which the child-mind discovers cause for wonder: horses or cows, trees or flowers, the moon and the stars, birds or butterflies, sights on the street or garden. Often the lullaby represents the reiteration of one term of caress, alternated with promises of reward for docility, and the threatened penalties are not to be inflicted by the mother, but by some bogey or goblin having power to punish naughty children (Hearn, 1901: 2).

Paraphrasing the above, Japanese lullabies in general have the following features in respect of motifs: the natural environment, promises of reward for docility, the threatened penalties by a bogey or goblin for naughty children.

1.2.2.2. Vocable

Following this, Hearn points to the similarity between the vocables of Japanese and southern French lullabies. Japanese lullabies are frequently associated with the vocables, nenne or neneko, while southern French ones have nene, nenna or nono. "But", he interprets, “of course there is no real etymological relation between the French nene and Japanese neneko”:

> The Japanese phrase, neneko, is compounded with a syllable of the verb neru, signifying to sleep; a syllable of the word nenne or nenrei meaning baby; and the word ko, meaning child. "Sleep, baby-child" is the real meaning of the expression (ibid: 203).
Although his analysis seems to be reasonable, it might also be possible to interpret the origin of this vocable in a different way. That is to say *nennen* in Japanese lullabies was not a collapsing or colloquial form of "neru [sleep]" but originally a simple soothing voice, *nen-nen-nen* or *nin-nin-nin*, which might be shared in some parts of South and East Asia as well as the Mediterranean areas. This interpretation was discussed in the fourth chapter of the main text in detail.

1.2.2.3. Classification

Since the initial work by Hearn, several studies of Japanese lullabies from folkloristic and historical perspectives have been attempted. It seems that academic interest in lullabies has been mainly directed to the classification and the social background of *moriko-uta* [nurse-maid songs].

The classification of Japanese lullabies started with Shaku’s pioneering collection, *Dōyō-shū* (1820). As noted before, he classified them into three types according to purpose: *nesase-uta* [songs for lulling a child], *mezame-uta* [songs for a child who has just woken up], and *asobase-uta* [songs for amusing a child and play-songs].

After the twentieth century, several folklorists attempt to classify them in a different way. Kunio Yanagita divides Japanese lullabies into two types according to their age and function (Yanagita, 1926/1998: 108). His idea was succeeded by a more systematic categorization by Noboru Ushiyama (Ushiyama, 1972: 268). The older type is discovered in the folksong collections published in the Edo Era (1603-1867). Concerning form, it has 7-5-7-5 syllable pattern and it is normally longer than the younger type. The most remarkable distinction is that lullabies categorised as the older type are sung for the sake of the child. In addition, according to Yanagita, they are sung not only for babies but also for elder children as a kind of entertainment or education.

The younger type of Japanese lullaby appeared for the first time in the Meiji Era (1868-1912). They consist of the 7-7-7-5 syllable pattern and correspond to *moriko-uta* [nurse-maid songs]. Yanagita explains the historical background to them in the following way; the singer of this type was originally a nurse-maid girl, called *moriko*, *mori* or *komori-musume*, in Japanese. She was employed by a richer farmer or merchant. She sang this type of lullaby not for the child, but for the purpose of *kuchi-susabi* [releasing
frustration], as she had the child on her back.

Hence, the following topics are chosen as motifs: the grief of the singer’s misfortune and her hard job; the accusation of other nurse-maids or her host family; and irritation at the child’s unwillingness to sleep. Moreover, these songs include various phrases probably borrowed from other types of folksong like kobiki-uta [sawing songs], jokō-no-uta [female labourer songs], and ozashiki-uta [the entertaining songs sung by geisha hostess in places of amusement]. Yanagita’s interpretation of the inter-relationship between lullabies and other types of folksong seems to be more valid in the case of comparison with Gaelic society and the “occupational songs (or labour songs)” already reviewed.

Masahiro Iwai proposes a kind of compromise between Shaku and Yanagita (Iwai, 1999). He divides the older type defined by Yanagita into nemurase-uta and asobase-uta, both of which are based on Shaku’s classification, so that Japanese lullabies, according to Iwai, consist of nemurase-uta, asobase-uta and moriko-uta, as I have stated in the first chapter (see p.12).

Meanwhile, Isao Migita discusses the context of Japanese lullabies focusing on their singers and listeners. Based on the identity of the singer, the purpose of singing and the content of the texts (motifs and themes), he classifies komori-uta into four categories and sixteen groups. See Table 1.2.2.3. (English translation by Migita, except the one within square brackets which is by Uno).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>category</th>
<th>group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| A. directly making-sleep lullabies [direct sleep-inducing] | 1. repeating lullabies  
2. guarding lullabies  
3. praising lullabies  
4. rewarding lullabies  
5. threatening lullabies  
6. reasoning lullabies |
| B. indirectly making-sleep lullabies [indirect sleep-inducing] | 7. family lullabies  
8. story-telling lullabies  
9. lyric lullabies  
10. word-playing lullabies  
11. monologue lullabies |
| C. nurse-children’s songs [nurse-maid songs] | 12. sighing lullabies  
13. opposing lullabies  
14. nurse-children’s own game songs [nurse-maid’s game songs for themselves] |
1.2.2.4. The Social Background of Nurse-Maid Songs

The analysis of *moriko-uta* [nurse-maid songs] undertaken by Yanagita has been enveloped and deepened by his successors. In his book, *Nihon-no Komori-uta* [*Japanese Lullabies*] (1959), Goichi Matsunaga attempts to unveil the history of Japanese women as the darker side of modernization and capitalism in Japan, through the analysis of *moriko-uta* [nurse-maid songs]. He focuses on the singers, asking: who sang them? what did they think of? when did they composed them?

He suggests that Japanese women, particularly, unmarried women and girls from poor families had severe conditions enforced on them. They had to choose from the following three jobs: *jokô* [female labourers], *jorô* [prostitutes] and *jochû* [maids]. Based on such a view of history, he discusses the context of these sad and gloomy Japanese lullabies both in terms of their tunes and their lyrics.

According to Matsunaga, most Japanese lullabies were composed in the last two centuries, which corresponded to the period of modernization in Japan. A great number of women who had to put up with poverty or hard jobs released their frustration and despair by singing lullabies and some other songs. As a result, their depression made their lullabies sad and gloomy. His interpretation perhaps covers one of the important social contexts.

Erick Eiichi Masuyama, following Matsunaga, attempts to clarify one of the functions of *moriko-uta* [nurse-maid songs] based on Bascom’s theory of the four functions of folklore (Masuyama, 1989). Focusing on “Itsuki-no komori-uta [A Lullaby from Itsuki village]”, one of the best-known *moriko-uta*, he investigates the *komori-bôkô* custom as the social background, and discusses the relationship between the conditions

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147 In Japanese, *jo* means woman.

148 He does not take the older type of lullabies categorized by Yanagita into consideration.
endured by nurse-maids and the creation of this lullaby:

*Komori-bōkō* is the custom in which teen-age girls, usually of poor families, who are too young to be live-in housemaids, serve a wealthy family as live-in nannies to look after new-born babies... No matter how hard it was to be a nanny, how badly girls were treated, and how much they wanted to go back home, they were never permitted to talk back or complain because of the feudalistic idea of absolute submission of a servant to his or her master. Yet they showed as much resistance as they could in the form of lullabies... Lullabies thus have become a vehicle to say what was unsayable in public in order to release their feelings of desire and discontent (ibid: 146-147).

Masuyama’s case study proves the Bascom’s theory that one of the functions of traditional oral expression is to allow us to say what is otherwise unsayable in society in order to release our feelings of desire and discontent (Bascom, 1954: 346). Furthermore, Masuyama stresses the abundance of *moriko-uta* and “the life history of girls victimized by the custom of *Komori-bōkō*” (ibid: 148). However, the relationship between the *komori-bōkō* custom and the singing of *moriko-uta* proposed by him seems to be too simple. Also, it is doubtful whether the function of singing *moriko-uta* is exclusively to release feelings of desire and discontent. This issue was re-assessed in the seventh chapter of the present thesis, based on other previous studies, and also on my own fieldwork.

Norio Akasaka’s *Komori-uta-no Tanjō [Birth of The Lullaby] (1994)* is another remarkable approach to *moriko-uta*. Akasaka attempts to identify the origin of “*Itsuki-no komori-uta*”, the same text as Masuyama uses, inspired by the thoughts presented by Matsunaga. His motivation is concisely described in the abstract (translated into English by Uno):

> Why on earth is the Japanese lullaby covered with "a dark shadow"? Where does its heavy and humid atmosphere come from? I will discuss a type of lullaby, like “*Itsuki-no komori-uta*”, sorrowfully sung by numerous nurse-maid girls; their voices perhaps come from the darkest depths of Japanese society after modernization. Through analysing the text and context of Itsuki's lullaby, I will draw a forgotten landscape in the history of Japanese mentality. (Akasaka, 1994: coverpage)

Based on a comprehensive analysis of previous studies, including that of Matsunaga, a
number of historical writings, and the lullaby text itself, he suggests that Itsuki-no komori-uta was composed between the final decade of the nineteenth century and the twenties of the last century by daughters of yama-shi [forest keepers].

They were from the Kishū-region (now Wakayama Prefecture), stayed in one place for several years, and moved on to another place after finishing their job. Their families had to follow them and stay in the village near the forest where the yama-shi worked. The daughters struggled to work at various hard jobs, including nursing the babies of others. According to Akasaka, the text was probably adapted from a kobiki-uta [sawing song] transmitted in the Kishū-region.

Although his interpretation still leaves some doubt, the methodology adopted in this study will be useful for the contextual analysis of lullabies.

1.2.2.5. Other Approaches

There are two distinguished folkloristic and historical studies that have been undertaken in Niigara Prefecture. First, in their Komori-uta-no Kisoteki-kenkyū [A Basic Study of Lullabies] (1979), Fumio Watanabe and Shūsuke Matsuzawa undertake a systematic research of the variety and diffusion of lullabies in Niigata Prefecture. They adopt a linguistic-geological method in this study, collect hundreds of texts from more than four hundred informants from different areas of the prefecture, and analyse the words and melodies of their texts as well as their contexts, focusing on geographical variety and historical transformation. As a result, they divide Niigata lullabies into three types according to the following musical scales: min'yō onkai, miyako-bushi onkai, and ritsu-onkai.149 They discovered that the lullabies of min'yō onkai have been mainly sung by elder people (over sixty-five) living in comparatively rural, remote areas. In conclusion, they state that this type is presumably older than the others in Niigata.

Secondly, Shigetoshi Kimura traces the origin, diffusion and historical transmission of a particular lullaby sung by his mother for him, in his Warabe-uta-no Seicho [The Growth of A Children's Song] (1985). Through his laborious, intensive research in Niigata Prefecture, using both literary sources and fieldwork, he discovers that the song

149 These Japanese musical scales will be discussed in the review of Koizumi's article in the next section.
had been sung as a ball-play song by children in one area, as a hand-clapping song in another area, and as other types of song in other places. It also sometimes had dual or more purposes. His study vividly tells us how an actual lullaby is born and how it grows up in a local community.

1.2.3. Summary

I have reviewed analyses from folkloristic and historical perspectives in previous studies noting several topics: (a) categorisation, (b) classification, (c) vocables, (d) connection with Si or fairies, (e) theme or motif, and (f) links with other types of song in Scottish (mainly Gaelic) lullabies; and (a) motif, (b) vocables, (c) classification, (d) social background of nurse-maid songs, and (e) others in Japanese ones.

Looking at these issues, there seem to be “cross-culturally” common topics as well as culturally unique ones. The categorisation and classification as well as the links with other types of songs correspond to the “cross-culturally” common topics, which are related to the concept of lullabies. I discussed them in the first chapter to some degree, and again analysed them more deeply from the viewpoint of context in Part III.

The vocable as soothing meaningless or meaningful sounds is an important topic for the discussion of both cross-cultural and cultural studies, since it seems to have been influenced both by the universal preference of mothers and children for such soothing sounds, and by the cultural, particularly linguistic, and social situations. I attempted the textural and contextual analyses of vocables in Scottish and Japanese lullabies in this study.

The connection with Si or fairies in Gaelic lullabies and the social background to nurse-maid songs in Japanese lullabies are regarded as culturally unique topics. However, we may discover similar or opposite features. I discussed the former in the sixth chapter and the latter in the seventh one.
1.3. Musicological Perspective

In this section several analyses undertaken from a musicological perspective will be reviewed. Here I will focus on the criteria adopted by various authors for outlining the musical features of lullabies in each country, rather than pick up the features themselves. Based on these observations I will note several proper criteria, which were used in Part II of this thesis.

In clarifying the musical features of lullabies, we should remember their origins through the following two types of comparison: (1) comparison of lullabies in a cross-cultural context for the discovery of universal and non-universal musical features; and (2) comparison in any one cultural context between lullabies and other genres for the discovery of shared and not shared musical features. This means that some features may originate in the characteristics of the lullaby as a type of song across cultures, whereas other features may be related to the characteristics of song or music on the whole and across the genres of a particular culture. In each case, therefore, we need to assess the feature's origin, whether it be connected with the genre or the culture.

First of all, I will cite the musical characteristics of lullabies in general defined by Porter in The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians (New edition, 2001).

... the lullaby is usually (though not exclusively) sung solo by women and displays musical characteristics that are often archaic, such as a descending melodic line, portamento effects, stylized representations of sighing or weeping, and non-stanzaic text lines (2001: 291).

The sound effects of the lullaby sometimes take precedence over meaning, with words being deliberately altered to produce assonant, mellifluous sounds. ... The melody invariably moves within a fairly narrow range of a 4th or 5th, but can have, as in Norway, great melodic and rhythmic flexibility within a few common formulae (ibid: 292).

Porter attempts to cover a wide range of aspects, mainly based on ethnomusicology. From his description we can pick up the following “archaic” features of the musical style of lullabies: a descending melodic line, portamento effects, stylized representations of sighing or weeping, non-stanzaic text lines, textual formulae and refrains, mellifluous sounds, melody within a fairly narrow range of a 4th or 5th. As he states, these are not
exclusive features, only generalized, so that both Scottish and Japanese lullabies might have some different features from those mentioned above. However it will be useful to find the following criteria as to musical style based on Porter’s definition: (1) melodic line, (2) textual formulae, (3) vocalisation, and (4) the range of melody.

Now I will review several musicological analyses with regard to Scottish and Japanese lullabies, respectively, while confirming the criteria and the origin of those features.

1.3.1. Scottish

Among the few musicological analyses of Scottish lullabies, it will be worthwhile to introduce several musical features of Gaelic repertoire indicated by Bruford (1978) at this point:

In any case they are all to tunes with a regular beat . . . Not uncommonly two lines of words fill up four lines of music in a form typical of the mediaeval carol song for dancing, repeating the first line three times before going on to the second. (This A A A B form applies to words rather than tune, though generally the first and third lines of the tune and occasionally the second two will be the same) (Bruford, 1978: 4)

We could summarise this by saying that (a) a regular beat, and (b) the same tune in the first and third lines in four lines of music are regarded as musical features of Gaelic lullabies. He also points out that they are associated with milking songs since “the tunes [of milking songs] are often in a suitably pastoral style, an andantino 6/8, like lullabies” (ibid: 5). Here we can pick up (c) andantino 6/8, as another musical feature of Gaelic lullabies. Of these three features, (a) and (c) are drawn from the point of view of metre and rhythm, neither of which are picked up by Porter; whereas (b) is based on textual formulae and is one of the criteria indicated by Porter.

A similar proposal with regard to be the metre of Gaelic lullabies is found in an article of McNeill as follows:

Mr. Shuldham-Shaw considered that the so-called 3/4 lullabies were really 6/4 or slow 6/8. Mrs. MacKintosh agreed that, of eighty lullabies she had encountered, ninety per cent were in 6/8 rather than 3/4 time (McNeill, 1949: 20).
Thus, musical metre and rhythm will become other criteria in our musicological analysis, and 6/8 metre and regular beat as features of Gaelic lullabies will have to be examined in the present study.

Next I will look through several characteristic features of Scottish music proposed by Francis Collinson and John Purser, in order to compare the various features of Scottish lullabies and Scottish music in general.

First, in his *The Traditional And National Music of Scotland* (1966), Collinson discusses the characteristic features of Scots music — including both vocal and instrumental one — picking up the following features: (1) use of the fourth note fa and the seventh note ti, (2) use of the hexatonic scale, which is constructed by putting in one of missing notes of the pentatonic scale, (3) use of the seven-note scales divided into seven “Church Modes”; amongst them, the Dorian Mode (keynote re) is rare in Lowland Scots music, but common in Gaelic; the Mixolydian Mode (keynote soh) is the mode in the scale of the Scottish Highland bagpipe; the Aeolian Mode (keynote la) is one of the commonest of the seven-note scales in Scots song, (4) beginning in one key and ending in another (e.g. a major key to the relative minor key), (5) ending in the second degree of the scale (i.e. re ending), (6) a brief but unmistakable melodic turn (called a “thumbprint”, e.g. “the sequence of a melodic figure on a major triad followed by the same or other figure on the major triad a tone lower”), (7) use of “double tonic”, i.e. “the tonic or ‘keynote’ being shifted between the two ‘keys’ of the true tonic key and the ‘key’ or triad one full tone lower”, (8) widely-spaced falling grace-notes and melodic decoration, and (9) the Scots snap (or ‘Scotch snap’, i.e. the snap rhythm consisting of a sixteenth note and an additional dotted eighth note) (Collinson, 1966: 24-26). Concerning this last point, Collinson concludes that “from a long study of Scots music, the writer can state categorically that the Scots snap is the very life-blood of Scots musical rhythm in both instrumental and vocal music (ibid: 29)”.

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150 As pioneering musicological studies of Gaelic folksongs the following books would be worthwhile to note: *Journal of the Folk-Song Society. No.16* (1911); Marjory Kennedy-Fraser, “The Hebridean Scales” in *Songs of the Hebrides I* (1909).
He regards that these features are shared in both Lowland Scots and Gaelic music and across genres. The criteria he adopts can be summarised as follows: scale or mode, melodic line, vocalisation, and rhythm. These formed the criteria for the analysis of musical features has been undertaken in the second part of this thesis.

In his *Scotland’s Music* (1992), Purser argues that the following features of Scottish music can be drawn from the musical manuscript, “Inchcolm Antiphoner”, which was composed as early as the thirteenth century: (1) use of double-tonic, (2) Scotch snaps, (3) plaintive and melancholy tone, (4) gapped or pentatonic scales, (5) wide-ranging melodies or dramatic leaps, (6) the interval of a third, (7) ending in a different mode from that in which the music began, and (8) decorating melodies. Furthermore, according to him, the phonetic traits of the language have reflected on Scottish music as to rhythm, accent, and vowel sounds. He also asserts that dancing movements have influenced Scottish music. Moreover, the influence of musical instruments cannot be neglected. For instance, the fiddle’s bowing trick like broken arpeggios or attacking the string with a powerful flick of the wrist has created the Scotch snap.

We can find most of these observations correspond to Collinson’s analysis, probably because Purser referred to Collinson’s book.

In addition, Percy Young and Edward Ardizzone, in their *Ding Dong Bell: A First Book of Nursery Rhymes* (1957), note two characteristic features, one in terms of melodic line and the other in terms of rhythm. They observe a descending melodic line from *mi* to *doh* through *re*, and also the so-called “Scotch snap”. According to Young and Ardizzone, both of these are discovered in the Scots lullaby, “Hush-a-ba, ba-bie, lie still, lie still”:

Two points are outstanding in this melody. First, the tune centres on *mi* -- frequently falling through *ray* (= *re*) to *doh*; second, it has a fascinating rhythm. In the fourth and fifth bars we recognise a typical rhythmic figure of Scottish music [the sequence of a sixteenth note and an additional dotted eighth note] (Young and Ardizzone, 1957: 137).

They consider the “descending melodic line” and the “Scotch snap” musical features of Scottish music across genres. We should confirm how common these two features are discovered in Scottish (both Scots and Gaelic) lullabies.
1.3.2. Japanese

According to Masahiro Iwai, a contributor to the *Nihon Minzoku Daijiten* [*The Grand Dictionary of Japanese Folklore*] (1999), Japanese lullabies are divided into *nemurase-uta* [songs for lulling a child], *asobase-uta* [songs for amusing a child], and *moriko-uta* [nurse-maid songs], and each of their musical features can be discussed in terms of their musical metre, scales and their relationship to other folksongs. First, *nemurase-uta* basically have a 2/4 metre and use the *miyako-bushi* scale — one of four traditional Japanese scales. *Asobase-uta* are considered to be between children’s songs and adult folksongs.151 Moreover, *moriko-uta* usually have a 2/4 metre and use the minor pentatonic scale (the fourth and seventh note “gapped”), although “itsuki-no komori-uta”, one of the *moriko-uta*, became very popular with an arrangement into a 3/4 metre (Iwai, 1999: 649).

Next, in his contribution to *Nihon Minzoku Jiten* [*A Dictionary of Japanese Folklore*] (1993), Noboru Ushiyama states that the melodies of *nemurase-uta* are presumably influenced by *wasan*, a kind of Buddhist chant sung since the Medieval Period, and that the melodies of *moriko-uta*, in which the rhythm is similar to *usu-tsuki-uta* [mortar-pounding songs], are sometimes adapted from popular songs at the period.

We can confirm the following three criteria from these two articles: (a) musical metre, (b) scales and mode, and (c) the relationship with other kinds of song. It will be necessary to investigate whether the musical features presented by Iwai and Ushiyama according to these three criteria are common to all types of Japanese traditional song, or whether they point to exclusive features of lullabies.


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151 This consideration is based on the definition given by Iwai (1999). On the other hand, *asobase-uta* are included in the group, *moriko-uta*, in the definitions of lullabies in *Minzokugaku Jiten* (1951) and *Nihon Minzoku Jiten* (1993).
popular music and the music of two minority groups and cultures contiguous with Japan—"Ainu" and "Okinawa (or Ryûkyû)."

As for "folk songs", he points out several features as follows: (1) change of categories (a particular song is, for instance, sung as a working, ceremonial, party, love or festival song); (2) use of the yo-in scale system; (3) simple form, such as binary (A-B) and ternary (A-B-A); (4) 7-7-7-5 syllable lines in the poetry; (5) emphasis of the notes just above or below the basic tone, the tonic, of the scale used; and (6) utilitarian and primitive rhythms of two or four beats. (1) corresponds to (c) "the relationship with other types of songs" in the criteria mentioned above, (2) and (5) to (b) "scale", and (6) to (a) "metre". (3) and (4) are related to musical formulae.

According to Malm, 7-7-7-5 syllable lines and the dominance of a 2/4 metre indicated as musical features of Japanese lullabies in the dictionary reviewed above are not regarded as an exclusive feature of lullabies, but as a general feature of Japanese folk songs (see Malm's (4) and (6)).

With regard to the study of traditional Japanese scales, there is a tetrachord theory proposed by Fumio Koizumi, which was developed from the theory of the yo-in scale. Here I will review his article written in English, "Musical Scales in Japanese Music" (1977).

Koizumi summarises his argument saying that traditional Japanese melodies consist of four types of "tetrachords", which was originally used for ancient Greek theory, in which it "refers to an intervallic succession of four pitches in descending order" (Koizumi, 1977: 74). He adopts this for Japanese music since "the word tetrachord can be a very useful unit to explain tonal structures of various kinds including those of Indian, Arabic, as well as Japanese music, when it is used as a term with a little wider denotation" (ibid: 74).

In a Japanese melody, the tetrachord always has a single intermediate tone which takes various positions from a minor second to a major third over the lower kakuon [nuclear tones] . . . Thus, there are four kinds of tetrachords . . . : tetrachord I with a minor third, tetrachord II with a minor second, tetrachord III with a major second, and tetrachord IV with a major third (ibid: 74).
According to his theory, one tune is not always made up of one type of tetrachord, but sometimes of several tetrachords. Furthermore, tetrachords can be extended into octave scales. At this time, each tetrachord scale has a particular name related to the context of the Japanese musical tradition in order as follows: (1) min'yō onkai constructed by tetrachord I, (2) miyako-bushi onkai constructed by tetrachord II, (3) ritsu onkai constructed by tetrachord III, and (4) ryūkyū onkai (or okinawa onkai) constructed by tetrachord IV (see Table 1.3.2.1.)

Table 1.3.2.1.

Koizumi insists that type (1), min'yō onkai, is the most important scale in practical use, although it has been almost neglected in traditional theory:

Nevertheless, the importance of the min'yō onkai is proven not only by its wide use in present-day folk songs, but also by its use in the stylized folk melodies in the gagaku repertoire known as fuzoku-uta, some of which was recorded in gagaku notation as early as the 10th century (ibid: 77).

Type (2), miyakobushi onkai, is the representative scale of the music of all typical instruments of the Edo Era (1603-1867). It means that this type has become familiar comparatively later than type (1). Type (3), ritsu onkai, is found in gagaku, i.e. the aristocratic music of the Heian Era (794-1192) as well as min'yō onkai. The origin of this scale is considered to Chinese and was brought to Japan by that period. Finally, type (4), ryūkyū onkai, has appeared and still survives only in Okinawa, the southern-most islands of Japan. Koizumi assumes that this type, which is related to type (1), “was introduced to Japan along with many other aspects of musical culture at several points throughout history” (ibid: 77).

Among the four types, types (1) and (2) correspond to the “in scale” and type (3) corresponds to the “yō scale” in Malm’s theory. Type (4) is a unique scale in one of “the music of minority groups and cultures contiguous with Japan” (Malm, 1959: 235).
His division is useful for the classification of Japanese lullabies from the musicological point of view, and, at the same time, his hypothesis about the age of the four types of tetrachords might be one of the criteria for the age of the melodies of each Japanese lullaby.

In addition, I would like to criticize a comparative study between the lullabies of German *lieder* (e.g. the works by Brahms, Schubert) and Japanese traditional lullabies written by Fumitaka Obara from a musicological point of view (1993). There seems to be very little value in discussing the cultural differences between the West and the East through a comparison of Western classical and Japanese traditional songs. Instead, he should have referred to traditional lullabies in Germany or other areas of the West as the texts for his comparative study.

1.3.3. Summary

Through this musicological review, we can extract several criteria for discussing the musical features of the lullabies in each country as follows: (1) musical metre, (2) rhythm, (3) scale or mode, (4) melodic line, (5) range of melody, (6) textual formulae in the words and melody, and (7) vocalisation. As mentioned before, they were adopted for the musicological analysis of lullabies in three languages in Part II of this thesis.

We also discovered that some of features of lullabies in each country indicated in previous studies are regarded not as exclusive to lullabies, but as general features of traditional songs regardless of genre. Such a distinction was also examined in detail, in Part II.
1.4. Other Perspectives

1.4.1. Linguistic Perspective

The analysis from a linguistic perspective focuses on prosody, textural structure and formulae, and other linguistic characteristics, which have a close connection with the motif and theme of the text, and the function of singing it. According to the division defined by Dundes in his article, “Text, Texture, Context”, which was cited in the first chapter (see pp.5-6), this perspective approximately corresponds to “the study of texture in folklore” (Dundes 1983: 23), meanwhile some musicological perspectives are included in textural study, too.

The analysis of vocables, in terms of their etymology and historical background, their phonetic features, their psychological effect of inducing sleep, and their cross-cultural comparison, can be regarded as study related to the linguistic perspective. However I will discuss them by dividing in some other perspectives, such as “folkloristic and historical” and “cross-cultural” considerations. In this section, I will review several other studies made from a linguistic perspective.

1.4.1.1. Scottish

In his “Gaelic Lullabies, Laments and Mouth Music” (1978), Alan Bruford indicates the frequency of the A-A-A-B form in the four line music of Gaelic lullabies (Bruford, 1978: 4). He supposes that this is “a form typical of the mediaeval carole sung for dancing” (ibid: 4). He also describes the following rhetorical device discovered in Gaelic lullabies:

The Gaels too make full use of the oblique references — ‘your fiddle is untuned’, ‘your dogs are on the leash and not taken to the moors’ and so on, perhaps building up to ‘your young wife is without a husband’: another technique for a build up is by asking or at least implying a rhetorical question and answering it wrongly the first couple of times — a favourite method in Eastern European folksong — thus:

‘I am full of tears
Not for the lambs that died in May,
Not for my poorly-stocked cattlefold,
But for the way you’ve got your shirt wet —
Tossed upon the crests of the billows
With the killer whales tearing at you'. (ibid: 6)

It will be valuable to investigate other types of textural formula and rhetorical devices in both Scottish and Japanese lullabies.

1.4.1.2. Japanese

As a pioneering linguistic analysis of Japanese lullabies, there is the classification by Yanagita (1926) and his successor, Ushiyama (1972) from the point of view of form, dividing them into two types, according to the length of form and the syllable pattern: the longer form with a 7-5-7-5 syllable pattern; and the shorter form with 7-7-7-5, as already reviewed before. The division into these two types is regarded not as an exclusive feature of lullabies, but as a popular formulae of many genres of Japanese folksong, as Yanagita indicates, “This 7-7-7-5 pattern, which is discovered in Dodoitsu [a type of “urban ballad”], has been adopted into rural folksong just recently” (Yanagita, 1926/1998: 126).

Next, I will discuss an article, “The lullaby as magic: a textual analysis of traditional Japanese children’s songs” (1986), written in English by, a Japanese linguist, Yoshihiko Ikegami. This article is the one referred to by O’Madagain for supporting his hypothesis, the magical function of lullabies, as reviewed in the former section (see p.337). Ikegami attempts to demonstrate that “both at the level of its text construction and at the level of its function within a setting involving the presenter and the recipient of the text in communicative interaction, a lullaby’s prototype may be sought in “magic”” (Ikegami, 1986: 96). His approach can be regarded as a structural and functional analysis.

He describes the essential textual structure of Japanese lullabies by dividing them into two types: when the singer orders the child listener to sleep, and (i) if the listener obeys this order, he or she will get a good consequence as a reward or avoid a bad consequence; (ii) if the listener does not obey it, he or she will get a bad consequence as a punishment or not take good consequence.
'sleep' —► (i) obey —► (a) good consequence (reward)  
—► (ii) not obey —► (c) bad consequence (punishment)  
—► (b) avoid bad consequence —► (d) not take good consequence

According to him, a good or bad result can be stated in terms of "spatial transference" (e.g. the arrival of a monster cat), "presentation of a certain gift" (e.g. a red dress, a pair of red shoes, and a doll) or "change of state" (e.g. "To a child who sleeps I'll give it whole. To a child who doesn't sleep I'll give none of it.") (ibid: 100).

Secondly, he indicates that a similar textual structure to magic is also found in children's own rhymes like 'songs of the sky and weather', 'songs on animals and plants' and so forth. For instance, this is a kite-flying song: "Fly up, fly up, o kite! Fly up to the sky! If you don't fly up, I'll bake and eat you" (in Japanese a kite is tako, which has another meaning, 'octopus'). Here we can find a kind of pun.

Thirdly, he indicates that the texts used as magic have a similar structure to lullaby texts:

One thing that immediately comes to mind is the text used in magic. Magic in the present context refers to one of those cultural ways in which man prepares himself for possible occurrences in the future that may affect him. (ibid: 102)

According to Ikegami, magic can be defined in contrast to 'divination', 'omen' and 'taboo' as shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FORESEEING or CONTROLLING (a possible future event)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PASSIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>omen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taboo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Magic seeks actively to create or convert a future course of events. It is, on the one hand, contrasted with 'divination', in which man is content simply with foretelling a future event, and, on the other hand, it is also contrasted with 'taboo', in which man passively copes with a possible future event by refraining from behaving in a certain way. In this scheme of contrasts, magic emerges as representing the most active aspect of man in his dealings with nature (ibid: 102).
He gives one example of the traditional text of magic in Japan as follows: “Plum-tree, plum-tree! Will you or will you not bear plums? If not, I’ll cut you down. Will you or will you not”? (ibid: 102) According to him, the structure of this magic text, or charm, is “exactly the same as the one we have defined for the lullaby”:

First, there is an order given to the tree. Then the tree is threatened with a bad consequence (i.e. being cut down) if it does not obey the order; in other words, type (ii-c) is defined for the lullaby (ibid: 102).

The text used in magic has in general the following structure:

\[
\text{DONOR} \rightarrow \text{DESIRED OBJECT} \rightarrow \text{RECIPIENT} \rightarrow \text{MAGICIAN}
\]

On the other hand, the relationship between the mother (or the singer) and the baby in the lullaby’s context can be structured with a similar formation.

\[
\text{MOTHER} \rightarrow \text{SLEEP} \rightarrow \text{BABY} \rightarrow \text{MOTHER} \rightarrow \text{SLEEP} \rightarrow \text{MOTHER}
\]

In this structure the mother is a donor and a recipient of the gift of sleep from the baby as well as a magician chanting a charm, so that he calls this ambivalent position of the mother its “polyphonic structure”, which “gives the lullaby performance certain undeniably aesthetic effects” (ibid: 104).

In conclusion, he proposes the following hypothesis:

... on the basis of traditional Japanese lullabies, that there is a close similarity between the way the lullaby is performed and the way magic is performed. An interesting question to be asked will be how far such similarity can be universal ... if one of the essential points of magic is to be able to influence an insentient being verbally so that it behaves in the way desired by the magic performer, then the lullaby performance clearly has much in common with the magic performance. The object to be influenced is a baby, and a baby is quite close to an insentient being — as is testified by the frequent reference to it in various languages, with a neuter, rather than a masculine or feminine pronoun ... (ibid: 105).
His hypothesis, i.e. the universal similarity between the text structure in the lullaby and the one in magical chants, was testified in the linguistic analysis of Scottish and Japanese lullabies of Part II.


She says that English has “a bouncing rhythm” so that a 6/8 metre suits English children’s songs; and that Japanese has “a stomping rhythm”, which comprises of a regular but unmeasured beat, while a number of scholars have insisted that the Japanese language has basically a duple metre.

She considers that the bouncing rhythm in English children’s play songs influences both their singing rhythm and moving style during play. Namely, an additional dotted note frequently appears in English nursery rhymes, and skipping is the most common movement. In contrast, a stomping rhythm in Japanese has a close connection with the rarity of the additional dotted note and skipping.

Her consideration is based on two hypotheses: the language-rhythm of the mother tongue leads children to acquire the particular pattern of singing or moving in playing games; and the sense of language-rhythm is internalised by children in the acquisition of their mother tongue.

Although she focuses on children’s play songs, which are not directly related to the lullaby, it will be significant to note the similar feature in the rhythm of lullabies with regard to the function of language education involved in singing lullabies. However is it true Japanese children do not like skipping in comparison to English children, as she assumes? Is there any relationship between the preference of children for certain body movements and the rhythm of the language they use? It is not easy to confirm such a relationship based on objective evidence.
1.4.1.3. Summary

I came across several linguistic or textural analyses in articles on the lullabies of other languages. Nevertheless, it seems to be true that analysis from a linguistic perspective has not been sufficiently developed, in spite of its fruitful possibilities. We should further investigate certain specific new, and attractive approaches from a linguistic perspective. With reference to the previous studies reviewed here, I set the criteria for linguistic analysis in Part II of this thesis, which were introduced in the final section of the first chapter.

1.4.2. Psychological Perspective

A careful study of the song-texts will prove rewarding, as psychology; and although most of these compact, nest-warm, slender little songs are passed down orally from one generation to another, there is no fixed pattern to their popularity. Where communities are rooted and settled they have clung fast (Daiken, 1959: 11).

As Daiken suggests above, analysis from a psychological perspective seems to be a fruitful subject. Nevertheless, I have not encountered this kind of analysis except in one article, Bess Lomax Hawes’ “Folksongs and Function: Some Thoughts on the American Lullaby” (1974), in which a psychological interpretation based on Freudian theory is undertaken.

Hawes proposes “three stylistic qualifiers” of her subject: (1) rhythm, (2) the patterning of preferred phonemic choices, and (3) communicative style. Examined by these qualifiers, American lullabies have the following features: (a) a simple and swaying metre, normally 4/4, (b) a complex phonemic pattern, wordy adult singing style, and (c) the verbal contact of singing songs.

Based on this preparatory discussion, she presents her hypothesis that American lullabies have an intimate connection with one of the basic principles in the American family, namely the independence of children from the mother as soon as possible. (b) and (c) above are related to a mother’s attitude toward her child, who is often treated by her as an adult. Moreover, the theme of “the spatial isolation of the baby” is pointed out as
another piece of evidence. She regards the following phrases or words as symbolic expressions of a mother's unconscious demand for the isolation of the baby; "go to sleep" (= going to the other world), "dream-land" (= not his own bed), "bye bye" (= farewell).

Furthermore, referring one comparative study concerning the behavior of Japanese and American mothers during the hours of their children's sleep, she surmises that while the Japanese mother tends to continue her caretaking at a leisurely pace during the hours of baby's sleep, the American mother "has ordinarily gone out the room as soon as (or before) the baby has fallen asleep" (Hawes, 1974: 147).

Viewed in this light she concludes her analysis in an extraordinary way: "American mothers are really expressing hostility toward their infants when they chat away at them all day about miscellaneous topics and then put them to bed to the cheerful but impersonal lines of 'Slew foot Sue', or to a lulling refrain that actually suggests that the babies should go off somewhere else" (ibid: 147).

Why can or must they express such hostility? She finds the answer in the preference for independence as the national mentality of the American:

American culture puts what is clearly an abnormal degree of separation strain on the mother . . . she must train her baby to be active, exploratory, happily vocalizing character, --- independence.

. . . she must do this without assistance from anybody else . . . mothers alone take care of their babies (ibid: 147).

The American lullaby is . . . a mother's conversation with herself about separation. And, as such, one of its most profoundly supportive functions is to make the inevitable and inexorable payment of our social dues just a little less personally painful (ibid: 148).

Her interpretation seems to be closely associated with the theory of the school of "culture and personality", which is strongly influenced by Freudian theory. It seems to be very difficult to certify its validity. Nevertheless, this analysis could enlarge our view of lullabies and give some valuable ideas for further studies focusing on the context of lullabies.

1.4.3. Biological Perspective

It is important to investigate the following topics as related to analysis from a
biological perspective: soothing sounds or voices in mammals and their relationship with the human lullaby, styles of holding and soothing babies in primate mothers, connection between the pulse of mothers and the tempo of lullabies, babies’ preference for several types of tunes (melody and rhythm) and their cultural difference, and so forth. Here I will introduce three books related to these topics.

First, Noboru Kobayashi, a well-known Japanese pediatrician, discusses the relationship between the sound of a mother’s pulse and a sound baby sleep in his book, *Kodomo-wa Mirai-de-aru* [Children are Our Future] (1993). He quotes the following experimental result: in a neonatal room newborn babies listening to the sound of their mother’s pulse do not often cry but easily go sound asleep, so that their weight increases more rapidly, in comparison to others. According to him, furthermore, a mother usually keeps her baby in front of her left breast, whether she is a left handed or not, because she may instinctively understand that the left side is closer to her heart and her baby can listen to the pulse beat more clearly. He interprets this, saying that an unborn baby hears the pulse beat of its mother for several months and “imprints” it. As a result, the pulse beat becomes a special sound making the baby feel easy, or soothing it, even after birth.

Moreover, based on the following result of a survey of mothers concerning their singing of lullabies; more than a quarter of the informants answered that they felt comfortable and reduced their frustrations by singing lullabies, he suggests that the singing of lullabies has a positive mental effect on mothers. It means that they can calm down or find maternal love within themselves through singing lullabies. His suggestion concerning the function of singing lullabies was re-assessed on in this paper.

Related to this issue, in his book, *Komori to Komori-uta* [Nursing Babies and Lullabies] (1992), which was already reviewed, Isao Migita proposes the following two hypotheses: the reason why a mother’s own lullaby has the special effect of soothing her baby is, firstly, because it is the mother’s own voice and heartbeat that the baby has been hearing in her womb for months; and secondly, because she instinctively sings it with a tempo that is twice as long as her pulse beat. The relationship of the musical time to the biological time has been much studied.

Thirdly, I will briefly cite a zoological study on the behaviour of dolphins. In his
article, “Iruka-no Ninchi-to Kōdō [Cognition and Behaviour of Dolphins]” included in Kokomade Wakatta Iruka-to Kujira [What We Know to Date of Dolphins and Whales] (1996), Tsukasa Murayama describes an interesting piece of behaviour of a particular type of dolphin mother. This type of dolphin has a sort of voice, called “a signature whistle”. Each dolphin has its own “signature whistle” that is different from others. A dolphin mother frequently “plays this (makes this whistle)” for several days after childbirth and her baby “imprints” the sound. The mother-child relationship of dolphins continues for a few years. During this period, a dolphin child identifies its mother by the signature whistle.

It does not seem to be impossible to regard the signature whistle of dolphins as “a mother’s song” or “a proto-type of lullaby”. This study would suggest the importance of the mother’s directly singing or narrating of the ‘lullaby’ for her child, and it does not seem to matter whether it is a human mother or another animal.

Since the analysis from a biological perspective is out of my field of study, I cannot attempt a particular biological analysis in the present work. However, this does not imply that such studies are useless. The cooperation of various types of specialist, including biologists and psychologists are greatly needed.
1.5. Comparative and Cross-Cultural Studies

To begin with, the difference between “comparative” and “cross-cultural” studies should be clarified. In short, “comparative studies” include the comparison not only between the same subject in different countries or cultures, i.e. cross-cultural studies, but also between the same subject in different historical ages or different social classes, i.e. historical or sociological comparative studies. Although most of the literature reviewed in this section is cross-cultural, it does not mean that other kinds of comparative studies are not valuable.

Two works by Fumitaka Obara and Natsue Washizu, both of which have been reviewed before, might be considered to be cross-cultural, comparative studies of Japanese nursery rhymes and lullabies.

In his book, Popular Rhymes and Nursery Tales: a Sequel to the Popular Rhymes of England (1849), James Orchard Halliwell perceives a similarity between English nursery rhymes and those of northern Europe, based on “the theory of a Teutonic origin” outlined as follows:

We find the same trifles which erewhile lulled or amused the English infant, are current in slightly varied forms throughout the North of Europe; we know that they have been sung in the northern countries for centuries, and that there has been no modern outlet for their dissemination across the German Ocean. The most natural inference is to adopt the theory of a Teutonic origin, and thus give to every genuine child-rhyme, found current in England and Sweden, an immense antiquity (Halliwell, 1849: 2).

His perception is strongly influenced by the theory of an Indian origin of European culture, which was proposed by his contemporary German scholar, Jacob Grimm, in his Teutonic Mythology (1835), and which has been criticised by younger generation scholars as a kind of reductionism. In any case, it seems to be the first cross-cultural analysis of nursery rhymes in Britain, and following Halliwell, not a few folklorists, historians, or musicologists have tried to compare the nursery rhymes of different countries with each other and find their similarities and differences.

Grace Rhys, the compiler of Cradle Songs and Nursery Rhymes (1894), introduces “cradle songs” in divisions of the three following types: “Old Cradle Songs”, “Foreign
Cradle Songs" consisting of twelve lullaby texts from continental Europe, and "Later Cradle Songs". In spite of there being no comparative analysis, we can assume that in this book the author attempts both historical and cross-cultural comparison of lullabies in Britain.

In Lina Eckenstein's *Comparative Studies in Nursery Rhymes* (1906), we can find her analysis of contemporary English nursery rhymes in comparison to both the earlier and foreign equivalents. She argues that there is an abundance of the same or closely similar texts in neighbouring countries, and widespread diffusion beyond the racial divisions and confines of Europe:

On comparing our rhymes with those of other countries, we find that the same thoughts and conceptions are usually expressed in different countries in the same form of verse (Eckenstein 1906: 217).

The spread of European nursery rhymes, taken in the bulk, appears to be independent of the usual racial divisions. Moreover, some of the ideas that are expressed in rhymes carry us beyond the confines of Europe (ibid: 219).

It is doubtful that the similarity of nursery rhyme texts from separate areas is caused simply by "the spread of European" models. For instance, the similarity between Scottish and Japanese lullabies should not be considered as a result of the spread of European lullabies. As I have already mentioned, the similarity may be caused by functional, structural, psychological, or biological elements. Among the various elements, I focused on the investigation of function in the present paper.

The Opies' *The Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes* (1951) already mentioned, is another crucial work from the point of view of the comparative analysis of nursery rhymes, including lullabies. They examine each of some eight hundred nursery rhyme texts transmitted within the U.K. and the U.S.A. with respect to their origin and source, their historical transformation, and their foreign equivalent. For instance, as an annotation to the well-known English lullaby, "Hush-a-bye, baby, on the tree top (text No.22)", they cover the following topics in this order: the age of both rhyme and melody, the first sighting in literature, several interpretations of the origin of the motif, "rocking a cradle on the tree top"; and also provide a reference list.
Although their cross-cultural analysis centres on Europe and other English speaking countries, it is possible for their successors to extend their work world-wide.

In his ambitious *The Lullaby Book* (1959), Leslie Daiken proposes a similarity beyond race or country with respect to various aspects of this subject such as its functions, the variety of singers, themes and motifs, characters (e.g. threatening beings or sleep personified), and specialized words (e.g. vocables, onomatopoeia, baby talk, and crooning sounds). Above all, one of the most crucial suggestions is the following list of “lull-words from the world’s baby language as used in lullabies”, which is mainly based on the article written by Hana Fukuda in *Childhood Education, USA*, Vol.XXXIV, No.4 (No citation of publishing date). See Table 1.5.1.1.

Table 1.5.1.1. “lull-words from the world’s baby language as used in lullabies”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Lithuania</th>
<th>La lo loli</th>
<th>Pakistan</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gitksan Indian (Canada)</td>
<td>Ma ma ma</td>
<td>Yuma Indian (USA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-ha, hay, hay</td>
<td>Latvia</td>
<td>Me me me me</td>
<td>Cree Indian (Canada)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ai lu lu</td>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>Na, na, nimni-nan-na</td>
<td>Italy, Greece</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arroro ro ro</td>
<td>Spanish-speaking countries</td>
<td>Nen nen</td>
<td>France, Japan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Awe ‘awe</td>
<td>Suni Indian (USA)</td>
<td>Ni-ni-ni-ni</td>
<td>Philippines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-ya ya</td>
<td>Trinidad</td>
<td>No no no nette</td>
<td>Switzerland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baloo baloo</td>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>Obaua</td>
<td>Basque</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bayu bayu</td>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>Pi, pi pi, pi</td>
<td>Yiddish-speaking countries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bissam</td>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>Shoheen-shal-eo</td>
<td>Ireland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bom pe, bom pe</td>
<td>Cambodia</td>
<td>Su su su</td>
<td>Estonia, Poland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cha-chang cha-chang</td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>Suze nane</td>
<td>Ukraine, Sweden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deng, dengu</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>Tororo tororo</td>
<td>Friesland, Nederlands</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dodo, dodo</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Tprundy, tprundy</td>
<td>Guam</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ceylon</td>
<td>Tulla lu lu</td>
<td>Russia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Tun, kurrun</td>
<td>Lapland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Czechoslovakia</td>
<td>Tiu, tiu</td>
<td>Basque</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kwakiutl Indian (Canada)</td>
<td>Uinua</td>
<td>Finland</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>We we we we</td>
<td>Basque</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Okinawa</td>
<td>Yee, le-le</td>
<td>Chippewaya Indian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>Yo yo yo yo</td>
<td>(USA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>English-speaking countries</td>
<td></td>
<td>Burma</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bantu, Africa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
following countries share vocable sounds:

(a) France, Italy, Greece, Macedonia, Tunisia, Philippines, and Japan: (respectively) nen nen, na na nimna-namma, ninni ninni, ni-ni-ni-ni, nen nen.

(b) Poland, Spanish-speaking countries, Scotland, Iran, English-speaking countries, Pakistan, Guam, Lapland, and Burma: (respectively) ai lu lu, arroro ro ro, baloo baloo, lala lai, latta or tally tull, lalo loli, tororo tororo, tulla lu lu, yee le le.

(c) Kwakiutl Indian in Canada, Egypt, and Okinawa in Japan: (respectively) ha-o ha-o, ho-ho, hoi- yo hoi- yo.

Furthermore, he indicates the international diffusion of similar superstitions in terms of singing lullabies, cradles and sleep itself:

Fear of a child’s being stolen by the powerful Little People or fairy powers, haunts the lullabies of the Gaels . . . A similar mood pervades the Irish lullaby from Ulster (No.8), in which the mysterious atmosphere of half-light, and ‘the Green Man’s Thorn wreathed in rings of fog’ complete a sense of apprehension . . . It is a shrouded world of enchantment, possessed by the jealous, and often daemonic, forces of the Sidhe lurking in their rocky fortresses. No mere coincidence that in Scots-Gaelic the word for lullaby, Taladh, also means enchantment (Daiken, 1959: 30).

It casts over the folk-lore of the cradle an unearthly light from the world of fairy . . . The cult of the cradle carries its particular etiquette in tension and taboo. Praise of an infant is deprecated no less by Greek, Scots, Arab and Jews, than by primitive tribal communities. For many centuries, charms against evil spirits have been used ---- the middle finger dipped into purifying spittle; contact with fire (ibid: 30-31).

Moreover, the frequent use of such monotonous, meaningless vocables as aah-aah-aah-aah (Spanish) and ba-ah ba-ah ba-ah ba-ah (English), considered another similarity, is linked to the following hypothesis:

Of all our lulling songs, then, perhaps the oldest and most elemental is this croon without words. In some North-American Indian tribes the women make noise designed to put their babies to sleep. Similarly, the Indians of South America, who live nomadic lives, have no songs at all ---- only crooning. For them this crooning has a religious value (ibid: 36).

I re-assessed his arguments focusing on Scottish and Japanese lullabies in the main text of this thesis.
Finally, Barbara and Michael Cass-Beggs’ *Folk Lullabies* (1969) provides us with the following concise view of cultural features of the lullabies from different areas of the world which are closely connected with other kinds of folklore influenced by everyday life:

(a) North American Indian lullabies: short, monophonic, uses only a few words, repeated over and over; vocal line with primitive wind instruments; rhythmic background with rattle, sticks, drums; music such as that which possesses magical power.

(b) Afro-American lullabies: music consisting of singing, dancing, and drumming.

(c) British Isles lullabies: English --- matter-of-fact, Welsh --- elaborate music of bards, Scottish --- rhythmic, Hebridean --- unearthly beauty, the curving melody rising and falling to the feel of the sea.\(^{152}\)

(d) Scandinavian lullabies: no sense of fear or anxiety, confident and matter-of-fact pleasure in the baby, light-hearted, a sense of contentment and satisfaction.

(e) Central and South American and West Indian lullabies: attention focused on mother and baby now, rather than in the future, the sense of hardship which mothers endure to keep their little ones safe and happy.

(f) Arabic lullabies: trills, elaborate decorations and scale formation.

(g) Nigerian lullabies: complicated rhythms influenced by drums.

(h) Indian lullabies: complicated and sophisticated melodies, countless [free] rhythm.

(i) Sinhalese lullabies: swaying or rocking motion rhythm, various singers of lullabies such as a nurse, elder sister, aunt, or grandmother.

(j) Jewish lullabies: no lullabies directly composed for female babies, which reflects the patriarchal nature of the society and the importance attached to the continuance of the race. (Cass-Beggs, 1969: 7)

Although such considerations show us “the world map of lullabies”, it seems to be too roughly sketched. For instance, did the writers conclude that “no lullabies directly composed for the girl baby” in Jewish ones, based on how many and how degree of literary sources and their own fieldwork?

Just as the similar traits are observed in the psycho-analytic interpretation of Hawes

\(^{152}\) Here they seem to consider Scots as “Scottish” and Gaelic as “Hebridean”.

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reviewed before, the simplification of a variety of texts transmitted in a particular country or amongst a particular people is often connected with national character. Such “labelling” may lead to misunderstanding other peoples or prejudice against them. For an academic study, we should deliberately re-assess “the world map of lullabies” drawn by the Cass-Beggs, with valid methodologies and reliable sources.
1.6. Perspective Adopted in This Study

As reviewed so far, various kinds of studies from the different perspectives have been undertaken. Firstly, from the review of textual compilations of lullabies in the three language lullabies under consideration, we recognised the following three differences: (1) the number of texts collected and compiled into printed materials; (2) the balance between printed materials for academic purposes and those for practical usage; and (3) categorisation.

Secondly, from folkloristic and historical perspectives, we noted both common topics “cross-culturally” such as categorization, classification, the link with other types of song, and vocables; and culturally unique topics such as the connection with Si, or fairies, in Scottish lullabies, and the social background of nurse-maid songs in Japanese lullabies.

Thirdly, through the review of musicological perspectives, we extracted the following criteria for discussing the musical features of lullabies in each language: (1) musical metre, (2) rhythm, (3) scale or mode, (4) melodic line, (5) range of melody, (6) textual formulae in the words and tune, and (7) vocalization.

Compared with these types of study, I could not refer in a specialized way to a number of analyses from linguistic, psychological, biological, and comparative or cross-cultural perspectives — partly because of my academic background. Nevertheless, the review of several studies from these perspectives suggested that cooperative study across various academic fields of this subject might bring forth fruitful results. Such studies also alerted me to the fact that I should focus on investigating hidden, further functions of lullaby singing.

For the purpose of this investigation, I mainly adopted a folkloristic and historical perspective along, in part, with musicological and linguistic considerations, what were divided into two parts: textural and textual analysis, and contextual one, in main text of this thesis.
Appendix 2. Scottish Lullaby Texts

2.1. Scots Lullaby Texts

<Reference>
Bennett, Margaret. Scottish Customs: from the Cradle to the Grave. 1992. [SCu]
Buck, Percy. The Oxford Nursery Songbook. 1933. [ONS]
Cass-Beggs, Barbara and Michael. Folk Lullabies. 1969. [FL]
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The School of Scottish Studies. Tocher. 1951-. [Toch 1-]
—. Sound Archive of the School of Scottish Studies, [SA]
Young, Percy. and Ardizzone, Edward. Ding Don Bell: A First Book of Nursery Rhymes. 1957. [DDB]

<Note>
The brackets of the bottom’s right corner of each text means in order: existence of music recorded or transcribed (M for music manuscripts; M-SR for sound recording); informer(s)/collector(s); collected area; date of collection/publication; reference. In case of unknown, it is indicated as “--”.
<S-1>
Adam an Eve gaed up ma sleeve,
Tae fess 1 me doon some gundy 2

Adam an Eve cam doon ma sleeve,
An said there was nane till Monday.

* "Adam an Eve" are here supernatural beings and sleep personified, like angels or fairies, who bring a child good things.

1. = fetch  2. = toffee

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<S-2a>
Alie balie alie balie bee
Sittin' on your mammie's knee:
Greetin' for anither bawbee 1
To buy sugar candy.

1. = halfpenny

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<S-2b>
Johnnie Scott was awfu' thin,
his banes were stickin' through his skin;
Noo he's got a double chin
wi' eatin' Coulter's candy

Allie ballie, allie ballie bee,
sittin' on your mammy's knee;
greetin' for another baw bee,
to buy some Coulter's candy.

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<S-2c>
Ally bally, ally bally bee,
Sittin' on your daddy's knee,
Greetin' for a wee penny,
To buy some Coulter's candy.

Poor, wee thing you're getting' very thin,
A bundle of bones covered over with skin;
Now you're getting' a wee double chin,
From sucking Coulter's candy.

Go to sleep now, my little man,
Seven o'clock and your playin's done.
Open your eyes to the morning sun,
And I'll give you some Coulter's candy.

---
Ally bally, ally bally be,
Seated on your mammy's knee,
Greetin' for a wee baw bee,
Tae buy some Coulter's candy.

Puir, wee sawle, ye're getting' vera thin,
A puckle o' banes wrapped o'er wi' skin,
Noo ye're getting' a wee double chin,
Wi' eatin' Coulter's candy.

Mammy gie me ma thrifty doun.
Here's auld Coulter comin' roun'
Wi' a basket on his croun,
Sellin' Coulter's candy.

Ally bally, ally bally be,
When you grow up you'll go to sea,
Makin' pennies for yer daddy an' me,
Tae buy some Coulter's candy.

Puir wee Jeannie she's lookin' affa' thin,
A rickle o' banes covered ower wi' skin.
Noo she's getting' a wee double chin,
Wi' sookin' Coulter's candy.

Here's auld Coulter comin' roon'
Wi' a basket on his croun,
So here's a penny, noo ye rin doon,
And buy some Coulter's candy.

Ally bally, ally bally bee,
When ye grow up ye'll gang tae sea,
Makin' pennies for your daddie and me,
Tae buy some Coulter's candy.

* Ritchie says, "This one is for a greetin' bairn (1964:54)". Along with the words, its cheerful, light tune indicates this song was used not for lulling child but soothing or amusing one. It was originally neither a lullaby nor a children's song, but a hawk'er's song for "Coulter's candy"; "Robert Coultart, a traveling confectioner active around the turn of the century, hawked his sweets around the country.
fairs and markets in the Borders. Like all hawkers, the man’s sales pitch included a snatch of song, which in his case was the first verse of this ditty” (Loesberg, 1994:69). One can find a singer changed the word, “mammy” into “daddy” (S 2b), and vice versa (S 2a, 2c & 2d), according to who the singer was.

<S-3a>
(ref.) Baloo, balilli, baloo, balilli,
    Baloo, balilli, baloo ba.
Gae awa, peerie faeries, Gae awa, peerie faeries,
Gae awa, peerie faeries, Fae wir bairn noo.
(ref.)
Dan come boanie angels, Ta wir peerie bairn,
Dan come boanie angels, Ta wir bairn noo.
(ref.)
Dey’ll sheen ower de cradle, O’ wir peerie bairn,
Dey’ll sheen ower de cradle, O’ wir bairn noo.
(ref.)

(M, Smith/Smith, Shetland, ~/1947, [SFB-1])

* Ms. Smith is a school teacher and a collector of Shetland folklore.

<S-3b>
(ref.) Baloo, balilli, baloo, balilli,
    Baloo, balilli, baloo ba.
Gae awa, peerie faeries, Gae awa, peerie faeries,
Gae awa, peerie faeries, Fae wir bairn noo.
(ref.)
Dan come boanie angels, Dan come boanie angels,
Dan come boanie angels, Ta wir bairn noo.
(ref.)
Dey’ll sheen ower de cradle, O’ wir peerie bairn,
Dey’ll sheen ower de cradle, O’ wir bairn noo.
(ref.)

 (~, ~/Daiken, Shetland, ~/1959, [LB])

<S-3c>
Baloo, balilo, baloo, balilo
Baloo, balilo, baloo, balilo
Gae awa’ peerie fairies
Fae wir peerie bairn.

Baloo, balilo, baloo, balilo
Baloo, balilo, baloo, balilo
Dan come bonnie angels
Ta wir peerie bairn.

Baloo, balilo, baloo, balilo
Baloo, balilo, baloo, balilo
Dey'll sheen ower da cradle
O' wir peerie bairn.

(<S·3d>
(the same as S·3a)

(M·SR, Sutherland/Uno, Shetland, 1992/1996, [Toch-52])

* Ms. Sutherland is a daughter of Ms Smith and she sang the song referring Shetland Folksong Book. vol.1 (i.e. <S·3a>). She told me during my interview with her in 1992, "... 'the Bressay lullaby', which was sung to me by my mother, and by her mother to her" (Uno, 1995: 9)

</S·3e>
Ba·loo, ba·lil·ly, Ba·loo, ba·lil·ly,
Ba·loo, ba·lil·ly, Ba·loo·oo ba.
Den come the bonnie angels,
Den come the bonnie angels,
Ba·loo·oo ba.

(M, Barclay/Purser, Shetland, ~1992, [SM])

</S·4>
Baloo my babe lie still and sleep
It grieves me sair to see thee weep
It thou be silent I'll be glad
Thy moaning makes my heart full sad.

(ref) Baloo my darling rest a while
And when thou wakest sweetly smile
Baloo my boy lie still and sleep
It grieves me sair to see thee weep

Would I had been in yon dark field
Where he lay dying neath his shield
Thy father's daughter I have fed
Thy mother's house can ne'er forget.
(ref)
Baloo my babe I'll weep for thee
Too soon alas thou it weep for me
Thy grieves are growing too awesome
God grant thee patience when they come.
(ref)
Bishy by, Bishy by,
Bishy by, my baby

"Like all croons, the phrases follow the natural rise and fall of the breath, and suggest sighing or half speaking rather than singing" (Cass-Beggs, 1969: ).

< S-6a >
Da boatie sails an da boatie rows,
Dey set der sails an dey hail der towes.
Hush-a-baa-baa me peerie lamb,
De faider is comin awa frae fram.

Da sheep dey baa, an da craas dey craa,
Dey flap der wings an dey flee awa,
Hush-a-baa-baa, me peerie flee,
Auld Da’ll be comin wi shalls ta dee.

Da burnie rins an da burnie rowes,
Da lambs dey dance ower da hedder-cowes,
Hush-a-baa-baa, me traesir dear,
Dey’ll naebody hurt dee whin Mam is near.

Da laverick lifts an he sings ta aa,
Da winter comes wi da caald an snaa,
Hush-a-baa-baa, me peerie floer,
Lang Willie is loin ahint da door.

Da mares dey ból an da kye comes hame,
We lay wis doon ida Gödie’s name,
Hush-a-baa-baa, me peerie ting,
He covers wis aa wi His holy wing.

* "The beautiful Cradle Song was recorded by Mr James J. Laurenson, and is said to have been composed by "Minnie o Shirva", who was once well-known as a baby-sitter in Fetlar" (SFB 4:23).

< S-6b >
Da boatie sails an da boatie rows
Dey set der sails an dey hail der towes.
Hush-a-baa-baa me peerie lamb,
De faider is comin awa frae fram.
<S-7a>
Bye babie buntin'
Your daddie's gane a' huntin';
Your mammie's gane to buy a skin
To row the babie buntin in

(<::/Chambers, ::/1842, [PRS])

<S-7b>
Bye, Baby Bunting,
Daddy's gone a' hunting,
To get a little rabbit skin
To wrap the Baby Bunting in
Bye, Baby Bunting,
Bye, Baby Bunting.

(M, ./Buck, ./1933, [ONS])

<S-7c>
Bye, baby bunting,
Daddy's gone a' hunting,
To catch a little rabbit skin,
To put the baby bunting in.

(M, ./Headington, ./1989, [SwS])

* Headington considers this song as "Trad. English" (1989:29).

<S-7d>
Baby baby bunting,
Your father's gone a hunting,
For to catch a rabbit's skin,
To row baby bunting in.

(M, Rae/Greig, ./2002, [GD-8])

<S-7e>
Hush a balloo o ba-buntin'
Your daddie's gone a huntin'
To catch a wee bit rabbitie's skin
To row my baby's fittikes in.

(M, J.B./Greig, Newburgh, ./2002, [GD-8])

<S-7f>
Babwie, Babwie Buntin',
Yer father goes a' huntin',
To catch a rabbitie for the skin,
To row the Babwie Buntin in.

(<::, Robertson/Greig, ./2002, [GD-8])

<S-8a>
O can ye sew Cushions and can ye sew Sheets
and can ye sing bal-hu-loo when the bairn greets
And hee and baw birdie and hee and baw lamb
and hee and baw birdie, my bonnie wee lamb

Hee O wee O what wou'd I do wi' you
Black's the life that I lead wi' you
mony O you little for to gie you
hee O wee O what would I do wi' you.

(M. --/Johnson, .., 1797, [SMM])

<8b>
I've placed my cradle on yon holly top,
And aye as the wind blew, my cradle did rock;
O hush a ba, baby, O ba lilly loo,
And hee and ba, birdie, My bonnie wee dow,
Hee O wee O! What will I do wi' you, & c,

(M. --/Chambers, .., 1842, [PRS])

* The Opie quote this text from Stenhouse's collection (1839). "This seems to be another hint that long ago, in Britain, as in other countries, cradles were rocked by wind power" (Opie, 1951:62)

<8c>
O can ye sew cushions, Can ye sew sheets,
Can ye sing Ba-loo-loo, When the bairnie greets?
And hee and ba, birdie, And hee and ba, lamb:
And hee and ba, birdie, My bonnie lamb!

Hee O, wee O, What wad I do wi' you
Black is the life, That I lead wi' you
Owre mony o' you, Little for to gie you;
Hee O, wee O, What wad I do wi' you.

(M. --/Chambers, .., 1842, [PRS])

<8d>
O can ye sew cushions? An' can ye sew sheets?
An' can ye sing ba-la-loo, When the bairnie greets?
An' hee an' baw birdie, An' hee an' baw lamb,
An' hee an' baw birdie, Ma bonnie wee lamb!

(ref.) Heigh O, heugh O, what'll I dae wi' ye?
Black's the life that I lead wi' ye.
Mony o' ye, little for tae gie ye,
Heigh O, heugh O, what'll I dae wi' ye?

Hush a baw lammie, An' hush'a-baw dear,
Hush'a-ba, lammie, Yer minnie is here.
The wild win' is ravin', Yer minnie's hert's sair:
The wild win' is ravin', But you dinna care.
(ref.)
Sing ba-la-loo, lammie, Sing ba-la-loo, dear,
Does wee lammie ken, That his daddie’s no’ here
Ye’re rockin’ fu’ sweetly, On minnie’s warm knee,
But daddie is rockin’, Upon the saut sea.
(ref.)

("*, Waterston/Fraser, Edinburgh, 1906/1975, [DYML]")

* "Ba-la-loo was a Scots lullaby in the time of King James VI, if not at a much earlier period: the words were used in a number of lullabies, one of the best-known being the Baroness Nairne’s Cradle Song, ‘Can ye sew cushions?’, which I first heard sung by Miss Waterson in 1906, in Edinburgh” (Fraser, 1975: 2).

<S-8e>
O can ye sew cushions, and can ye sew sheets?
And can ye sing ba-lu-loo when the bairn greets
And hee an baw birdie and hee an baw lamb
And hee an baw birdie, my bonnie wee lamb
(ref.) Hee O wee O what can I do wi’you
Black’s the life that I lead wi’you
Monny O you little for to gie you
Hee O wee O what can I do wi’you.

I biggit the cradle upon the tree top
And the wind it did blow and the cradle did rock
And hee an baw birdie and hee an baw lamb
And hee an baw birdie, my bonnie wee lamb
(ref.)

(M-SR, Camelon/BBC, Edinburgh, 1951/1993 on air)

<S-8f>
O can ye sew cushions, and can ye sew sheets?
And can ye sing Ba-loo-loo, when the bairn greets?
And hee an ba, birdie, and hee an ba, lamb:
And hee an ba, birdie, my bonnie wee lamb.
(ref.) Hee O, wee O, whit wad I dae wi’ye?
Black’s the life that I lead wi’ye.
Owre mony o’ye, little for tae gie ye;
Hee O wee O, whit wad I dae wi’ye?

I’ve placed my cradle on yon holly top,
And aye, as the wind blew, my cradle did rock.
And hush’a’ba baby, O ba-lilly-loo,
and hee and ba, birdie, my bonnie wee doo.
(ref.)

(M, */Daiken, */, */1959, [LB])
O can ye sew cushions? And can ye sew sheets?
And can ye sing ba·lu·lo when the bairn greets?
And hee an baw birdie and hee an baw lamb
And hee an baw birdie, my bonnie wee lamb

(ref.) Hee O wee O what can I do wi’ you
Black’s the life that I lead wi’ you
Monny O you little for to gie you
Hee O wee O what can I do wi’ you.

I biggit the cradle all on the tree top
And the wind it did blaw, and the cradle did rock.
And hee an baw birdie and hee an baw lamb
And hee an baw birdie, my bonnie wee lamb
(ref.)

Now hush·a·ba, lammie, and hush·a·ba, dear
Now hush·a·ba, lammie, thy minnie is here.
And hee an baw birdie and hee an baw lamb
And hee an baw birdie, my bonnie wee lamb
(ref.)

The wild wind is ravin’, thy minnie’s heart’s sair;
The wild wind is ravin’, and you dinna care.
And hee an baw birdie and hee an baw lamb
And hee an baw birdie, my bonnie wee lamb
(ref.)

Sing ba·la·loo, lammie, sing ba·la·loo, dear,
Does the wee lammie ken that his daddie’s no here
And hee an baw birdie and hee an baw lamb
And hee an baw birdie, my bonnie wee lamb
(ref.)

Ye’re rockin’ fu’ sweetly upon my warm knee,
But your daddie’s a rockin’ upon the saut sea
And hee an baw birdie and hee an baw lamb
And hee an baw birdie, my bonnie wee lamb
(ref.)

O can ye sew cushions? And can ye sew sheets?
And can ye sing ba·lu·lo when the bairn greets?
And hee an baw birdie and hee an baw lamb
And hee an baw birdie, my bonnie wee lamb
Hee-o-wee-o, what will I do with ye?
Black’s the life that I lead wi’ you.
Many o’ you, little for to gie’ ye you
Hee-o-wee-o what will I do wi’ you?

I’ve placed my cradle, on you holly top,
And aye as the wind blows my cradle will rock.
O hush-a-ba baby, o ba-lily-loo,
And hee and ba birdie my bonnie wee doo.

(ref.)

“The change is the mother’s mood as she sings is shown very clearly by the change of rhythm. The song opens with long soothing phrases as the mother think of her “wee lamb”, and then as she becomes worried about how she can feed all her other “wee lambs” the rhythm quickens and becomes worried and impatient’ (Cass-Beggs, 1969:33).

“O can ye sew cushions? And can ye sew sheets?
And can ye sing ba-lu-loo when the bairn greets?
And hee an haw (sic) birdie and hee an haw lamb
And hee an haw birdie, my bonnie wee lamb

(ref.)

Now hush a baw lammie, and hush a baw dear
Now hush-a-baw lammie, thy minnie is here.
The wild wind is ravin’, thy minnie’s heart sair;
The wild wind is ravin’, but ye dinna care.

(ref.)

Sing bal la loo lammie, sing bal la loo dear,
Does wee lammie ken that its daddie’s no here?
Ye’re rockin’ fu’ sweetly upon mammie’s warm knee,
But daddie’s a rockin’ upon the saut sea

(ref.)

(M, */Loesberg, *1994, [TFBS])
<S-9>
Cockie Bendie's lyin' seik ¹
Guess ye what'll mend him:
Twenty kisses in a cloot ²
Lassie, will ye send them?

¹ = sick
² = cloth

* Ritchie annotates that “this one is sung ‘when the bairn’s no weel’” (Ritchie, 1964:54).

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<S-10a>
Cuddle in yer bonnie baa ¹,
An get a bonnie sleepie, O;
An I se awa and milk the coo,
An gie tae her a neepie ², O.

¹ = bed
² = turnip

<S-10b>
Cuddle in yer beddie-baa,
An' get a bonnie sleepie-o,
An' I'll awa' tae milk the coo
An' gie tae her a neepie-o!

* Montgomerie, Buchan, --/1948, [SCa]

<S-11a>
A girl in the army
She longed for a baby
She took her father's greyhound
And laid it in the cradle.
Lullabye, Baby Bow Wow
Long legs hast thou,
And wasn't it for thy cold snout
I would kiss thee now, now.

* “This was scribbled down by a child early in the nineteenth century and has been found since only in Scottish and north-country versions. It appears to contain reference to the belief preserved in the saying.
If you rock the cradle empty, you shall have babies plenty.
Pretence that a thing desired has already come about is found frequently in primitive folk-lore. That the rhyme is very old seems certain. Although JOH was unaware of an English version he gives a rhyme from Sweden the similarity of which to the present piece is remarkable.” (Opie, 1951:186)

<S-11b>
As I bung through the dodder's baysh,
Deekin' for a kitchen,
There I found a kitchen,
Its jurvil was a’ajeer.

Hush-a’ba, babbie,
Lang-legged kitchen,
If it wasnae for your lang legs
I’d gie ye a suck o’my sucklers.

As I went through the doctor’s woods
Lookin’ for a peekie (baby),
There I found a peekie
Its airse was a’akakkie (dirty).

Hush-a’ba, babbie,
Lang-legged laddie,
If it wasnae for your long legs
I’d gie ye a suck o’my pappy.

(M, Higgins/MacColl & Seeger, ┬/1986, [TDA]:148)

Hoolie1, the bed’ll fall!
Who’ll fall with it?
Two eyes, two hands,
And two bonnie feet.

Hoolie, the bed’ll fall!
Who’ll not fall with it?
Wee Robin Redbreast,
Sound asleep.

(*) (Montgomerie, --, 1964, [HB])

Hog an tarry, baloo bonny,
Hog an tarry, hishy ba;
Hog an tarry, baloo bonny,
Hog an tarry, hishy ba.

(M, Lyall/Duncan, --, 1907/2002, [GD-8])

* "Dm 387a. “Mrs Lyall, from her mother. Noted 7th November 1907. Spelling doubtful – possibly should be ‘Hogin’: meaning unknown. No more words remembered, but one other verse says: ‘He’s a sailin’ on the sea’. It was used as a cradle song. The air is a version of [841 ‘The Blacksmith’ Al.” (Dm)”(Shuldham & Lyle, ..)."

Hurr, hurr dee noo, Hurr, hurr dee noo,
Noo faa dee ower, my lammie.
Hurr, hurr dee noo, Hurr, hurr dee noo,
Dere nane sall get my lammie.
Hurr dee, hurr dee, Mammie sall keep dee,
Hurr dee, hurr dee, Mammie is here.

(M, -/Smith, Shetland, -/1947, [SFS 1])

Hurr, hurr dee noo, Hurr, hurr dee noo,
Noo faa dee ower, my lammie.
Hurr, hurr dee noo, Hurr, hurr dee noo,
Noo faa dee ower, my lammie.
Hurr dee hurr dee Mammie sall keep dee,
Hurr dee hurr dee Mammie is here.

(M-SR, Sutherland/Uno, Shetland, 1992/1996, [Toch:52])

* In his The Folklore of Orkney and Shetland, Earnest Marwick interprets the origin of a vocable of this song, "hurr, hurr, dee noo", such as: "In some Shetland lullabies the whirr of the spinning-wheel, the background noise in many a home, can be distinctly heard" (Marwick, 1975:121).

Hush and baloo, babie,
Hush and baloo:
A' the lave's! in their beds
I'm hushing you.

1. = leave's

< S-15b >
(same as S-16a)

< S-16a >
Hush'a-bye, babby, an babby lie still
Yer drunken auld faither's away for a gill
He goes tae a pub at the tap o the hill
So hush'a-bye babby an babby lie still.

(M-SR, Wellington/Uno, Dundee, 1992/unpublished, -)

* The tune is the same as a well-known lullaby, "Hush'a-ba baby on the tree top". It means that this text seem to be considered as a kind of parody song in/around Dundee. In the interview Wellington told me that this song linked to the social problem of alcoholism relatively caused by a recession in/around Dundee.

Hush'a-ba baby on a tree top
When the wind blows the cradle will rock,
When the bough breaks the cradle will fall,
Down will come baby, cradle and all.

(M, Rae/Greig, -/unpublished, [GD-8])
This is the lullaby well-known both in the U.K. and the U.S.A., but the tune is comparatively different from popular ones, so that I compiled it into the present study.

<S-17>
Hush-a-baa, baby,
Dinna mak'a din¹,
An' ye'll get a cakie
When the baker comes in.

¹= noise

(<-, --/Opie, ---/1955, [ONRB])

<S-18>
Hush-a-ba, baby, lie doon
Your mammy's awa to the toon
And when she comes back ye'll get a wee drap –
Hush-a-ba baby lie doon.

(M, Rao/Greig, --/2002, [GD 8])

<S-19a>
Hush-a-ba, babie, lie still, lie still;
Your mammie's awa to the mill, to the mill;
Babie is greetin for want of good keepin;
Hush-a-ba, babie, lie still, lie still;

(<-, --/Chambers, --/1842, [PRS])

* Chambers states that he quoted it from Ane Compendious Book of Godly and Spirituall Sangs (1621) (Chambers, 1842:13)

<S-19b>
Hush-a-by, baby, lie still an sleep soun',
Your Mammie's awa tae the mill,
An' she'll no' be hame, till the licht o' the mune,
Sae hush-a-by baby, lie still.

(<-, --/MacLennan/Opie*, --/1909/1951, [ODNR])

* The Opies quote this text from MacLennan's Scottish Nursery Rhymes (1909) (Opie,1951:58).

<S-19c>
Hush-a-ba, babby, lie still, lie still;
Yer mammie's awa tae the mill, tae the mill;
Babby is greetin for want o guid keepin;
Hush-a-ba, babby, lie still, lie still;

(<-, --/Montgomerie, --/1946, [SNR])

<S-19d>
Hush-a-ba, ba-bie, lie still, lie still;
Your mammie's awa to the mill, to the mill;
Babie is greeting for want of good keeping.
Hush-a-ba, ba-bie, lie still, lie still:

<M, */Young, */1957, [DDB]>

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<S-20a>
Hush-a-ba, burdie beeton!
Your mammie's gane to Seaton,
For to buy a lammie's skin,
To wrap your bonnie boukie in.

1. = body

(<- */Chambers, */, */1842, [PRS])

---

<S-20b>
Baloo, lilie beetie,
Mammie's at the creetie,
For tae pluck an' tae pu',
For tae gather lammie's woo',
For tae buy a bullie's skin,
Tae rock wir bonnie bairnie in'.

(<- /*Gosset/Opie*, Orkney, */1915/1951, [ODNR])

* The Opies quote this text from Gosset's collection (1915) and assume as follows: "... probably referring to the old custom of swinging the baby in a hammock of 'bullie' or calf skin" (Opie, 1951:63).

---

<S-20c>
Hushi'ba, burdie beeton!
Yer mammie's gane tae Seaton,
For tae buy a lammie's skin,
Tae row yer bonnie boukie in.

(<- /*Montgomeire, */, /*1946, [SNR])

---

<S-20d>
Hushie baa baetie,
Minnie's gaen ta Saetie,
Fir ta pluck an' fir ta poo,
Fir ta gather cadeie's 'oo, 2
Fir ta buy a sheep's skin.
Ta row Earie Orrie in.
Hushie baa loo, baa loo, baa loo
Hushie baa loo, baa loo loo
Hushie baa loo, baa loo, baa loo
Hushie baa loo, baa loo loo.

1. = mother
2. = wool
3. = child's name, but also substitute name reflect to evil eye

(M, Abernethy/Tait, Shetland, */1947, [SFB 1])

---

<S-21a>
Hush'a-ba birdie, croon, croon
Hush'a-ba birdie, croon,
The sheep are gane to the silver wood,
And the cows are gane to the broom, broom. 1

1. = a wild bush with a lot of thorns and tiny yellow flowers
And it's braw milking the kye, kye,
It's braw milking the kye, kye,
The birds are singing, the bells are ringing,
The wild deer come galloping by, by.

And hush a' ba birdie, croon, croon,
Hush a' ba birdie, croon,
The gaits are gane to the mountain hie
And they'll no be hame till noon, noon.

2. = excellent

The birds are singing, the bells are ringing,
The wild deer come galloping by.

And it's braw milkin' the kye, kye,
It's braw milkin' the kye,
The birds are singin, the bells are ringin,
An the wild deer come gallopin by.

3. = high

And it's braw milkin' the kye, kye,
The birds are singin, the bells are ringin,
An the wild deer come gallopin by.

Hushaby birdie, croon, croon,
Hushaby birdie, croon.
The sheep are gane to the silver wood,
An the cows are gane to the broom, broom.

(M, ~/Daiken, ~/1959, [LB])

And it's braw milking the kye, kye,
It's braw milking the kye.
The birds are singing, the bells are ringing,
And the wild deer come galloping by, by.
The birds are singin', the bells are ringin'.
The deer come gallopin' by, by.

An' hush-a'ba birdie, croon, croon,
Hush-a'ba birdie, croon,
The lads are gane to the mountain high
An' they'll no' be hame till noon, noon.

(<S-22a>
Hush-a'ba loo loo'ee loo'ee loo'ee,
Hush-a'ba loo'ee loo'ee.
(M, Duncan/Duncan, 1885/2002, [GD-8])

<S-22b>
Hush-a'ba'loo, loo'ee loo'ee loo'ee loo'ee loo'ee,
Hush-a'ba'loo, loo'ee loo'ee loo, Oh.
(M, Duncan/Duncan, 1885/2002, [GD-8])

"These lullabies [S-22a, b] were not sung as curiosities, but were in regular daily use... They may both have been long in use for this special purpose: and, when sung slowly by a woman's voice, they were very effective. The notes show the comparative lengths. There was little accent, but what was used corresponded to the words; any barring would have to vary the measure, and would hardly give the true effect after all. They were 'crooning' songs." (Dm), (GD-8: 14)

<S-23a>
Hush, my dear, the gallopin' men,
Ride thro' the bracken and ride owre the ben,
Mammy'll watch her sleepin' hen,
So close your e'en, my dearie!

Close your e'en an' greet nae mair,
O but your mither's hert is sair,
Daddy's asleep i' the big rockin' chair,
So close your e'en, my dearie!

O but will ye never learn, never learn, never learn?
Ne'er, ne'er was sic a bairn, sic a bairn, sic a bairn!
Brakin' ma hert, ye fidgety bairn, fidgety bairn, fidgety bairn!
So close your e'en, my dearie! Close--your--e'en-- my dearie!

(<S-23b>
Close your e'en the gallopin' men
Ride thre' the backen an' ride owre the ben
Mammy will watch her sleepin' hen

(<, Fraser/ Fraser, <, 1890s/1975, [DYML])
So close your e'en my dearie.

Close your e'en an' greet nae mair.
O but your mither's hert is sair.
Daddy's asleep i' the big rockin' chair.
So close your e'en, my dearie!

(M-SR, Wellington/Uno, Dundee, 1992/unpublished, ~)

<S-24a>
Hush ye, hush ye, little pet ye,
Hush ye, hush ye, dinna fret ye,
The Black Douglas shall not get ye.

(<~ ~/Montgomerie, ~, ~/1948, [SCa])

<S-24b>
Hush ye, hush ye, little pet ye,
Hush ye, hush ye, dinna fret ye,
The Black Douglas sail not get ye.

(<~, ~/Fraser, Border County, ~1975, [DYML])

<S-25>
Oh, I hae twa bonny bairnies, the finest of aa,
They cheer up ma hert when their daddy's awa:
I hae ane at my feet an anither on my knee,
An they kindly look up and say 'Mammy' tae me.
(ref) Mammy tae me, Mammy tae me,
They kindly look up and say 'Mammy' tae me.

Noo here's the guidman comin hame fae the ploo:
"It's foo are ye wifie, an foo are ye noo,
Oh, foo are ye wifie, an foo are ye noo,
An foo's the wee bairnies since I gaed awa?"
(ref)

(M-SR, Whyte/Cooke, Montrose, 1973/unpublished, [SA])

<S-26>
I heard a coo low, a bonny coo low,
An a coo low doon in yon glen:
Lang, lang will my young son greet,
Or his mither bid1 him come ben2.

1. = ask, 2. = in

I heard a coo low, a bonny coo low,
An a coo low doon in yon fauld3;
Lang, lang will ma young son greet,
Or his mither shield him frae cauld.

(<~, ~/Montgomerie, ~, ~/1946, [SNR])

- 389 -
If ye dinnie go to sleep
I'll get Chrystie Cleik¹.

1. = an ogre

("../Ritchie, Edinburgh, 1920s/1964, [SS])

* "Even in the 1920s this curious threat to the "waukrife [sleepless] bairn" still lingered on in some households... 'Chrystie Cleik' is said to have been an ogre who 'cleiked [hooked] ye up and ate ye" (Ritchie, 1964:58).

La, la, my baby, your cradle I'll rock,
I've undressed you all, except one little sock.
La, la, my baby, now close your blue eyes,
La, la, my baby, oh how the time flies.

(M, Brown/Duncan, Glasgow, ~2002, [GD-8])

Lay doon yer little heidie¹
In yer cosy cradle beddie,
Shut yer eenies an close yer mouie,
An' sleep for siller tae buy a cooie²,
My bonnie baby.

¹ = head
² = teat

("../Opie, ~1963, [PBNR])

Peerie mootie, peerie mootie,
O du love, du joy, du beauty,
Whar is du come far, an' whar is du been?

("../Edmunds/Fraser, ~1975, [DYML])

O, silver tree, silver tree, whaur are ye langin' tae?
Silver tree, silver tree, my bonnie wean.
Silver tree, silver tree, whaur are ye langin' tae?
Silver tree, silver tree, my young wee wean.

(M, ~//MacColl & Seeger, ~1986, [TDA]:144)

Some do like the tortoise-shell,
And some do like the white;
And some do like the grey cat
That dwells alone at night.

Sleep, baby buntin',
When I have told you that:
For oh, the one that I love best's
The old black cat.

When I have told you that:
For oh, the one that I love best's
The old black cat.

Warm dee well come peddica too,
Nae body in put I and du,
When th'ould man comes in fæc da pyoch,
Du'll be warm'd dee well enyoch

Warm dee well come Tozie Mozie,
Warm dee well come General Ozie,
Warm dee well come brethren three,
Warm dee well come Wild Wullie.

*Purser quotes this text, titled “Shetland Lullaby/Wren Song”, from Cooke's collection (undated).

Wee Davie Daylicht keeks ower the sea
Early in the mornin wi a clear ee;
Waukens aa the birdies that are sleepin soum:
Wee Davy Daylicht is nae lazy loon.

Wee Davy Daylicht glowers ower the hill,
Glints through the green woods, dances on the hill,
Smiles on the wee cot, shines on the haa:
Wee Davie Daylicht cheers the herts o aa.

Come bonnie bairnie, come, come to me,
Cuddle in ma boosie, sleep upon ma knee:
Wee Davie Daylicht noo has closed his ee.
In amang the rosy clouds far ayont the sea.

Wee Willie Winkie runs through the town,
Upstairs and downstairs in his night-gown,
Rapping at the window, crying through the lock,
'Are all the children in their beds, it's past eight o'clock?'

* "This rhyme has been intoned to an impromptu tune, or rhythmically spoken, all over the English-speaking world. Wee Willie Winkie is but one of the creatures who people the pretty mythology of the
Land of Nod" (Daiken, 1959:28).

<S-35b>
Wee Willie Winkie,
Run through the town,
Up stairs and down stairs,
In his night gown,
Tirling at the window,
Crying through the lock,
"Are all the weans in their beds?
For now it's ten o'clock."

Hey, Willie Winkie,
Are you coming ben?
The cat's singing grey thrums
To the sleeping hen.
The dog's speldered on the floor
And doesn't give a cheep,
But here's a wakeful laddie
That will not fall asleep.

 Anything but sleep, you rogue,
Glowering like the moon,
Rattling in an iron jug
With an iron spoon,
Rambling, tumbling, round about,
Crowing like a cock,
Skirling like a kenna-whit,
Waking sleeping folk.

Hey, Willie Winkie, ****
The wean's in the creel!
Wambling off a body's knee,
Like a very eel,
Tugging at the cat's ear,
Raveling all her thrums ****
Hey, Willie Winkie ****, See, there he comes!

...................................................................................

<S-36a>
When I wis new bit sweet sixteen
An' beauty just in bloomin', oh,
Oh little, little did I think,
At nineteen I'd be greetin', oh.
For the plouman lads, they’re gey weel lads,
They’re false an’ deceivin’, oh,
They sail awa’ an’ they gang awa’.
An’ they leave their lassies greetin’, oh.

For if I hadda kent whit I dae ken,
An’ teen ma mither’s biddin’, oh,
Oh, I widna be sittin’ at your fireside,
Crying hishie ba’, ma bairnie, oh.

Oh hishie ba’, oh I’m your ma,
Bit the Lord kens wha’s your daddy, oh.
Bit I’ll tak’ good care an’ I’ll be aware,
O’ the young men in the gloamin’, oh.

Oh hishie ba, fur Ah’m yer ma
Hishie ba ma bairn o;
It’s hishie ba, fur Ah’m yer ma
But Guid1 kens 2 fa’s 3 yer faither o.
When I was a maid o sweet sixteen
In beauty all a-bloomin o
It’s little, little did I think
That at seventeen I’d be greetin o
Oh hishie ba, fur Ah’m yer ma . . .

* “There are several versions of this song, all with the theme of the young girl left to hold the baby and to regret not paying attention to her mother’s warning” (Bennett, 1992-74).

(The following three songs were originally sung by not Scots but Gaelic.

Get awa fae ma windae, bokey-boo,
Get awa fae ma windae, bokey-boo:
Let the cauld wind an rain
Bring yer daddy back again:
Get awa fae ma windae, bokey-boo.

* “. . . sung to children by her mother to calm child fears. Prefaced by words of a lullaby spoken by ‘a fragment derived from the sixteenth century song, “Go from my window” (a warning to a lover, disguised as a lullaby)’, originally Gaelic Song” (Cooke’s annotation).
I left my baby lying here, lying here, lying here
I left my baby lying here
To go and gather blueberries
(ref.) Hovhan hovhan, gorrie o go, gorrie o go, gorrie o go,
Hovhan hovhan, gorrie o go, I've lost my darling baby O.

I found the wee brown otter's track, the otter's track, the otter's track.
I found the wee brown otter's track, But could not find my baby O.
(ref.)

I found the track of the fallow deer, the fallow deer, the fallow deer.
I found the track of he fallow deer. But never find my baby O.
(ref.)

I heard the curlew crying far, crying far, crying far.
I heard the curlew crying far. But never heard my baby O.
(ref.)

* This song called "Highland Fairy Lullaby by Wellingon, is originally a Gaelic lullaby, "Mo chubhrachan", G-52 in this thesis.

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<S-G3>
My love, my treasured one are you
My sweet and lovely son are you
You are my love, my darling new
Unworthy I of you
(ref.) Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia,

Your mild and gentle eyes proclaim
The loving heart with which you came
A tender helpless tiny babe
With boundless gifts of grace
(ref.)

King of kings most holy one
God the son, eternal one
You are my God and helpless son
High ruler of mankind.
(ref.)

* This English version of a Gaelic hymn, "Taladh Chriosda", written by Father Ranald Rankin, G-43 in this thesis, is translated by Kenna, according to Wellington.
Johnnie Scott was awfu' thin, his banes were stick'in' through his skin;

Noo he's got a double chin wi' eat-in' Coulter's candy.

Al-ly bally, al-ly bally bee, Sittin' on your daddy's knee

great'in' for a wee penny to buy some Coulter's candy.

Al-ly Bally, Al-ly Bally Bee Sittin' on yer mummy's knee.

Greet'in' for a wee bow-bee, Tae buy some Coulter's Candy.


Gaeawa, pee-rie fae-ries, Gaeawa pee-rie fae-ries, Gaeawa pee-rie fae-ries, Fae wir bairn noo.
< S-3d >

Ba-loo ba-lil-li, Ba-loo ba-lil-li, Ba-loo, ba-lil-li, Ba-loo — ba. Game awa, peerie faeries, Game awa peerie faeries Game awa, peerie faeries Fae wir bairn noo. Ba-ba. Dan come boa-nie angels, Ta-wir peerie bairn-: Dan come boa-nie angels Ta wir bairn noo ba-ba.

< S-3e >

Ba-loo ba-lil-ly, Ba-loo, ba-lil-ly, Ba-loo, Ba-lil-ly, Ba-loo oo ba. Den come the bonnie angels, Den come the bonnie angels, Den come the bonnie angels Ba-loo oo, ba

< S-5 >

Bi-shy by, Bi-shy by Bi-shy by my ba-by.
Da boatie sails an da boatie rows
Dey set der sails an dey hail der towes
Hush-a-baa-baa, me pee-rie lamb,
De fai-der is com-in a-ua frae fram.

Bye, Ba-by Bunt-ing,
Dad-dy's gone a-hunt-ing,
To get a lit-tle rab-bit skin
To wrap the Ba-by Bunt-ing in.

Bye, Ba-by Bunt-ing,
Bye, Ba-by Bunt-ing.

Bye, ba-by bun-ting
Dad-dy's gone a-hunt-ing,
To catch a lit-tle rab-bit skin,
ton the ba-by bun-ting in.
< S-7d >

Baby bunting your father's gone a hunting

For to catch a rabbits' skin To row baby bunting in

< S-7e >

Hush a bal-loo o bunting your dad-die's gone a hunting To

catch a wee bit rabbit's skin To row my baby's fit-ti-kies in.

< S-8a.c.h >

O can ye sew cushion, and can ye sew sheets? And

can ye sing Bal-lu loo, when the bairn greets? And

hee and ba, bir-die, and hee and ba, lamb; And

hee and ba, bir-die, my bon-nie wee lamb

Hee O wee O what would I do wi' you? Black's the life that I lead wi' you.

mon-ny o' you lit-tle for to gie you, Hee O, wee O, what would I do wi' you?

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O can ye sew cushions and can ye sew sheets? And can ye sing Bal-oo-lee - when the bairn greets? And hee an baw bir-die, and hee an baw lamb And hee an baw bir-die, my bon-nie wee lamb

Hee 0 wee 0 what can I do wi' you Black's the life that I lead wi' you

Mon-ny 0 you lit-tle for to-gie you, Hee 0 wee 0 what can I do wi' you

Ooure mony o' ye, lit-tle for to gie ye; Hee 0 wee O, whit wad I dae wi' ye?
O can ye sew cushions? And can ye sew sheets? And

hee an haw bir-die and hee an haw lamb And

hee an haw bir-die, my bonnie wee lamb.

Hee O wee O what would I do wi' you? Black's the life that I lead wi' you;

Mo-ny o' ye, Lit-tle for to gie you Hee O, wee O, what would I do wi' you?

As I bung through the clod-der's baysh, Deek-in' for a kit-chen

There I found a kit-chen, Its jur-vil was a' a-jeer.

Hush-a-ba, bab-bie, Lang-leg-ged kit-chen, If it

was-nae for your lang legs, I'd gie ye a suck o' my suck-lers.
**< S-13 >**

Hog an tarry bâ-loo bon-ny. Hog an tarry hish-y ba;

Hog an tarry, bâ-loo bon-ny, Hog an tarry hish-y ba.

**< S-14a >**

Hurr, hurr dee noo, Hurr, hurr dee noo, Noo saa dee ower my lam-mie, Hurr

hurr dee noo, Hurr, hurr dee noo. Dere none sall get my lam-mie.

Hurr dee hurr dee Mâm-mie sall keep dee, Hurr dee hurr dee Mâm-mie is here.

**< S-14b >**

Hurr, hurr dee noo, Hurr, hurr dee noo, Noo saa dee

ower my lam-mie. Hurr mie. Hurr dee hurr dee

Mâm-mie sall keep dee, Hurr dee hurr dee Mâm-mie is here.
Hush-a-by, bab-by, an bab-by lie still Yer drun-ken auld fai-ther's awa for a gill. He
go-es to a pub at the top o' the kill. So hush-a-by bab-by an bab-by lie still.

Hush-a-ba baby on a tree top when the wind, blows the cradle will rock.

When the bough breaks the cradle will fall Down will come bab-by, cradle and all.

Hush-a-ba baby, lie doon Your man-ny's a-wa to the town

And when she comes back ye'll get a wee drop Hush-a-ba-baby lie doon.

Hush-a-ba, bab-be, lie still lie still Your man-ny's a-wa to the mill, to the mill;

Bar-be is geeting for want of good keep-ing Hush-a-ba, bab-be, lie still lie still.
Hushie baa bae-tie Minnie's gaeta Sue-tie Fir ta pluck an' fir-ta poo

Fir-ta gather cadie's loo Fir ta buy a sheep's skin Ta row Eerie Orrie in

Hushie baa loo, baa loo, baa loo, Hushie baa loo, baa loo loo,

Hushie baa loo, baa loo, baa loo, Hushie baa loo, baa loo loo.

Hush-a-by bir-die croon croon Hush-a-by bir-die croon. The

Sheep are gane to the sil-ver wood, And the cows are gane to the broom, broom, And its

Braw milling the kye, kye, And its braw milling the kye, The

Birds are sing-ing, the bells are ring-ing, The wild deer come gal-lap-ing by, by

Hush-a-ba loo loo-ee loo-ee loo-ee, Hush-a-ba loo-ee loo-ee
S-22b

Hush-a-ba-loo, loo-ee loo-ee loo-ee loo-ee, Hush-a-ba-loo loo-ee loo-ee loo-ee, Oh,

S-23b

Close your e'en the gal-lop-in' men, Ride thro' the back-en an' ride o'er the ben.

S-25

Oh, I han' too boney bair-nies the finest of aa, They cheer up a hert when their dad-dy's a-wa; I han' one at my feet an' a-ther on my knee, An' they kind-ly look up and say 'Mam-ny tae me.'

S-28

La, la, my ba-by, your cradle I'll rock, I've undressed you all, except one little sock. La,

La, my ba-by, now close your blue eyes, La, la, my ba-by, oh how the time flies.
S-31

O, silver tree, silver tree, whaur are ye long-in' tae?

Silver tree, silver tree, my bonnie wean.

S-33

Warm dee well come Ped-di-ca too, Nae body in but I and du,

When thisuld man comes in fae da pyoch Du'll be warn'id dee well e-nyoch

Warm dee well come To-zie Mo-zie, warm dee well come Gen-er-al O-zie,

warm dee well come, breth-er-en three, warm dee well come Wild Wal-lie.

S-34

Wee Da-vie Day-light keeks o'er the sea Ear-ly in the mor-nin wi a clear ee;

Wau-kens an the bir-dies that are sleepin seen; Wee Da-vy Day-ligh t is nae la-zy loon.
When I was new bit sweet six-teen An' beauty just in bloom-in' Oh, Oh
little little did I think, At nineteen I'd be greet-in' Oh

Get a-va, fæ ma wëndë, bokey-boo Get a-va, fæ ma wëndë, bokey-boo: Let the
could wind an rain Bring yer daddy back-a-gain: Get a-va fæ ma wëndë, bokey-boo

I left my ba-by ly-ing here ly-ing here ly-ing here I
left my ba-by ly-ing here To go and gath-er blue-berries

My love, my trea-sured one are you. My sweet and love-ly son are you. You
are my love, my dar-ling new Un-worth-y I of you.

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2.1. Gaelic Lullaby Texts

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>Note>
English translation is basically cited from the original text of reference. When it is not described in the reference, I translated Gaelic words into English with the support of Ms. Mairi Kidd, Ms. Morag MacLeod and Ms. Peigi Bennett.

The bracket of the bottom’s right corner of each text means: music (M standing for music manuscript attached to this thesis as Appendix, M-SR standing for sound recording), informant/compiler(s), area of collection, date of collection/publication, initial code (and number) of reference indicated above with page(s), and registration number of Sound Archive if there is. In case of unknown or no corresponding, it is indicated as “—”.

- 407 -
A chailin óg a stiuradh mi,  
Chailin in ó, hog hi ho ro,  
Hog i hò, na hò ro eile,  
Chailin óg a stiuradh mi.  

'O young girl who would guide me  
'O young girl, in ó, hog hi ho ro,  
'Hog i hò, na hò ro eile,  
'O young girl who would guide me.

Latha dhomh's mi siubhal fàsaich,  
Thachair caillín mhin ghlean bhan orm,  
Sheall in a m'ghnus's rinn i gaire,  
Sheall mise na hnuis's bhuail an gradh mi,  
Dath an oir air a cul fàineach,  
Thuirt i rium le guth binn gaireach,  
Buachaill thuasa, banachag mise,  
B'fearrde banachag buachaill aice,  
Theid e mach ri oidhche fhrasaich,  
Cuiridh e na laoigh am fasgadh,  
Lubaidh e i thein na bhreacan,  
Caidlidh iad gun gois, gun airsneul,  
'S eutrom dh'eireas iad 's a' mhaduinn,  

'O day as I was walking in the wilderness  
'I met a soft, white-skinned, fair-haired girl,  
'She looked in my face and she smiled,  
'I looked in her face and love struck me,  
'I was struck by the arrow of death,  
'She deceived my heart with her warm eye,  
'Her cheek was like garden berries,  
'Her ringletted hair the colour of gold,  
'She said to me in a sweet, laughing voice,  
'You're a shepherd and I'm a milkmaid,  
'A milkmaid is better off if she has a shepherd,  
'He will go out on a showery night,  
'He will bring the calves to shelter,  
'He will wrap her in his plaid,  
'They will sleep without exhaustion or sorrow,  
'They will rise joyfully in the morning.

* "There is another fragment of a song of this kind which is said to have been composed by a young man who was traveling the mountain side, when he met a young woman of great beauty, who pretended to be a maid of the sheiling. She fascinated him with her charms of looks and manner, and when she asked him to become her herdsman, he followed her, to find she had deceived him, and her beauty was only seeming. She was one of the weird
women of the fairy hills, and he regrets having met her. We have heard this sung as a lullaby, and also as a waulking song. The melody is very fine." (Mackeller, 1889:158)

<G>2</G>

A Mhórag dhonn! A Mhórag dhonn!  
Till gu d’mhacan  
’S gheibh thu’im bradan breac o’n loch

[O brown-haired Morag,  
[Come back to your little son,  
[And thou shalt get a speckled salmon from the loch.


Tha ’n oidhch’ an  
Gu fluich frasach,  
Aig mo mhac’sa ri sgàth cnocain.

[The night is wet,  
[And showery.  
[For my son in the shelter of a knoll

(ref.)

Gun teine, gun tuar,  
Gun fhasgadh,  
’S tu sior chronàn.

[Without fire, without light,  
[Without shelter,  
[And murmuring without cease.

(ref.)

Mo shean-a chab liath.  
Ri d ’bheul beag baoth.  
’S mi seinn phortduit am Beinn Frochdai.

[My unsightly old grey mouth,  
[Against thy silly little mouth,  
[While I sing dandling songs to thee in Ben Frochdai.

(ref.)

(OM, MacDiarmid/Tolmie, Skye, 1862/1911, [JFS]: 162)

* This song is called ‘Cumha an Eich-Uisge [Lamentation of the Water-Horse]’ by the compiler.

* “The water-horse could assume any form, and, in the likeness of a man, married Morag. On discovering, by the sand on his hair and breast, who he was, she fled from him and their child. The water-horse here sings to the child, hoping to induce Morag to return.... The story of ‘the Forsaken Merman’, so beautifully presented in English verse by Matthew Arnold, is a favourite one throughout Norway, Sweden and Denmark. It is interesting to find three versions in a Scottish island formerly colonised by Norseman.” (Tolmie, 11:162)

* In Carmina Gadelica 5, the following two stories similar to the theme of above text, ‘the Forsaken Merman’, are introduced, accompanied with the verses, which were sung as lullabies:

‘An Leannan Sidh [The Fairy Lover]’

A farmer’s daughter was once herding her father’s big cattle and small stock in Trosairigh in the upland of Corry Corodale in Uist. The day was warm and sultry, and what but a drowse of sleep and a load of slumber fell upon the girl. When the herd awoke the cattle were a-missing. The herd had no tidings of the cattle, and the cattle had no tidings of
the herd. But as it drew towards evening the cattle came home, sauntering at their own sweet leisure, and the girl came home with a hasty step after them. She came, my dear, Oh she came, and neither herself nor others knew where she had been—O Mary Mother, neither she herself nor others knew at all where she had been!

But three quarters after that the girl bore a son. The girl herself knew not, nor did others know, who was father to the child, no, neither the girl herself nor others knew at all who was father to the child. But there was a fair green knoll in the upland of the Corry, full of fairies— Oh a great troop of the fairy folk with their fine green mantles and their gallant handsome costumes. Men suspected one of these.

The girl was advised to go to an old man who was in the townland and to seek and to take counsel of him. The girl did that: and the counsel which the man furnished to her was that she should go and leave the child hard by the green mound wherein the slumberers rested and where the drowse and overmastery of sleep had fallen upon her, and remain in hiding, and overlook and overhear to discover whatever she might see or hear.

The girl did every whit as the old man bade, and left the child by the mound, and went herself into hiding. The child was wailing, a thing not his wont, when his mother was going to leave him hard by the mound at the approach of the night.

Then a poor tiny little dweller in the fairy bower came forth from the beautiful green mound, with a green mantle and a well-fitting distinctive garb about his form and about his frame. The fairy lifted the child into his bosom, and began to beguile and coax and assuage it, singing airs and strains and mouth-tunes to it, and May Mother! his music and mouth-tunes were such as ear had never before heard in the land of the living, so lightsome and melodious, so blithe and seductive were they!

What, my love, shall I do with thee? Or, food and clothing, give to thee? I fear lest thou should take the hiccough/ And thou not on thy mother's breast! // Alas and alas now for myself!/ Thou hast broken the cockles of my heart!/ 'Twere better, plainly, to be in the grave/ Than watch over thy wailing. // I had rather than all my store:/ I had rather than all my living:/ I had rather than thy breast milk:/ That thou wert beside thy mother/ // I'll carry thee home to the fairy bower:/ Where thou shalt have food in plenty:/ Meal and milk, cream and butter [or cheese]./ And the milking of the cow-folds.'

'A Mhor, A Ghaoil [Mor, My Beloved]

A fairy lover fell in with Mor early one morning when she was out with the cattle, and it would seem that pretty little Mor and the sly slender fay came to know each other, and that a son child was born of Mor as the consequence of the knowledge that was between them. Mor knew not what to do with the fairy's child, and she went to seek counsel of an old man who was in the townland. On this man's advice she left the child where she had got it, and herself went into hiding near the place. The child was wailing, and who came to lull it but the fairy out of the green fairy knoll in the breast of thed glen, and he set to beguiling it and coaxing it, to assuaging it and lulling it, and this is the lull'song that the fairy had.'

Ill o bha ho/ Ill o bha hau// I rose betimes,/ I rose reluctant,/ I rose betimes—/ Better that I had not risen!/ 'Twas my utter reaving/ That sent me forth!/ // The calf of my calf./ The calf of my calf./ The calf of my calf./ Lies by a knoll’s side./ Without fire./ Without comfort or shelter./ // . . . // O Mor, my beloved./ O Mor, my beloved./ O Mor, my beloved./ Turn to thy little son!/ Cold is the place! Where thou hast left him!/ . . . // O Mor, my beloved./ O Mor, my beloved./ O Mor, my beloved./ Turn to thy little son!/ And thou shalt get from me! The pretty little speckled withe [or strings of beads, trout? ]! // etc. (Carmichael, 1954: 132-143)
In *Transaction of Gaelic Society of Inverness* 15 (1889), another fairy story accompanied with a lullaby is introduced. The contents of the story is slightly different from above Tolmie’s and Carmichael’s ones, but the plaint of a stranger (water-horse or fairy) to a human wife, asking her to come back to her baby is the same motif among them. It suggests that these stories originally had a certain relationship each other:

“A Mhór, a Mhór, a Mhór, a Mhór, a Mhór, Taobh ri d’mhacan/ S gheibh thu goidean/ Boidheach bhreac uam/ A hůbh a hó! / A hůbh a hó! / A hůbh a hó! / A hůbh a hó! / Teid thu goidean [Mackeller, 1889:153-154]

It was composed by the ‘leannan-sith [= fairy lover]’ when the maid of the sheiling who was the mother of his child, had become cruel and laid his little baby-boy to cry himself to death on the hill-side near the father’s uncanny home. The poor unhappy man came to the relief of his child, and in his song he is promising every thing good to his “Morag” if she obeys nature’s call and comes to her son. Morag it seems went to look after her herds, and turned a deaf ear to his weird singing and his deep distress. The melody of this song is very sweet and plaintive as are all those known as ‘Fonn-sith,’ fairy melody.” (Mackeller, 1889:153-154)

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**<G-3>**

Anna bheag an teid thu  
Dha’n tobar leis a’ chuman ur?  
Anna mo mhire mo mhuirn,  
Anna ‘n laighe ’m plaid ur,  
Anna bheag an teid thu?  
Anna bheag an teid thu?  

[Little Anne will you go  
To the well with the new pail?  
Anne my joy and delight,  
Anne lying in a new blanket,  
Little Anne will you go?  
Little Anne will you go?  

(M, MacKinnon/Ross, Barra, 1956/1971, [To-1]: 28)

**<G-4>**

An tarbh breac dearg, an tarbh a mharbh mi,  
An tarbh breac dearg, an tarbh a mharbh mi,  
An tarbh breac dearg, an tarbh a mharbh mi,  
Tarbh buidhe, buidhe, buidhe,  
Tarbh buidhe, buidhe, a mharbh mi.  

[The speckled red bull that did for me,  
The speckled red bull that did for me,  
The speckled red bull that did for me,  
A yellow, yellow, yellow bull,  
A yellow, yellow, bull that did for me.  

(M, Johnstone/Campbell, Boisdale, 1937/1990, [SRE]: 66)

**<G-5>**

A ro’s gun dheoghal na laoigh  
Hi ho ro’s gun dheoghal na laoigh  
A ro’s gun dheoghal na laoigh  
Hi ho ro’s ma dheoghal leig dhaibh

[The calves have suckled  
The calves have suckled  
The calves have suckled  
If they have, leave them be.

Mnathan na buile, Mnathan na buaile,  
Mnathan na buaile, ’N gruagaibh a cheile  

[Women of the cattle-fold, of the cattle-fold  
Women of the cattle-fold, girls together.
Mnathan na h-airigh, Mnathan na h-airigh, Mnathan na h-airigh, Bha iad 'ga' reiteach
[Mnathan of the shieling, Mnathan of the shieling, Mnathan of the shieling, Women of the shieling, being betrothed.]

Bheinn Or Bheag, A' Bheinn Or Bheag, A' Bheinn 'is Sheitich
[Little Golden Mountain, Golden Mountain, Little Golden Mountain, ???]

An Da Dhiolaid, An Da Dhiolaid, An Da Dhiolaid, 'S Garbhchlach Esan
[The Two Saddles, Two Saddles, The Two Saddles, ? it is a rough place.]

Na Beanntan Ora, Na Beanntan Ora, Na Beanntan Ora, Mu choinneamh a cheile.
The Golden Mountains, Golden Mountains, The Golden Mountains, facing one another.

(M, MacKellaig/Lomax, Moidart, 1951/-, SA1951/2/B2a)

<G-6a>

Ba-bà mo leanabh, Ba-bà, ba-bà
Sleep, my child!

Ba-bà mo leanabh, Ba-bà, ba-bà
Sleep, my child!

Faill e ill o-ro-ho,
Sleep, oh sleep

Gu 'n till na feara a dh' f halbh thar såil.
The man will return who have gone over the sea!

(M, Watson/Tolmie, Edinburgh, 1898/1911, [JFS]: 164-165)

* This text with the same words and tune, called 'Lochaber Lullaby', is also discovered in *Puirtra-Beul — Mouth-Tunes* or "Tunes for Dancing", compiled by Keith Norman MacDonald (1901).

* Although Tolmie does not mention the connection with the following texts, all of which seem to be originated into a song, so-called 'Griogal Cridhe [Beloved Grigor]', the similarity with G-6c (Shaw's version) suggests that it may be a fragment of the song.

<G-6b>

'S ioma hoidhche fhliuch is thioram,
Many a night of rain, or fair,

Side na seachd sian,
or tempest raging wild,

Gheibhheadh Griogal dhomhsa creagan,
Gregor would find for me a rock,

Ris an gabhainn dion,
and shelter from the storm.

(ref.) Òbhan! Òbhan! Òbaniri! Òbaniri o
Obhan, Obhan! Obhaniri! Obhaniri! 'S mòr mo mhulad 'mòr. [Obhan, etc. Great is my grief, and great!

Dhirich mi dh'an t-seòmar mhullaich,
I climbed to the room above

'S theirinn mi'n tigh-lair,
and searched the room below,

'S cha d'fhuair mise Griogal cridhe,
but did not find Gregor, beloved,

'Na shuidhe mu 'n chlár.
sitting at the board.

(ref.)
Eudail mhóir, a shluagh an Domhain,  
Dhòirt iad t’fhuil o’n dé,  
'S chuir iad do cheann air stob daraich  
Tacan beag bho d’chré.

[Most loved of all men in the world,  
they shed thy blood since yesterday;  
on oaken stake they set thy head,  
In heart where thy body lay.

(ref.)

B ‘annsa bhí le Griogal cridhe,  
Teàrnadh chruidh le gleann,  
Na le Baran mór na Dalach,  
Sioda geal mu m’cheann.

[Far rather would I be with Gregor:  
herding down the glen,  
than with the great Baron of Dull,  
and white silk round my head.

(ref.)

Cha n ’eil ùbhlan idir agam,  
’S ùbhlan uil’ aig cèach,  
’S ann tha m’ùbhlan’ s’cùbhhr’ ri caineal  
’S cùl an cinn ri lår.

[No apples now be mine,  
such as the others have,  
lyet fragrant are mine as cinnamon,  
their heads low on the ground.

(ref.)

’Nuair a bhios mnathan òg a’bhaile,  
’Nochd nan cadal sèimh,  
’S ann bhios mis’ air bruaisg do lice,  
’Bualadh mo dhà làimh.

[When other women lie to-night,  
in peaceful slumber still,  
beside thy grave there I lie,  
smiting my two hands.

(M, Tolmie/Tolmie, Skye, 1908/1911, [JFS]: 196-197)

"The above lullaby is well known throughout the Hebrides, though the incidents mentioned in it occurred on the mainland. The subject is the mourning of a young lady, a daughter of Campbell of Glenlyon, for the death of her husband, Grigor Roy, an outlawed MacGregor, who was executed at Kenmore, on Loch Tay, by command of Sir Colin Campbell of Glenurchy, in 1570". (Tolmie, 1911:197)

<G-6c>

O ba, mo leanabh, o ba, o ba,  
O ba, mo leanabh, o ba, o ba,  
O ba, hi ri, hill u, ill o ro,  
Gun thill na feara chaidh bhuainn gu sail.  

[O ba, my baby,  
O ba, my baby,  
O ba, my baby,  
the men who went away from us to sea have returned.

O, 's iomadh cruaidh-fhortan bha lorg nam brathan,  
'S gu roibh mo chuid-sa dheth 'na mo laimh:  
Mo leanabh gun bhaisteadh, 's mi thìn fo'n uireas,  
O, 's iomadh sgeal duilich r'a sheinn, r'a sheinn.  

[Many a hard fortune follows women,  
And I have had my share of it;  
My baby unbaptized, and I in want;  
O, there is many a sad tale to tell.

- 413 -
*"There is a similarity between this song and 'Ba·ba, Mo Leanabh' in Miss Tolmie's Collection, No.8." (Shaw, 1955:145)

<G-6d>
Hobhan hobhan hobhan iri, Hobhan iri o
Hobhan hobhan hobhan iri
'S mor mo mhulad fhein

'S iomadh oidhche fluch is tioram
Side na seachd sian
Fhuair Mac Griogair dhomhsa creagan
Anns a faighinn dian

Bha Griogal cridhe na halt geala
Dhoirt iad d'fhuil air feur
Chuir iad do cheann air stoc daraich
Facan beag bho'n cheum

[Chorus]
'S truagh nach robh biodag nam achlais
'S drüid'sa gu mo laimh
'S Griogair cridhe nan halt geala
Eadar mo dha laimh

'S mor gum b'hear leam Griogal cridhe
Giomain cruidh le gleann
No mac righ le phiob air lobhta
Cluasag gheal fo cheann

[Chorus]
Ged tha mi gun ualadh agam
'S ualadh uil aig each
'S ann tha m'ualadh's cubhraidh anail
'S cùl a chinn ri lèir.

[G-6e]  
(one stanza missing)  

(ref.)  O hà bà mo leanabh
Bà mo leanabh bà
Is chaneil duine chi mo leanabh
Nach canadh bà bà

[Hush, hush my child
[Hush my child, hish
[And no one who sees my child
[But would say "hush"
Many a night, wet and showery
Nights of seven storms
Did Gregor give me a bed
In which to sleep securely

Though I am without apples
Other people have apples
My cinnamon-scented apples
Is lying on the ground

Yon night I was standing
In the doorway of the white tower
The highest stone in the wall
Was closest to the ground

They asked me to the wedding
A wedding that never was
They had your head on the point
On yonder post.

Hush, hush my child
Hush my child, hush
And no one who sees my child
But would say “hush”

When the young women of the town
Are tonight peacefully asleep
I will be at the bank of your grave
Clapping my two hands.

Although I have no apples
and the others have apples aplenty
My apple is fragrant and cinnamon-sweet
with the back of his head laid on the ground.
'S mor a b'annsa bhith le Griogair
Air feadh coille agus fraoich
Na bhith aig baran crion na Dalach
An taigh clach is aol.

'S mor a b'annsa bhith le Griogair
Cur a' chruidh do'n ghleann
Na bhith aig baran crion na Dalach
Ag ol air fion is leann.

'S mor a b'annsa bhith aig Griogair
Fo bhratach ruadh roin
Na bhith aig baran crion na Dalach
Giulain sioda's srol.

Ba hu ba hu, asrain bheag thu
Chan'eiil thu fathasach t'athal:
'S eagal orm nach dig an latha
Gun diol thu t'athair gu brath.

Ba, ba, mo leanabh beag,
Bidh tu mór ged thu beag,
Bà, bà, mo leanabh beag,
Cha n'urrainn mi 'gad thàaladh.

Dé, a ghaoil, a ni mi riut
Gun bhainne ciche am agdhut?
Eagal orm gun gabb thu crup
Le buigead a' bhuntàta.

(M-SR [fragment], MacDonald/MacInnes, Perthshire, 1967/1990, [SSGS]:13, SA1967/23 B2)

"This lullaby may have been composed at the time of the potato famine in 1848, when conditions in the Highlands and the Isles were nearly as dreadful as in Ireland." (Shaw, 1955: 143).
Caluman, na ho i,
Caluman, na ho he,
Caluman, na ho i, Aigh-ear leam,
Calum air mo ghlun.

Iosa gu robh, ho hi, Iosa gu robh, ho hi,
Iosa gu robh, ho hi, Aigh-ear leam,
Iosa gu robh leam.

*This song is called 'Ethne’s Croon to her Child Columba: An Iona Lullaby [Taladh Chalumchille]’ by the compiler. "When St. Columba was a day and a year old, his mother, Ethne, was crooning over him these words." (MacDonald, 1921: 104)
Chan ann dubh na ruadh
A tha luaidh mo chridhe
Ach gu dualach bán --
Ailleagan nan gillean.

[Not black nor red-haired
[Is the love of my heart:
[His flowing locks are fair,
[The handsomest of lads.

Ciobair thu le d'chù,
Sealgair thu le d'ghunna,
Maraiche nan tonn
Chuíreachd long fo h-uigheam.

[Skilled shepherd with your dog,
[Skilled hunter with your gun,
[Skilled sailor of the seas
[To sail a full-rigged ship.

Cha b'ann an taigh sùidh
Bha mi 'n dùil a bhithinn,
Ach an taigh geal urch
Cur cùirteir ri uinneag.

[It was not in a sooty black house
[I thought I would be
[But in a fine white-washed house
[Hanging curtains on a window.

Dhirich mi 'n Càrn Bàn:
Hluair mi àite sùidh' ann
Dh'haicinn Rudha Stòir,
Far 'n do sheòl do luingeas.

[I climbed Carn Bàn:
[I found a place to sit there
[To watch the Point of Stoer
[Where your ship had sailed.

Shéid a' ghaoth a tuath
Nuas tromb 'n Chaolas Chumhang:
Dhùilt I tighinn man cuairt
'S bhuail i air a' rudha.

[The north wind blew
[Down through the Sound of Kylesku:
[She refused to go about
[And struck upon the headland.

Bhuail i air an tràigh
Far a fàs an duileasg:
Leum thu aiste, ghraidh,
'S shàbhail thu iad uile.

[She struck upon the shore
[Where the dulse grows:
[You leapt overboard, my love,
[And you saved all of them.

(M, Matheson/Paterson, North Uist, 1975/1981, [To-5]: 312-315, SA1975/224 A8)

* This text is categorised into "Sailors' songs" by the editor of Tocher.

<G-10b>
(the same words, but the different tune)

(M, Matheson/Paterson, North Uist, 1975/1981, [To-5]: 312-315, SA1975/224 A8)

<G-10c>
Cadal cha dean mi,
Sùgradh cha dean mise:
Nochd channfaigh mi tamh
'S gun mo ghràdh a' tighinn:

[I can get no sleep,
[I cannot make merry:
[Tonight I can get no rest
[Since my love is not coming:  

(M, Matheson/Paterson, North Uist, 1975/1981, [To-5]: 312-315, SA1975/224 A8)
Uairean air an tràigh
Far a fas an duileasg
Bheir thu aisid a ghraidh
Far an robh iad uile

Cha b'ann dubh no ruadh
Bha tha lauidh mo chridhe
Ach gur buidhe ban
Aileagan nan uighean

Sgriobhadair tu le peann
Lenghadair nan duileag
Maraiche thar tomn
Chuireadh long fo huidheam

[Umany times on the shore
[where the dulse grows
[You would bring out, love
[Where they all were.

[Not black-haired, nor red-haired
[was my heart's darling
[But yellow, golden-haired
[The favourite of the young women.

[M-SR, MacKaulay/Uno, Barra, 1992++ , -]

<G11>
Cadal ciarrach, mo luran
Cadal ciarrach, mo luran
Cadal ciarrach, mo luran
Bidh mi fhin agad tuilleadh.

I'll be with you from now on.

Sleep, my little darling.
Sleep, my little darling.
Sleep, my little darling.

I'll be with you from now on.

I'll be with you from now on.

I'll be with you from now on.

I'll be with you from now on.

The cattle drover won't get you.


<G12>

(ref.) Cagaran, cagaratan, cagaratan gaolach
Cagaratan foghainteach fear dhe mo dhaoine
goideadh tu godhair dhuinn's goideadh tu caoraich
goideadh tu capaill is mairt far na raitean.
[Darling, darling, beloved darling
Brave darling, one of my people
You'd steal us goats and you'd steal us sheep
You'd steal horses and cows from the fields.

Dean an cadalan duin do shuilean
Rinn thu 'n cadalan beag ann am sguid'sa
Dean an cadalan duin do shuilean
Rinn thu 'n cadalan slan gun duisg thu.

[Sleep now, close your eyes
You slept a while on my lap
Sleep now, close your eyes
You slept peacefully until you woke

* “Aig mo mhathair a chuila mi e. Bha fonn eil’ ac’ air as a sgoil thall ann a so, ach bha i gradh gur e siod an doigh air an cuid is’ e.” (comment in transcription of SA)

(M-SR, MacKinnon/-., Vatersay, 1958/-, SA1958/140/4)

<G-13a>
Caidealan cuide rium fhin am pais’de
Caidealan cuide rium fhin thu,
Caidealan cuide rium fhin am pais’de

'S tu mochaorann, 'S tu mo chnothan,
Caidealan cuide rium fhin thu,
Mo dheareaaga donna’s mo thorma’da canail,

Caidealan cuide rium fhin thu,
Caidealan cuide rium, Caidealan cuide rium,
Caidealan, caidealan cuide rium fhin thu,

Caidealan cuide rium,
Caidealan cuide rium,
Caidealan, caidealan cuide rium fhin thu,
A chuilein a ruin, na duisg gu’ madainn,
Caidealan cuide rium fhin thu,

[Sleep beside me, little one
[Sleep beside me,
[Sleep beside me,
[Sleep beside me,

[Sleep to the croon o’ the wind in the hazel. The lap o’ the waves by the whispering moorland.
Coolin-a-roon, ne’er wake till morning. Sleep to the croon o’ the waters.

Mo mhil air bharr an fhraoiich thu,
Caidealan cuide rium fhin thu,
A chagair nan cioc, bu mhiann leam agam.
Caidealan cuide rium fhin thu,
Caidealan cuide rium,
Caidealan cuide rium,
Caidealan, Caidealan cuide rium fhin thu,
Caidealan cuide rium,
Caidealan cuide rium,
Caidealan, Caidealan cuide rium fhin thu,
Chuileian a run, na duisg gu madainn
Caidealan cuide rium fhin thu,

[My honey art thou on the tips o' the heather, Sleepy one, Croon o' the water. My whispering sweet, my bosom's desire thou, Sleepy one, Croon o' the water. Sleep to the croon o' the wind in the branches. The wave on the shore, The whispering moorland. Sleep to the croon o' the wind in the hazel. The lap o' the waves by the whispering moorland. Coolin-a-roon, ne'er wake till morning. Sleep to the croon o' the waters. 1]

1. English translation indicated in the music manuscript seems to be arranged into artistical style rather than the direct translation from its original text.

(M, MacLeod/MacLeod & Kennedy-Fraser, Eigg, **/1917, [SH-2]: 194-198)

<G-13b>

Cadalan cuide rium fhin mo phaisde
dean an cadalan ho ro
falabh-mi nochd agus tillidh mi maireach
cadalancuide riuna fhin mo phaisde

[Sleep by my side my child
Sleep now ho ro
I will leave tonight and I will return tomorrow
Sleep by my side my child.]

(M-SR, MacKinnon/-, Barra, 1960/-, SA1960/118/B7)

<G-14>

Caidil u o,
Caidil u o,
Caidil u o,
Caidil u o,

[Sleep, oo, oh
Sleep, oo, oh
Sleep, oo, oh
Sleep, oo, oh]

(M, **/Daiken, Skye, **/1959, [LR]:42)

<G-15>

Cha b’ann ri gual a gharainn thu,
Cha b’ann ri gual a gharainn thu,
Cha b’ann ri gual a gharainn m’uaill
Ri môine chrualdh nam barr-fhadan.

[It is not with coal I would heat you.
It is not with coal I would heat you.
It is not with coal I would heat my pride
But with hard peat of the best cut.]

Sèist: Mo shùgradh’s tu mo chainal thu,
Mo shùgradh’s tu mo chainal thu,
Mo shùgradh’s tu mo chainal thu,

[My playmate, you are my cinamon.
My playmate, you are my cinamon.
My playmate, you are my cinamon.

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Mo laogh, mo luaidh, mo leanabh beag.            [My calf, my love, my little babe.

O hi ri liù, air Anna Bheag,
An oidheche bhios do bhanais ann,
O hi ri liù, mo leanabh fhin,
'S i'n oidheche bhios sinn caithreamach.

O Anna Bheag nan Annachan,
An oidheche bhios do bhanais ann,
O hi ri liù, mo chailin donn,
Bidh fion ga òl às gloineachan.

O hi ri liù, air Anna Bheag,
Anoidhche bhios do bhanais ann,
O hi ri liù, mo leanabh fhin,
'Thàinann sinn caithreamach.

O hi ri liù, mo leanabh beag.
O hi ri liù, my own babe
That night, we will be merry

O hi ri liù, little Anna
O hi ri liù, my own babe
That night, we will be merry

O hi ri liù, mo luaidh, mo leanabh beag.

(G-16a)
Cha dig Mòr mo bhean dhachaidh,
Cha dig Mòr mo bhean ghaoil:
Cha dig màthair mo leanabh
'S cha laigh i rin taobh.

Tha mo bhean-sa 'n Dun-bheagain
'S cha fhreagair i'n glo1
'S ann tha de6 mo bhean-taighe
'Na laighe 'sa' bhlar.

Tha mo chrodh-sa gun an eadaradh
Tha 'n teadradh aig each
'S ann tha luaidh mo bhean-taighe
'Na laighe 'sa' bhlar.

1. = glaodh, 2. = te or deagh (?)

(M, "/NicShimidh & Barr, " ..., 1991, [CaGS]:13)

(G-16b)
(O) cha tig Mòr mo bhean dhachaidh,
Cha tig Mòr mo bhean ghaoil:
Cha tig màthair mo chloinneadh
Nochd a laighe ri m'thaobh.

Chi thu' n crodh air an eadaradh
'S'ad a' freagairt na laogh:
Tha mo Mhòr-sa 'n Dùn Bheagain
Cha fhreagair i chaoidh.
(Cha fhreagair i'n glaodh.)

[My wife will not come home,
[Mor my beloved wife, will not come:
The mother of my children will not come
Tonight to lie beside me.

You can see the cows at milking time
[Answering their calves:
My Mor is in Dunvegan
[She will nevermore give an answer.
[She will not answer the cry.]

(M, MacKellaig/Lomax, Moidart, 1951/"; SA1951/2/B11)
Nisde thusa, a leanaibh,
Chan eil t’ainnihb ach fann:
Tha do mbhàthair fo leacan:
Cha fhreagair i chaoíd.

| “Now you, my child,
You are but weak;
Your mother is under stones;
She will nevermore give an answer."

Cha tig Mór mo bhéan dhachaidh
Cha tig Mór mo bhéan ghaoil:
Cha tig mâtthair mo leanaibh
Nochd a laighe ri m’thaobh.

| “Mor my wife will not come home,
Mor, my beloved wife, will not come:
The mother of my child will not come Tonight to lie beside me."

(M, MacKay/Macaulay, Harris, 1952/1975, [Tb-3]: 222-223, SA1952/106.8)

* “This was an old man, apparently, who had just buried his wife. He was sorely pressed with the children at home and he was crooning a lullaby to quieten them and stop them crying (as we ourselves have cried many a time, I’m sure).

And there was a wicked young lad who had noticed that there was a ring on the wife’s finger when she was placed in the coffin: and he, very fortunately, opened the coffin to take the ring. She called out in pain when he was trying to get it off. And what happened but the wife came home while he [her husband] was singing the lullaby. She came in the door and the old man’s joy knew no bounds, I’m sure... or perhaps he had no desire at all to have her back!” (TOCHER, 3, 1975: 222-223)

<G-16c>
Cha tig Mor mo bhéan dhachaidh
Cha tig Mor mo bhéan chaomh
O cha tig i nochd dhachaidh
Gu leabaidh a chaoidh

| “Mor my wife will not come home,
Mor my gentle wife,
She’ll not come home tonight
Nor ever again to her own bed.

Tha sac trom air mo chrìdhe
Cha dean lighichean feum
Bhon a dhìthag mi thu casineadh
Rì taobh do ghràidh thein

| “There’s a heavy weight on my heart
Doctors can do nothing to cure it
Since I left you ***typo?
Beside your own true love.

Mile marbhaisg air an t’saoghal
’S e cho caochlaideach tha
Nuair a shaoil mi bhi meas riub
Chaidh mo leagadh gu lár

| a thousand curses on the world
it is so changeable
when I thought I would be with you
I was felled to the ground.

B’ Ged a gheibhinn-se Roinn Eòrpa
Ceart a comhla dhomh thein
’S mor gum b’fhèarr leam mo ghràidh
Bhi air cuairt air a raon

| Although I could have all
the riches in Europe for me alone
I would far rather my own love
be on this earth.

(M-SR, MacNeil/-, Barra, 1969/-, SA1959/73 A8)

<G-16d>
Cha tig Mór mo bhéan dhachaidh

| “Mor my wife will not come home,

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Mor mo bhean ghaoil:
Cha tig m'athair mo leanabh
Nochd a laighe ri m'thaobh.

Tha'n crodh mór anns an eadradh
'S iad a' freagairt nan laogh:
'S tha Mór an Dùn Bheagain
'S cha fhreagair i'n glaodh.

Tha m'fhàrdach-sa creach-te;
'S trom mo leac 's gura fuar;
'S ann tha m'ionntas 's mo bheairteis
Fo na leacan 'na suain.

Tha mo chrodlrsa gun leigeadh
'S tha n'teadradh aig cach,
'S tha mo leanabh gun bheadradh
'Na shuidh air an lâr.

Fàsaidh fras air an iubhar,
Fàsaidh duilleach nan craobh,
Fàsaidh fras air a' luachair
O cha d'fhuaire mo bhean-'s aois.

'S gad a dihanainn 'sa pòasadh,
Mar bu chòir dhomh ad' dheidh,
Tha sac trom air mo chridhe
Nach tog fidheall nan teud.

'S dean cadal, a leanabh,
'S thoir an aire mar thà:
Tha do mhàthair fo leacman
'S chan eil m'achlais's ach fàs.

[Mor my beloved wife will not come:
The mother of my child will not come
To lie by my side tonight.

The grown cows are being milked
And answering the cries of the calves:
And Mor is in Dunvegan
And will not answer the cry.

My house is pillaged:
My hearthstone is dreary and cold:
Is sleeping below the gravestones.

There are holes in my clothes
And my wool is unspun
And the good mistress of my house
Lying in a safe place.

My cows are unmilked
While the rest are being milked,
And my child, uncuddled,
Is sitting on the floor.

A berry (?) will grow on the yew-tree,
The leaves of the trees will grow,
A tuft will grow on the rush.
Oh, my wife did not reach her full age.

And even if I married,
As I should, with you gone,
There is a heavy burden on my heart
That a stringed fiddle will not lift.

Sleep peacefully, child,
And take heed how things are:
Your mother is below gravestones
And my arm is empty.
though she had every appearance of being dead, she was not dead at all, but a sort of trance. The wife was buried, anyway, and that night the man started making up this lullaby for the little child she had left him with. Now his wife had worn a lot of gold rings, and they were left on her when she was buried. There were two or three men at the funeral who knew about this, and they decided that they would go that night and open the grave, and they would take the rings off her and they would have them for themselves. They went to the graveyard and opened up the grave, and they began taking the rings off her fingers. There was one ring which was too hard to take off her, and one of them took out a knife and began to cut the finger off. When he pierced the finger with the knife, the woman awoke from the trance she had been in, and she gave a fearful cry. The men ran away as fast as they could, and the woman went home; and when she reached the house the man was singing this lullaby to the little child.


*“Singer’s remarks summarised: Woman laments her son who was killed by his stepfather. Singer learnt song from his grandmother — a Lochalsh woman” (SA1951/3/A5a).
... about boy of whom his stepfather was jealous, and he took him out one day and killed him. Simple dialogue between mother and stepfather. My Duncan went to the moor and didn't come back. Was he your Duncan? He was my Duncan. His blood on his clothes." (Morag MacLeod).

<G-18>
Cha tu gosan gorm na maolieig,
Cha tu glaisean glas na facailleig,
Cha tu cuilean cam na maolduibh,
Cha tu iseann nab a caoile.
[Thou art not the round-headed seal's blue cub,
Thou art not the sea-gull's grey chick,
Thou art not the otter's wry whelp,
Thou art not the lean cow's puny calf.
(¢·, ~Carmichael, ~·71941, [CG-4: 17-18])

<G-19>
Co leis an crodhrum-fhionn ud thall
Co leis an crodhrum-fhionn ud thall
Co leis an crodhrum-fhionn ud thall
A direadh ri uchdabh nam beann
[Who owns the white-backed cattle over yonder?
Who owns the white-backed cattle over yonder?
Who owns the white-backed cattle over yonder?
Climbing to the upper-reaches of the mountains.

Leat fhein a ghaoil
Leam fhein a ghraideh
Leat fhein a ghaoil
[They are yours, love
They are mine, darling
They are yours, love
[They are mine, the white-backed cattle over yonder.
(M·SR, MacAulay·, Barra, 1970·, SA1970/173 B5)

<G-20a>
Crodh-laioigh nam bodach,
Crodh-laioigh nam bodach,
Crodh-laioigh nam bodach,
'Gan togail ri gleann.
[The milking cows of the old men
[The milking cows of the old men
[The milking cows of the old men
[Being lifted to the glen

Ma tha mo thogair,
Ma tha mo thogair,
Ma tha mo thogair,
Cha'n eil mo crodh ann.
[If they are, I don't care
[If they are, I don't care
[If they are, I don't care
[There are none of mine there

Crodh-laioigh nam bodach,
Air fiar's air fodair,
Crodh-laioigh nam bodach
'Gan togail ri gleann.
[The milking cows of the old men
[On grass and fodder
[The milking cows of the old men
[Being herded to the glen

Ma tha mo thogair,
Ma tha mo thogair,
Ma tha mo thogair,
Cha'n eil mo crodh ann.
[If they are, I don't care
[If they are, I don't care
[If they are, I don't care
[There are none of mine there

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<G-20b>

[Crooth-laoigh nam bodach,
Crooth-laoigh nam bodach,  
Crooth-laoigh nam bodach,  
Gan togail ri gleann.]

[The milking cows of the old men  
The milking cows of the old men  
The milking cows of the old men  
Being lifted to the glen]

Ma tha mo thogair,  
Ma tha mo thogair,  
Ma tha mo thogair,  
Chan eil mo chrothd ann.

[If they are, I don’t care  
If they are, I don’t care  
If they are, I don’t care  
There are none of mine there]

[Crooth-laoigh nam bodach,  
Air feur’s air fodar,  
Crooth-laoigh nam bodach,  
Gan togail ri gleann.]

[The milking cows of the old men  
On grass and fodder  
The milking cows of the old men  
Being herded to the glen]

(M, --/NicShimidh & Barr, --/1991, [CaGS]: 20)

<G-21a>

[Cubhí ci, cúbhi có,  
Cu bhí ci, cu bhí có,  
Cu bhí ci, cu bhí có,  
Cu bhí cuan, cu bhí có,  
Cu bhí cuan, cu bhí cuan,  
Cu bhí cuan, cu bhí có,  
Cu bhí cuan, cu bhí cuan,  
Cu bhí cuan, cu bhí có.]

[Ku vi ki, ku vi ko  
Ku vi ki, ku vi ko  
Ku vi ki, ku vi ko  
Ku vi kuan, ku vi ko  
Ku vi kuan, ku vi kuan,  
Ku vi kuan, ku vi ko  
Ku vi kuan, ku vi kuan,  
Ku vi kuan, ku vi ko]

[Mo chasan dubh,  
Mo chasan dubh,  
Mo chasan dubh,  
'S mi fhin bán.]

[My feet are black,  
My feet are black,  
My feet are black,  
And I am white.]

(M, Johnson/Campbell, Beaver Cove, 1937/1990, [SRE]: 67-68)

* "This song was also sung by Miss Annie Johnston on the Isle of Barra. See Gaelic Songs in Nova Scotia, p.142. See reference to the Swan’s song, and other versions in Carmina Gadelica II, 276-8." (Campbell, 1990: 68)
"Swans are said to be ill-used religious ladies under enchantment, driven from their homes and forced to wander, and to dwell where most kindly treated and where least molested. They are therefore regarded with loving pity and veneration, and the man who would injure a swan would thereby hurt the feelings of the community.

A woman found a wounded swan on a frozen lake near her house, and took it home, where she set the broken wing, dressed the bleeding feet, and fed the starvinsg bird with lintseed and water. The woman had an ailing child, and as the wounds of the swan healed the health of the child improved, and the woman believed that her treatment of the swan caused the recovery of her child, and she rejoiced accordingly and composed this lullaby to her restored child:


(Carmina Gadelica 2: 194-197)

"The following imitations of the swan's song were taken down from old people in Uist who lived beside lakes on which swans remained for half the year, and to whom swans and their ways were familiar:—

Guile, guile! guile!/ My feet so black/ Guile gi, guile gi!/ And myself so white/ Guile go, guile go!/ Journey of ruin,/ Guile, guile! guile! guile!/ That took me to Erin/ etc.”

(ibid: 276-277)

<G-21b>

Gibhi gi gibhi gó [Gibhi gi gibhi gó
Gibhi gi gibhi gó [Gibhi gi gibhi gó
Gibhi gi gibhi gó [Gibhi gi gibhi gó
Gibhi go gibhi gé [Gibhi go gibhi gé
Mo chasan dubh [My feet black
Mo chasan dubh [My feet black
Mo chasan dubh [My feet black
'S mi fhéin glegheal [And myself pure white.
Chreachadh mo niod [My nest has been plundered
Chreachadh mo niod [My nest has been plundered
Chreachadh mo niod [My nest has been plundered
'S mi fhéin an Eirinn. [Whilst I was in Ireland.


* This song is entitled ‘Port na h-reala air an traigh [The song of the swan on the beach]’, and “the tune to this song bears some resemblance to the pipe-tune “The Desperate Battle” or “The Desperate Battle of the Birds”; . . .” (ST-13: 58)
This tune is entitled 'Dean Cadal 'S Fan Samhach a Chuilean a Ruin' by the compiler.

Dean cadalan sàmhach a chuilein mo ruin
Dean fuireach mar thà thu 's tu 'n dràsd an àit' úr;
Bidh òigearan againn làn beairteis is cliù,
'S ma bhios tu nad airidh 's leat feareigin dhìù.

Sleep quietly, my loved child,
Stay where you are, you're in a new land:
[We will have youths now full of wealth and renown,
And if you are worthy, you will have one of them, too.

Gur h'ann an Ameirica tha sinn an dràsd
Fo dhubhar na coille nach teirig gu bràch,
Nuair dh'halbhas an dùlach, 's a thionndas am blàths,
Bidh cnothan, is ùbhlan, is siùcar a' fàs.

[Tis in America where we are now,
In the everlasting darkness of the woods:
When the winter is over and warmth returns,
Nuts and apples and (maple) sugar will grow.

'S ro·bheag orm fhéin cuid de 'n t·sluagh a tha ann,
Le'n còtaichean drogaid, 's ad mhóir air an ceann;
Le'm briogaisean goirid, 's iad sgolté gu 'm buinn,
Cha n·phaicear an t·osan, 's e bhochdainn sin leam.

Little I like some of the folk who are here.
With their coats of drugget and big hats on their heads,
With their short trousers, split to the base,
Hose are not seen, that's a pity for me.

Tha sinne 'n ar n·Innseanaich cinnteach gu leòir,
Fo dhubhar nan craobh cha bhidh h·aon againn beò–,
Coin·alluidh is béistein ag éigheach 's gach fròig,
Gu bheil sinn 'n ar n·éiginn bho'n thréig sinn Righ Deòrs'.

[We are like Indians surely enough,
In the gloom of the forest no one will survive,
With wolves and beasts crying in each nook;
We are in trouble since we abandoned King George.*

Mo shoraidh le failte Chinn·tàile nam bó,
Far an d'fhuair mi greis arach, 's mi 'm phaisde beag, òg;
Bhiodh fleasgaichean donna air am bonaibh ri ceòl,
Is nionagan dualach, 's an gruaigh mar an ròs.
[My best wishes and welcome to Kintail of the cows,
[Where I was brought up in my childhood when I was young;
[There were brown-haired youths on their feet to sing,
[And curly-haired girls, with cheeks like the rose.

An toiseach an fhoghair bu chrídh ar sunnd,
Gheibh't'fhaidh as an fhireach, is bradan a grunn,
Bhiodh linngneas an sgràdhain a' tighinn fo shìùil,
Le'n lasgairainn tapaidh nach faicte fo mhùig.
[At the beginning of autumn we were heartily glad
[Deer were got on the moor and salmon
[Boats fishing herring came under sail,
[With able young men, none of them churls.

* King George III. The American revolution began in 1776. Many of the Gaelic-speaking Highlanders who had settled in North Carolina, did not support it.

(M, MacKinnon/Campbell, Ainslie Glen(Cape Breton), 1937/1990, [SRE]:59-61)

<G-22c>
'S truaghnach nach robh mis ann an duthaich Mhic Leoid
Far an d'fhuar i m'arach nam phaisde 's mi òg
Bn bhoidheach an sealladh
[Beautiful the view ****this is incomplete

Dean cadalan sàmhach a chuileán 's a ruin
Dean fuireach mar thà thu 's tu 'n dràsd an àit ùr
Tha iganaich againn làn beartais is dhù
Ma bhios tu 'nad aire 's ann leat bhios fear dhìubh
[We'll have the company of wealthy and renowned young men
[If you are careful you'll catch one for yourself

'S ann an America tha sinn an dràsd
Fo dhubhar na coille nach teirig gu bràth
Nuair dh'fhàlbh has an dàbhlaichd 's a thionadais am blàthais
Bidh measan is úbhlan is sìuchar a fas
[We are now in America
[under the gloom of the trees, which never lifts
[when the cold weather ends and it grows warm
[Fruits and apples and sugar will grow.

'S mise bhean Innseanaich cinnteach gu leòr
Fo dhubhar nan craobhan nach fhaoidh mi bhi beò
Madadh'allaidh is beistean ag eibhcheach
On dh'fhàlbh sinn nar reubalaich treigeadh Rìgh Deors
[True enough, I am an Indian
[Under the gloom of the trees I cannot live
[Wolves and beasts howling
[since we rebels left to escape King George.

(M:SR, MacNeill/-, -, 1957/-, SA1957/2.1)

<G-22d>
Dean cadalan samhach a chuilean mo run
Dean fuireach mar thà thu 's mi 'n dràsd an àit' úr
[Sleep quietly a little, my darling.
[Remain as you are since I am now in a new

- 430 -
Tha òganaich againn lan beairteis is clù, [We have a youth who is rich and renowned, 
'S nam biodh tu nad (airinn) air fàraighinn dhiubh. [And if you are careful you will win one of them. 

(M-Sir, MacKinnon/-, Vatersay, 1960/-, SA1960/118/B10)

<G-22e>

Dean cadalan samhach a chuilein mo ruin [Sleep softly, darling of my heart, 
Dean fuireach mar tha thu 's tu an drasd an ait ur; [Stay as you are, you're in a new place. 
Bhidh òigearan againn lan beairteas is clù, [We shall have young men full of riches and renown: 
Ma bhios tu 'nad airidhis leat fearaigin dhiubh. [If you are worthy one of them will be yours.

(G-22e)

Gur h-an an Ameireagatha tha sinn an drasd [It's in America we are at this time, 
Fo dhubhar na coille nach teirig gu brach, [Beneath the shadow of the wood that never ends 
Nuair dh'halbhhas an dulachd is a thionndaineas blas, [When the mid-winter turns to warmth, 
Bhid cnothan bidh ubhlan bidh siucar am fas. [Apples and nuts and sweet fruit (maple?) will grow. 

Is ro bheag orm fein na daoine seo th' ann [Little do I care for the people here 
Le an cotaichean drogaind, ad mhàir air an ceann [With their drugget coats and great hats, 
Le am brigseanan goirid is iad sgoilte gu am bann [With their short trousers, split to the waists, 
Cha n-fhaicear an t'rosan is e bhochdainn a th' ann. [The kilt-hose are not, alas, to be seen. 

Tha sinne 'nar n-Innseanaich cinnteach gu leor, [Truly we are Indians indeed, 
Fo dhubhar nan craobh cha bhi h-aon againn beo [Beneath the shadow of the trees not one of us will remain alive, 
Madaidh-dhiallaidh is beistean ag eigheach 's gach frog, [Wolves and other wild beasts cry in every dark den, 
Gu bheil sinne 'nar n-eiginn bhon latha threig sinn Righ Deors. [We are really in extremity since the day we deserted King George.

(431)
At the beginning of autumn cheerful was our mood,
Deer from the mountain and salmon from the river,
The herring fleet would come under sail,
With gallant men on board.

(M-SR, Campbell/Ross, Kintail, 1957/1984, [ST-8]: 17-18, SA1957/104/A3)

* “This song was composed by Iain mac Mhurachaidh after he emigrated to North Carolina. The New World turned out to be less than the land flowing with milk and honey that he had apparently been led to expect before he left Kintail and this is essentially an expression of his disillusionment. Dean Cadalan Samhach is addressed to a little girl, perhaps his own daughter but in fact a nameless child, who like himself has come to the ‘new place’, America. Ostensibly a lullaby, this is also a literary device which he uses to remarkable effect. The song has tenderness and realism and nostalgia. Promises of better times – when the little girl grows up, when summer comes, bringing its ripe fruit – and the wistful declarations of longing for Kintail serve only to highlight the harsh picture of things as they really are, beneath the shadow of the endless forest.

Culturally displaced now, the poet is living among an uncongenial people whom he describes in terms commonly reserved for lowlanders: the folk of coats and hats and breeches. His feelings as a Gæl are summed up, poignantly and with acute perception, in the phrase: ‘Truly we are Indians indeed.’.

The melody is known throughout the Highlands. Keith Norman MacDonald evidently considered its crisp ‘taorludh’-like rhythms made it ideal for use as a Quick March and included it in his Gesto Collection (p.106). However, no piper seems to have adopted it."

(Scottish Tradition 8, 1984: 18)

<G-22f>
Déan cadalan sàmhach a chuilein mo ruin
Déan fuireach mar tha thu an dàrst ’s an àit’ úr;
Tha òganaich againn làn beairteis ’us muirn,
’S ma bhios tu nad aire ’s leat feareiginn dhiubh.

Gur th’ ann an Amairrega tha sinn an dràst
Fo dhubhar na coille nach teirig gu bràth,
Nuair dh’ fhalbhas an dùbhlaich ’s an thionndas am blàth;
Bidh cnothan, ’us ubhlan ’s an t-siucar a’ fás.

Tha sinne mar Innseanaich cinteach gu leòr;
Fo dhubhar nan craobh cha bhi aon againn beò,
Coin’alludh ’us beistean ag òigeach ’s gach froyg,
Tha sinne nar n-eiginn o’n thrèig sinn Righ Deòrs’.

Mo shoraidh an dràst, gu Ceann-t-Saille nam bò,
Far’n d’ hluair mi óg m’ arach nam phàiste beag, óg;
Bhiodh òigearan sgoinneal air bhonnaibh ri ceòl,
’Us nighneagan dualach ’s an gruaidh mar an ros.

(M, */NicShimidh &Barr, */1991, [CaGS]: 29)
<G-22g>
(the same as G-22f)

(M:SR, Kearney/Uno, Barra, 1992/., .)

(G-22h)

Déan cadalan sámhach a chuilein mo ruin
Déan fuireach mar thà thu 's tu 'n dràsd an àit' ùr:
Bidh òigearan againn làn beairteis is cliù,
'S ma bhios tu nad airidh 's leat feareigin dhiùbh.

Gur h'ann an Ameirica tha sinn an-dràsd
Fo dhubhar na coille nach teirig gu bràth,
Nuair dh'halbhas an dùlach 's a thionndainneas blàths,
Bidh cnothan, bidh ùbhlam, bidh sùcar a' fàs.

'S ro bheag orm fein na daoine seo th'ann
Le'n còtaichean drògaid, ad mhòr air an ceann,
Le'm briogseanan goirid 's iad sgolte gu'm bonn,
Chan fhaisear an t'osan 's e bhochdainn a th'ann.

Tha sinne nar n'Innseanaich cinteach gu leòr,
Fo dhubhar nan craobh cha bhi h'ao'n againn beò:
Madaidh-allaidh is bèisean ag èigeach 's gach fròg,
Gu bheil sinne nar n'èeiginn bhon là threig sinn Rìgh Deòrs.

Tho'ir mo shoraidh le failte Chinn t'Sàile nam bò,
Far an d'huair mi greis m'àrach 's mi am phàisde bheag òg,
Bhiodh fleasganen donna air am bonnabh ri ceòl,
Agus nionagan dualach 's an gruaidh mar an ròs.

(M, 'C/Campbell, ., ./1993, [ONG]: 29)

(G-23)

Dean cadalan: Slàn gu'n dùisg thu!
Dean cadalan. O! Chagarain!
'S e b'hfaide leam, Gun a bhi dlùth dhuít,
Dean cadalan: Slàn gu'n dùisg thu!

[Sleep for a while and be well on awaking
[Sleep a while, thou little dear!
[Much would it grieve me not to be near thee.
[Sleep for a while, and awake thou well!]

(M, Ross/Tolmie, Skye, 1900/1911, [LFS]: 168)

(G-24)

Dh'fhag iad 's a chill Eoghan gobha
Ploc air a dhruim 's a beul fòdha
Dh'fhag thu tinn mi dh'fhag thu trom mi
Dh'fhag thu fo lionn-dhbh gun fhonn mi

[They have left Ewen smith in the graveyard
[A turf on his back and his mouth under
[You have left me sick you have left me weary
[You have left me in melancholy without joy.]
It was a lament and they used it for lulling.

(G-25)

Dian cadalan, a shùgh mo chèille,
Dian cadalan ó, chagarain ó.
'S e's flaide leam gun iad réidh rium,
Dian cadalan, a shùgh mo chèille.

'S e's flaide liom bhith 'gad thàladh:
T'athair ag rádh nach leis fhéin thu,
Dian cadalan, a shùgh mo chèille.

[Go to sleep, my dearest darling,
Go to sleep, o little love.
Weary am I that they are at enmity with me;
Go to sleep, my dearest darling.
I feel it long soothing you,
Your father saying that you do not belong to him.
Go to sleep, my dearest darling.

(G-26a)

Far am biodh mo leanabh falaich,
Cha b'ioghna mise a bhi ann,
Fàile nan úblan meala,
Dhe 'n fhodar a bhà fòdh cheann.

Ille bhig, ille bhig, hugaidh o,
Hugaidh o, hugaidh o,
Ille bhig ille bhig, hugaidh o,
Dh'fhag thu 'n raoir gun sugradh mi.

[Where my child was hidden,
It was no strange occurrence for me to be there,
The scent of honey-apples,
From the hay under your head.
O little boy, little boy, hugaidh o,
O little boy, little boy, hugaidh o,
You left me last night joyless.

Chith mi mo thriuir bhràithrean thall ud,
Air an eachaibh loma luath,
Sgianan beaga aca ri 'n taobh,
Is fuil mo ghaoiil a' sileadh uath
Ille bhig, etc.

Cha teid mise a chrò nan laoighean,
'S cha teid mi do chrò nan uan,
'S cha teid mi do chrò nan caorach
Bho nach 'eil mo ghaoilean buan.
Ille bhig, etc.

[I see my three brothers yonder
On their bare swift horses;
They have little knives by their sides
And the blood of my darling drips from them.
O little boy, etc.

Chi mi 'n toman caoruinn cuilinn,
Chi mi 'n toman cuilinn thall,
Chi mi 'n toman caoruinn cuilinn,
'S laoigh mo chèill air uilinn ann.
Ille bhig, etc.

[I see the elm- and rowan-covered hilltop,
The rowan-covered hilltop over there,
I see the elm- and rowan-covered hilltop,
And my heart's beloved lies there on his elbow.
O little boy, etc.]
A phiòrag ud 's a phiòrag eile,
'S maig a loigeadh riut a rùn,
Gur 'luaithe a thainig an seug ud
Troimh do bheul, no troimh do ghlun.
Ille bhig, etc.

Thou little sister there, and thou other little sister
[woe to her who'd tell her secret to thee,
[sooner did you let out my tale
[through your mouth than at your knee.
[O little boy, etc.

Ach a nighean ud 's an dorus,
Na' robh na fir ort an rùn,
Sgoltadh a bhradain fhior-uig,
Eadar do dha choch 's do ghlùn.
Ille bhig, etc.

But you girl over there in the doorway
[if men desired you,
[might the fresh-water salmon burst forth,
[between your two breasts and your knee.
[O little boy, etc.

A luaidh ud 's a luaidh ud eile,
Cha bhì mi na d' dheighidh buan,
"S goirt a reubadh leo mo chrìdhe,
Gaol nan gilean a thoirt uam.
Ille bhig, etc.

Thou sweetheart there, and thou other sweetheart
[I will not survive your passing,
[They have torn my heart sorely,
[In taking from me the most beloved of young men.
[O little boy, etc.

'S a chraobh chaoruinn a tha thall ud,
Ma's ann ort a theid mi 'n chill,
Tionndabh m' aghaidh ri Dun-tealbhaig,
'S bheirear dhomhsha carbad grinn.
Ille bhig, etc.

O rowan tree over yonder, if it is upon you
[That I am to be borne to the grave-yard,
[Turn my face to Dun-tealbhaig (a fairy hill)
[And I shall be given a fine bier.
[O little boy, etc.

(<-,-/Mackellar, --,--/1889, [TGISI:15]: 156-157)

* "Another unfortunate girl was at the sheiling with her companion; and, when out on the hillside, she made the acquaintance of a fairy lover, to whom she was most devoted. She used to steal away every evening to meet him in a cozy hiding place surrounded by trees of holly and mountain ash, and although her companion watched her, she could not find out where she was going. At last she asked her to confide in her, promising that the secret would come through her knee before it came through her lips. The maiden told her where she went every evening, and the other soon revealed the secret; and the girl's brothers went to the place, and found the lover resting on a bed of straw that the maiden had made for him at their trysting place. The lover, who was probably human enough, was slain by the angry young men, and on going to her lover, she found him slain.

The poor girl died of sorrow, and composed the following song, in which she bitterly reproaches her companion for unfaithfulness"—" (Mackellar, 1889:156)

<G-26b>
Ille bhig, ille bhig shùgaich hò!
Rùnaich ó! rùnaich ó!
Ille bhig, ille bhig shùgaich hò!
Chum thu' n raoir am dhùsgadh mi.
Gheall mo leannan bhith vdha m' réir,
Gheall e' n diugh e' s gheall e' n dé:

Little lad, ho and merry little lad!
[Dear lad o! dear lad o!
[Little lad, ho and merry little lad!
[Last night didst thou keep me waking.

My sweetheart promised to be at my bidding.
[He promised it to-day and he promised it yesterday;

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"The Fairy Lover"

There was a young girl who had fallen in love with a fairy. Slaine, I will reward thee, and do thou find out what is troubling Sorcha. Sorcha will be going out at dusk every evening and coming home none knows when. See thou, my dear, canst thou discover it for me, and by the Book itself, I will reward thee well for it.

What is worrying thee, Sorcha? There is trouble on thy mind, and do thou tell me what is the cause of thy trouble,' said Slaine. 'Sooner will it come out at my knee than at my mouth,' and she took great oaths that never would she reveal her sister's secret. Sorcha told her sister that she had a fairy lover in a fairy knoll behind the mountain, and that he would be singing fairy music to her in the Glen of the Grove of the Copaes.
Slaine told this word for word to her mother, and if she did not make over-much of it, she did not make over-little. And her mother told it to her brothers, and her brothers went in pursuit of the fairy, and they slew him. That was when the girl sang this song. The brown-haired maiden fell to grief and breaking of heart, and she withered away like the white lily under the black frost.

(Another narrator said: Her step-mother would be sending forth her own daughter along with the daughter of the wife who was before her. And the tell-tale would come home and relate that a fairy would be coming to keep company with her sister, to herd the sheep, and to fold the lambs, and to protect herself from the wolf, and to protect the small stock from the red fox. Her step-mother told this to her sons, and they went in pursuit of the fairy, and they slew him, and they spilled his blood upon the ground. The brown-haired ringleted maiden fell to grief and breaking of heart, and she withered away like the white lily under the black frost.)" (Carmichael, 1954:151)

<G-26c>
Chi mi 'n toman caoruinn cuilinn, [I see the elm- and rowan-covered hilltop,  
Chi mi 'n toman cuilinn thall, [the rowan-covered hilltop over there,  
Chi mi 'n toman caoruinn cuilinn, [I see the elm- and rowan-covered hilltop,  
'S laoigh mo chéile air uilinn ann. [And my heart's beloved lies there on his elbow.

(M·SR, MacPherson/·, Harris, 1954/·, SA1954/86.3)

<G-27a>
Gheibh thu caoraich, gheibh thu crodh [You shall get sheep, you shall get cattle,  
Gheibh thu caoraich, gheibh thu crodh [You shall get sheep, you shall get cattle,  
Gheibh thu caoraich, gheibh thu crodh [You shall get sheep, you shall get cattle,  
Gheibh thu buaile fearainn, gheibh [You shall have a cattlefold of land, you shall.

Maraiach thu ma bhios tu beò [You shall be a sailor, if you live  
Maraiach thu ma bhios tu beò [You shall be a sailor, if you live  
Maraiach thu ma bhios tu beò [You shall be a sailor, if you live  
'S cha chuir a' mhuir ort, a sheoid [And the sea shall not harm you, my hero.

Maraiach thu ma bhios tu buan [You shall be a sailor, if you endure  
Maraiach thu ma bhios tu buan [You shall be a sailor, if you endure  
Maraiach thu ma bhios tu buan [You shall be a sailor, if you endure  
'S cha chuir a' mhuir ort, a luaidh. [And the sea shall not harm you, my dear.


<G-27b>
Gheibh thu caoraich, gheibh thu crodh [You shall get sheep, you shall get cattle,  
Gheibh thu caoraich, gheibh thu crodh [You shall get sheep, you shall get cattle,  
Gheibh thu caoraich, gheibh thu crodh [You shall get sheep, you shall get cattle,  
Gheibh thu buaile fearainn, gheobh [You shall have a cattlefold of land.

Gheibh thu othaisg dhubh na cir, [You'll get the black lamb of the pet sheep.  
Gheibh thu laoghan dubh na ba, [You'll get the black calf of the cow

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Gheibh thu othaisg dhubh na cir
'S a’ bhò bhiorach leis an ál.
[You'll get the black lamb of the pet sheep.
And the sharp cow with her brood

Thèid mo ghàol-sa saus am fireach
Thàid mo laoghan don an tràigh
Thèid mo ghaol-sa saus am fireach
Breacan-guaille air mo ghràdh.
[My love will go up the forest
[My darling will go to the beach
[My love will go up the forest
[My love wearing a shoulder plaid

(M, ‘/NicShimidh & Barr, ‘-, -/1991, [CaGS]:12)

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"G-28a"

(ref.) Gille beag ó, gille lag ó,
Gille beag ó, nan caorach,
Gille beag ó, gille lag ó,
Gille beag ó, nan caorach,

[Little lad ó, feeble lad ó,
Little lad ó, of the sleep.
Little lad ó, feeble lad ó,
Little lad ó, of the sleep.

Tha mi sgith 'gad altaramas
A' sracadh mo chuid aodaich.
[I am tired nursing you
[Tearing my clothing.

(ref.)

Nam bu mhac duin’ uasail thu
Gu faighinn luach mo chaorach.*
[If you were the son of a nobleman
[I would get the value of my sheep.

* ‘Luach mo chaorach’ is what the singer says, and insists on, although one might expect ‘luach mo shaothrach’ ‘reward of my labour’.

(M, Currie/Shaw, South Uist, 1947/1955, [FFSU]: 140)

"G-28b"

(the same words as G-28a, but different tune)

(M, Campbell/Shaw, South Uist, -/1955. [FFSU]: 141)

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"G-29"

Gille beag ó, leanabh lag ó,
Gille beag ó nan caorach thu;
Gille beag ó, gille lag ó,
Gille beag ó nan caorach thu;

Little boy o, weak little babe o,
You are the little boy of the sheep
Little boy o, weak little babe o,
You are the little boy of the sheep.

Gille nan caorachan, gille nan caorachan,
Gille nan caorachan, gaolach thu.
Little boy of the sheep, little boy of the sheep
Little boy of the sheep, my darling you are.

(M, MacRae/Shaw, South Uist, 1947/1955, [FFSU]: 142)
Giullian geal thu! geal thu! geal thu!
Giullian geal thu! tionndaidh a nall.

M’inim’s mo rùn,
Dhireadh tu ’n stèc,
Gill’ air do chûl
’S cù aigh a’ air sreang.

Giullian geal thu! geal thu! geal thu!
Giullian geal thu! tionndaidh a nall.

M’inim’s mo ghràdh,
Dhireadh tu ’n aird:
’S cinnneach do làmh
Am Blàthbheinn ud thall.

M’aighear is m’uaill
An cobhrachan cuain,
Féil ort an cuaich,
Is ruadh air a’ mhang.

M’aighear’s mo chiall
An tAilpeineach ciar:
Bogh ort is a’ ghàth,
‘S tu fiadhach bheann.

Mun tàinig Leòdach a dh’Alba
Bha na seòid ud a’ seanchas
Ar ceann feadhna bhith ainmeil
Sa Ghearmait ud thall.

Mun tàinig Leòdach a Lochlann,
Bha na connspàinn a’ cosnadh:
Theireadh câdh nach e ’m bochdainn
Dh’hàg a nocht sinn cho gann.

Giullian geal thu! geal thu! geal thu!
Giullian geal thu! tionndaidh a nall.

[Baby boy fair art thou! fair art thou! fair art thou!
My dear and my darling,
Thou wouldst climb the hill,
A lad at thy back
Holding hound upon leash.

[My dear and my darling,
Thou wouldst climb the hill,
A lad at thy back
Holding hound upon leash.

[My dear and my love,
Thou wouldst climb the height:
Sure is thine hand
On Blathbheinn out yonder.

[My joy and my pride
Is the little foam of ocean,
A pleated kilt upon thee
And red on the fawn.

[My joy and my sense
Is the dusky son of Alpin:
With bow and with shield,
And thou hunting on the peaks.

[Before a MacLeod came to Alba
Those heroes were saying
That our chief was renowned
In far Germany.

[Before a MacLeod came from Lochlann,
Those stalwarts were battling;
None would say ‘twas their poorness
Has left us to-night so few.

[Baby boy fair art thou! fair art thou! fair art thou!
Baby boy fair art thou! turn thee hither.

Pearson/Carmichael, Barra, 1870/1941, [CG-4]: 316-319)
* "This lullaby, though recorded in Barra, seems from its reference to Blathbhheinn to belong to Skye... The child is described as 'Alpineach cair', 'a dusky son of Alpin,' and in view of this and of the mention of Blathbhheinn, he was most probably a son of Mackinnon of Strath." (Carmichael, 1941: 316)

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<G-31a>

Gur mise bhean bhochd o haor ri hiu  
'S mi chnoc go chnoc o haor ri o ho ro ho ru ri hiu  
Nach truaghl leat mo chlann  
Bean eile nan ceann o ho ro ho ru ri hiu  

[A poor woman am I, o haor ri hiu  
From hummock to hummock, o haor ri  
Pity you my children  
Another woman tending them

(M, MacKinnon/—, Vatersay, 1956/—, SA1956/88)

<G-31b>

Gur mise bhean bhochd o haor ri hiu  
Bho chnoc go chnoc o haor ri o ho oro haor ri hiu  
Nach truaghl leat mo chlann o haor ri hiu  
Bean eile nan ceann  
Fear bodhar fear dall  
Fear eile gun chaimnt  

[A poor woman am I, o haor ri hiu 
From hummock to hummock, o haor ri 
Pity you my children 
Another woman tending them 
One deaf one blind 
Another without speech

(—, MacKinnon/—, Vatersay, 1960/—, SA1960/128)

* "Mother's ghost asks milkmaid to look out for her children who are being badly treated by his stepmother." (Morag MacLeod).

* "There was once a kind-hearted young girl who lived in one of the most beautiful glens in Scotland. She herded her father's cattle in the glen, and sang little songs while she worked. One day, she heard a woman's voice singing close behind her, but was startled when she turned round and there was none there. "Don't be afraid" sang the voice "I'm right here beside you." the girl was very afraid, for she knew it could only be the voice of a ghost. She was too frightened to move, and had to listen while the ghost sang its sad story. "I was the mother of two lovely little girls", it told her in a kind voice. "When I died, my husband remarried a witch of a woman, who hates my children, and is beating them this moment as I speak. I cannot bear it. Please tell my husband, who works in the next glen, for he does not know her evil ways. Please, please help my children..."

The voice faded away, and the girl tried to continue with her work, but the ghost's story haunted her so much that finally she set off for the next glen. She found the father, and convinced him to go home that very minute, where he saw for himself the cruel wife beating his children. Shaking with anger, he ordered her out of the house at once. Eventually, he and the young cow-girl fell in love and were married, and perhaps the ghost wished this to happen, for its voice was never heard again." (Lynn Morrison, Cave of Gold: Celtic Lullabies,[CD], 2001)

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<G-31c>

O haor ri u, o haor ri u  
A nighean nan geug, o haor ri ohan  
O haor ri u

[O haor ri u, o haor ri u  
O girl of the branches, o haor ri ohan  
O haor ri u

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A nighean nan geug, o hao ri ु
Tha muigh leis an spreidh, o hao ri ohan
O hao ri u
Tha muigh ris an spreidh
Na gabh eagal no flamh
Tha mise 'n seo sian
A nighean nan geug.

O hao ri ु, o hao ri ु
A nighean nan geug, o hao ri ohan
O hao ri u
A nighean nan geug, o hao ri ु
Tha muigh leis an spreidh, o hao ri ohan
O hao ri u

Tha muigh ris an spreidh
Na gabh eagal no flamh
Tha mise 'n seo sian
A nighean nan geug.

A nighean nan geug
Mo Thruaigh mo chlann
Bean eile nan ceann
Gham bualadh gu teann
Gham biathadh gu gann
'S an athhair sa ghleann
A nighean nan geug.

O hao ri ु, o hao ri ु
A nighean nan geug, o hao ri ohan
O hao ri u
A nighean nan geug, o hao ri ु
Tha muigh leis an spreidh, o hao ri ohan
O hao ri u

Tha muigh ris an spreidh
Na gabh eagal no flamh
Tha mise 'n seo sian
A nighean nan geug.

A nighean nan geug
Mo Thruaigh mo chlann
Bean eile nan ceann
Gham bualadh gu teann
Gham biathadh gu gann
'S an athhair sa ghleann
A nighean nan geug.

[Out with the herd,]

[I am here crying]

[I am here by you]

[I am here by you]

[I am the poor woman]
A muigh leis an spreidh o haori ochan, O haori o. [who is out with the cattle]
A muigh leis an spreidh o haori o
Na gabb eagal uo fiamh o haori ochan, O haori o.
Na gabb eagal uo fiamh o haori o
Tha mise seo siar o haori ochan, O haori o.
Tha mise seo siar o haori o
A nighean nan geug o haori ochan, O haori o.
A nighean nan geug o haori o
Mo thruaighe mo chlann o haori ochan, o haori o.
Mo thruaighe mo chlann o haori o
Bean eile nan ceann o haori ochan, o haori o.
Bean eile nan ceann o haori o
Gam bualadh gu teann o haori ochan, o haori o.
Gam bualadh gu teann o haori o
Tha 'n athair 's a gheann o haori ochan, o haori o. [while their father is out in the glen.]

<G-32>
Hee-o-ho-ro, mo Ruarachan,
Ho ree-o-ho-ro, mo Ruarachan,
Hee-o-ho-ro, mo Ruarachan,
Mo Niallachan beag, mo chubhrachan
Hee-o-ho-ro, mo Ruarachan,
Ho ree-o-ho-ro, mo Ruarachan,
Hee-o-ho-ro, mo Ruarachan,
Mo Niallachan beag, mo chubhrachan
Hee-o-ho ree, Hu-o-ho-ro,
Mo Niallachan beag, mo chubhrachan,
Hee-o-ho, ree-o-ho, ru-o-ho-ro,
Mo Niallachan beag, mo chubhrachan,
Hee-o-ho-ro, mo Ruarachan,
mo Niallachan beag, mo chubhrachan,

(M, Johnson/MacLeod & Kennedy-Fraser, Barra, "1917, [SH 2]: 202-204)

<G-33a>
(Fonn.) Hill iù ho-ro, hill iù ho-ro,
Hill iù, hill eò, hill-in o-ho [Hill iù ho-ro, hill iù ho-ro,
Hill iù, hill eò, hill-in o-ho]
Hoi horo, i-o-i.

Na 'm biodh Bradhainn mar bu choir dhi,
'S fhad a chluinnte sgl piob mhoir ann,
Dh'oilte fion a corainn oir ann,
'S chluichte disnean bharr choig meoir ann.
Hill iu horo, &c.

[Hoi hore, i-o-i

If all was as it should be in Brahan
the skirl of the pipes would be heard far and wide
Wine would be drunk from golden drinking-horns
and dice would be played off five fingers.
[Hill iu horo, &c.

Cha'n 'eil Coinneach ach 'n a leanabh,
Cha d'raing e aos a sheanair;
Sealgair an fhéidh anns na beannaibh,
'S an eòin bhig air barr a meangain.
Hill iu horo, &c.

Kenneth is but a child,
He has not reached his grandfather's years;
The hunter of deer in the mountains,
and the little bird of its perch on the branches.
[Hill iu horo, &c.

'Choinnich na biodh orts a gruaman,
Ged nach glac do mhthair buarasch,
Cha do chuir i riamh ma'n cuairt di
Ach sioda dearg 'us sròl uaine.
Hill iu horo, &c.

Kenneth, be not downcast,
although you mother never handled a cow-fetter,
she never draped about her
anything other than red silk and green satin.
[Hill iu horo, &c.

Na dhean an gobhann an claidheamh,
Na dhean an ceàrd an ceann leathamh,
'S na dhean an leisdear an t-saighead,
'Chuireas Coinneach òg 'na laidhe.
Hill iu horo, &c.

Let the smith not make the sword,
Nor the tinsmith the broad arrow-head,
and let the fletcher not make the arrow,
which will fell MacKenzie.
[Hill iu horo, &c.

'S a Mhic-Coinnich nan srol farsainn,
'Mhic an t-seoid nach fuilingeadh
Bheireadh tu fion do d' chuid eachaibh,
'S cruidhean oir a chur fo 'n casaibh!
Hill iu horo, &c.

O MacKenzie of the broad banners,
son of the hero who would not brook disgrace,
who'd give wine to his horses
and shoe them with gold!
[Hill iu horo, &c.

A Mhic-Coinnich fhuair thu 'n t-urram—
Theid thu mach gu laidir, ullamh;
Olar leat fion Bhaile Lunnuinn;
'S Morair Loudon fo do ghiullan,
Hill iu horo, &c.

O MacKenzie you have gained precedence—
You will move out strong and ready;
You have drunk the wine of London town;
And your serving boy ruled the Earl of Lothian,
[Hill iu horo, &c.

'S iomaidh duilleag th' air an droighenn:
Eadar Bealtainn agus Samhuinn;
'S liutha na sin sgìath 'us claidheamh,
Air gualainn Choinnich òg 'am Bradhainn.
Hill iu horo, &c.

The Bramble-bush has many leaves:
between May-day and Samhain;
more plentiful then they the shields and swords
at the shoulder of young Kenneth of Brahan.
[Hill iu horo, &c.
"S ann agam fhin a than a càirdean,
'Dh' iaradh, 's a dhòladh, 's a phàidheadh,
Chuireadh anns na buideil càrlas,
Fir ghearra, dhonna, Chinntaile.
Hill iù ho-ro, &c.

Us gur e mo ghaol an comunn,
Air am faodainn fhin mo shloinneadh
Luchd nan cùl buidh' agus donna,
Thall's a bhos mu Eilean Donain.
Hill iù ho-ro, &c.

'S gur e mise fhuair an cuinnradh
Nach d'fuair aonan riambh mo dhùthaich,
Gu'n cheannaich thu dusan gun dhomh,
'S each 'us diollaid gu mo ghiulán!
Hill iù ho-ro, &c.

Ach gur mise fhuair an cùnnradh
Nach d'fuair aonan riambh am dhùthaich:
cheannaich thu dhomh dusan gùinteann,
each is diollaid gus mo ghiulán.

A Mhic Coinnich, fuair thu 'n t' urram,
théid thu mach gu làidir ullamh,
dh'òilte leat fìon baile Lunnaing,
Machair Loudi fo d' chuid ghiullan.

A Mhic Coinnich nan stròl farsaing,
mhic an t-seòid nach fuilingeadh masladh,
bheireadh am fìon d'a chuid eachaibh,
cruidhean oir a chur fo'n casan.

Mine are the connections
I who'd order and drink and pay,
I who'd demand bottles
the stocky, brown-haired men of Kintail,
Hill iù ho-ro, &c.

[Beloved to me the company
it to whom I can claim kinship,
yellow and brown-haired folk,
here and there about Eilean Donain.
Hill iù ho-ro, &c.

I was better looked after,
I than any in my country,
you bought me a dozen gowns,
And a horse and saddle to carry me!
Hill iù ho-ro, &c.

< G-33b >

Ach gur mise fhuair an cuinnradh
nach d'fuair aonan riambh am dhùthaich:
cheannaich thu dhomh dusan gùinteann,
each is diollaid gus mo ghiulán.

A Mhic Coinnich, fuair thu 'n t' urram,
théid thu mach gu làidir ullamh,
dh'òilte leat fìon baile Lunnaing,
Machair Loudi fo d' chuid ghiullan.

A Mhic Coinnich nan stròl farsaing,
mhic an t-seòid nach fuilingeadh masladh,
bheireadh am fìon d'a chuid eachaibh,
cruidhean oir a chur fo'n casan.

I was better looked after
I than any other ever in my country:
you bought me a dozen gowns,
a horse and saddle to carry me.

IO MacKenzie, you have won precedence,
you will move out strong and ready,
you would drink the wine of London town,
the plain of Lothian run by your servants!

IO MacKenzie of the broad banners,
one of the hero who would not brook disgrace,
I who'd give wine to his horses,
I shoeing them with gold.

* "The following luinneag to Coinneach Mac-Choinnich, Triath Chinntaile, called 'Choinneach og, was composed, it is said, by the woman who nursed him. The 72nd, or Seaforth's Highlanders (now the Duke of Albany's own Highlanders), were raised by this "high chief of Kintail" in 1778—500 of the men being raised on his estate and the remainder principally on the estates of the MacKenzies of Scatwell, Kilcoy, Applecross, and Redcastle. In June, 1781, the Regiment started from Portsmouth for the East Indies, with Seaforth in command. Its health was, unfortunately, bad, and Seaforth himself, ere the troops reached St. Helena, died. This sad event had such an effect on the spirits of the men that it is said to have materially contributed to that prostration of mind which made them more readily the victims of disease." (TGSI-7, 1878: 118)
Chan 'eil Coinneach ach 'na leanabh, 
cha d'rìnnig e aois a sheanar — 
marbhaich an fhéidh anns na gleannaibh 's an eòin bhig air bhàrr a' mheagain

Guol nam fear dha'n tug mi toghaidh, 
's duibhe cùl 's as gile aghaidh, 
cha bhuaachaile cruith 's cha ghobhar, 
ach sealgair an fhéidh 's a' choir odhar.

Dar théid Coinneach 'na chiaid deise 
's lìonmhors fear a bhios 'na fhreasdal, 
ciad 'na suidhe, ciad 'na seasamh, 
dà chiaid deug 's a' ghualainn deis dha.

'S lìonmhor duilleag th'air an draigheann 
edair Bealltainn agus Samhuin, 
's lìonmhoir 'na siu sgiath is claidheamh 
'n gualainn Choinnich Oig am Brathainn.

'S iomadh bean le guinte strol 
's le ceanna òir air a crios, 
air mo làmh-a sa Choinnich Oig, 
là Féill-an-Ròid Inbhir Nis.

'S ann air Coinneach tha ghruag luain, 
tha tobar Fiona 'na muilach, 
cha b'huilear liom dhì mar urram 
triùir mhac an rìgh bhith 'ga cumadh.

À Mhic Coinnich na biodh gruaim ort, 
cha do ghlac do mhàthair buarach 
nu plaide bhàin air a gualainn, 
ach sioda dearg is stòrl uaine.

Na dhèan an gobhainn an claidheamh, 
na dhèan an ceàrd an ceann reamhar, 
na dhèan an leisdear an t-saighdear 
chuireas MacCoinnich 'na laighe.

Ach gur h'e mo ghaol an comunn 
air am faodainn fèin mo shlòinnreach thall 's a bhos mu Eilean Donnain.
Ach gur h'e mo ghaol na h'armainn
dh'airradh 's a dh'oiladh 's a phàighheadh,
's a dhèanadh na buideal a thràghadh,
fir ghearra dhonna Chinn t'Sàile.

[Beloved to me the war-band
[who'd order and drink and pay
[and who'd drain the bottles
[the stocky, brown-haired men of Kintail.

* "A version of this song was contributed to our Transactions (Vol. vii, 118-9) by William MacKenzie. His version contains one quatrain not in this one. This version, on the other hand, contains four quatrains not in MacKenzie's. There may be some difference of opinion as to the subject of the song, but any connection with Kenneth, Earl of Seaforth, who raises the Seaforth Highlanders in 1778, which is what William MacKenzie seems to imply, may be ruled out. The whole tone of the song is earlier than that. A possibility might be Kenneth, fourth Earl of Seaforth, who succeeded 1678 and was called Coinneach Og. My own suggestion is that it was composed by his nurse, evidently a Macrae, to Kenneth, first Lord Kintail. He was born about 1569 and succeeded his father, Colin MacKenzie of Kintail, as Chief of the MacKenzie's in 1594. He was created Lord Kintail in 1609 and died in 1611... Our earliest Gaelic songs seem to date from the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries." (Angus Matheson in TGSI-41, 1951-1952: 318)

<G-33c>
O Mhic Coinnich na stròl farsuinn
[O MacKenzie of broad banners
Mac an t-seoid nach fhuiligheadh masladh
[Son of the hero who would suffer nothing disgraceful
Feireadh tu fion dha d'chuid eachaibh
[You would give your horses wine
Cruidhean de'n òr chuir o'n casan
[You would shoe them with gold

Hill ù hill ó hill ù ho-o rö
Hill ù hill ó hill ù ho-o rö
Hill ù hill ó hill ù ho-o rö
Hillean is hò na hò rö hi

O Mhic Coinnich na biodh gruaim ort
[O MacKenzie, do not be disconsolate
Cha do chleachd do mhàthair buarach
[Your mother was not accustomed to handle a cow-fetter
Na plaide bhàn air a h-uachdar
[Nor did she wear a white plaid
Ach sioda dearg is stròl uaine
[But red silk and green satin

O Mhis Coinnich fhuair thu'n t'urram
[O MacKenzie, you have gained precedence
Théid thu mäch gu làidir ullamh
[You will move out strong and well-equipped
Dh'òiladh leat fion Baile Lunnain
[You have drunk the wine of London Town
Mach go Loudie le d' chuid guillan
[You go out to Lothian with your young men.

'S ann air Coinneach tha ghruaig àlainn
[Kenneth has a beautiful head of hair
'S e Righ nan Dùul a choir blàth oirr'
[The King of the Elements has given it its sheen.
Ceannachadair nan each a b' aïred
[The purchaser of the tallest steeds
Gìlean 'na ruith chon a' stàpaill
[Youths running to the stable.
Chan 'eil Coinneach ach 'na leanabha
[Kenneth is but a child
Cha d' ràinig e aois a sheanar
Sealgair an fhéidh a's na gleannaibh
Choilich dhuibh air bharr o' mheangain

[He has not reached his grandfather's years
Hunter of the deer in the glens
The black cook on the top of the branch.

(M, Grant/MacInnes, Skye, 1953/1963, [SS-7]: 226-230)

* . . . In the Transactions of the same society for 1951-2 (41:318-20), the late Professor Angus Matheson contributed a variant from the Dornie MSS. . . . Matheson suggests that Coinneach Og is Kenneth, first Lord Kintail, and not, as William MacKenzie appears to imply, Kenneth, Earl of Seaforth, who raised the Seaforth Highlanders in 1778. This would date the composition as late sixteenth century. However, Professor Matheson also considers that "a possibility might be Kenneth, fourth Earl of Seaforth, who succeeded in 1678 and was called Coinneach Og". That Kenneth, the fourth Earl, is indeed the subject of the song may receive some support from a heading in a recently discovered copy of some of the Dornie MSS., made in 1909 by A.R.Forbes of New Register House . . . " (MacInnes in Scottish Studies 7, 1963: 228)

A Mhac Coinnich, na biodh gruaim ort,
Cha do ghlac do mhàthair buarach,
No plaide bhàn air a h'uaichdar,
Ach sioda dearg is stròl uaine.

[MacKenzie, do not be downcast,
[Your mother never handled a cow fetter,
[Or wore a white plaid,
[But red silk and green satin.

'S e Mac Coinnich fhuair an t-urram
A miosg nam morbhairean uile.
Cheannaicheadh e fion Baile Lunnainn,
Each is diollaid fo chuid ghilean.

[MacKenzie has gained honour
[Amongst all the lords;
[He used to buy the wine of London town,
[And his servants rode on saddled horses.

A Mhac Coinnich mhóir a Brathann,
Mhic an t-seòid nach fhuiligeadh masladh:
Cheannaicheadh tu fìon dha t'eachaibh
'S crūidhean dha'n òr a chur fò'n casan.

[Great MacKenzie of Brahan,
[Son of the hero who would not endure contempt,
[You would buy wine for your horses
[And shoe their feet with horseshoes of gold.

Cha n-eil an Coinneach òg ach leanabh,
Cha do rànaig e aois a sheanar—
Marbhaiche 'n fhéidh air na beannaibh,
Is coilich dhuibh air bàrr nam meangan.

[Young Kenneth is but a babe.
[He has not reached the age of his grand-father.
[The killer of the deer on the mountain peaks
[And the black cock on the tops of the branches.
Hill ubh hill ubh hill ubh ho ro
Hill ubh hill ubh hill ubh ho ro
Hill ubh hill ubh hill ubh ho ro
Hill ubh ubh ro bho hi.

Gur h´e mise fhuair an cumhnadh
Nach d´fhuair aonan riamh ´san duthaich
Cheannach thu dhomh dusan guintean
Is each is diollaíd ´ga mo ghiuライン.

Nuair a dh´eireadh tu ´nad sheasaimh
Is iomadh fear a bhiodh ´nad fhreasdal
Ceud ´na suidhe ceud ´na seasaimh
Da cheud deug an gualainn deas riut.

A Mhic Coinnich na strol farsaing
Mhic na seod nach fulingeadh masladh
Bheireadh tu fion dha d´chuid eachaibh
Is cruibhean oir a chur fon casan.

Gur h´e mo ghaol an comann
Air am faod mi fhein mo shloinneadh
Luchd nan cul buidhe is donna
Thall is a bhos mu Eilean Donnain.

Gur h´e mo ghaol na Gaidheil
A dh´iarradh is a dh´oladh is a phaigheadh
Bheireadh air na buideil traghadh
Fir ghearradh dhonna Chinn t-Saile.

Chan eil Coinneach ach ´na leabh
Cha d´rainig e aois a sheanair
Marbhaich an fheidh anns a´ghleannan
Is na hreoin bheag air bharr nam meangan.

Is a Mhic Coinnich bi gu h´uasal
Cha do glaic do mhathair buarach
No plaide bhan air a gualainn
Ach side dhearg is strol uaine.

A Mhic Coinnich fhuair thu an t-urram
Theid thu mach gu laidir ullamh

I have been better looked after
[Than anyone else ever in this land
[You bought for me twelve gowns
[And a horse and saddle to carry me.

When you´d stand up
[Many a man was there to attend you
[A hundred sitting down, a hundred standing
[Twelve hundred with their right shoulder to you.

MacKenzie of broad satin banners
[Scion of heroes who would brook no insult
[You´d give wine to your horses
[And shoe them with shoes of gold.

My beloved company
[With whom I myself can claim kinship!
[Yellow-haired and brown-haired folk
[Here and there round Eilean Donnain.

My beloved Gaels
[Who´d order and drink and pay
[Who´d drain the wine-casks
[The handsome stocky men of Kintail.

Kenneth is but a child
[He has not reached his grandfather´s age
[Hunter of the deer in the little glen
[Of little birds on the tops of the branches.

MacKenzie, remain noble!
[Your mother did not handle a cow-fetter
[Nor carry a white plaid on her shoulder
[But red silk and green satin.

MacKenzie, you´re been given the place of honour
[You go forth well equipped and strong.
Cheannaicheadh leat fion Bhaile Lunnainn [You bought the wine of London town]
Machair Loudie fod chuid giullan. [The plain of Lothian is under your young warriors.]


* "The subject of the song could be one of several MacKenzie chiefs. These are: Kenneth who was head of the clan from 1491 to 1497; Kenneth, first Lord Kintail, who was born c 1569 and died inn 1611; Kenneth, fourth Earl of Seaforth who succeeded to the title in 1678, and Kenneth Earl of Seaforth who raised the Seaforth Highlanders in 1778. the first three of these were all known in Gaelic as Coinneach Og. While on stylistic grounds the song could well belong to the 17th century, an earlier (or even later) dating is not impossible."
(Scottish Tradition 8, 1984: 27)

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Ho! min thu, [version (a)]
Man thu, màg thu!
'S toigh liom fhin thu,
Màn thu, màg thu!

[Ho! soft art thou,]
[Smooth thou, soft thou!]
[Well I love thee,]
[Smooth thou, soft thou!]

'S toigh liom again,
Màn thu, màg thu!
Fó’n a’ phlaid,
Màn thu, màg thu!

[Well I love thee,]
[Smooth thou, soft thou!]
[Under the plaid,]
[Smooth thou, soft thou!]

'S toigh liom again,
Man thu, màg thu!
Anns a’ mhadainn
Mhinghill, chràghil.

[Well I love thee,]
[Smooth thou, soft thou!]
[In the morning]
[Soft-white, red-bright.]

'S toigh liom again,
Màn thu, màg thu!
Mi dha d’ chaidriu,
Mi dha d’ thàlu.

[Well I love thee,]
[Smooth thou, soft thou!]
[I to companion thee,]
[I to lull thee.]

Mi dha d' lionu
Leis na bàidhean,
Mi dha d' lion o
Chìoch do mhàthar.

[I to fill thee]
[With the fondnesses,]
[I to fill thee]
[From the breast of thy mother.]

Min thu! min thu!
Min mo ghràidhean!
Min mar shìod dhut
Cridh do mhàthar!

[Soft thou! soft thou!]
[Soft my little love!]
[Soft as silk to thee]
[The heart of thy mother!]

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Ho do ro mhicein,  
Ho do ro bhoicein,  
Cùl nan clitean  
Rì na dearcan.

Hal hal aoirinn
Hal hal aoirinn
Hal hal aoirinn
Na goibhre anns a' chrò.

Hiù bhidil hiù bhi
Hiù bhidil hiù bhi
Hiù bhidil hiù bhi
Na ciora 'm beinn a' cheò.  [ciura

Gun siubhlainn an t-anmoch
Le sealgair mo ghaol,
Gun siubhlainn an oidhche
Feadh coil agus fraoich.

[Ho do ro sonnie,  
[Ho do ro kiddie,  
[Beyond the ridges
[At the berries.

[Hal hal aoirinn
[Hal hal aoirinn
[Hal hal aoirinn
[The goats in the fold.

[Hiu bhidil hiu bhi
[Hiu bhidil hiu bhi
[Hiu bhidil hiu bhi
[The sheep in the misty ben.

[I would range the darkling
[With the hunter of my love,
[I would range the night
[Through wood and through heath.

(*, Maclain/Carmichael, Uist, 1869/1954, [CG-5]: 178-181)

* These songs are called 'Taladh na Mna-Sidh [The Fairy Woman's Lullaby]' by the compiler, although a particular story behind them is not introduced here.
Horro Lady bhig, Horro eile
Horro Lady bhig, Horro eile
Horro Lady bhig, Horro eile
Fuaim nan ramh anns a’ Bhaigh, sid mo ghradh-sa ’gam dhuanadh.

Horro leanabain, Horro eile,
Horro leanabain, Horro eile,
Horro la, Horro la.

With his nets from the Bay will thy father be faring.

(M, MacInnes/MacLeod, Eriskay, --/1909, [SH-1]: 47-51)

* This song is called ‘Taladh Eirisgeach [The Mermaid’s Lullaby]’ by the compiler.

<G-35b>
Ho ho bho laidi bheag,
Ho ho bho eileadh,
Ho ho bho laidi bheag,
Ho ho bho eileadh,

Ho ho bho laidi bheag,
Ho ho bho eileadh,
Ged nach’el thu ach og bidh
Gu ed iran deidhort

[Although you are very young,
[Many will like you

‘S ’a bhean a gheibh Domhnuil
Bidh cior aie’aie’eile,
Bidh iasgair Bidh sealgair:
Bidh marbhaich’ an fheidh.

[And the wife Donald marries
[Will be most important,
[For he’ll be a Fisherman, a hunter
[And a Deer Hunter.


* This text is referred the compilation of Cass-Beggs (1969), who quoted the text from Songs and Pipes Of The Hebrides. (1952) compiled by Polly Hitchcock.

<G-36a>
Horo Uilleim chuir a muir ort,
Horo Uilleim chuir a sal ort,
Horo Uilleim chuir a muir ort,
Buain a mhurain ris an traigh.

[Horo William, the sea came over you
[Horo William, the salt water came over you
[Horo William, the sea came over you
[Cutting the maram grass by the shore

(M-SR, MacKenzie/-, Lewis, 1955/-; SA1955/5/A3)

<G-36b>
Ho ro Uilleim, chuir am muir ort,
Ho ro Uilleim, chuir an sal ort,
Ho ro Uilleim, chuir am muir ort,

(English translation omitted
Buain a' mhurain ris an traigh.

(M, --/NicShimidh & Barr, --/1991, [CaGS]: 7)

* "It seems to be one of the songs which have been given the name Taladh which were composed by semi-professional bards, for heirs of clan chiefs, or other important personages." (Morag MacLeod).

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<G-37a>

Hu a'ho, Maolruainidh Ghlinneachain.  
Hi a'ho, Maolruainidh!

Dh'fhalbh do Mhathair, 's thung i'm fireach oirr'. [Thy mother has gone away

Hi a'ho, Maolruainidh! and betaken herself to the hill.

Dh'fhalbh do Mhathair, 's thung i'm fireach oirr'.

Hi a'ho, Maolruainidh!

'S thug i' m balg 'san robh do chuid mine leath'. [And carried with her thy skin-bag of meal.

Hu a'ho! Maolruainidh!

'S thug i' m balg 'san robh do chuid mine leath'.

Hi a'ho! Maolruainidh!

'S thug i'n curasan 'san robh do chuid ime leath'. [And the wooden dish in which was thy butter.

Hu a'ho! Maolruainidh!

'S thug i'n curasan 'san robh do chuid ime leath'

Hi a'ho! Maolruainidh!

'S na bu tig an aon la thillens i. [May that day never come on which she will return!

Hu a'ho! Maolruainidh!

(M, --/Tolmie, Skye, 1861/1911, [JFS]: 184-185)

* "The second line of each verse forms the first of the succeeding stanza. . . . Maolruainidh Ghlinneachain was a silly, wandering woman, who forsook her child, when a good fairy found it, and lulled it to sleep with the above song." (Tolmie, 1911:185)

* "This interesting form of overlapping verse, in which each new stanza retains the last line of the previous one (not counting the refrain), is found also amongst Scandinavian ballads and the songs of French sailors. Such a verse-form suggests improvisation in the growth of these songs, whether or not the form itself may arise, as seems possible, from a former custom of two or more persons improvising verses alternately, each singer taking up the last line of his rival or companion and adding to it a new one of his own, which in turn the other must repeat, and pair with a second line. The words as well as the pattern of this pretty little song of Maolruain suggest that it might easily be extended at the fancy of the singer." (Broadwood, 1911: 185)

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<G-37b>

Hà, horò, Maoir'rua'naidh Ghlinneachain
Dh' fhálbh do mhàthair is thug i 'm fireach oirr'
Hà, horò Maol-ruanaidh. [Your mother is away, and gone to the moor.]

Dh' fhálbh do mhàthair 's thug i 'm fireach oirr'
Hà, horò Maol-ruanaidh.

Dh' fhàg i 'n gleann 's na féidh a' fuireach ann,
Ha, horò Maol-ruanaidh. [She has left the glen where the deer live.]

Dh' fhàg i 'n gleann 's na féidh a' fuireach ann,
Ha, horò Maol-ruanaidh.

S na ma tig an t'aon là thilleas i!
Ha, horò Maol-ruanaidh. [Though the day will never come that she returns]

S na ma tig an t'aon là thilleas i!
Ha, horò Maol-ruanaidh.

Thug i 'm balg 'san robh do chuid mine leath';
Hà, horò Maol-ruanaidh. [She took with her the bag which held your flour]

'S ciod, a ghaoil, a bhiodh tu sireadh orm,
Hà, horò Maol-ruanaidh. [And what, love, would you desire of me?]

'S ciod, a ghaoil, a bhiodh tu sireadh orm,
Hà, horò Maol-ruanaidh.

'S nach 'eil im, no cia, no min agam
Hà, horò Maol-ruanaidh. [When I have no butter, cheese, or flour]

'S nach 'eil im, no cia, no min agam,
Hà, horò Maol-ruanaidh.

Gheibh thu glùn 'us múirn, 'us mire bhuam,
Hà, horò Maol-ruanaidh! [You will be nursed with joy and mirth]

Gheibh thu glùn 'us múirn, 'us mire bhuam,
Hà, horò Maol-ruanaidh!

'S tiugainn leam don t'sithean urad ud
Hà, horò Maol-ruanaidh! [Come with me, to that green fairy knoll]

'S tiugainn leam don t'sithean urad ud
Hà, horò Maol-ruanaidh!

Hà, horò Maol-ruanaidh Chlinneachain,
Hà, horò Maol-ruanaidh!

(←, ↵/MacDonald, ↵, ↵/1907, [PmS]: 12-13)
Hi ho ro Maol-ruanaidh Chlinneachan
Ha ho ro Maol-ruanaidh
Dh'fhalbh do mhathair's thug i fireach oirr
Ha ho ro Maol-ruanaidh.

<G-37d>
Hà ho rò Maol-ruanaidh Chlinneachain
Hà ho rò Maol-ruanaidh!
Dh'fhalbh do mhàthair's thug i 'm fireach oirr'
Hà ho rò Maol-ruanaidh. [Your mother left and fled to the moor]

Dh'fhalbh do mhàthair's thug i 'm fireach oirr'
Hà ho rò Maol-ruanaidh.
Dh'fhàg i 'n gleann 's na fèidh a' fuireach ann,
Ha ho rò Maol-ruanaidh. [Your mother is away, and gone to the moor.]

'S ged nach tig an t-aon là thilleas i,
Hà ho rò Maol-ruanaidh.
Gheibh thu glùn is mùrn is mire bhuam,
Ha ho rò Maol-ruanaidh. [She has left the glen where the deer live.]

Gheibh thu glùn is mùrn is mire bhuam,
Hà ho rò Maol-ruanaidh!
'S tiugainn leam don t'sithean urad ud
Hà ho rò Maol-ruanaidh. [You will be nursed with joy and mirth]

<G-37e>
Ha ho ro maol-ruanaidh Chlinneachain
Ha ho ro maol-ruanaidh
Dh'fhalbh do mhathair's thug i fireach oirr'
Ha ho ro maol-ruanaidh [Your mother left and fled to the moor]

Dh'fhalbh do mhathair's thug i fireach oirr
Ha ho ro maol ruanaidh
Thug i chuach 's an robh do chuid ime leth
Ha ho ro maol ruanaidh [She took with her the quaich which held your butter]

Thug i chuach 's an robh do chuid ime leth
Ha ho ro maol ruanaidh
Thug i bhalg san robh do chuid mine leth
Ha ho ro maol ruanaidh [She took with her the bag which held your meal]

Thug i bhalg san robh do chuid mine leth
Ha ho ro maol ruanaidh
Gum bu tig an aon là thilleas i [On the day when she returns we'll have]
Ha ho ro maol ruanaidh

(M-SR, MacNeill & MacDonald/Uno, Barra, 1993/-, 210)

<G-38>

Ian, Oan, ba mo leanabh
Seamh gu’n laigh thu
Slan gu’n eirich
Uan, Ian, ba mo leanabh.

[Taleth Albann na do dhileib,
Ta fo 'beanntaibh, Ta fo ‘ni dhuit,
Ta fo ‘caorunn, Ta fo ‘cuileann,
Ta fo ‘duilleach, Ta fo ‘crionaich,
Uan, Oan, ba mo leanabh.

[Western Albyn thine for croft, sure,
[All her Bens and all her cattle,
[All her rowans, all her hazel,
[All her bird-land, all her stag-land,

Uan, Ian, ba mo leanabh.

Gheibh mo leanabh cioban fearainn,
Gheibh thu Rum is Eig is Canaidh,
Ile ghlas, Cinntriris Maininn,
Diura nam fiadh ‘s an fhiadhach Ar ainn,
Uan, Ian, ba mo leanabh.

[Thine be Jura, thine green Isla,
[Far flung Isles from Lews to Arran,
[Morven glens and Moydart waters,

All the seas from Moyle to Mannin'.

[Uan, Ian, ba mo ghaol.
[Crown decended, thou’rt the blood of
[Coll of the ships and Conn of keen blades,
[Ne’er thy growth from cool of waters.
[But from heat of woman’s breast-milk.

Uan, Ian, ba mo ghaol.
[Child of Isla, sleep till dawn.

(M, MacKinnon/MacLeod & Kennedy-Fraser, Eigg, -1917, [SH 2]: 149-153)

* This song is called ‘Taladh An Leinibh Ilich [To the Cradle Lord of the Isles]’ by the compilers.

<G-39>

Is fuar fuar a nochd mo leaba,
Is fuar fuar a nochd mo leanabh,
Is buan buan a nochd do chudal,
Mis am anart’s tus am acharlais.

[Over me creeps the shadow of death,
[The warm pulse of my love will not sit,
[The wind of the heights thy sleep-lulling,
[The close-clinging snow of the peaks thy mantle.

Tha sgáill a’ bhàis a’ snàgan tharam,
Cuisle bhlàth mo ghràidh cha charaich,
Gaoth nana rd do thàladh cadail,
Sneachd nam beann gu teann do bhurta.

[Cold, cold this night is my bed
[Cold, cold this night is my child
[Lasting, lasting this night thy sleep,
[I in my shroud and thou in mine arm.
Tha fionm' a' bhàis a' snagan tharad,
Tha ainglean bána snàmh san adhar,
Tha Mad nan gràs gach tràth dha d'chaithris,
Tha Mac mo Dhé liom féin ri faire.

[Over thee creeps the hue of death,
White angels are floating in the air,
The Son of grace each season guards thee,
The Son of my God keeps the watch with me.]

Ge h'ard mo ghlaodh gur faon mo ghear'an,
Ge mòr mo spairn cha phàrtaich caraid:
Do lòin chneise sneachd nam beanna,
Do leaba bhàis is carr nan gleanna.

[Though loud my cry my plaint is idle,
Though sore my struggle no friend shres it;
Thy body-shirt is the snow of the peaks,
Thy death-bed the fen of the valleys.]

Gur dùint do shùil, gur dòr do chadal,
Do bhial ri m' chìch 's chan iarr thu bainne;
Mo chro'n nan gràidh gu bràth chan aithnich,
Mo ghuileag ghràidh gu bràth chan aithris.

[Thine eye is closed, thy sleep is heavy,
Thy mouth to my breast, but thou seekest no milk;
My croon of love thou shalt never know,
My plaint of love thou shalt never tell.]

Is ultach fuar mo luaidh am a' chlais,
Is ultach reòt gun deò gun anail:
Ainglean Dè a reiteach rathaid,
Ainglean Dè dh'ar n-eibheach dhachaidh.

[A cold arm-burden my love on my bosom,
A frozen arm-burden without life or breath;
May the angels of God make smooth the road,
May the angels of God be calling us home.]

Reothadh cruaidh nach buannaich ait'eachh,
Reothadh uainn nach uainnich earrach,
Cadal buan nach fuaigail madainn,
Cadal bás màthar is leanaibh.

[A hard frost no thaw shall subdue,
The frost of the grave which no spring shall make green,
A lasting sleep which morn shall nor break,
The death-slumber of mother and child.]

Tha solas neòil toir treoir dha m' chasan,
Tha ceòl nan speur toir séimh dha m'anam,
Tha mi liom fein fo sgèith na Carraig
Ainglean Dè dha m'eibheach dhachaidh.

[Heavenly light directs my feet,
The music of the skies gives peace to my soul,
Alone I am under the wing of the Rock,
Angels of God calling me home.]

Is fuar fuar, is fuar mo leanabh,
Is fuar a' mhàthair tha 'gad chaithris;
Is truagh truagh, is truagh mo ghear'an,
Is tuar a' bhàis a' sna'gan thar'am.

[Cold, cold, cold is my child,
Cold, cold is the mother who watches thee,
Sad, sad, sad is my plaint,
As the tinge of death creeps over me.]

A Chrois nan speur, seun air m'anam,
A Mhàthair chiochr'an, dion mo leanabh,
A Mhic nan deur rinn té dhiubh altram,
Nochd do bhàidh sa bhàis dh'an a'innis.

[O Cross of the heavens, sign my soul,
O Mother of breastlings, shield my child,
O Son of tears whom a mother nurtured,
Show Thy tenderness in death to the needy.

*(+ MacDonald/Macnab/Carmichael, Glen Coe, '1941, [CG-4]: 344-349)
"The night after the massacre of Glen Coe officers and soldiers were out searching the hills and dales for any stray fugitives who might have escaped the massacre. Hearing the sound of the pipes, they followed it, thinking that this might be some MacDonald guiding his friends to safety. Eager to wreak their vengeance on the clan they hated, they followed the piping through mud and mire, swamp and stream, snow wreath and rock cleft, till they reached a distant tarn among the high mountains. Here the music sank down in the depths of the tarn and died softly away as dies the eerie sough of the western wind.

The people maintain that the piper was one of the good fairies of the mound.

Beaten and battered by the storm, with baffled rage in their hearts and curses on their lips, the soldiers returned. They heard upon the wind the screaming of a child. The officer in command called out to the nearest soldier, . . . 'Go and put a twist in the neck of that brat.' As the man neared the place from which the screams were coming, . . . he heard the one most beautiful music that ever ear heard, music more beautiful than the lips of the fairy women in the knoll. Who was this but a young mother who had escaped the massacre, lulling her child to sleep the sleep of death amid the snow. . . . The soldier remembered her whom he had left at home beside the fire with a little beautiful beloved babe upon her breast, singing a quiet croon of sleep to him, and the blood of Clan Donald in the veins of both. And it chanced that the gentle croon of music that the child's mother was singing in the snow was the very same music as he had last heard when he left his kin and his home many a day and year before that. The soldier wrapped the woman and her child in his plaid, gave them what food and drink he had, and left them to overtake his comrades. On the way he came upon a wolf devouring the body of a woman who had escaped alive from the scene of the massacre. He slew the wolf and showed the officer the blood upon his sword. By the mercy of God and through the soldier's compassion mother and child survived. Descendants of the child are still living, and the tradition is current and believed throughout the districts of Appin and Lochaber." (Carmichael, 1941: 344-345)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&lt;G·40a&gt;</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(ref.) 'Mhnathan a' ghlinne so!</td>
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<td>'Mhnathan a' ghlinne so!</td>
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<td>'Mhnathan a' ghlinne s',</td>
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<td>Nach mithich dhuibh eirigh!</td>
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<td>[O ye women of this glen</td>
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<td>[O ye women of this glen</td>
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<td>[O ye women of this glen</td>
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<td>[Is it not time for you to rise?</td>
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<td>'S mise rinn a' mhocheirigh;</td>
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<td>'S mise rinn a' mhocheirigh;</td>
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<td>'S mise rinn a' mhocheirigh;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sibh s'a chuir feum air!</td>
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<td>[Tis I was up very early</td>
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<td>[Tis I was up very early</td>
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<td>[Tis I was up very early</td>
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<td>[For your sake did I rise!</td>
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<td>(ref.)</td>
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| Mharbh 'ad am buachaille, |
| Mharbh 'ad am buachaille, |
| Mharbh 'ad am buachaille, |
| Bha 'cuallach na spreidhe. |
| [They have slain the cowherd |
| [They have slain the cowherd |
| [They have slain the cowherd |

(M. --/Tolmie, Ross-shire, 1870/1911, [JFS]: 171-172)

* "This was a favourite lullaby, and, with "Griogal Cridhe" in this collection, known in
every Highland home. It is commemorative of the terrors of a cattle-raid. Two pibrochs were composed on the same tune: one in remembrance of the feud between the Campbells of Breadalbane and the Sinclairs of Caithness in 1677; the other, of the horrid act of treachery committed in Glencoe, 1692." (Tolmie, 1911: 171)

<G-40b>
Mhnathan a’ ghlinne-sa, mhnathan a’ ghlinne-sa [Women of this glen, women of this glen]
Mhnathan a’ ghlinne-sa gur minig dhuibh eirigh up [Women of this glen, you had better get up]

An crodh air am bleoghan, an crodh air am bleoghan [The cattle are milked (3 times)]
An crodh air am bleoghan’s na fir air an reubadh [And the men plundered (or the men have plundered them)]

(M-SR, MacPherson/++, Skye, 1953/++, [SSGS]:26, SA1953/176.4)

<G-40c>
’S a mhnathan a’ ghlinne seo, ghlinne seo, ghlinne seo, [Women of this glen, this glen, this glen,]
Mhnathan a’ ghlinne seo, ’s mithich dhuinn bhith ’g éirigh [Women of this glen, we had better get up]

Sinne a rinn mocheirigh, sinne rinn mocheirigh [We arose early, we arose early,]
Sinne a rinn mocheirigh, agaibhs’ bha feum air. [We arose early, which was just as well for you.]

Tha ’n crodh air an togail, tha’ n crodh air an togail [The cattle are lifted, the cattle are lifted]
Tha ’n crodh air an togail, ’s na bodaich ’gan reubadh [The cattle are lifted, and the old men are plundered]

’S o Albainn bheadarach, bheadarach, bheadarach [Oh winsome Scotland, winsome, winsome]
Albainn bheadarach ’s math dhuinn ’ga fàgail [Oh winsome Scotland, we had better leave her.]

’S i mhuir tha cur eagal, ’s i mhuir tha cur eagal [It's the sea that frightens, it's the sea that frightens,]
’S i mhuir tha cur eagal air clannaibh nan Gàidheal [It's the sea that frightens the children of the Gael]

Mharbh iad am buachaille, mharbh iad am buachaille [They killed the cowherd, they killed the cowherd,]
Mharbh iad am buachaille bha buachailleachd na spréidhe [They killed the cowherd who was herding the flock.]


<G-41a>
Mhuire, ’s e mo run mo leanabh, [Mary! * My child is my darling]
’S tu mac oighre Mhic ’ic Ailein, [You are the son of Clanranald’s heir]
Ogha ‘s iar-ogh’ nam fear fearail, [Grandchild and great grandchild of the manly ones]
Chaidh ur n alla fada ga chur, [Your fame was spread far and wide]
B’ fhèarr leam féin gu’n cinneadh sid dhuit, [I wish there would grow in you]
Aois ’us fas, ’us ailleachd an cruth, [Maturity, growth, comeliness of person]
Maise, 's féile, 's géire le guth.

Taing do 'n Ard-righ thu bhi fìrionn, 
Chum 's gu 'm meudaicheadh tu 'n fhinne, 
'S gu 'm biodh tu a' d' spailp air do Chinneadh, 
'S an deadh ianad 's a bheil thu 'n diugh. 
Bhi gu siobhailt bhuiineadh sid dhuit, 
Garg 'us min mar chàirte ri d' uchd 
Pailt 's rioghail, 's aoídoihoil mu d' chuid.

B' fhéarr leam fhéin gu'n chinneadh càc e 
'N uair nach bithinn fhéin 's a làthair, 
Iain Muideartach bhi 'na ármunn, 
Air an làrach am bheil e 'n diugh; 
'N a cheann tãmha ri tarmunn puirt, 
Ann's an àros 'n seinnear a' chruid. 
'S bhiodh do chràidean mánranach riut.

Thaobh do sheanar 'us do shean'mhath'hir, 
Craobh a' b'aithe dhomhsa 'leamhunn, 
Comunn mo ruin a dh' fhàs ain meil, 
As an ana'meinn cha d' rinn iad bun. 
Chà robh mi'r run bhit ri'n cruth: 
Iochd'mhòr, fìachail, 's fàlaidh mu'n cùid, 
Clu'm, 'us ciatamh, 's rianadh le guth.

'S iomadh rioghadh agus naisean, 
'S an do mheudaich sibh 'ur cairdean, 
Mar'rinn sibh ri Prionnsa Tearlach, 
'N uair bha ghràisg a' bagairt a mhort, 
Lean an duthchas clàiteach ud ruat — 
Dol an cunnart d'anama 's do chuirp; 
Thaobh an civil cha tìonndadh iad stuth.

(There are another 10 stanzas following this.)

<G-41b>
Mhoire, 'se mo rùn mo leanabh, 
'S tu mac oighre Mhic 'ic Ailein, 
Ogha 's iar-ogh nam fear fearail, 
ones
Cha'idh 'ur n' alla fada g'a chur, 
B'fhèarr leam fhìn gu cinneadh sìod dhuit — 
Aois 'us fàs 'us àlleachd 'us cruth, 
Maise, 's féill 'us géire le guth. 

Taing do'n Ard-righ thu bhith fireann 
Chum gu meudaicheadh tu 'n fhinne, 
'S gum biodh tu 'nad spailp air do chinneadh 
'S an deadh ianad 's bheil thu 'n diugh. 
Bhith gu siobhailt bhuiineadh sìod dhuit, 
Gard is min mar chàirt-te ri t'uchd 
Pailt 'us rioghail 's aoighel ma d'chuid.

[Elegance, bounty and sharpness of wit.]

[Thanks to the Most High that you are male, 
[So as to increase the clan 
[And to be a spirited leader of your kin 
[In the good place in which you are today. 
[Peace-loving you should be 
[Stern and kindly as is required of you, 
[Generous, lordly and bountiful with your riches.

[Many the kingdom and nation 
[in which you increased your allies, 
as you did with Prince Charles, 
[when the mob threatened to murder him, 
[that worthy heritage has followed you— 
[when in danger, bodily or spiritually, 
[they would not turn their backs.

[Your fame was spread far and wide 
[I wish there would grow in you— 
[Maturity, growth, comeliness of person 
[Elegance, bounty and sharpness of wit.]

[Mary! * My child is my darling 
[You are the son of Clannranald's heir 
[Grandchild and great grandchild of the manly

[Generous, lordly and bountiful with your riches.

GM, "-MacDonald, "-, */1895, [GC]:32]
I wish that others could hear it
When I myself was not present —
That John of Moidart is a hero
In the place where he is today
As a (... ?)
In the house the harp will be played
And your friends would treat you well.

* i.e. Virgin Mary

(M·SR, Johnston−, Barra, 1953/1990, [SSGS]: 21, SA1953/16/4)

* This song is called 'Taladh Iain Mhuideartaich [The Lullaby for John Moidart]' by the compiler, and is considered to have been composed by John MacCodrum in Uist (c.18th century).

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<G·42a>

[version (a)]
Mo dhith, mo dhith! gun tri lámhan!
Mo dhith, mo dhith gun tri lámhan.
Dà làimh's a' phiob, dà làimh's a' phiob,
Dà làimh's a' phiob, 's làmh's a' chlaidheamh!

Nach truagh mi fhein gun tri lámhan,
Nach truagh mi fhein gun tri lámhan
Da làimh's a' phiob, dà làmh's a' phiob,
Da làimh's a' phiob, 's làmh's a' chlaidheamh!

Chaill mo lâmh a lúths, chaill mo lâmh a lúths,
[My loss, my loss that I lack three hands]
Chaill mo lâmh a lúths, threig a lúdach mi!
[My hand has lost its power]
Mo dhith, mo dhith!

[version (b)]
Mu'n ruig mise,
Mu'n ruig mise,
Mu'n till mise,
A Uaimh an Oir.

Bidh na minn bheaga
'N an gobaigh chreagan
'S na laoigh bheaga
'N an crodh mòr.

Bidh na h'eich chliabhtta
'N an eich dhiollaid,
Mu'n till mise,
A Uaimh an Oir.

Bidh 'chliann uchda
'N am fir fheachda
'S cha till mise
Ri mo bheò!

[before I escape]
[before I escape]
[before I return]
[From the Cave of Gold]

[the little goats will be]
[rock-climbing goats]
[and the little calves]
[great cattle.]

[The creeled horses will be]
[saddled mounts,]
[before I return,]
[from the Cave of Gold.]

[Babes in arms will be]
[fighting men]
[And I will not return]
[in my lifetime!]

- 460 -
"S iomadn maighdean òg fo 'ceud bhearr
'Thóid a null! Thóid a null!
Mu'n till mise, mu'n ruig mise
A Uamh an Oir; a Uamh an Oir!

[Many a youthful maiden, bearing her first growth of hair, will go over,
ere I return, ere I arrive from Uamh'n Oir.

(M, 'a-MacLeod, `a-MacLeod, 'a-MacLeod, 1901, [PaB]: 47-48)

* "Uamh an Oir—meaning unknown—does not mean of gold. It might be the
East, with the sound of "O" gradually lengthened.—An Oir—changed to An Òir.

A piper and a party of 12 men entered the cave at Harlosh, near Roag,
intending to explore it to the other end, which opened at Monkstadt on Loch
Snizort: but having been met and destroyed by an Uile-bheistd, or monster they
never were seen again. The last despairing words of the piper were heard by a
person who was sitting at Tober Tulach in the neighbourhood, who listened to his
lamentation coming up from the depths of the well, and thus learned the fate
that had befallen him and his associates. (MacLeod country version of the legend.)

The entrance to the cave of Uamh 'n Òir is near Monkstadt. Long ago, a piper
and 12 men went in, intending to find the outlet—wherever it might be—and
some evil having befallen them they never re-appeared: and the last words of the
piper were heard (when he could no longer play), by some people who were at the
holy well of Leanacro, coming up through the water. (Trotternish version).

"Tober Tulach" was reputed to be the best well in Skye for restoring health,
and for refreshment. The well of Leanacro is on a hill-top, and was believed to
possess many many purifying properties for mind as well as body. The word Òir
would naturally be sung to a long, mournful sound, and thus acquire a new
pronunciation, which then led to its being mistaken for ór—gold. (MacDonald,
1901: 48)

<G-42b>

[version (a)]
Mu 'n till mise, mu 'n ruig mise; [Ere I return, ere I attain,
Mu 'n till mise a uamh 'n Òir. [Ere I return from Cave of Gold

(*Gaelic words were not described)
[the young of the goats will be goats of the crags, and the little calves become great kine.
[Cree]-bears will be riding steeds, and babes, borne in the bosom, men, bearing arms.
[But never more shall I return.

(b) Chaill mo láthu a láthu! [My hand has lost its power
Chaill mo láthu a láthu!  [My hand has lost its power
Chaill mo láthu a láthu!  [My hand has lost its power
Threig an Lùd-ag mi!  [And my little finger is gone.

(c) Mo dhith, mo dhith gun tri lámanh. [My loss, my loss that I lack three hands
Mo dhith, mo dhith gun tri lámanh.

Dà làimh 'sa phiob, dà làimh 'sa phiob, [Two hands to the bag-pipe and one to the sword.
Dà làimh 'sa phiob, 's làimh 'sa chlaideach.

(*Gaelic words not given) [Grievous my state without three hands! Two hands, etc., etc.

- 461 -
(d) 'S ioma maighdean òg fo ceud bh'earr, thèid a null, thèid a null,
Mu'n till mise, mu'n ruig mis'sa Uamh an Òir, Uamh an Òir!

[Many a youthful maiden, bearing her first growth of hair, will go over,
ere I return, ere I arrive from Uamh'n Òir.

'S ioma maighdean òg fo ceud bh'earr, thèid a null, thèid a null,
Mu'n till mise, mu'n ruig mis'sa Uamh an Òir, Uamh an Òir!

(M, Tolmie/Tolmie, Skye, ~/1911, [JFS]:157-160)

*The tradition relating to Uamh'n Òir has for many generations been the subject
of various lullabies throughout the Hebrides. The entrance to the cave is at
Harlosh, near the shore, a few miles to the south-west of Dunvegan in Skye. Long
ago, an exploring party accompanied by a piper entered this cavern, expecting to
find a subterranean passage which should lead them in an easterly direction
quite across the island to another cave bearing the same name of Uamh'n Òir,
near Monkstadt in Trotternish. Some hours after the men set out on this
adventure, a woman sitting at the well of Tulach (Tobar Tulaich), near Harlosh,
heard coming up through the water the voice of the piper, in despairing tones
expressing a wish that he might have three hands two for the bagpipe, and one
for the sword with which to fight the monster that presumably overcame his
companions and himself, who were never seen nor heard of again. Tobar Tulaich
was a sacred well, believed to possess magical health-restoring properties and to
be the best water in Skye. The people of Trotternish had a similar belief about the
well of Lianacro, not far from the other cave in Trotternish." (Tolmie, 1911: 157)

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Aleluia, Aleluia, Aleluia, Aleluia.
Mo ghaol, mo ghradh, a's m'heudail thu
M'ion'tas ur a's m' eibhneas thu,
Mo mhacan aluin, ceutach thu,
Cha' n fiu mi fhein' bh'd dhail.
Aleluia, &c.

Ge 'mor an t'aobhar cliu dhomh e,
'S mor an t'aobhar curaim e,
'S mor an t'aobhar umhlachd e,
Righ nan dul 'bhi'm laimh.

[Although it is a great source of fame for me
it is a great cause for care,
it is a great cause for humility,
to cradle the king of the elements in my arms.

Ge d'is leanabh diblidh thu,
Cinnteach's Righ nan Righrean thu,
'S tu'n t-oighe dligheach, firinneach
Air Rioghachd Dhè nan grás.

[Although Thou art a helpless babe,
'Tis certain Thou art the King of Kings
Thou art the true and rightful heir
To the Kingdom of the God of Graces

Ge d'is Righ na glorach thu
Dhiult iad an tigh'osda dhuit,
Ach chualas ainglean solasach
'Toirt goir do'n Ti is àird.

[Although you are the king of glory
they refused you lodging,
but joyful angels were heard
to praise the Almighty.

Bu mhòr solas agus iognadh
Buachaillean bochda nan caorach,
'Nuair chual iad na h-ainglean a' glaodhach,
"Thaing Slaunì'ear thu an t-saoghal." [Great was the wonder and the joy
[Of the poor shepherds of the sheep
[When they heard the angels proclaiming
"A Saviour has come into the world!"

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B‘e sin an ceol, ‘s an naigheachd ughmhor
Sheinn na h-aingeal anns na h-ardaibh,
Ag inseadh gu’n d’ rugadh Slanu‘eair
Am Betlehem, am baile Dhaibhidi.
(that was the song and the joyful news
the angels sang on high
telling that a Saviour was born
in Bethlehem, in David’s city.

(9 stanzas omitted)

Tha mi ’g altrum Righ na mòrachd,
’S mise mithair Dhe na gloire —
Nach buidhe, nach sona dhomhsa!
Tha mo chrhidhe lùn de sholas.
[I the nurse of the King of Greatness!
[I the mother of the God of Glory!
[Am not I the glad to-be-envied one!
[O my heart is full of rapture.

(6 stanzas omitted)

Mo ghaol an t-suil a sheallas tiá,
Mo ghaol an crìdh ’tha liont ’le gràdh,
Ged is leanabh thu gun chàil
’S lionmhör buaidh tha ort a’ fàs.
[White sun of hope and light art thou!
[Of love the heart and eye art thou!
[Thou but a tender babe, I bow
[In heav’nly rapture unto thee.

(1 stanza omitted)

’S tu Righ nan righ, ’s tu naomh nan naomh,
Dia am Mac thu ’s siorrudh t’ aois,
’S tu mo Dhìa’ s mo leanabh gaol,
’S tu àrd cheann-feadhna ’chinne-daonna’.
[Art King of Kings, art Saint of Saints,
[God the Son of eternal age,
[Art my God and my gentle babe
[Art the King-chief of mankind.

’S tuas grian gheal an dochais,
Chuirreas dorchasda air fògairt:
Bheir thu clann-daoin’ bho staid bhrònach
Gu naomhachd, soilleireachd, a’s eòlas.
[The fair white sun of hope Thou art
[Putting the darkness into exile,
[Bringing mankind from a state of woe,
[To knowledge, light and holiness.

(2 stanzas omitted)

Hosanah do Mhac Dhaibhidh,
Mo Righ, mo Thighearn, ’s mo Shlanu‘eair,
’S mòr mo sholas bhi’ ga d’ thaladh,
’S beannaichte am measg nam mnai mi.
[Hosannah to the Son of David,
[My King, my Lord, and my Saviour.
[Great my joy to be song-lulling thee,
[Blessed among the women I.

(“—, Rankin/Chisholm, Moidart, 1855/1889, [TGSi-15]: 239-242)

* “The following memento, or “cuimhneachan,” was written by the Rev. Ranald
Rankin, C.C., and given by him to the children of his congregation at Moidart,
when he was parting with them for Australia, in 1855. . . . The Rev. Ranald
Rankin (W.D.), Australia, died in 1863, aged 64.” (Chisholm, 1889: 239)

<G.43b>

Mo ghaol, mo ghradh, is m’heudail thu!
Gur mi’uunntas ur is mi’eibhneas thu!
Mo mhacan slàinnt, ceutach thu,
Cha’n thu mì thein a bhi ad dháil.
Alehua, Aleluia, Aleluia, Aleluia.
[My joy, my love, my darling thou!
[My treasure new, my rapture thou!
[My comely beauteous babe-son thou,
[Unworthy I to tend to thee.
[Haleluia, . . .

Tha mi ’g altrum Righ na Mòrachd!
’S mise mithair Dhe na Glòrach!
Nach buidhe, nach sona dhòmhsa!
[I the nurse of the King of Greatness!
[I the mother of the God of Glory!
[Am not I the glad to-be-envied one!
Tha mo chridhe lán de shòlas.

Mo ghaol an t-sùil a sheallas tla!
Mo ghaol an crídh' tha liont' le gràdh!
Ged is leanabh thu gun chàil
Is lòn(mhor) buaidh thu ort a' fars.

'S tús Righ nan Righ, 's tu Naomh nan Naomh,
Dia am Mac thu's siorruidh t'aois,
'S tu mo Dhìa 's mo leanabh caomh,
'S tu àrd Cheann-fèadhna chinnie daonda.

'S tusa grian gheal ar dòchas,
Chuireas dorchas air fògairt:
Bheir thu clann-dàoin 'bho staid bhrònach
Gu naomhachd, soileireachd, is eolais.

Hosanah do Mhaic Dhaibhidh,
Mo Righ, mo Thighearna, 's mo Shlàinear!
'S mòr mo shòlas bhi 'gad thàlada,
'S beannaichte measg nam mnà mi.

[O my heart is full of rapture.

[White sun of hope and light art thou!
[Of love the heart and eye art thou!
[Tho' but a tender babe, I bow
[In heav'ly rapture unto thee.

[Art King of Kings, art Saint of Saints,
[God the Son of eternal age,
[Art my God and my gentle babe
[Art the King-chief of mankind.

[The fair white sun of hope Thou art
[Putting the darkness into exile,
[Bringing mankind from a state of woe,
[To knowledge, light and holiness.

[Hosannah to the Son of David,
[My King, my Lord, and my Saviour.
[Great my joy to be song-lulling thee,
[Blessed among the women I.

(M, MacInnes/MacLeod & Kennedy-Fraser, Eriskay. ~/1909, [SH-1]:26:28)

* "In Eigg and Uist this lullaby is associated with a legend of which the following is a literal translation:

There was once a shiftless laddie in one of the isles who had lost his mother, and that is always a sad tale, but had got a stepmother in her place, and that is sometimes a sadder tale still. He was not like other children at any rate, but wise where they were foolish, and foolish where they were wise: and he could never do or say anything but what put anger on his stepmother. There was no life for him in the house, and if out he should go, as out he would, that was a fault too. His neighbours said that he was growing into the grave. His stepmother said that he was growing up to the gallows. And he taught himself (but his thoughts were young and foolish) that he was growing towards something which fate was keeping for him. On an evening there was, he brought home, as usual, the cattle for the milking, and if they gave little milk that time, and likely it was little they gave, who was to blame for it but the poor orphan! "Son of another," said his stepmother in the heat of anger, "there will be no luck on this house till you leave; but whoever heard of luckless chick keening of its own will?" But leave the shiftless laddie did, and that of his own will, and ere the full moon rose at night, he was on the other side of the ben.

That night the stepmother could get neither sleep nor ease: there was something ringing in her ear, and something else stinging in her heart, until at last her bed was like a cairn of stones in a forest of reptiles. "I will rise," she said, "and see if the night outside is better than the night inside." She rose and went out, with her face towards the ben: nor did she ever stop until she saw and heard something which made her stop. What was this but a Woman, with the very heat-love of Heaven in her face, sitting on a grassy knoll and song-lulling a baby-son — song-lulling the orphan." And she fell on her knees and began to weep the soft
warm tears of a mother; and when, after a while, she looked up, there was nobody there but herself and the shiftless laddie side by side." (MacLeod, 1907: 28)

Mo ghaol, mo ghraidh, is m’heudail thu,
Mionntas urch is m’eibhneas thu,
Mo mhacan-ainn ceutaich thu,
Cha n-fhdh mi fein bhith ’d dhail.
Aleluia, Aleluia, Aleluia, Aleluia.

Ged as leanabh dibility thu,
Cinnteach ’s Righ nan Righean thu,
’S tu ’n t-roighre diligheach, firinneach
Air Rioghachd Dhe nan Gràs.

Bu mhòr sòlas agus ioghanadh
Buachaille dorchas air fògairt;
Bheir thu clann-dacan bho staid bhronaich
Gu naomhachd, soilleireachd, is eòlas.

Hosanah do Mhaic Dhaibhidh,
Mo Righ, mo Thighearna, ’s mo Shlànair,
’S mòr mo shòlas bhith ’gad thàladh,
’S beannaichte am measg nam mnà mi.

My love, my dear, my darling Thou
My new treasure and my joy art Thou
My beautiful fair Son art Thou,
I am unworthy to be near Thee.
[Alleluia, . . .]

[Although Thou art a helpless babe,
’Tis certain Thou art the King of Kings
Thou art the true and rightful heir
To the Kingdom of the God of Graces

Great was the wonder and the joy
Of the poor shepherds of the sheep
When they heard the angels proclaiming
“A Saviour has come into the world!”

Thou art the white sun of hope
Who will banish darkness from us:
Mankind Thou wilt redeem from sorrow
To sanctity, light and knowledge.

Hosannah to the Son of David,
My King, my Lord and my Saviour.
Joyfully to sleep I lull Thee,
Blessed amongst women am I.

(M., “/Shaw, South Uist, “/1955, [FFSU]: 154-155)

* "This hymn is sung at Midnight Mass on Christmas Eve in South Uist and Eriskay. . . . The tune is like a waulking song of which the first line in some versions is ‘An cuala sibh mar dh’eirich dhomh-sa?’ Fr. Allan McDonald calls the tune of this hymn ‘Cumha Mhic Arois.’ (Shaw,1955-155)
Is rioghachd Dhe nan gràs
Ged is righ nan goidreach thu
Dhiult iad an tigh-ôsa dhuit
Ach chuadas ainglean sòlasach
Toirt gloir don Ti as airde
[And God of grace's kingdom.
[Although you are the king of glory.
[You were refused a place in the inn.
[But joyful angels were heard.
[To praise the Almighty.

Halelua
(M-SR, MacNeil/Uno, Barra, 1993/-)

* Various recordings of this song accompanied with contemporary arrangements have been released up to now: a Nova Scotia version called 'Taladh Chriosda' sung by Margo Carruthers (Nollaig Chridheil, unknown publishing date); 'Christ child's Lullaby [Taladh ar slanair]' by Lynn Morrison (Cave of Gold: Celtic Lullabies, 2001); an English translation version by Sheena Wellington (Clearsong, 1990); by Boys of the Lough (The day dawn, 1994) ; and by Shawn Colvin (Holiday Songs and Lullabies, 1998) so far as I checked. (Uno)

<G-44>
Mo ghaol s’a bhó nacheil breabach
Mo luaidh’s-a bhó nacheil breabach
Mo ghaol s’a bhó nacheil breabach
’S nach cuir eagal air a’bhuchail’
[My love the cow that doesn’t kick.
[My favorite the cow that doesn’t kick.
[My love the cow that doesn’t kick.
[And that doesn’t frighten the cowherd.

(M-SR, MacLeod/; Harris, 1970/1990, [SSGS]: 23, SA 1970/86 B6)

* This song is considered “Probably originally a milking-song” by the compiler.

<G-45a>
Nach truagh leat fhein phiuthrag ’s a phiuthar
O hi O hu O ho
Pity me, O little sister.
I am sad, O little sister.

O hi O hu O ho
’S mise bhean bhochd chianail dubhchadh
O hi O hu O ho
[Low my hut is low and narrow.
[Wanting wisp o’ thatch or heathrope.

Mi’m bothan beag iosal cumhann
O hi O hu O ho

Gun lub siomain gun sop tughaidh
O hi O hu O ho
[The hill-waters stream-sweep thro’ it,

Uisge nam beann sios ’na shruth leis.
O hi O hu O ho
[Cold hill-waters stream-sweep thro’ it.

- 466 -
Ged's oil leam sin cha'n e chreach mi
O hi O hu O ho
Cha'n e chuir mi cha'n e fhras mi.
O hi O hu O ho.

[But not that, my cause of sorrow,
'Tis not that my cause of sorrow.
(M. Macdonald/MacLeod, Barra, ~/1909, [SH-1]: 38-39)

* This song is called 'Ceol brutha [A Fairy Plaint] by the compiler.

<G-45b>
'Phiuthrag nam Piuthar,
Bheil thu'd chadal?
Hill i rinn is O ho ro!

Am brathair a bha'n Éirinn againn,
O'hi ibh o ho, O'ho i

Na hiúraibh O'ho. Ho ro o hi.

([vocal])

(*Gaelic words are not given)

<G-45c>
'Phiuthrag's a phiuthar ho ro
Lochd a phiuthair bo ro
Nach truagh leat mi fhein
Nochd mo chumha ho ro.

([vocal])

*Nach truagh leat mi fhein ho ro
Nochd mo chumha ho ro
Mi'm bothan beag o bem lo
Iosal cubhag ho ro

([vocal])

*Mi'm bothan beag ho lo
Iosal cubhag ho ro
Gun loc siomain o hem lo
Gun soc tubhaidh ho ro

([vocal])

* "From the few lines quoted, this lullaby would seem to be a version of the "Fairy Plaint" ("Ceol Brutha") given in Mrs. Kennedy Fraser's Songs of the Hebrides to another tune—a song which is the plaint of a woman who has been spirited from her home by fairies, and returns invisible to hold converse with her "little sister of sisters"." (Gilchrist, 1911: 178)
Gun soc tubhaidh ho ro  
'S Uisge nam beann ho hem lo  
Sios na shruth leis ho ro  
[without a sod of peat.  
[While the water of the hills  
[comes down in a stream  

(M·SR, Kearney/Uno, Barra, 1992--)  

---G-46---  
Na creid iad, a Chaoil do Mháthar!  
Na creid iad gu 'm fagainn thu.  
Ma dh'halbhas mi 'n diu,  
Thig mi 'm màireach, 'S na creid iad gu 'm fagainn thu!  
[Believe them not, thou darling of thy mother!  
[Believe not that I would forsake thee!  
[If I go away today, I shall return tomorrow!  
[Oh, believe not that I would leave thee!  

(M, Tolmio/Tolmio, Skye, 1861/1911, [JFS]: 165)  

---G-47a---  
Nam bu leam fhin thu thàlaidhinn thu,  
Nam bu leam fhin thu bhreugainn thu,  
Nam bu leam fhin thu dhéanaíonn do bhriodal,  
'Cagairein dilis, thàlaidhinn thu,  
[If you were mine I would hush you to rest;  
[If you were mine  
[I would soothe you,  
[I would hush you to rest.  

(ref.) Thàlaidhinn thu, 's gu'n talaidhinn thu,  
Tàlaidhinn thu, 's gu'n talaidhinn thu,  
Dean cadal, mo leanabh, 's mo ghaol agad cheana,  
A chagair mo chridhe gu'n talaidhinn thu.  
[Hush you to rest and hush you to rest;  
[Hush you to rest and hush you to rest;  
[Sleep, my baby, and I love you indeed;  
[Little one of my heart, I would hush you to rest  

Chunnaic miseach mu'n taca sa 'n dé  
Duine mòr foghainteach, lairdir, treun.  
Le 'bhogha 's le shaighead,  
Le 'hlaidheamh, 's le sgéith,  
'S mòr m'eagal gun 'n tachair do mhàthair ris.  
[I saw passing by about this time yesterday  
[A big, various, strong, brave man,  
[With his bow and arrow,  
[With his shield and claymore;  
[And great was my fear that your mother would meet him.  

(ref.)  

---G-47b---  
Nam bu liom fhin thu, thàlaidhinn thu,  
Nam bu liom fhin thu, thàlaidhinn thu,  
Nam bu liom fhin thu, thàlaidhinn thu,  
Thàlaidhinn, thàlaidhinn, thàlaidhinn thu.  
[If you were mine own I would soothe you.  
[If you were mine own I would soothe you.  
[If you were mine own I would soothe you.  
[I would soothe, I would soothe, I would soothe you.  

Nam bu leam fhin thu, leanabh mo chiche,  
Nam bu leam fhin thu, thàlaidhinn thu,  
Thàlaidhinn, thàlaidhinn, thàlaidhinn thu.  
[If you were mine own, babe of my bosom,  
[If you were mine own I would soothe you.  
[I would soothe, I would soothe, I would soothe you.  

(M, IacRae/Shaw, South Uist, --/1955, [FFSU]: 148-149)  

---G-47c---  

(M,-/MacDonald, --/1907, [PmS]: 20)
Nam bu leam fhéin thu, thalaidhinn thu,  
'Is Nam bu leam fhéin thu, thalaidhinn thu.

[If you were mine I would hush you to rest;  
And if you were mine I would caress you,  
And if you were mine I would hush you to rest.]

(ref.) Thalaidhinn thu, 's gun  
Talaidhinn thu, thalaidhinn thu,  
Dèan cadal mo leanabh, 's mo ghaoil agad cheanna,  
A' chagair mo chridhe, gun talaidhinn thu.  
[If you were mine I would hush you to rest;  
Hush you to rest and hush you to rest;  
Hush you to rest and hush you to rest;  
Sleep, my baby, and I love you indeed;  
Little one of my heart, I would hush you to rest.]

Chunnaic mi seachad, mun taca sa 'n dé  
Duine mòr fògainneach, laidir, treun.  
Le bhodha 's le shaighead?  
Le sgiath 's le chlaidheamh  
'S mòr m' eagal gun d' thachair do mhàthair ris.  
[I saw passing by about this time yesterday  
A big, various, strong, brave man,  
With his bow and arrow,  
With his shield and claymore;  
And great was my fear that your mother would meet him.]

<G-47d>
Nam bu leam fhin thu, thàlaidhinn thu,  
Nam bu leam fhin thu, thàlaidhinn thu,  
Nam bu leam fhin thu, dhèanainn do bhriodal,  
Is Nam bu leam fhin thu thàlaidhinn thu.  
[If you were mine I would hush you to rest;  
If you were mine I would hush you to rest;  
If you were mine I would caress you,  
And if you were mine I would hush you to rest.]  

(ref.) Thàlaidhinn thu, 's gun thàlaidhinn thu,  
Thàlaidhinn thu, thàlaidhinn thu,  
Dèan cadal mo leanabh, 's mo ghaoil agad cheanna,  
A' chagair mo chridhe, gun thàlaidhinn thu.  
[Hush you to rest and hush you to rest;  
Hush you to rest and hush you to rest;  
Sleep, my baby, and I love you indeed;  
Little one of my heart, I would hush you to rest.]

Chunnaic mi seachad mun taca seo 'n dé  
Duine mòr fògainteach, laidir, treun,  
Le bhogha 's le shaighead,  
Le sgiath is le chlaidheamh;  
'S mòr m' eagal gun tachair do mhàthair ris.  
[I saw passing by about this time yesterday  
A big, various, strong, brave man,  
With his bow and arrow,  
With his shield and claymore;  
And great was my fear that your mother would meet him.]

<G-48a>
Neart na gile, neart na greine  
Neart an fhochuinn anns a' Cheitein  
[The strength of the moon, the strength of the sun,  
The strength of corn-shoots in Maytime,]
Neart nan tonna troma treubhach
Neart a bhradain as braise leumas
Neart Chon Chulain fa lan eideadh
Neart sheachd cathan feachd na Feinne
Neart Oisein bhinn neart Osgair euchdaich

... Neart na miala moire seideadh
Neart nan dul is chlanna cpoura
Gach aon dhiubh sud is neart Mhic Dhe
Bhith eadar Domhnall Gorm's a leine.

... [The strength of the heavy, mighty waves,
[The strength of the salmon that jumps the highest
[The strength of Cuchulain in full armour
[The strength of seven armies of the Finns
[Sweet Ossian's strength - brave Oscar's strength

Neart sheachd cathan feachd na Feinne
[The strength of the whale as it blows
[The strength of the Univeroo, and children of the okico
[Each one of these, and the strength of the Son of God.
[Be between Donald Gorm and his shirt.


* "The most striking example of this type [= cradle eulogies: Uno] is undoubtedly Taladh Dhomhail Ghuirm "The Cradle Song of Donald Gorm", supposed to have been addressed to Donald Gorm of Sleat, Skye, who died in 1617, by his foster mother. She visualizes her child as a mature warrior and describes his expedition to the mainland of Scotland and the festivities that accompany it. As a climax to her eulogy she invokes the elemental powers to protect him." (Ross, 1957: 141)

<N-48b>
Nàil i bho ho hi, Nail i bho ho hi

Ghrian 's i 'g éirigh, o
Nàil i bhó hó
Ghrian 's i 'g éirigh, o
Nàil i bho ho hi
'S i gun smal oirre,
No air na reultan
Nuair theid mac mo righ sa
Fo lân eideadh
Gu robh neart na cruinne leat
'S neart na gréineadh
Neart an tairbh dhuibh
'S áirde leumas.

Dh’fhoinnneachd a’ bhean-o od
Nàil i a bho hó hí
Dhan mhnaoi eile
Nàil i bhó hó
Na dé 'n long ud
Staigh 's an eirthire

[(vocable)]
[The sun as it rises,
[The sun as it rises,
[Without a blemish,
[Or on the stars
[When my king's son
Appears in his full armour
[The strength of the world with him
[And the strength of the sun
[The strength of the black bull
[That leaps the highest

[Yonder woman asked
[The other woman
"Which is that ship
[Coming in by the coast?"
[A curse on your questioning,
[It's Donald's ship

- 470 -
Gu robh don d’fhoghneachd ort
Tha long Dhòmhnaill
Tri chruinn sheilich innt’
Gu bheil stiùir òr’cùrr’
Gu bheil tobar fior-uisg
Gu bheil tobar fion innt’
Shios’s an deireadh innt’
Nàil i a bho hò hi
Nàil i a bho hò hi
Nàil leam’s gura nàil
Nàil i a bho hò hi

<G-49>
O bà, o bà, o bà, o i,
O bà, o bà, o bà, o i,
O bà, o bà, o bà, o i,

Cha bhi mi ’gad thaaladh
Bho’n shaaraich thu mi.

<G-50>
(ref.) O bà o i, ó mo leanabh,
Bà o i, ó mo ghaoil,
Chaidil thusa shugh mo chéille,
Guma slàn a dh’éireas tu.

Galar dubhach, deurach, brônach,
Eadar a léine ’s a còta,
Air an té thuig buham’sa ’n t-òigear,
Gur e mi fhin a b’fheàrrr cóir air.

(ref.)
Galar dubhach ’sa cheann-adhairt
’S e bhith tighinn daonnan ’ga tadhal,
Air an té thuig buham mo raghainn
’S mi fhin seachd bliadhna ’ga thaghadh.

(ref.)
Galar a bhios air na mucean
Nuair a bhios ’ad lann dhà’n t-saill,
Siod a bhith air bean mo leannain
’San fhior-aineoil fada thall.
A mother curses her rival who has taken away the father of her child.

<ref>G-51></ref>

"Obhan! obhan!" ars’ an Cù Bàn. ["Oh, oh!" said the white dog.]

"Mis' air an àirigh!" an Cù Bàn. ["At the sheilling am I," said the white dog.]

"Mharbh am bròn mi" ars’ an Cù Bàn. ["Sorrow has killed me," said the white dog.]

"A’ gleidheil a chàise" ars’ an Cù Bàn. ["White guarding the cheese," said the white dog.]

(M, Ross/Tolmie, Skye, 1899/1911, [JFS]: 173)

<ref>G-52a></ref>

Och, Och, nan Och! mar tha mi fhéin! [Alas, alas! In what grief am I,]

Mar tha mi fhéin! mar tha mi fhéin! [In what grief am I, in what grief am I]

Och, Och, nan Och! mar tha mi fhéin! [Alas, alas! In what grief am I,]

'S mo shuìl an déidh mo Chùbhrachan! [Searching for my Cubhrachan.]

Shiubhail mi’n gleann, o cheann gu ceann, I traversed the glen from end to end

O cheann gu ceann, o cheann gu ceann, [from end to end, from end to end]

Shiubhail mi’n gleann, o cheann gu ceann, I traversed the glen from end to end

Ach, O! cha d’fhuaire mi’n Cùbhrachan. [But oh, found not the Cubhrachan.]

Fhuair mi lorg an dobhrain duinn, [I found the track of the brown otter,

An dobhrain duinn, an dobhrain duinn, [But oh, found not the Cubhrachan.]

Fhuair mi lorg an dobhrain duinn, [I found the track of the swimming swan]

Ach, O! cha d’fhuaire mi’n Cùbhrachan. [But oh, found not the Cubhrachan.]

Fhuair mi lorg na h’éal’ air an t-snàmh, [I found the trace of the swimming swan]

An eal’ air an t-snàmh, an eal’ air an t-snàmh, [But oh, found not the Cubhrachan.]

Fhuair mi lorg an eal’ air an t-snàmh, [I found the track of the spotted red fawn]

Ach, O! cha d’fhuaire mi’n Cùbhrachan. [But oh, found not the Cubhrachan.]

Fhuair mi lorg an laoigh-bhric, dheirg, [I found the track of the spotted red fawn]

An laoigh-bhric, dheirg, an laoigh-bhric, dheirg, [But oh, found not the Cubhrachan.]

Fhuair mi lorg an laoigh-bhric, dheirg, [I found the track of the brown otter]

Ach, O! cha d’fhuaire mi’n Cùbhrachan. [But oh, found not the Cubhrachan.]

(M, Anderson/Tolmie, Ross-shire, 1870/1911, [JFS]: 167)

* "The Cubhrachan is carried away by the fairies, and his sorrowing mother seeks him in vain. . . . The name is derived from the word "Cúbhraidh," fragrant, sweet." (Tolmie, 1911: 167)
Hòbhan, hòbhan, Goiridh òg O,
Goiridh òg O, Goiridh òg O;
Hòbhan, hòbhan, Goiridh òg O,
Gun d’fhálbh mo ghaol ’s gu’n d’fhàg e mi.

Dh’ fhàg mi’n so ’na shineadh e,
’Na shineadh e, ’na shineadh e
Gun d’fhàg mi’n so na shineadh e,
Nuair dh’fhálbh mi buain nam braoileagan. Hòbhan, hòbhan, &c.

Fhuair mi lorg an dobhrain duinn,
An dobhrain duinn, an dobhrain duinn;
’S cha d’huair mi lorg mo chaoineachain!
Hòbhan, hòbhan, &c.

I found the track of the brown otter,
When I went gathering blaeberry.

Fhuair mi lorg an h’èal’ air an t’snàmh,
Nà h’èal’ air an t’snàmh, na h’èal’ air an t’snàmh,
’S cha d’huair mi lorg mo chaoineachain!
Hòbhan, hòbhan, &c.

But oh, found not the Cubhrachan.

Fhuair mi lorg an laoiògh bhric dheirg,
An laoiògh bhric, dheirg, an laoiògh bhric, dheirg,
’S cha d’huair mi lorg mo chaoineachain!
Hòbhan, hòbhan, &c.

But oh, found not the Cubhrachan.

Fhuair mi lorg a’ cheò ’s a’ bheinn,
A’ cheò ’s a’ bheinn, a’ cheò ’s a’ bheinn;
’S cha d’huair mi lorg mo chaoineachain!
Hòbhan, hòbhan, &c.

I saw the mist on the ben,

Mo chùbhrachan dubh, cùbhraidh thu,
Mo chùrachan dubh, hò, hò.
Mo chùbhrachan dubh, cùbhraidh thu,
Mo dark-haired, sweet-scented baby,
Mo dark-haired baby, ho, ho;
Mo dark-haired, sweet-scented baby,
Mo chûrachan dubh, hò, hò.

Gun d'fhuaire mi lorg an dòbhrain duinn, an dòbhrain duinn, an dòbhrain duinn, Gun d'fhuaire mi lorg an dòbhrain duinn, 's cha d'fhuaire mi lorg mo chûbhrachan.

I found the track of the brown otter, The brown otter, the brown otter, I found the track of the brown otter. And found no trace of my baby.

Gun d'fhuaire mi lorg na h'èal' air an t'snàmh, na h'èal' air an t'snàmh, Gun d'fhuaire mi lorg na h'èal' air an t'snàmh, 's cha d'fhuaire mi lorg mo chûbhrachan.

I saw a trace of the swimming swan, The swimming swan, the swimming swan, I saw a trace of the swimming swan. And saw no trace of my baby.

Ged fhuaire mi lorg a' cheò sa bheinn, a' cheò sa bheinn, Ged fhuaire mi lorg a' cheò sa bheinn, cha d'fhuaire mi lorg mo chûbhrachan.

[Although I saw the mist on the ben, The mist on the ben, the mist on the ben, Although I saw the mist on the ben, I saw no trace of my baby.]

(GM, "/NicShimidh & Barr, "'/1991, [CaGS]: 28)

<G-52d>

Och nan och mar tha mi fhein | Och nan och mar tha mi fhein
Mar tha mi fhein, mar tha mi fhein | 'S mo chûram de mo chubhrachan
Och nan och mar tha mi fhein | (lit. fragrant little one)
'S mo chûram de mo chubhrachan

I traversed the glen from one end to another
one end to another, one end to another
But, oh, I found not my baby.

Shiubhail mi'n gleann o cheann gu ceann | Shiubhail mi'n gleann o cheann gu ceann
O cheann gu ceann, o cheann gu ceann | I traversed the glen from one end to another
Ach o cha d'fhnair mi'n cubhrachan | [But, oh, I found not my baby.

Fhnair mi lorg na h'èal air an tràigh | Fhnair mi lorg na h'èal air an tràigh
Na heal air an tràigh, na h'èal air an tràigh | [But, oh, I found not my baby.
Ach o cha d'fhnair mi'n cubhrachan | I found the track of the swan on the shore,
I found the track of the swan on the shore |
I found the track of the swan on the shore |
I found not my baby.

Fhnair mi lorg an dobhrain duinn | Fhnair mi lorg an dobhrain duinn
An dobhrain duinn, an dobhrain duinn | But, oh, I found not my baby.
Fhnair mi lorg an dobhrain duinn | But, oh, I found not my baby.
Ach o cha d'fhnair mi'n cubhrachan | I found the track of the otter,
I found the track of the otter, |
I found the track of the otter, |
I found not my baby.

Fhnair mi lorg an uaibhreach dhreag | Fhnair mi lorg an uaibhreach dhreag
An uaibhreach dhreag, an uaibhreach dhreag | [the glorious star, the glorious star
Fhnair mi lorg an uaibhreach dhreag | I found the mark of the glorious shooting-star
Ach o cha d'fhnair mi'n cubhrachan | [But, oh, I found not my baby.

[M-SR, MacNeill/Uno, Barra, 1994/"", "]
Och, ochan's mi direadh, [Alas, as I go climbing!]
Och, ochan's mi tearnadh: [Alas, as I descend!]
Och, ochan's mi direadh [Alas, as I go climbing,]
A caoidh na rinn m'fhàgail! [And mourning for her who has left me!]

(ref.) A direadh 's a tearnadh,
A teàrnadh 'a direadh;
A direadh 's a teàrnadh,
'S mi caoidh na rinn m' fhàgail.

Climbing, descending, etc.

A Mhòr thoir a bhruthach ort,
A Mhòr, thoir an gleann ort!
A Mhòr nach freagair thu 'n fhèad?
A Mhòrag bheag nan ghamhna!

[Mor, go up the hill-side!]
[Mor, go down into the glen!]
[Mor, to my shrill cry (whistle) wilt thou not respond?]
[O little Morag, herding the year-old kine!]

(M, Ross/Tolmie, Skye, 1897/1911, [JFS]: 161)

*This song is called 'Caoidh an Eich-Uisge [Lament of the Water-Horse]' by the compiler. It seems that there is a certain relationship between this and another water-horse's lullaby compiled by Tolmie, text G·2 in our collection, "A Mhorag dhonn".

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O hi o hoth, crodh an tàilleir
O hi o hoth, crodh an tàilleir
O hi o hoth, crodh an tàilleir
Siosar is miaran is snàthad.

Cha tuit iad an toll no féithe
Cha tuit iad an toll no féithe
Cha tuit iad an toll no féithe
Ma thuiteas, gun tog e fhéin iad.

[O hi o hoth, the tailor’s cattle]
[O hi o hoth, the tailor’s cattle]
[O hi o hoth, the tailor’s cattle]
[Scissors and thimble and needle.]

[They won’t fall in a hole or a ditch,]
[They won’t fall in a hole or a ditch,]
[They won’t fall in a hole or a ditch,]
[If they do he can lift them out himself.]

[There are a thousand ships on the Irish Sea,]
[There are a thousand ships on the Irish Sea,]
[There are a thousand ships on the Irish Sea,]
[I wish I were on one of them myself.]


---

Tha mile long air Cuan Èirinn
Tha mile long air Cuan Èirinn
Tha mile long air Cuan Èirinn
'S truagh nach robh mi fhìn air té dhiubh.

[There are a thousand ships on the Irish Sea,]
[There are a thousand ships on the Irish Sea,]
[There are a thousand ships on the Irish Sea,]
[I wish I were on one of them myself.]

There are a thousand ships on the Irish Sea,
Pity that I were not on one of them.

(There are a thousand ships on the Irish Sea,
Pity that I were not on one of them.

There are a thousand ships on the Irish Sea,
Pity that I were not on one of them.

There are a thousand ships on the Irish Sea,
Pity that I were not on one of them.

(There are a thousand ships on the Irish Sea,
Pity that I were not on one of them.

There are a thousand ships on the Irish Sea,
Pity that I were not on one of them.

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Pity that I were not on one of them.

There are a thousand ships on the Irish Sea,
Pity that I were not on one of them.

There are a thousand ships on the Irish Sea,
Pity that I were not on one of them.

There are a thousand ships on the Irish Sea,
Pity that I were not on one of them.

There are a thousand ships on the Irish Sea,
Hi hó! hó-bha-hó! Hi hó! hao·i ha!
'S luath dha d' chois thu, hó-bha-hó!
'S mor 'nad each thu, hao·i ha!
[(vocable)
(Swift art thou of foot, ho·bha·ho,
[and much art thou of the horse, hao·i ha!)

(M, Ross/Tolmie, Skye, 1897/1911, [JFS]: 160)

*This song is called 'Oran Talaidh An Eich Uisge [the lullaby of the water-horse] by the compiler. It may be related to other water-horse's lullabies such G-2 and 53 in our collection.

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<G-56>
O hò rò, i ri ri
Caìdoll gu lò
O hò rò, i ri ri
Caìdoll gu lò

'S e m’eudail an cuirtear
Dhèanadh mir’ agus sugradh;
'S e m’eudail an cuirtear
Dan dùraiginn pòg.

'S e m’eudail am fleasgach
Ghabh air falbh air an fheasgar;
O tha mi fo bhreislich,
Ma sheasas an ceò.

Dol a·null air an fhadhail,
Gun déanainn mo roghainn;
Bhiodh càch air a dheaghaidh
'S mo roghainn air tòs.

[(vocable)
(Sleep till dawn.
[(vocable)
(Sleep till dawn.

(My love is the fellow
Who would make merry and frolic
(My love is the fellow
Whom I'd venture to kiss

(My love is the youth
Who left in the evening
[O, I am confused
[If the fog lasts.

[When crossing the ford
[I would make my choice
[The rest would be behind
[And my choice in front.

(M, /-NicShimidh & Barr, -,-/1991, [CaGS]: 23)

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<G-57a>
'S ann an raor a chuala mi,
Mo ghaol am fear ‘bha cuairtachadh,
Ged thuair thu 'n t-aice na buaile mi,
A ghaol leig dhachaidh mar thuair thu mi.

[It was last night that I heard
[That my love had been surrounded;
[Though you met me at the edge of the cattlefold,
[My love, let me home as you found me.

Gun gheall mo mhathair gùn thoirt dhomh,
Gun gheall i riobuinn (orribean) a b’uire dhomh,She promised me a new ribbon,
Gun gheall i breacan ur thoirt dhomh,
Ma theid mi dhachaidh gu luidhe leat.

[My mother promised to give me a gown,
[She promised me a new tartan plaid
[If I go home without lying with you.

(M, --/NicShimidh & Barr, --/1991, [CaGS]: 23)
Ged bh'ghealladh do mhathair gun thoir dhuit  
Even if your mother promised you a new gown.
Ged bh'ghealladh i rìbein a b’uire dhuit  
Even if she promised you a new ribbon
Ged bh'ghealladh i breacan ur thoir dhuit  
Even if she promised to give you a new tartan plaid
Cha d’theid thu dhachaidh gun luidhe leum. &c.  
You won’t go home without lying with me.

(M, ~/MacDonald, ~/1895, [GC] 25)

chorus
A ghaol, lig dhachaigh gu m’ mhathair mi, 
My love, let me home to my mother,
A ghráidh, lig dhachaigh gu m’ mhathair mi, 
My love, let me home to my mother,
Air tóir a’chrothedh-laoigh a thàna mi. 
I had came to seek the milk-cattle.

‘S ann a raoir a chuala mi 
It was last night that I heard
Mo ghaol a bhithe a chuartaichadh; 
That my love had been surrounded:
Ged thachair thu ’n iomall na buaille rium, 
Though you met me at the edge of the cattlefold,
A ghráidh, lig dhachaigh mar fhuair thu mi. 
My love, let me home as you found me.

Ged bheireadh tu crodh agus caoirich dhomh, 
Though you were to give me cattle and sheep,
Ged bheireadh tu eachaibh air thaodaibh dhomh, 
Though you were to give me horses on halters,
Ged bheireadh tu sin agus daoin dhomh, 
Though you were to give me servants besides,
A ghráidh, lig dhachaigh mar fhuair thu mi. 
Love, let me home as you found me.

(M, MaRae/Shaw, South Uist, ~/1955, [FFSU] 170-172)

“Originally, the second line of verse 1 was probably ‘gam chuartaichadh’ = ‘visiting me’ or ‘searching for me’. This line varies in each version.
My husband found a better version in the papers of the late Rev. George Henderson . . . . This is called ‘Comhradh eadar Nighean Og agus Each Uisge’ (a conversation between a young girl and a water-horse). As this version is more intelligible, I reproduce it with acknowledgement to Dr. Henderson (Shaw, 1955:172) [only translation is cited here: Uno]:

Chorus: Ho ro, let me home to my mother (three times),
’T was to look for milk cattle that I came.

She: It was last night that I heard
My love was a-herding,
And though you have found me beside the cattlefold,
My love, let me home as you found me!

He: Though it was last night that you heard
That your love was a-herding,
And though I have found you beside the cattle fold,
My love, I will not let you home as I found you.

She: I am climbing by the stone walls,
I am descending by the ridges,
A pleasant youth has met me
And has not shown me any friendship.
He: You are climbing, etc.

She: My sister and my brother will scold me,
My relations and my friends will scold me,
My father and my mother will scold me
Unless you let me home as I came.

He: Though your sister and your brother scold you
Though your relations and your friends scold you,
Though your father and your mother scold you,
I will not let you home as you came.

* "The dialogue version of this song is almost certainly the correct traditional form. The girl has been sent to bring home the cattle for milking; possibly she expected to meet her own lover: a water-horse in human form has met her at the cattlefold, and is preventing her from returning home, detaining her against her will. In this context the second verse sung by Miss Peigi MacRae ought probably to be put in the mouth of the fairy lover. See also Carmina Gadelica, Vol. V, p.162." (Shaw, 1955: 171-172)

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<G-58a>

(ref.) 'S e Diùram, 's e Diùram, 's e Diùram hò rò, [Tis Diuram, ...]
'S e Diùram, 's e Diùram, 's e Diùram hò i,
'S e Diùram a hù ri ri, ù ro bho rò,
'S e Diùram an t-uasal, Mac Ruairi nan arm

[Tis Diuram, the nobleman, MacRury of the Weapons.

'S e Diùram mac Iain 'ic Lochlainn 'ic Ruairi,
Air an d'hàs an cül clannach, 's e gu sleamhuinn m'a ghualainn:
Nuair a chì mi thu tighinn bidh mo chridh' air mo ghualainn
Rì Diùram mac Iain 'ic Lochlainn 'ic Ruairi,

[Tis Diuram, son of John, son of Lachlan, son of Roderick.
[Whose hair grew in ringlets smoothly about his shoulders;
[When I see you coming my heart rises
[For Diuram, son of John, son of Lachlan, son of Roderick.

Thug mise seached bliadhna 's mi siubhal nam beann,
Gun chú, gun ghille, gun duine ri m' làimh,
Mi siubhal 's a' sìreachd, bad brea'cain 'nam làimh,
'S mi feith'eachdhi ri tighinn Mhic Ruairi nan arm.

[I spent seven years walking the hills,
[Without a dog, without a servant, without anyone at my hand,
[I walking and searching, a ragged plaid in my hand,
[Waiting for the coming of MacRury of the weapons.

(M, Currie/Shaw, South Uist, 1933/1955, [FFSU]: 138-139)

‘Giuran’ introduced in *Carmina Gedelica* has the following verses (only English translation is cited here): “Giuran son of Giuran is/ The unsheather of Swords/ The ranger of the countryside/ And the scourge of black Saxons/ And despite all the resentment/ The gossip and talk,/ Giuran son of Giuran is/ My love of them all.// I spent a year in delirium/ Awaiting thy love;/ I spent a year in a fever,/ My word! I had cause;/ My mother was wrangling,/ My father was enraged,/ But Giuran of heroic deeds/ Is the dearest in the world to me.// I spent more than a year/ In the fever of thy love;/ I spent more than a year/ My word! ‘twas not a trifle;/ My father was cursing;/ My mother was weeping/ But Giuran of the hostages/ Is my darling of men.” (*Carmina Gedelica* 5-330*331)

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*'Diuram’ is probably a pet name for a baby.” (Campbell, 1990: 192)
Nan each crùidheach, 's nan each snagach.
Mo leanabh beag!

'S truagh nach hàicinn fhìn do bhuaile,
Gu h'árd, árd air uachdar sléibhe,
Còta caol, caiteanach, uaine,
Mu d'èdha ghuallainn ghil, 'us léine.
Mo leanabh beag!

'S truagh nach hàicinn féin do sheisreach,
Fir'g am freasdaí 'n ám an fhrasgair:
Mnachomhnuill a' tighinn dhachaidh,
'S na caiteanaich a' cur sil.
Mo leanabh beag!

'S e mo leanabh m'ultach iubhair,
Sultmhór reamhar, mo luachair bhog,
M'fhèoil's m'ultach iubhair,
Sultmhór reamhar, mo luachair bhog.

Mo leanabh beag!

O bhireinn o bò, na cluinneam do lèon,
O bhireinn o bò, gu 'm biorach do shòrn,
O bhireinn o bò, gu 'n liath thu air choir;
O bhireinn o bhinn thu, cha 'n ann de Chlann Choinnich thu,
O bhireinn o bhinn thu, cha 'n ann de Chlann Choinnich thu,
O bhireinn o bhinn thu, siol is docha leinn thu,
Siol nan Leodach nan 's nan luireach—
B'e Lochlann dòthchas do shinnisir.

[of the shod horses, the prancing horses.
[My little child!]

[A pity I cannot see your cattle-fold
[high, high on the mountain slope,
[a narrow, hairy, green coat,
[about your two shoulders, and a shift,
[My little child!]

[A pity I cannot see your horse-team
[men tending to them as they lather:
[serving-women coming home,
[and the shaggy-ones sowing seed.
[My little child!]

[My child is my armful of yew bows
[Merry, plump, my soft rushes,
[my flesh and my eggs, who will speak.
[last year you were under my belt; plant of fertility
[and this year you will be fair and playful
[on my shoulder in the town.
[My little child!

[o bhireinn o bho, may I not hear of any harm coming to you,
[o bhireinn o bho, may your nose grow sharp with age,
[o bhireinn o bho, may you grey in your time;
[o bhireinn o bhinn you, you are
[not of Clan MacKenzie,
[o bhireinn o bhinn you, you are
[not of Clan MacKenzie,
[o bhireinn o bhinn you, our favourite seed,
[Seed of the MacLeods of the ? and cloaks
[Norway was your ancestral land.

("-, "-/MacDonald, "-/1907, [PmS]: 5)
'S truagh nach fhaicinn fhèin do bhuaile,
Guhàrd, àrd air uachdar sléibhe;
Còta caol caiteineach uaine,
Mu d' òdhà ghualainn ghill is lèine.
Mo leanabh beag!

[Oh, that I could see thy cattle-fold, high up on the mountain-side; a green, shaggy jacket about thy two white shoulders, with a linen shirt. My little child!]

'S truagh nach fhaicinn fhèin do sheisreach;
Fir 'na déidh:
Mnàicòmdhail a tigh 'nn dhachaidh,
'S na Catanaich a' cur shil.

[Oh, that I could behold thy team of horses; men following them; serving-women returning home, and the Catanaith sowing the corn.]

O mhìlidh bhog! O, mhìlidh bhog, O, mhìlidh bhog,
Mo bhìhrù a rug; Mo chìoch a shluig, Mo ghlùn a thog!

[His mother sings] [O tender hero (3 times) whom my womb did bring forth, who didst swallow from my breast, who on my knee wast reared.]

'Sò mo leanabh m'ultach iubhair, sultmhor reamhar, mo luachair bhog!
M'fhèoil is m'uibhean a ni bhruidheann.
Bha thu ò mo chrios an uiridh;
Lus an toraidh. 'S bidh tu'm bliadhna gu geal guanach,
Air mo ghualainn feadh a'bhaile, Mo leanabh beag!

[My child it is, my armful of yew (bows and arrows), merry and plump, my bulrush, my flesh and eggs, that will soon be speaking. Last year thou wast beneath my girdle, plant of fertility! and this year, fair and playful on my shoulder, thou wilt be going round the homestead.]

Obh, irinn obho! Na cluinneam do leòn!
Obh, irinn obho! Gu'n liath thu air chòir!
Obh, irinn obho! Gu'm bioraich do shròn,
Obh, irinn obho! Gu' teirig do lò.

[Oh! let me not hear of you being wounded. (Obh, etc.) Grey do thou become duly. (Obh, etc) May thy nose grow sharp [with advancing age], (Obh, etc) ere the close of thy day!]

Obh irinn obhinn thu!
Cha' ann o Chlann Choinnich thu! 'Bhirinn obhinn thu!
Cha' ann o Chlann Choinnich thu! 'Bhirinn obhinn thu!

[(Obh i-rinn obh'inn thu!), Oh! not of Clan Kenneth [MacKenzie,] art thou ! (' Bh i-rinn, etc.)

Siol as docha linn thu.
Siol nan Leòdach nan lann 's nan lùireach,
B'è Lochlann dùthchas do shinnsear.
[Descendant of a race more esteemed: that of the Clan Leod [MacLeods] of swords and armour, whose fathers' native land was Lochlann [Scandinavia].

* The following is the legend attaching to the song:

One day in the island of Skye, many centuries ago, a woman of wonderful aspect—in point of fact a fairy or "banshee"—appeared suddenly at the door of Dunvegan, the castle of Macleod of Macleod. She entered the castle without invitation, and went straight into the room where the infant heir lay asleep in his cradle. Taking him in her arms, she sang a song, of which the foregoing verses are only a fragment. Then, laying him down, she passed out of the castle, and vanished over the moor as mysteriously as she had come. Her fairy lullaby was ever after regarded as a charm to protect the young heir of Maleod from every evil. No woman was allowed to be his nurse who could not sing it over him. But in course of time the meanings of certain words and expressions became obscure: it must be at least be hundred years since a nurse to Maclod's heir used the lullaby, literally as an "incantation," and, as we have seen, the song is nearly unknown to-day.....

For very suggestive matter in connection with lullabies as charms consult La Musique et la Magie, by Dr. Jules Combarieu (Picard et Fils, Paris, 1909). Dr. Combarieu traces the use of magical lullabies to Egyptian papyri and ancient Greek references. He also finds that nonsense refrains were used magically earlier than rhythmically.

M, MacLeod/Tolmie, --, 1908/1911, [JFS]: 174-177)

Ho ro mhile bhog, M’theoil is m’iubhair thu [Sleep my little child, Hero tendering
Ho ro mhile bhog, Ni a’ bhruidheann rium, [Dream, my little child, Hero fav’rlike one,
’S truagh nach faicinn fhein do — bhuail ’ard [High on mountain brows. Be thy stag-tryst
Cota gearrnaine mud’ ghuala ghil [Speed thy yew arrows straight antlerwards

Ho ro mhile bhog, M’ultach iubhair thu, [Sleep, my child, Hero gentle bred,
Ho ro mhile bhog, Shultmhor reamhar thu, [Dream, my little child, Hero battle bred,
Cha’n ann o Chloinn, Chuinn mo leanabh, [Skin like falling snow, Green thy mail-coat
Cha’n ann o Chloinn, Duibhn’ mo leanabh beag. [Live thy steeds, Dauntless thy following.

Ho ro mhile bhog, Siol bu docha leam, [Sleep, my little one, Bone and flesh o’ me,
Ho ro mhile bhog, Siol bu docha leam, [Dream, my little one, Blood and pith o’ me,
Siol Leoid nan long, nan lann, nan luireach, [Dream thy hero dream, Thru’ thy child-sleep.
Lochlann do dhearbh dhuthchas, mo leanabh beag, [Hang thy shield, Lochlann-lik Heaven-wards.

Ho ro mhile bhog, Ho ro eile, Ho ro mhile bhog, [Ho ro honey love, Ho ro daily, Sleep, my love
Ho ro eile, Ho ro mhile bhog, 'Glac nan luireach [Our clan galley sail, To thy dreamland
M’theoil is m’iubhair thu, Ni a’ bhruidheann rium [Through thy child-sleep, Ho ro, daily
M’theoil is m’iubhair thu, [Sail thru’ thy child-sleep.

(M, MacDonald/MacLeod & Kennedy-Fraser, Lewis, --/1917, [SH-2]: 2-5)

* This song is entitled ‘Taladh an Leinibh Leoidich: Cradle Spell of Dunvegan’ by the
compiler, accompanied with the following story:

“What is yon music which I am hearing, if it is hearing it I am?” said the Lady of Macleod to herself, as she sat in her hall, spinning the wool. And she arose and made for the music, and whither drew it I am, step by step, to the sleep-chamber of her baby son. What saw she there but the Little Woman of the Green Kirtle swathing the child in a silk banner of many colours, and singing over him a cradle spell.

“Ho’ro veel-a-vok, Bone and flesh o’ me,
Ho’ro veel-a-vok, Blood and pith o’ me.
Skin like falling snow, green thy mail-caot,
Live thy steeds be, dauntless thy following.”

“God sain us!” cried out the Lady of Macleod, “It is I who am the mother to yon child.” And at the sound of the God Name she vanished, the Little Woman of the Green Kirtle.

But the Cradle Spell remained: the Banner, likewise; and, together, they made of a clan the something more than a clan. The women nursed the children and crooned the songs and did the day’s work, with a thought somewhere in the heart of each that on a day of days she might be called to Dunvegan Castle to sing the Cradle Spell over the young heir. And the men, going forth to battle, fought in the hope that now was the day on which the Banner would appear at their head, putting rout on the enemy. Outwardly, at any rate, the luck was mostly with the women. Baby heirs came often; the Banner came but twice. The end of the tale is not yet, however. “What came twice will come trice,” say the Islesfolk, “and on a day to be, it is the Fairy Flag, going forth for the last time, that will be overcoming the world for us, Gaels.” Which may well be, if one remembers that its first burden was a little child, its first victory a song, and its weaving not of the flesh.” (MacLeod, 1917: xxviii)

<G-59d>
[version (a)]
Mo leanabh maingileiseach maingileiseach, [My magnificent child
Bualadh nan gluc, [Striking of quivers
Nan slat lurrich, [Of mail-clad youths
Nan ceann-feadhna [Of chieftains/
Nan easch snagach, [Of spirited steeds
Mo leanabh beag, mo leanabh beag! [My little child, my little child!

’S tu mo leanabh [Thou art my child
Ruiteach reamhar [Ruddy and plump
Sultmhor flatbail, [Lusty and noble
M’ultach iubhair, [My armful of yew
Mo luachair bhog, mo luachair bhog! [My soft bulrush, my soft bulrush

Gur tu m’aighear, [Thou art my joy
Meodhr is m’uigheam,  
Meodhail’s m’aoigh,  
Mo leanabh beag, mo leanabh beag!...  

[My delight and my care  
My gaiety and my cheer  
My little child, my little child! etc.

[version (b)]  
Dide beag diugha,  
Mo leanabh beag buidhe,  
Dh’hanadh ’na shuidhe,  
Dh’itheadh na h-uighean,  
Gun smul air a leimidh,  
Nach feumadh a nigheadh,  
Is gum faigheadh e siod  
’S e bhith seodach!

[Carefree little suckling,  
My little yellow-haired child  
Who would remain seated,  
Who would eat the eggs,  
No stain on his shirt  
Which would not need to be washed  
He would get that  
And many treasures!

Lion am fion caol cam,  
Lion a’ bheoir as a ceann,  
Lion a’ bhrailis ‘na dean,  
Agus beagan do leann  
Cha mhisde bhith ann;  
Fion frasach  
Nan glean casach;  
Mam de’n airgead mhosach  
Gun bhith maiseach....

[Fill the wine in a thin slanting stream,  
Then fill the beer,  
Fill the wort speedily,  
And it would not be the worse  
Of a little ale:  
Copious wine  
From the precipitous glens:  
A handful of sordid silver  
Most unlovely, etc.

[version (c)]  
Mo bhile bhog bhionn thu,  
Mo bhile bhog dhonn thu,  
Mo bhile bhog fionn thu,  
Mo bhile bhog’s liom thu,  

Thou art my tender comely scion,  
Thou art my tender brown-haired scion,  
Thou art my tender fair scion,  
My tender scion, thou art mine!

Ulaidh nam ban Leod thu,  
Ceo [or leom] nam ban Muileach thu,  
Culaidh nam ban Niall thu,  
Ciall nam ban Muireach [or Cruithneach] thu.

[Thou art the treasure of the MacLeod women,  
Thou art the treasure [or music] of the MacLeod women,  
Thou art the support of the MacNeil women,  
Thou art the darling of the Macvrich [or Pictish] women.

Ho mo leanabh,  
He mo leanabh,  
Ho gogag orrai,  
Ho mo leanabh!...

[Ho my child,  
He my child,  
Ho gogag orrai,  
Ho my child! etc.

[version (d)]  
Bhog bhog bhire [or bhile]  
Bhog bhog bhire  
Bhog bhog bhire  

Bhog bhog bhire  
Bhog bhog bhire  
Bhog bhog bhire
Cha tu an laugh
Bhog bhog bhire
Bhog bhog bhire
Bhog bhog bhire
Seanna bha caoile!
Bhog bhog bhire
Bhog bhog bhire
Bhog bhog bhire
Cha tu an t' uan
Bhog bhog bhire [3 times]
Rug a' chaora!
Bhog bhog bhire [3 times]
Cha tu isean
Bhog bhog bhire [3 times]
Derieadh linne!
Bhog bhog bhire [3 times]
Cha tu cuilean ...

[version(e)]
Is e mo leanu mileineach muailleineach,
Seachd mileineach, seachd muailleineach,
Guala nan lann agus nan luireach,
Nacht d'has nangach.

Is e mo leanu ruiteach,
Reamhar ruiteach meodhail (? maothail),
Mo leanu cuthagach nam bruch,
B'e mo luaidh a bhith dha t'haotainn,

Bho na thug mi m' uile leat,
Is m'aill leat is m' uail leat,
Mo chrodh-laoigh air chlua na,
'S mo chaoirich gheal air bhrusca.

Hug ogag oirre (or Hug u gu goiream)
Mnathan og a' bhaile
Hug ogag oirre
Falbh leat fo choill ...

[version(f)]
Chan ann a Chlann Choinnich thu,
Ho bhirinn ho bho
Chan ann a Chlann Chuinn thu,
Ho bhirinn ho bho
Chan ann a Chlann Artair thu,

[Thou art not the calf
Bhog bhog bhire
Bhog bhog bhire
Bhog bhog bhire

[Of an old lean cow!
Bhog bhog bhire
Bhog bhog bhire
Bhog bhog bhire

[Thou art not the lamb

[Which the sheep brought forth!

[Thou art not the chick

[Last hatched in the brood!

[Thou art not the blue cub etc.

[He is my sweet delightful child (?),

Seven times sweet and delightful,

[He is the shoulder of swords and hauberks

[Who grew not feeble (?).

[He is my ruddy child,

Chubby ruby cheerful (tender?),

[My cuckoo fledgeling of the braes,

[It were my delight to gain thee,

[Since I have given my all,

[My beauty and my pride, with thee,

[My milch kine on meadows

[And my white sheep on uplands.

[Hug ogag oirre

[The young women of the township

[Hug ogag oirre

Taking thee to the greenwood, etc.
Ho bhirinn ho bho
Chan ann a Chlann Duinn thu,
Ho bhirinn ho bho
Chan ann a Chlann Ailpein thu,
Ho bhirinn ho bho
Chan ann a Chlann Aoidh thu,
Ho bhirinn ho bho
Chan ann a Chlann Shimidh thu,
Ho bhirinn ho bho
Clann bu docha leinn thu:
Ho bhirinn ho bho
Clann Leoid nan longa,
Ho bhirinn ho bho
Clann Leoid nan luireach,
Ho bhirinn ho bho
Lochlann bu duthaich dhut,
Ho bhirinn ho bho
Ho bhirinn ho bho
... 
Is liom thu!

[Ho bhirinn ho bho]
[Thou art not of the Clan Campbell,
Ho bhirinn ho bho]
[Thou art not of the Clan Alpine,
Ho bhirinn ho bho]
[Thou art not of the Clan Mackay,
Ho bhirinn ho bho]
[Thou art not of the Clan Fraser,
Ho bhirinn ho bho]
[But of a clan dearer to us :
Ho bhirinn ho bho]
[Clan Leod of the galleys,
Ho bhirinn ho bho]
[Clan Leod of the hauberks,
Ho bhirinn ho bho]
[Norway was thy native country,
Ho bhirinn ho bho]
[Ho bhirinn ho bho]

* Moreover version (g) to (n) are introduced in this section.

(·, ·/Carmichael, ·, ·/1954, [CG-5]:184-215)

* These songs are called ‘MacLeod’s Lullaby’. In Carmina Gaelica, V (1954), after the texts consisting of (a) to (n) version cited above, the following two stories called ‘Taladh MhicLeod’ [MacLeod’s Lullaby] and ‘A’ Bhean-shidh’ [The Fairy Woman] are introduced accompanied with verses (only English translation is here cited):

’Taladh MhicLeod’ [MacLeod’s Lullaby]

“The reciter, James son of Colin (James Campbell), crofter, Ceann Tangabhal, Barra, said, 26th September 1872: MacLeod of Dunvegan got a child by the fairy woman: and because he would not receive herself, she sent the child home to him. But though she put him away, she was missing the child and she went to see him. The child was with MacLeod’s foster-nurse, and the fairy woman seized hold of the child, and she was hushing and caressing and fonding and nursing and rocking him back and fore, intending to snatch him from her and to sweep him away with her to the fairy mound.

Another reciter, Donald MacQuien, cottat, Ferinlea, Skye, said, 1860: The young heir of macLeod of Dunvegan was lifted up from his cradle and out of the castle. There was no knowing between earth and sky or in the land of the living who had lifted the child or how he had been lifted or where he had been taken. There was no knowledge or information under the white sun of the seasons. But suspicion lay on the fairy woman, for she was always lifting infants who had not been baptised and women who had not been purified, when she got a chance or opportunity. There was no one on hill or at homestead, in strath or on moor, on house hillock or

- 487 -
castle lawn, who was not out in search of the beautiful little child, the young heir of MacLeod of Dunvegan. Search was made high and low, hither and yon, but nothing was heard or seen of the child who had been lost.

In going past a beautiful green heathery knoll at the base of the green corry of the hinds, the young daughter of MacCrimmon, MacLeod's haughty piper, heard singing in the knoll, for her young ear was as acute for music as the young ear of the mavis of the branches, — the young girl heard a crooning music in the green heathery knoll. Immediately the girl thrust the needle, which was in her breast after darning her father's hose, into the ground. The smart girl— and by my word that is what she was! — placed her ear to the long thread to see what she would hear, and she heard clearly enough music in the fairy mansion — the mansion of the slim fairies — as if a mother were singing a lullaby to a little child.

Every day and night people were set to watch the entry to the fairies' round hillock, just as people used to be sent to watch the entry to the lair of the wicked carnivorous wolf. On Hallowe'en, in contrast to all other nights, the mound of the slim fairies opened, and there quickly poured forth pell-mell a disorderly giddy swarm like schoolchildren just dismissed. The watchers forthwith entered the mound and there the young heir of MacLeod of Dunvegan was found, joyous jolly, mirthful merry, sweet-voiced. He was sitting on the knee of a mortal woman whom the fairies had 'lifted' from her pallet when the attendant women were heavy of head and sleepy of eye. MacLeod's young heir was lifted on the warriors' shoulders, attended by his nurse, and the child was brought home under the white banner fluttering in the breeze, the plumed pipes waking the melody of the rocks' echo to the loud shouts of the men and the clamorous laughter of the women."

(pp. 217-219)

'The Fairy Woman's Lullaby'

"My little dun buck thou/ Offspring of the lowing cow/ For whom the Mull cow lows/ My darling and my fair one/ My soul and my delight/ Thou art not of the race of of Clan Donald/ But of a race dearer to us — / The race of Leod of the galleys/ The race of the weighty saplings/ The race of the breastplates/ Norway was rhy patrimony! etc."

'A' Bhean-shidh' [The Fairy Woman]

The reciter (Ann Campbell) said: A child was born— some say in Dunborve, some in Dunvegan, some in Dunnot: I do not know which, — but a child was born, as I heard and as I was told. No sooner was the child born than the fairy woman came to lift the poor little creature away with her to the fairy mound. She came softly and silently, gently and politely, unheralded unseen and unnoticed, to lift the poor little infant away with her on the top of her shoulder home to the fairy mansion at the foot of the corrie in the brae of the glen. The beautiful mischievous little woman stood on the level floor, looking at the tiny little child straight in the face. Thus she stood and said to herself, 'The prettiest little child in the world! The most lovable darling on earth! The most engaging little sleepy one in the world!' — said she thrice, one after the other, as if she were not at all tired of praising him.

The child was very pretty indeed and the mischievous little woman stood looking at him who could not turn or stir or move, like the poor little bird under the glance of the serpent, — she stood there, my dear, on the level floor of the house, without stirring or moving, looking at the tiny little child in the cradle. She then stretched out her tiny beautiful hands under the soft chubby arms of the infant in the cradle to lift him away with her to the fairy mound. She did, my dear; but she did not succeed. She could not raise so much as to let air pass between him and the ground. 'Ho ho! what is this?' said she, as if the matter did not please her. But as if she understood what was wrong she snuffed the air with her little shapely nose like a beautiful little roe in the fastness of the wood. The matter did not please her, nor
did it ever please any of her kind. What, dearest of men, but there was a *lias* on the sole of the infant's foot!

*What sort of thing is a *lias*, Anne?* said I. 'With your leave, my dear, it is a charm, a beauty-spot, a mole on a person's skin. Anyone who has that, neither fairy nor mortal will ever win him as long as he lives.'

The beautiful little fairy was troubled, for it was her heart's desire to lift the fine pretty child in the cradle away home with her to the fairy mound. But she did not succeed and it is well that she did not. But though she did not succeed and did not manage to lift him, the beautiful mischievous little woman would come to the house at every season every other day to gaze at the fair little sleeping one in the shelter of the cradle. She would come and sing songs and lullabies in the tiny soft ear of the beautiful little child. The beautiful mischievous little woman would come and stand there declaiming musical rigmaroles of sweeter modes than the mavis of the branches. Ear never heard, as I have been told, sweeter music of the beautiful little creature from the fairy mound. Ear never heard, never in the world.

"Thou art my famous child/ Hi ri hill lium/ Most dexterous under arme/ Chall o ro hi ho/ Well do dirk and targe become thee/ Hi ri hill lium/ And speckled shield with red bosses/ Chall o ro hi ho/ My fragrant starry child/ Hi ri hill lium/ Heir to a famous heritage/ Chall o ro hi ho/ Thou wilt climb the slopes/ Hi ri hill lium/ Thou wilt bring us booty/ Chall o ro hi ho/ Thou art the seed of the warrior host/ Hill hi hill lium/ Thou art the seed of the furious host/ Chall o ro hi ho, etc."

*(Carmina Gadelica 5: 217-233)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&lt;G·60a&gt;</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>[Rock thee, O child!](M, Ross/Tolmie, Skye, 1900/1911, [JFS]: 172-173)</td>
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<td>[Ere the birds begin to chirp thou wilt call.](M, Ross/Tolmie, Skye, 1900/1911, [JFS]: 172-173)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**This is a considerable resemblance between this tune and that of an old Danish lullaby, four different forms of which are given in *Bóhrernes Musik*—a collection of Danish nursery-songs and singing-games. The rhythm and some of the phrases are almost identical with those of the Danish versions, and as "Siùd a Leinibh" does not seem to me to be Gaelic in character, it may perhaps be an old Norese lullaby tune." (Gilchrist, 1911: 172)**

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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Goiridh tus' mun goir an coileach,  
Goiridh tus' mun goir na h'eòin.  
Siùd a leanaibh, siùd a bhroin!  
Goiridh tus' mun goir na h'eòin.

[Thou wilt cry ere the cock will crow.  
Thou wilt cry ere the birds will sing.  
Rock thee, O child!  
Ere the birds begin to chirp thou wilt call.]

Tàlaidh mis' thu, ghaoil 's a thasgaidh,  
Tàlaidh mis' thu le mo dhéoin;  
Caidil thus' a Dhomhnail Oig  
'S bidh tu 'g aisling air na h'eòin.

[I will rock you, love and darling,  
I will willingly rock you,  
Go to sleep young Donald  
And you will be dreaming of the birds]

Ged is moch a dh'èireas uiseag,  
'S moiche siud mo ghluann òg;  
Dh' aindeoin crònain 's briodal beòil  
Bidh tu 'g aisling air na h'eòin.

[Though a skylark rises early,  
Earlier still my little boy.  
In spite of murmuring and crooning  
You will dream about the birds.]

(M, _/NicShimidh & Barr, _/1991, [CaGS]: 3)

**<G-61>**

| Slàn gu'n tig Aonachan, Slàn gu'n tig O! | Be it well with Aonachan, well be he, O! |
| Slàn gu'n tig Aonachan, Slàn gu'n tig O! | Be it well with Aonachan, well be he, O! |
| Slàn gu'n tig Aonachan, Slàn gu'n tig O! | Be it well with Aonachan, well be he, O! |
| Slàn gu'n tig, slàn gu'n ruig, slàn gu'n tig O! | Well be he, well may he arrive, well be he, O! |

(M, Ross/Tolmie, Skye, 1861/1911, [JFS]: 169-170)

* "This tune was chanted at funerals in the olden time, when no harp or bag-pipe was obtainable; and might also be heard in our own day as a lullaby. The meaning of Aonachan is "the solitary," the one who is alone." (Tolmie, 1911: 170)

* "I have a photographed air to "Crodh Chailein" (sung frequently as a lullaby), from Ross'shire. This is very similar to Miss Tolmie's tune. The air appears as "O can ye sew cushions?" in the Scots Musical Museum, to which it was contributed by Burns. Stenhouse quotes an additional Lowland-Scottish lullaby verse, and observes that Burns has left us no hints respecting the history of the song. A very remarkable likeness exists between several forms of this Gaelic air and an old Swiss May Day carol, sung in the Canton of Zurich with precisely the same customs and decorations as those formerly usual in England. . . ." (Broadwood, 1911: 170)

**<G-62a>**

(ref.) 'S milis Mòrag, M'aighear Mòrag.  
'S milis Mòrag, O-ho hò!

| Morag is sweet, and my joy is Morag.  
Morag is sweet, O-ho ho! |

Gaol do mhathar,  
Is luaidh do chàirdean,  
'Sè bhith 'gad thàladh,  
Mo rogha cèoil.

| Thy mother's darling, dear to thy kindred,  
My choice of music is to be lulling thee. |

(ref.)

M'anam fhéin thu,  
Ogha an fhidhleir,  

| My own soul art thou, grand-child of the violinist, |
'S gur beag an t'iochnadh, [And little cause is there for wonder that thou shouldest resemble him.]
Thu bhith'g a choir.
(ref.)

(M, Ross/Tolmie, Skye, 1900/1911, [JPS]: 169)

<G-62b>
(ref.) Gur milis Mòrag,
Gur laghach Mòrag,
Gur milis Mòrag,
Nighean Eoghain Òig.

[Sweet is Morag,
Dear is Morag,
Sweet is Morag,
Daughter of Young Ewen.]

'S i Mòr an àilleachd,
'S i laogh a mathar,
'S e bhì 'ga taladh
Mo rogha ceòil. [Morag of beauty, her mother's darling, lulled to sleep with choice music.]
(ref.)

Gur mi bhiodh uallach
Air ruigh nan gruagach
Ach 'Tormod Rruadh a
Abhi fuar fo'n fhoid.

[I'd be happy on the lassies' shieling
If only red Norman was under the sod.]
(ref.)

Mo mhile marbhaisg
Air an Frangach
'Nuair leig e nall thu
Chur anntlachd oirnn.

[My thousand death-curses on the Frenchman.
When he let you come over here to dispel our pleasure.]

* This translation is not directly translated from original text but arranged into artistic way.
(M, Macneil/Kennedy-Fraser & MacLeod, Barra, -/1917, [SH-2]: 56-59)

* The following story is introduced as an annotation of this song:
The story of this song is a Hebridean analogue to that of Tennyson's "Enoch Arden."
The woman, who in the song is singing to her child, had, when she was a girl, two lovers. The one she married went away as a soldier and was supposed to have been killed. The other took his place in the affections of the woman. But the long-absent man unexpectedly returns, and the woman (hearing of his return) is singing this song to her child (which is not his child) as he arrives at her cottage door. It is a song of passionate love for the child, and of as passionate desire that the unexpected and unwelcome husband, 'Tormod Ruadh' were under the sod."
(MacLeod, 1917: 55)

<G-62c>
Gur milis Morag, gur laghach Morag
Gur milis Morag, nighean Eoghain Òg.

[Mòrag is sweet, Mòrag is gentle
Mòrag is sweet, the daughter of young Ewen.]
Mo mhile marbhaisg
Air an Frangach
Nuair leig e nall thu

[My thousand curses
On the Frenchman
when he let you come over]
Chuir annt lachd oirn

Gur mi bhiodh uallach
A ruith nan gruagach
Ach tormad ruadh
A bhith fa'n fhoid

'S i mòr an ailleachd
'S i laogh a mathar,
'S e bhit 'ga tàladh
Mo rogha ceòil.

A weight was placed upon us.
I would be proud
[to chase the girls
[but the Red-haired Norman
[Lies cold under the sod.

[Great is the beauty
[She is her mother's daughter
[The most wonderful music I could imagine
[Would be a lullaby to soothe her.

'<M-SR, Beaton<-, 1953<-, SA1953/164.6>

<ref.>Gur milis Morag, gur lagh ach Morag,
Gur milis Morag, nighean Eòghan òig.

Sweet is Morag, bonnie is Morag,
Sweet is Morag, daughter of young Hugh.

'S e bhith ga taladh Mo roghaceoil.

A lullaby is my choice of music for her.

<ref.>Gur mi bhiodh uallach air ruigh nan gruagach
Ach Tormod ruadh a bhith fa'n fhoid.

If red Norman was cold under the turf.

<ref.>Mo mhile marbhaisg air an Fhrangach
Nuair leig e nall thu chur anntlachd oirn.

My thousand death-curses on the Frenchman.

<ref.>Mo mhile marbhaisg air an Fhrangach
Nuair leig e nall thu chur anntlachd oirn.

When he let you come over here to dispel our pleasure.

[M, "-/Campbell, "-/-1993, [ONG]: 23]

<G-63>

'S toil leam do leth leanabh
'S toil leam do leth hò
'S toil leam do leth leanabh
'S toil leam do leth hò
'S toil leam do leth leanabh
'S toil leam do leth hò
Ga b'ann le fear eil' thu
'S toil leam do leth hò.

[I like you close to me, my baby
[I like you close to me, ho.
[I like you close to me, my baby
[I like you close to me, ho.
[I like you close to me, my baby
[I like you close to me, ho.
If you belonged to some other man
[I (would still) like you close to me

'S toil leam do leth Ruairidh
'S toil leam do leth hò
'S toil leam do leth Ruairidh
'S toil leam do leth hò
'S toil leam do leth Ruairidh
'S toil leam do leth hò
Ultach geal mo ghuailneadh
'S toil leam do leth hò.

[I like you close to me, Ruairidh,
[I like you close to me, ho.
[I like you close to me, Ruairidh,
[I like you close to me, ho.
[I like you close to me, Ruairidh,
[I like you close to me, ho.
[Bright shoulder-burden of mine
[I like you close to me

'S toil leam do leth leanabh
'S toil leam do leth hò
'S toil leam do leth leanabh
'S toil leam do leth hò
'S toil leam do leth leanabh
'S toil leam do leth hò

[I like you close to me, my baby
[I like you close to me, ho.
[I like you close to me, my baby
[I like you close to me, ho.
[I like you close to me, my baby
[I like you close to me, ho.

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S toilleam do leth leanabh
S toilleam do leth hó
Camshronach do shloinneadh
S toilleam do leth hó.

I like you close to me, my baby
I like you close to me, ho.
I like your kin-name
I like you close to me.

(G-64a)
Suilean dubha dubha dubh,
Suilean dubh aig m’eudail
Suilean dubha dubha dubh,
Cuin a thig thu cheilidh?

Cha teid mise mach a’nochd
Cha teid mise cheilidh
Cha teid mise mach a’nochd
Is dàil agam ri m’eudail.

Cnocan beag a-muigh an sin,
Ceol is binne teudan
Cnocan beag a-muigh an sin,
Cò bhios ann ach m’eudail.

Dark, dark, dark eyes
Dark eyes has my love
Dark, dark, dark eyes
When will you come visiting?

I will not go out tonight.
I will not go visiting.
I will not go out tonight.
I’m expecting my love.

A little knoll out there
Music of sweetest strings
A little knoll out there
Who is it but my love.

(G-64b)
(ref.) Suilean dubha dubha dubh
Suilean dubh aig m’eudal
Suilean dubha dubha dubh
Cuin a thig thu cheilidh

Cha teid mise mach a’nochd
Cha teid mis air cheilidh
Cha teid mise mach a’nochd
Is dàil agam ri m’eudal
(ref.)

Cnocan beag a muigh an sud
Ceòl as binne ri eisdeachd
Cnocan beag a muigh an sin
O cò bhios ann ach m’eudal.
(ref.)

Black, black, black eyes,
My sweetheart has black eyes.
Black, black, black eyes,
When will you come to visit?

I will not go out tonight
I will not go visiting
I will not go out tonight
Since I await my sweetheart.

The little hill out yonder
The sweetest music to be heard
The little hill out there
Who is there, but my sweetheart?

(G-64c)
(ref.) Suilean dubha dubha dubha
Suilean dubh aig m’eudal
Suilean dubha dubha dubha
Cuin a thig thu cheilidh

Cha teid mise mach a’nochd
Cha teid mis air cheilidh

Black, black, black eyes,
My sweetheart has black eyes.
Black, black, black eyes,
When will you come to visit?

I will not go out tonight
I will not go visiting
Maraich’ thu ma bhios tu beo
Maraich’ thu ma bhios tu beo
Maraich’ thu mas bhios tu beo
Cha chuir a mhuir ort a sheoid

[I will not go out tonight]
[Since I await my sweetheart.]
[The little hill out yonder]
[The sweetest music of strings]
[The little hill out there]
[who is there, but my sweetheart?]

(M-SR, MacNeil/Uno, Barra, 1994/-, -)

<G-65a>
Tha bó dhubh agam, tha bó dhubh bhuam,
Tha bó dhubh agam, tha bó dhubh bhuam,
Tha bó dhubh agam, tha bó dhubh bhuam,
'S tha tri bo breac, air an leacainn ud shuas.

[I have a black cow, I’ve lost a black cow.]
[I have a black cow, I’ve lost a black cow.]
[I have a black cow, I’ve lost a black cow.]
[There are three black cows on yon slopes above.]

(M, Johnston/Campbell, Beavor Cove, 1937/1990, [SRE]: 65)

<G-65b>
Tha bó dhubh agam, tha bó dhubh uam
Tha bó dhubh agam, tha bó dhubh uam
Tha bó dhubh agam, tha bó dhubh uam
'S tha tri bo breac, air an leacainn ud shuas.

[I have a black cow, I’ve lost a black cow.]
[I have a black cow, I’ve lost a black cow.]
[I have a black cow, I’ve lost a black cow.]
[There are three speckled cattle on yonder hill-side.]

<G-65c>

Te bhiorach againne, bradag nan aoir
Te bhiorach againne, bradag nan aoir
Te bhiorach againne, bradag nan aoir
A’ dh’oladh am bainne ‘s a mhealladh na laoigh

[We have a sharp one, the besom of the cow-herds]
[We have a sharp one, the besom of the cow-herds]
[We have a sharp one, the besom of the cow-herds]
[Who’d drink the milk and take the calves.]

Gheibh thu caoraich gheibh thu crodh
Gheibh thu caoraich gheibh thu crodh
Gheibh thu caoraich gheibh thu crodh
Gheibh thu buaile fearainn gheibh

[You’ll have sheep, you’ll have cattle,]
[You’ll have sheep, you’ll have cattle,]
[You’ll have sheep, you’ll have cattle,]
[You’ll have a fold of land, you will.]

Maraich’ thu ma bhios tu beo
Maraich’ thu ma bhios tu beo
Maraich’ thu mas bhios tu beo
Cha chuir a mhuir ort a sheoid

[A sailor you’ll be, if you live,]
[A sailor you’ll be, if you live,]
[A sailor you’ll be, if you live,]
[The sea won’t trouble you, hero.]
Maraich' thu ma bhios tu buan
Maraich' thu ma bhios tu buan
Maraich' thu ma bhios tu buan
Cha chuir a mhuir ort a luaidh.

Gheibh thu caoraich . . .

[A sailor you'll be, if you live long,
[A sailor you'll be, if you live long,
[A sailor you'll be, if you live long,
[The sea won't trouble you darling.

[You'll get sheep,

(M·SR, MacKinnon−−, Vatersay, 1959−− SA1959/64 A2)

<G-66a>
Tha mi sgith 's mi leam fhin,
H-uile là, an Cnoc-na-beannachd:
Tha mi sgith 's mi leam fhin,
H-uile là a 'm onar.

H-uile là, an Cnoc-na-beannachd:
H-uile là a 'm onar;
H-uile là, an Cnoc-na-beannachd:
'S ni thear tigh'nn g'am fheòraich!

Cùl an tomain, beul an tomain
Cùl an tomain, bhòidhich
Cùl an tomain, beul an tomain
H-uile là a 'm onar!

[I am weary all alone,
[I am weary all alone,
[Alone all the day.

[Everyday alone!

[M·Tolmie/Tolmie, Skye, −/1911, [JFS]:178-179]

* This song is called 'Buain na Rainich [Cutting the Bracken]' by the compiler.

* "A maiden had a fairy lover who used to help her when cutting bracken or drying peats on the moor. Her brothers having suspected that she must be receiving fairy assistance, set a watch to observe her, and on finding that their suspicions were confirmed, carried their sister away to a distant part of the country, and the fairy saw
her no more: but he was often heard lamenting her absence, behind the pretty knoll wherein was his abode. The above is a very ancient lullaby, universally known throughout the Highlands." (Tolmie, 1911: 178-179)

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<G-67>
Tha m’ulaidh m’ulaidh m’ulaidh ort [You are my love, my love, my love
Tha m’ulaidh m’ulaidh m’aighear thu [You are my love, my love, and my joy
O m’aighear thu o m’aighear thu [O you are my joy, my joy
O gheibh thu crodh na buaille [You will get the cattle of the fold.
O m’eadail an t-suíl air a mhalaideh os a cionn [I love the eye and the forehead above it.
Sugh mo cheilleodh a leann gradhein air. [The child is my heart's desire—beloved one.


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<G-68a>
Tha na feidh, o-ho! [The deer are there, O-ho!
B’è na feidh iad! [The deer—certainly they are (or how wonderful they are).
Tha na feidh, o-ho! [The deer are there, O-ho!
Air a’ Bheinn árd. [High up the Ben.

(ref.) Allaila hó hó-an! Allaila hó ho!
Allaila hó hó-an! O hó-an ó.

Leig an cú tiutha: [Slip the dog after them:
Cuir an cú unnt’; [Set the dog on
Leig an cú riutha: [Send the dog after them
An cú dona dall. [The dog useless and blind.

(ref.)

<G-68b>
Tha na feidh am Bràigh’ Uige [The deer are on the Brae of Uig,
’M bràigh Uige, ’m bràigh Uige [the Brae of Uig, the Brae of Uig
Tha na feidh am Bràigh’ Uige [The deer are on the Brae of Uig,
’S e mo dhiubhail mar thachair [What has happened has destroyed me.

Tha mo shealgar gun eirigh [My hunter cannot rise,
Gun eirigh, gun eirigh [cannot rise, cannot rise,
Tha mo shealgar gun eirigh [My hunter cannot rise,
’S thà na feidh air an leacain [And the deer on the slopes.

Tha mo chrodh air na lointean [My cattle are in the meadows
Na lòintean, na lòintean [the meadows, the meadows
Tha mo chrodh air na lòintean [My cattle are in the meadows
’S na laoigh òga mun casan [With the young calves at their feet.

Tha mo shealgar na shineadh [My hunter lies stretched out,
Na shineadh na shineadh
Tha mo shealgair na shineadh
Anns ann fhrithe gun tighinn dhachaidh

Gur a fuar lag na h-àiridh
Na h-àiridh, na h-àiridh
Gur a fuar lag na h-àiridh
Tha mo ghradh fo na leacaibh.

[M-SR, MacDonald/-, Harris?, 1969/-, SA1959/115.2]

<G-69>
Tha nead an fhithich
Ann an creag an sgìthich,
Ni mo leanabh cadal vagus gheibh e 'n

Tha nead na fàileig
Ann an creag an aolaich,
Ni mo leanabh cadal vagus gheibh e 'n

Tha nead na fàileig
Ann an creag an aolaich,
Ni mo leanabh cadal vagus gheibh e 'n

Tha nead na fàileig
Ann an creag an aolaich,
Ni mo leanabh cadal vagus gheibh e 'n

The nest of the raven
Is in the hawthorn rock,
My little one will sleep and he shall have the bird.

The nest of the seagull
Is in the rock of droppings,
My little one will sleep and he shall have the bird.

The nest of the ptarmigan
Is in the rough mountain,
My little one will sleep and he shall have the bird.

The nest of the mavis
Is in the bonnie copse,
My little one will sleep and he shall have the bird.

etc.

(G-69)

Tha sior choineadh am Beinn Dòrain,
Tha gal is cóineadh's a'beinn ud thall.
Tha glaodh mo laoigh 's a'beinn, 's a'beinn;

Tha glaodh mo laoigh 's a'beinn ud thall;
Tha glaodh mo laoigh 's a'beinn, 's a'beinn,
Tha sior eigheach 's a'beinn ud thall.

There is constant wailing in Ben Doran;
Weeping and wailing are in yonder hill
The voice of my calves is on the mountain, etc.

The voice of my calves is on yonder mountain.
The voice of my calves is on the mountain, etc.
And constant crying over there.

(M, MacKenzie/Tolmie, Skye, 1908/1911, [JFS]: 166)

* The reference is to what is known to shepherds and others who are often out at night as a'ghaour-uisge, a'ghairm-uisge, a loud continuous murmuring sound, like the cry of a child in pain. It is very eerie in its rise and fall, and may last for ten minutes. It is a natural phenomenon, and is a forerunner of wind and rain.

(M, MacKenzie/Tolmie/Trumpp, Skye, 1908/1911, [JFS]: 166)
* This song is called 'Theid mi dhachaidh cro Cheann'n t-Saile ['I'll return to Kintail'] by the compiler.

**<G-71c>**

Theid mi dhachaidh ho ro dhachaidh
Theid mi dhachaidh chro Chionn t-Saile
Theid mi dhachaidh ho ro dhachaidh
Theid mi dhachaidh chro Chionn t-Saile

Theid mi liom fhin ann liom fhin ann, liom fhin ann
Theid mi liom fhin gun dail ann
Theid mi liom fhin ann, liom fhin ann, liom fhin ann

'S theid mi dhachaidh chro Chionn t-Saile

Dhachaidh thu, dhachaidh thu, Dhachaidh thu, dhachaidh thu, [Home with you]

Dhachaidh thu, dhachaidh thu, dha do thaigh Geamhradh
Dhachaidh thu, dhachaidh thu, Dhachaidh thu, dhachaidh thu, [Home with you]
Dha do thaigh EARRAICH thu 's dha do thaigh Samhradh [To your Spring house, and to your Summer house.]

'S theid mi 'nam shineadh 'nam shineadh 'nam shineadh
'S theid mi 'nam shineadh gun dail ann
'S theid mi 'nam shineadh 'nam shineadh 'nam shineadh
'S theid mi 'nam shineadh gun dail ann

[I will go home, ho ro, home
[I will go home to the cattle-fold of Kintail
[I will go home, ho ro home,
[I will go home to the cattle-fold of Kintail.

[I will go there alone, alone
[I will go there alone, without delay.
[I will go there alone, alone
[And I will go home to the Cattle-fold of Kintail.

[I will go stretched out, stretched out, stretched out
[I will go stretched out, without delay,
[I will go stretched out, stretched out, stretched out,
[I will go stretched out, without delay.

(M-SR, MacKinnon/Lomax, Barra, 1951/-, SA1951/3 B8)

* This song is called 'Cro Choinn t-Saile'. ‘... thought of as a song connected with pipe music” (Morag MacLeod)

**<G-71d>**

Thëid mi dh'Uraigh bhuan a' mhurain
Thëid mi dh'Uraigh leat a ghraidh bhig
Thëid mi d'Uraigh bhuan a' mhurain
Thëid mi fhin le m'run a Ghèarrloch.

Thëid mi fhin ann, fhin ann, fhin ann,
Thëid mi fhin ann, theid mi màireach
Thëid mi fhin ann, fhin ann, fhin ann,
Thëid mi fhin le mo rùin a Ghèarrloch.

[I will go to Uraigh to cut marram-grass
[I will go to Uraigh with you, little love.
[I will go to Uraigh o cut marram-grass
[I will go with my love to Gairloch.

[I myself will go, will go, will go,
[I myself will go, I will go tomorrow
[I myself will go, will go, will go
[I will go with my love to Gairloch.

Leagainn thu, thogainn thu, leagainn thu thogainn thu,
Leagainn thu, thogainn thu, gràdh do mhàthar;
Leagainn thu, thogainn thu, leagainn thu thogainn thu,
Leagainn thu, thogainn thu, ’s dhèanainn do thàladh.
[I’d knock you down, I’d lift you up, I’d knock you down, I’d lift you up, (dandle you)
[I’d knock you down, I’d lift you up, your mother’s darling;
[I’d knock you down, I’d lift you up, I’d knock you down, I’d lift you up,
[I’d knock you down, I’d lift you up, and I’d soothe you to sleep.

Nam bu leam fhin thu, fhin thu, fhin thu,
Nam bu leam fhin thu, dheanainn do thaladh,
Leagainn thu, thogainn thu, leagainn thu thogainn thu,
Leagainn thu, thogainn thu ’s dhèanainn do thàladh.

[If you were mine, were mine, were mine,
[If you were mine I’d soothe you to sleep,
[I’d knock you down, I’d lift you up, I’d knock you down, I’d lift you up,
[I’d knock you down, I’d lift you up, and I’d soothe you to sleep.

Thèid mi dhachaigh, hòro dhachaigh
Thèid mi dhachaigh, theid mi màireach,
Thèid mi dhachaigh, hòro dhachaigh
Thèid mi fhin le mo rùn a Ghèarrloch.
[I will go home, ho ro, home
[I will go home tomorrow
[I will go with my love to Gairloch.

Thèid mi fhin ann, fhin ann, fhin ann,
Thèid mi fhin ann, theid mi màireach
Thèid mi fhin ann, fhin ann, fhin ann,
Thèid mi fhin le mo rùn a Ghèarrloch.
[I myself will go, will go, will go,
[I myself will go, I will go tomorrow
[I myself will go, will go, will go,
[I will go with my love to Gairloch.

Leagainn thu, thogainn thu, leagainn thu thogainn thu,
Leagainn thu, thogainn thu, gràdh do mhàthar;
Leagainn thu, thogainn thu, leagainn thu thogainn thu,
Leagainn thu, thogainn thu ’s dhèanainn do thàladh.

[I’d knock you down, I’d lift you up, I’d knock you down, I’d lift you up, (dandle you)
[I’d knock you down, I’d lift you up, your mother’s darling;
[I’d knock you down, I’d lift you up, I’d knock you down, I’d lift you up,
[I’d knock you down, I’d lift you up, and I’d soothe you to sleep.

Bodachan biodach, biodach, biodach,
Bodachan biodach, gràdh do mhàthar;
Leagainn thu, thogainn thu, leagainn thu thogainn thu,
Leagainn thu, thogainn thu , ’s dhèanainn do thàladh.

[Tiny little old man, tiny, tiny,
[Tiny little old man, your mother’s darling;
[I’d knock you down, I’d lift you up, I’d knock you down, I’d lift you up,
[I’d knock you down, I’d lift you up, and I’d soothe you to sleep.

Thèid mi dh’Uraigh bhuain a’ mhurain
Thèid mi dh’Uraigh leat a ghraidh bhig
[I will go to Uraigh to cut marram-grass
[I will go to Uraigh with you, little love.

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Thèid mi dh’Uraigh bhuain a’ mhurain
[You and I will go tomorrow,
I will go to Uraigh to cut marram-grass.
I will go with my love to Gairloch.


* “Chaidh dà òran a chur an luib s chèile an seo, a dh’asg ghnoothach. A’-reir a’ chlàir aig Ailean Domhnallach is Maighread Stùibhart, Phuar mi pòg, se fear a chaidh a leòn aig Sliabh an t-Siorraim a rinn Cro Chiinn t-Sàile, agus tha pìos à òran as aithean dhuinn mar Nam bu leam fhin thu thaoldhinn thu aig Seonag ga ghabhail còmhla ris. ‘S e Donnchadh Moireasdan, fear-cìuil ainmeil à Leòdhas, a thrèoraich i gus an dreach seo a chur orra.’ (annotation, ST-19)

You and I will go tomorrow,
I will go to Uraigh to cut marram-grass.
I will go with my love to Gairloch.

An aithnicheadh tu mo bhanachag
[Do you know my milkmaid?
[Would you know my shepherdess?
[Would you know my shepherdess?
[To shieling of the sheep.

You and I will go tomorrow,
I will go to Uraigh to cut marram-grass.
I will go with my love to Gairloch.

An aithnicheadh tu mo bhanachag
An aithnicheadh tu mo bhanachag
Le dhuth is leth-cheann dearg oirr.

Do you know my milkmaid?
Do you know my milkmaid?
With (**typo?) and half her head red.

An aithnicheadh tu mo bhanachag

Do you know my milkmaid?
Do you know my milkmaid?

You and I will go tomorrow,
I will go to Uraigh to cut marram-grass.
I will go with my love to Gairloch.

An aithnicheadh tu mo bhanachag
An aithnicheadh tu mo bhanachag
An aithnicheadh tu mo bhanachag

Do you know my milkmaid?
Do you know my milkmaid?
Do you know my milkmaid?

Ho ri chaidil Morag
Ho ri chaidil Morag
Ho ri chaidil Morag
Ma chaidil cha bu mhor e.

[Ho ri Mòrag slept
[Ho ri Mòrag slept
[Ho ri Mòrag slept

Tomorrow I and you will go.
Tomorrow I and you will go.
Tomorrow I and you will go.

An aithnicheadh tu mo bhanachag?
An aithnicheadh tu mo bhanachag?
An aithnicheadh tu mo bhanachag?
Te dhubh is leth-cheann dearg oirr?

[Would you know my shepherdess?
[Would you know my shepherdess?
[Would you know my shepherdess?

Sleep, sleep little old woman.
Sleep, sleep little old woman.
Sleep, sleep little old woman.

Thèid mise’s tusa maireach
Thèid mise’s tusa maireach
Thèid mise’s tusa maireach
Gu àirigh nan caorach.

[You and I will go tomorrow,
[You and I will go tomorrow,
[You and I will go tomorrow,

'To the sheiling of the sheep.

An aithnicheadh tu mo bhanachag
An aithnicheadh tu mo bhanachag
An aithnicheadh tu mo bhanachag

Do you know my milkmaid?
Do you know my milkmaid?
Do you know my milkmaid?

Sleep, sleep little old woman.
Sleep, sleep little old woman.
Sleep, sleep little old woman.

Thèid mise’s tusa maireach
Thèid mise’s tusa maireach
Thèid mise’s tusa maireach

[You and I will go tomorrow,
[You and I will go tomorrow,
[You and I will go tomorrow,

To the sheiling of the sheep.

An aithnicheadh tu mo bhanachag
An aithnicheadh tu mo bhanachag
An aithnicheadh tu mo bhanachag

[Would you know my shepherdess?
[Would you know my shepherdess?
[Would you know my shepherdess?

Sleep, sleep little old woman.
Sleep, sleep little old woman.
Sleep, sleep little old woman.

Ho ri chaidil Morag

[Ho ri Mòrag slept

Sleep, sleep little old woman.

Sleep, sleep little old woman.

Sleep, sleep little old woman.

Sleep, sleep little old woman.

Sleep, sleep little old woman.

Sleep, sleep little old woman.

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Sleep, sleep little old woman.

Sleep, sleep little old woman.

Sleep, sleep little old woman.

Sleep, sleep little old woman.

Sleep, sleep little old woman.

Sleep, sleep little old woman.
Ho rò, chaidil Mòrag
Ho ri, chaidil Mòrag
Ma chaidil, cha bu mhòr e.

[Ho ri Morag has slept
[Ho ri Morag has slept
[It's little if she did.

(M. NicShimidh & Barr, -/1991, [CaGS]:16)
< G-2 >

\[ \text{\textcopyright Lorem Ipsum} \]


\[ \text{\textcopyright Lorem Ipsum} \]


< G-3 >

Anna bheag an téid thu Dháin tobar leis a'chumain urch? Anna namhre mo mhìrinn

Anna na highe 'm plaid urch? Anna bheag an téid thu? Anna bheag an téid thu?

< G-4 >

\[ \text{\textcopyright Lorem Ipsum} \]

An tar-aibh breac dèar-aig an tar-aibh a mhar-aibh mi, h tar-aibh breac dèar-aig, an tar-aibh a mhar-aibh mi

\[ \text{\textcopyright Lorem Ipsum} \]

tar-aibh a mhar(aibh) mi h tar-aibh breac dèar-aig, an tar-aibh a mhar-aibh mi,

\[ \text{\textcopyright Lorem Ipsum} \]

tar-aibh buidhe buidhe buidhe tar(aibh) buidhe buidhe a mhar(aibh) mi.
< G-5 >

A ro's gun dh-eoghal na laeigh
Hi ho ro's gun dheoghal na laeigh

< G-6a >

Ba-ba mo leam-abh, Ba-ba, ba-ba. Ba-ba mo leam-abh, Ba-ba, ba-ba. Faill

i faill é, Faill éill o-ro-ho. Gu'n till na fear-a a dh'halbh thar sa'al.

< G-6b >

Siom-a hoidh-chu fhlinich is th'oran, Sid-e na seanadh si-en, Ghoidh-chu fhlinich-eu creng-an Ris an gabh 'man dion.

Óbh-an! Óbh-an! Óbh-an-ri! Óbh-an-ri ó Óbh-an! Óbh-an! Óbh-an-ri! Is mór mo mhul-ad a mór.
< G-6c >

O bà mo leanabh, o bà, o bà, O bà mo leanabh, o bà, o bà,

bà, hi ri, hil i, ill o ro. Gum thill na fear-a-chaidh thuainn gu siul.

0, 's ion-eadh criostaidh fhor-bhla h'oirg nam brokan, 's gu robh, mo chuid-sa theith 'na mo laimh; Me

leanabh gum bhiste-anadh, 's mi fhinn 'se in uir-eas. 0, 's ion-eadh sgol duilich rì shein, rì shein.

< G-6d >

Hobhan Hobhan Hobhainiri Hobhainirida

Hobhan Hobhan Hobhainiri 'Smor me nbhuilid 'mor

< G-6e >

Nam faisceadh 'o Grigal Crìche 'Se na shuidh air tom

Gael nam beinn thu gradh nan nghean 'S curraic bheag na cheanna.

O bà bà mo leanabh Bà mo leanabh bà I s

chaelid duine chì mo leanabh Nach-camadh bà bà
\[ \text{< G-6f >} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{O ba mo leannabh Ba mo leannabh ba} \\
&\text{O ì ba mo leannabh Chàchairil ne tàmh}
\end{align*}
\]

\[ \text{< G-6g >} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{S móir a bann- sa bhith le Griogair} \\
&\text{Air freadh coille agus frasich}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Na bhith aig ba- ran
corion na De- laoch} \\
&\text{An taigh clach is aol.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[ \text{< G-7 >} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Bì, bà mo leann-abh bung} \\
&\text{Bìdh tú mórgaidh thu bung. Bà, bà, mo leann-abh bung, Char rùrr-aimn midh thàill-agh}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Dìe, a gheol, a nì mìrnt, Gun bhàinne ciche agan. dhuit? Eòg-àr orm gùngabh thu crèp} \\
&\text{Le buigh-aidh an bhun-ta-
}\]

\[ \text{< G-8 >} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Ba mo leann-abh, ho hi} \\
&\text{Ba mo leann-abh ho hé,}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Ba mo leann-abh ho hi} \\
&\text{Aigh-eir leam. Ca- lum air mo ghlun.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Ca- lum- an, na ho i, ca- lum- an, na ho hé} \\
&\text{Ca- lum- an, na ho i, Aigh-eir leam ca- lum air mo ghlun.}
\end{align*}
\]

505
< G-12 >

Cag-ar-an, cag-ar-an cag-ar-an gaol-each

cag-ar-an fughainteach fear dhe mo duine

Ghoid-eadh tu gobh-air dhluinn 's ghoid-eadh tu caor-aich

Ghoid-eadh tu cap-aill is mait for na raitean

< G-13a >

Cai-deal-an cui-de rium thin am pais-de Cai-deal-an cui-de rium

thin thu cai-deal-an cui-de rium thin am pais-de

< G-13b >

Cad-al-an cui-de rium thin mo phaisde de-an an cad-al-an horo

sul-chbh-minochd agus tilrith mi mair-each cad-al-an chid-erim thin mo phaisde

< G-14 >

caid-il-u-o, caid-il-u-o caid-il-u-o, caid-il-u-o
< G-22a >

(no words)

< G-22b >

Dean ca-da-lan sàin-heach a chuil-sam-me reis Deas Sùir each mar tha thu's tan djrost an ort' ur Bicb.

< G-22c >

is ruch mach roich mis an daighche Mhie Leol For an eilnin mi marach nam phaisid's mi ìg

Bh eideach an sealladh (incomplete)
< G-22d >

Dean ca-da-lan sa-mhad a chuil-ein mo reain Dean suir each mar tha thu's tu an dearth an oit ur Bideh

dig-eo-r an ag-ainn lan beair-teis is clia, Ma bheidh tu had airdh is leat fear-eig-in clia.

< G-22e >

Dean ca-da-lan sa-mhad a chuil-ein mo run Dean swareach mar tha thu's tuin drian an oit 'ir; Tha
dig-an-sich ag-ainn lan beair-teis is clia, Sann bheidh tu nad airian air searainn dhíubh.

< G-22f >

Dean ca-da-lan sa-mhad a chuil-ein mo run Dean swareach mar tha thu an dearth tu an oit 'ir; Tha
dig-an-sich ag-ainn lan beair-teis is meair Sann bheidh tu nad aire is leat searainn dhíubh.

< G-22g >

(same as G-22f)

512
< G-27a >

Gheibh thu caor-aich, gheibh thu croch
Gheibh thu caor-aich, gheibh thu croch
Gheibh thu caor-aich, gheibh thu croch
Gheibh thu caor-aich, gheibh thu croch
Mar-aich thu ma bhios tu beò
Mar-aich thu ma bhios tu beò
Mar-aich thu ma bhios tu beò
Mar-aich thu ma bhios tu beò
S cha chuir a’ mhuir ort a sheid.

< G-27b >

Gheibh thu caor-aich, gheibh thu croch
Gheibh thu caor-aich, gheibh thu croch
Gheibh thu caor-aich, gheibh thu croch
Gheibh thu caor-aich, gheibh thu croch
Gheibh thu buail-le fear-ainn, gheibh

< G-28a >

Gill-e beag ó
gill-e lag ó
Gill-e beag ó nan caor-aich
Tha mi sgith gur alt-rá-mas, A’ marach mo chuid aod-aich

514
< G-37d >

Há ho ro Maol-ruan-aídh Ghlain-each-aín Há ho ro Maol-ruan-aídh!

Dh'fhéidh de mháth-aír is thug i n-íos-each eirr Há ho ro Maol-ruan-aídh

< G-37e >

(the same tune as G-37d, start with B)

< G-38 >

I-an O-an, be mo lean-abh Seamh gu'n laigh thu,

Slan gu'n eir-ich U-an I-an ba mo lean-abh

< G-40a >

Mhnath-an a' ghlinn-e so! Mhnath-an a' ghlinn-e so! Mhnath-an a' ghlinn-e so! Nach mith-ich duibh eir-igh! 'S mise rinn a' mhoch-eir-igh, 'S mise rinn a' mhoch-eir-igh; 'S mise rinn a' mhoch-eir-igh; Sibh s'a cheir feum a'ir! 'Mhnath-a' ghlinn-e so!

'Mhnath-an a' ghlinn-e so! Mhnath-an a' ghlinn-e so! Nach mith-ich duibh eir-igh!
Mhnath-an' a' ghlinn-e sa, Mhnath-an' a' ghlinn-e sa Mhnath-an' a' ghlinn-e sa gur minig dh' thuibh eogha. An credh air an bheagha, an credh air an bheagha, in credh air an bheagha is ne fr air an rouble.

(the same tune as G-40b)

Mhui-re 3 e mo run mo leannabh. S tu mac eighre Mhic'e Ai-lein

Ogha's iar-ogh nam fear fear-ail Chaidh ur na all-a fa'da ga chur.

B'thearr lean fein guin cinnedh s'dhuit, Abis 'us fas 'us ailbheach an cruth. Maise's feile, 's goibre le guth.

Mhui-re 3 e mo run mo leannu 's tu mac eighre Mhic'e Ai-lein

Ogh-a s iar-ogh na' fear fear-ail Chaidh' ur n' alla fa'da' g' a chur

B'thearr lean fhion' cinnedh s'dhuit, Abis 'us fas 'us ailbheach an cruth Maise's feil' us geivre le guth.
< G-43c >

Mo ghaol, mo ghradh is n-feud ail thu, Misneach as ur is meibhneas thu Mo

mha-ach an a-la-ainn ceut-ach thu, Che n-fhìù mì Théin bhith'dhail

Ale-lu-ia, Ale-lu-ia,

Ale-lu-ia Ale-lu-ia.

< G-43d >

Mo ghaol, mo ghradh is mèulal thu Ion-gant-as ur Is moibhneas thu Mo

mha-ach an a-la-ainn gio-bach thu 'S mo'ran t-aobhar (missing)

< G-44 >

Mo ghaol-s' a'bo nach'ei breabach Mo luadh-s' a'bo' nacheil breabach

Mo ghaol-s' a'bo' nach'eil breabach 'S Nach'uir eogal air a' bhuachall'

Och. Och. nan Och! mer tha mi thein. Mar tha mi thein, mar tha mi thein! Och

Och. nan Och! mer tha mi thein! Ìs mo shuil an deidh mo Chùbhr - ach - an!

Och, nan Och, nam, Och! mar the mi thein. Mar the mi thein, mar the mi thein! Och

Och, nan Och mar tha mi thein. Mar tha mi thein mar tha mi thein.

Och, nan Och mar tha mi thein! Ìs mo shuil an deidh mo Chùbhr - ach - an.
Och, Och-an's mi dir-eadh, Och, Och-an's mi team-adh; Och, Och-an's mi dir-eadh na rinn ag lìthig-nal: A dir-eadh's a team-adh, A team-adh is a dir-eadh; A dir-eadh's a team-adh, A team-adh na rinn ag lìthig-nal. A Mhòr their a thrath na còrt, A Mhòr their a thrath na còrt? A Mhòr each biong-air dois' fràith? A Mhòr each biong-air galb na!

O hì o hoth credh an tail-leir, O hì o hoth credh an tail-leir; O hì o hoth credh an tail-leir. Sìos-sar is mì-a-nan is snath-ad Cha tuit ind'an toll no feith-e, Cha tuit ind'an toll no feith-e, Cha tuit ind'an toll no feith-e; Ma tuit-eas gun teo feine ind Tha mì-le long air Cu-an Eirinn Sì truagh nach rochadh in air te dhùthb.
< G-54b >
The mile long air cuan Éir- inn, The mile long air cuan Éir- inn, The mile long air cuan Éir- inn, Stronghach robh mi finn air te dh'hub. Ho bha ba é, ho bha ba é, ho bha ba é, ho bha ba é, ho bha ba é, ho bha ba é, ho bha ba é.

< G-55 >
O ho! bha a lein-ibh, ho! O ho! bha a lein-ibh, he Ba, a lein-ibh, hó-bhe-ho! Ho-ba a lein-ibh, hao-i ha! Hi ho! ho-bha-ho!

< G-56 >
O hòrò i ri ri Caid-il gu lò O hòrò i ri ri Caid-il gu lò Sè mendal an cuir tar Dheanadh mìr'gus sugradh; Sè mendal an cuir tar Dèin da'mhignn pòg.
< G-58b >


< G-59b >

Sì e mo lean-abh ming-il-is-each maing-il-is-each 'Bud-ach nan each glac nan liv-ach; Nan each cruith-each 's nan each seag-ach. Mo lean-abh beag!

< G-59c >

Ho ro mh' i le bhag M' Fhiosd i s'midheur thu. Ho ro mh' i le bhag Ni a' bhruidh hein Riam, 'S throigh nach faicinn fearn do bhuisil'ard Co- ta ghearr-n-aigh mu d' ghuaile ghil
< G-62a >

S mileis Mor-ag Mérgh-er Mor-ag Is mileis Mor-ag. O hó hó!

Gaol domhath-ar Is luachd do chaìrd-ean 'Se bithי'dh thrathach Mo rogh-a ceoil.

< G-62b >

Gur mileis Mor-ag Gur leagh-ach Mor-ag, Gur

mileis Mor-ag, Nìghean Bhguain ciog. 'S ì

Mor an aille-

eachd 'S ì leagh a math-

ar 'S ì

bhi' gu tal-

adh Mo ro-

ghe cèoil.

< G-62c >

Mileis Mor-ag Mérgh-er Mor-ag Mileis Mor-ag, Mo rogh-a ceoil.

< G-63 >

'S toil leam do leth lèan-sìbh 'S toil leam do leth hó, 'S toil leam do leth lèan-sìbh 'S toil leam do leth hó.
< G-64a >

Suil-ean dubh-a dubh-a dubh, Suil-ean dubh aig m‘eud-ail

Suil-ean dubh-a dubh-a dubh, Cuin a thig thu cheil- idh?

Cha teid mis- ce mach a-nochd Cha teid mis- ce cheil- idh

Cha teid mis- ce mach a-nochd Is d‘uill a-gam ri m‘eud-ail.

< G-64b >

Suil-ean dubh-a dubh-a dubh Suil-ean dubh aig m‘eud-ail

Suil-ean dubh-a dubh-a dubh Cuin a thig thu cheil- idh

Cha teid mis- ce mach a-nochd Cha teid mis air cheil- idh

Cha teid mis- ce mach a-nochd Is d‘uill a-gam ri m‘eud-ail.

< G-64c >

(the same tune as G-64b)
< G-67 >

The m'ul-a'idh m'ul-a'dh ort  the m'ul-a'idh m'ul-a'dh m'ain'h'ear  the th.
m'ain'h'ear thu o m'ain'h'ear thu  O gheith thu croth na bu-a'l-e  o meud-a'il au'sail

air a m'ul-a'dh os a chinn sugh no ch'ill-eadh e leann gnuid-a' e air.

< G-68a >

Tha na feich O-ho  B'e'n na feich iad  Tha na feich o-ho  Hir-a'Bheinn ard.

All-a'il-e ho ho-an  All-n-ile ho ho  All-a'il-e ho ho-an  O ho-an 0

< G-68b >

Tha na feidh am Bruigh U'i-ge  M'brugh U'i-ge  im bruigh U'i-ge

Tha na feidh am Bruigh U'i-ge  S'e modhiub-a'il mar the-chair—
< G-70 >

The sior chèin-eadh am Beinn-Dorain, Tha gatl coim-eadh is a' bheinn is thall

The glaith mue leagh is a' bheinn, is a' bheinn; Tha glaith mue leagh is a' bheinn is thall: Tha glaith mue leagh is a' bheinn is a' bheinn the sior eigh-eadh is a' bheinn is thall

Fine

< G-71a >

(no words)

< G-71b >

(no words)

536
< G-72a >

\[ \text{Theid mi-se s\-tu-se mair- each Theid mi-se s\-tu-se mair- each Theid} \]

< G-72b >

\[ \text{Theid mi-se s\-tu-se mair- each Theid mi-se s\-tu-se mair- each Theid} \]
Appendix 3. List of Lullaby Texts in the Sound Archive
of the Department of Celtic and Scottish Studies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of Collection</th>
<th>Informant</th>
<th>First line or Title</th>
<th>Code No.</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aberdeen</td>
<td>Leeb Robertson</td>
<td>I'm no your mammy</td>
<td>SA1954/99/A7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberdeenshire</td>
<td>R. Milton</td>
<td>Hishy du baloo</td>
<td>SA1960/255/B11</td>
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<tr>
<td>Banchory</td>
<td>Lena Stewart</td>
<td>Golden slumber, close your eyes</td>
<td>SA1975/103/A4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Blairstowie</td>
<td>Bella Higgins</td>
<td>Highland Cradle Song</td>
<td>SA1955/150/A23</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chester</td>
<td>Leslie Haworth</td>
<td>Hullabaloo (Modern Lullaby)</td>
<td>SA1962/75/B3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
<td>Helen Brand</td>
<td>Hush a by birdie croon croon</td>
<td>SA1953/239/B18, 21</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fetterangus</td>
<td>Lucy Stewart</td>
<td>Bonnie wee window</td>
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<td>Mary Robbie</td>
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<td>Louis Adams</td>
<td>Hushy ba looie</td>
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<td>Margaret Adams</td>
<td>Sleep daddy sleep</td>
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<td>Hiskie ba looie</td>
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<td>Kenmore</td>
<td>Duncan Johnstone</td>
<td>Left my baby lyin there</td>
<td>SA1975/128/A9</td>
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<td>Kintyre</td>
<td>Isabelle Townsley</td>
<td>I left my baby lyin' there</td>
<td>SA1975/40/A5</td>
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<td>Montrose</td>
<td>Alie Stewart</td>
<td>I left my baby lyin there</td>
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<td>Bessy Whyte</td>
<td>There was a grand lady wearied for a baby</td>
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<td>Ba ba ba, ba ba (wordless)</td>
<td>SA1975/51/A3b</td>
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<td>Ba ba buntenan</td>
<td>SA1975/51/A3a</td>
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<td>Oh can ye shew buttons, or can ye shew sheets</td>
<td>SA1977/144/A3</td>
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<td>Get awa fae my windae bogie boo</td>
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<td>Hi-ba-loo my sweet wee Donald</td>
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<td>Oh I hae twa bonny bairnies the finest ava</td>
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<td>When I was young and sweet sixteen</td>
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<td>Maisie Dagg</td>
<td>Coulter's Candy</td>
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<td>Jchina Leith</td>
<td>Hush baelie leulie</td>
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<td>Plockton</td>
<td>Lexie Matheson</td>
<td>Baloo my babe, lie still and sleep</td>
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<td>Shetland</td>
<td>E. Barclay</td>
<td>Da Bressay Lullaby</td>
<td>SA1960/218/A7</td>
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<td>John Barclay</td>
<td>Wha's dy heert greetin, greetin (not traditional)</td>
<td>SA1972/97/1</td>
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<td>Marjorie Barclay</td>
<td>Da sun is sinking in da wast</td>
<td>SA51/23/A8</td>
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<td>Ann Gray</td>
<td>(not traditional)</td>
<td>SA1971/229/4</td>
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<td>Brucie Henderson</td>
<td>? (Lullaby for children)</td>
<td>SA1955/95/3</td>
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<td>Jeannie Hutchison</td>
<td>Lilly ba lilly and lilly ba loo (dandling song?)</td>
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<td>Robert Irvine</td>
<td>Dams I ken an hed a morning</td>
<td>SA1971/218/8</td>
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<td>Thelma Jamieson</td>
<td>Ba Loo Ba Lilly</td>
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<td>Peggy Johnson</td>
<td>Da boatie sails an da boatie rows</td>
<td>SA1960/214/A2</td>
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<td>James Laurenson</td>
<td>(Fetler Cradle Song)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(ibid.)</td>
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<td>O da boatie sails and da boatie rows</td>
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<td>Kitty Nicolson</td>
<td>Ba ba Betty</td>
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<td>Warm de Feet</td>
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<td>Larry &amp; Shirley</td>
<td>Hush bye Fluffie</td>
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<td>Dams I ken an hed a morning</td>
<td>SA1971/218/5,6</td>
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<td>Hush a bye my curry ting</td>
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<td>P. Tait</td>
<td>Bressay Lullaby</td>
<td>SA1960/60/B2</td>
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<td>(ibid.)</td>
<td>SA1960/58/11</td>
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<td>Jeanette</td>
<td>Baloo li li Baloo li li loo</td>
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<td>Hap an Rowe</td>
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<td>Hushy baa</td>
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<td>Donald MacEachan</td>
<td>Cha tig Mòr mo bhean dhachaidh</td>
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<td>Nan and Kate Buchanan</td>
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<td>Co leis an eodh druim-fhionn ud thall</td>
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<td>Miss MacCorquadaile</td>
<td>Na’m bu leam fhein thu, Thalainn thu</td>
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<td>Jane MacDonald</td>
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<td>Mo churachan ’s a chúl ri lár</td>
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<td>Donald Joseph Mackinnon</td>
<td>Crò Chinn 't-Saile</td>
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<td>Ho ho bho Leddy Bheag</td>
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<td>(ibid.)</td>
<td>SA1951/41/B8, (ibid.)</td>
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<td>Theid mi dhachaidh direach dhachaidh</td>
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<td>Nan Mackinnon</td>
<td>A Mhor a ghaisol till ri d’ mhacan</td>
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<td>Anna Bheag an Teid Thu</td>
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<td>An Cuala Sibh Gairm An Tairbh Riabhaich</td>
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<td>Cadalan culde rium fhin mo phaisde</td>
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<td>Cagaran Gaolach</td>
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<td>Dean Cadalan Samhac an Chulain Mo Run</td>
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<td>Dh’chag Iad’s A Chill Eoghan Ghobha</td>
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<td>(ibid.)</td>
<td>SA1960/128/?</td>
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<td>Ho ho nighean donn</td>
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<td>Mo ruairidh glinneach thu</td>
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<td>M’ubhal oir mo leanabh</td>
<td>SA1959/64/B5</td>
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<td>Taobh an tomain, braigh an tomain</td>
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<td>Tha bó dhubh agm</td>
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<td>A.J. MacLellan</td>
<td>Till an crodh laochain</td>
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<td>Uamh an oir</td>
<td>SA1956/62/1</td>
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<td>Cha tig Mór mo bhean dhachaidh</td>
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<td>Ba ba mo leanu beag</td>
<td>SA1951/10A 8a, A12a, A14</td>
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<td>Ba ba mo leanu beag</td>
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<td>Dean cadalan samhach a chulrain a ruin</td>
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<td>O ba ba mo leanchabh</td>
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<td>Mary &amp; Peggy MacNeill</td>
<td>Mo chúbhrachan</td>
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<td>Cha tig Mór mo bhean dhachaidh</td>
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<td>Griogal Cridhe</td>
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<td>Mary Morrison</td>
<td>Mi fhin's tu fhoin a Dhomhullain [dandling song]</td>
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<td>'S toigh leam do leth leanabh</td>
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<td>O ba ba mo leanabh (ibid.)</td>
<td>SA1959/68/A2</td>
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<td>O leigibh leo mi (ibid.)</td>
<td>SA1965/100/7</td>
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<td>Till an crodh, fair an crodh</td>
<td>SA1966/17/A2</td>
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<td>Children’s Chorus</td>
<td>O Horo mo ruairidh ghlinnneachain</td>
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<td>Choir Castlebay</td>
<td>Taladh Chriosd</td>
<td>SA1966/13/5,6,7</td>
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<td>(Female singer)</td>
<td>Crò Chinn t-Saile</td>
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<td>Benbecula</td>
<td>A hu a ho crodh an tailllear</td>
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<td>Cadal ciarach m{	ext{oi}} luran</td>
<td>SA1953/31/6</td>
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<td>Chuir iad dh{	ext{a}}'n chill Eoghain Gobha</td>
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<td>A.J. MacLellan</td>
<td>Cha tig Mór mo Bhean Dhachaidh</td>
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<td>Mrs Monk</td>
<td>Na dao dean cadal idir</td>
<td>SA1964/89/B6</td>
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<td>Black Isle</td>
<td>Baian hian h{\text{a}}n h{\text{o}}</td>
<td>SA1952/83/5b</td>
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<td>Borrodale</td>
<td>Taladh Choinnich Oig</td>
<td>SA1954/51/B2</td>
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<td>Duncan Hunter</td>
<td>Uamh an Oir</td>
<td>SA1958/7/A8</td>
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<td>Hugh MacKinnon</td>
<td>A hú a h{\text{o}} mo r{\text{u}}n Domhnall Christ Child Song</td>
<td>SA1964/10/A1</td>
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<td>Mrs MacKinnon</td>
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<td>Tha'n Crodh-Laoigh Air Aodann Chorra'Bheinn</td>
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<td>A Mhor, a ghaoil, till rid' mhacan</td>
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<td>Mrs MacQuarrie</td>
<td>Chaidh mo dhonnchadh dh{\text{a}}'n bheinn</td>
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<td>Fhuaras Lorg an Dobhrain Duinn</td>
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<td>Forres</td>
<td>Iona MacDonald</td>
<td>Tha na feidh am Braigh Uige</td>
<td>SA1956/115/A2</td>
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<td>(ibid)</td>
<td>SA1959/115/2</td>
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<td>Fort William</td>
<td>Catherine Parker</td>
<td>Duin do shuilean a luaidh mo</td>
<td>SA1969/178/A3</td>
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<td>Harris</td>
<td>Flora Cunningham</td>
<td>Ge Binn Guth Eoin</td>
<td>SA1963/46/A10</td>
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<td>SA1971/100/1,A,</td>
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<td>Ho ro chaidil Morag Bheag</td>
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<td>Hu O Bhodaich, 'S Dubh do Shron</td>
<td>SA1963/46/A11</td>
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<td>'S Ann a Raoir a Chuala Mi</td>
<td>SA1963/46/A12</td>
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<td>Theid mi dhachaidh</td>
<td>SA1971/78/4,5</td>
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<td>Mrs Dix</td>
<td>A' faca sibh marcaichean</td>
<td>SA1968/184/B12</td>
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<td>Cadal chan fhaigh mi</td>
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<td>Cha crodh 'us gabhair am Beinn</td>
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<td>A ghaoil leig dhachaidh mar</td>
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<td>SA1959/114/A8,</td>
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<td>(Ba ba ba mo leanabh)</td>
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<td>Do dha shuil bheag bhiorach gam</td>
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<td>John A MacPherson</td>
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<td>Alastair Hay</td>
<td>Hobhan obhan oran h-aillich thu (dandling song)</td>
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<td>Dean cadal mo leannan</td>
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<td>Banaltruim Shunndach (dandling song)</td>
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<td>O na dean cadal fada</td>
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<td>Theid mi dh'Uraidh buain a' Mhurain (The Seafortth Lullaby)</td>
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<td>Thulagag Bhoidheach (dandling) (ibid.)</td>
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<td>SA1961/71/A2,</td>
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<td>(ibid.)</td>
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<td>Cuir a chin dilis</td>
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<td>Griogal Cridhe</td>
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<td>(ibid.)</td>
<td>SA1956/35/A1</td>
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<td>(ibid.)</td>
<td>SA1957/15/A3</td>
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<td>Hi an ho an cuach an tailleir</td>
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<td>Griogal Cridhe</td>
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<td>Chuir mo mhathair mi dha’n tobar</td>
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<td>Theid mi dh’Uraidh bhuan a’ Mhurain</td>
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<td>Beinne chruiddh aig Morag Bheag</td>
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<td>Na hóró hé air Anna Beag (Unidentified lullaby)</td>
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<td>Co leis an croth druimionn ud thall</td>
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<td>Dheoghail an croth laoigh ’s na beannaibh</td>
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<td>Mo bhó bheadarrach, ’s mo bhó ghreannmhor</td>
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<td>Mo bhó dhubh mhor</td>
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<td>John MacLean</td>
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<td>Tha mile long air cuan Eirinn</td>
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<td>Christina MacPherson</td>
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<td>Huis huis air an each (dandling)</td>
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<td>John A. MacPherson</td>
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<td>Ille bhig, ille bhig, shunndaich o (dandling song)</td>
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<td>Neil MacVicar</td>
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<td>Ille bhig, ille bhig</td>
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<td>Air a bhonnagan a ghaoil (dandling song)</td>
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<td>A Mhor, a ghaoil, till ri d’mhacan</td>
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<td>A shean bhean bhochd</td>
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<td>Chaidil iad uil’ ann am Muile Chrodd-laoigh</td>
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| Peter Morrison              | Haon agus haon o
O hi o ho crodh an tailleir (ibid.)
Tha sior choineadh am beinn a’ cheò
Uamh an Oir (ibid.)
Ba mo leanabh ba (Griogal Cridhe)
Bi falbh o’n uinneig
Hobhan hobhan Goraidh Og ù (An Coineachan)
Tha glaoth mo ghaoil am beinn
Och a dan(?) sin dohrainn mhoir | SA1957/5/A8
SA54/RL593/B12
SA1955/137/A2
SA1968/114/B7
SA1956/164/B7
SA1961/74/A2
SA1979/16/1
SA1962/42/A3
SA1966/93/A3
SA1962/42/A2
SA1962/42/A1
SA1957/6/A9b |
| Alasdair Nicolson           | Plockton
Kenneth John MacKenzie
Dean cadalan samhach a chuilean Mo ruin | SA1952/137/A4 |
| Skye                        | John Anderson
Annie Arnott
Crò Chinn t’Saile
A Mhór, a Mhór till ri d’mhacan
Banaltrum shunndach thogadh mo leanabh beag
Bidh Clann a’ Righ air do bhainis
Gur mise bhean bhochd
Tha crodh-laoigh ’sa Thraoch aig Mairi
Tha na feidh am Breigh Uige (ibid)
Tha sior choineadh am Beinn Dobhran | SA1953/174/5
SA1964/29/A6,B1, B4
SA1954/8/A8
SA1968/106/A1
SA1961/52/A1
SA1964/29/B3
SA1953/8/A7
SA1953/238/A2
SA1964/29/B5 |
| Kate Beaton                 | Milis Morag (ibid.)
Tha sior choineadh am Beinn Dobhran (ibid.)
Till an crodh (dandling song) (ibid.) | SA53/RL423/6
SA1953/164/6
SA1953/164/7
SA53/RL423/7
SA1953/164/8
SA53/RL423/8 |
| Kate Douglas                | Eisd a chuilean laoigh ’s a lurain
Gur mise bhean bhochd
Raghairn e ho (O hi ri gur mitha Bronach) | SA1954/69/A14
SA1953/49/A1
SA1953/166/2 |
| Duncan Grant                | Taladh Choinnich
Chaidh mo dhonnchadh na bheinn
Caidil a mhorgar, caidil a mhairag
Chailinn thuig a phòg dhomh
Nuair a dh’hasas suas mo leanabh | SA1953/183/1
SA1951/3/A5a
SA56/RL1018/B6
SA1972/163/B4
SA56/RL1017/B1 |
<p>| Allan MacDonald             |                          |                   |
| Norman MacDonald            |                          |                   |</p>
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<td>Neil MacKinnon</td>
<td>Till an crodh, gheibh thu'n crodh (jullab/waulking)</td>
<td>SA1953/22/A2, SA53/RL423/2</td>
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<td>Rena MacLean</td>
<td>Ille bigh gun togainn thu</td>
<td>SA1951/4/B8</td>
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<td>Kirsty MacLennan</td>
<td>Caidill Thusa Luaidh</td>
<td>BBC/15338/B1</td>
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<td>Betsy MacLeod</td>
<td>Taladh Dhomhnaill Ghuirm</td>
<td>SA1958/55/B2</td>
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<td>Tha na feidh am Breigh Uige</td>
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<td>Lala MacLeod</td>
<td>Hobbhan, hobbhan as an cù beag</td>
<td>SA1953/167/6</td>
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<td>Ho leigean, ho m'aighean</td>
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<td>Chaidh mo dhonachadh na bheinn</td>
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<td>Caidil-U-O-Trad</td>
<td>BBC/16424/B</td>
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<td>Viseag bheag dearg</td>
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<td>(children's song)</td>
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<td>Alasdair Boyd</td>
<td>SA1954/154/A1, B5</td>
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<td>Tha'n crodh-laoigh air aodann</td>
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<td>Bidh buarach shioman</td>
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<td>Chuir mi 'n duan suas do Bhelaig</td>
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<td>Gaol a' chruidh, grádh a' chruidh</td>
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<td>Tha bó dhubh agam</td>
<td>SA1967/139/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donald Alasdair Johnson</td>
<td>Cha tig Mor mo bhean dhachaidh</td>
<td>SA1971/8/B12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donald Allan MacDonald</td>
<td>Ba ba mo leanabh bà</td>
<td>SA1963/64/A10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archie MacDonald</td>
<td>Oran ma leanabh Og</td>
<td>SA1956/24/A7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nail I a bho ho hi</td>
<td>SA1953/35/A3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Taladh Dhomhail Ghuirm)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hugh MacEachen</td>
<td>Griogal Cridhe</td>
<td>SA1967/8/A5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morag MacIntyre</td>
<td>'S a' mhadainn mhoich mun eirich grian (Talaidh Chaitriona)</td>
<td>SA1953/9/A4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angus MacKay</td>
<td>Crodh Chailein</td>
<td>SA1960/5/A9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christina MacKay</td>
<td>Cha phòs mi fhìn cha ghabh mi té mhor</td>
<td>SA1964/55/A4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cuir a nall Ailein thu</td>
<td>SA1964/55/A6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nighean donn, nighean donn air</td>
<td>SA1964/55/A5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Text</td>
<td>Reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| D.A. MacQueen      | A‘bheil an wailean  
Us us an each                                                                | SA1963/79/A7            |
| Mary MacRae        | Laoith na h‘róghinn  
Ba ba mo leanu beag  
Cha bhi m‘gadh thaladh  
Ged tha croth chaich air cois  
Mo chubhrachan            | SA1964/62/A11           |
| Peggy MacRae       | A ghaoil lig dhachaigh go’m mhathair mi  
Ba ba mo leanu beag  
Cha bhi m‘gadh thaladh  
Crodh Chailein  
Gille beag o leanabh lag o  
Taladh Choinnich Oig  
Thalaidhinn thu  
Tha Mile long air cuan Eirinn  
Thuirt an gobha fuirichdh mì            | SA1964/62/A6            |
| Penny Morrison     | Bàbà mo leanabh beag  
Cha tig Mor mo bhean dhachaidh  
Ille bhig Oro, Ille bhig Oro            | SA1970/309/12           |
| Peter Morrison     | Ba ba mo leanabh                                                              | SA1966/93/A2            |
| Archie Munro       | O nan caidleadh tu, chuirinn air Lar thu                                     | SA1963/54/A3            |
| Mary Munro         | Ba ba mo leanabh                                                              | SA1966/97/A5            |
| Kate Nicolson      | A ghaoil na dean cadal idir                                                              | SA1970/133/7            |
|                    | Taladh Chriosda                                                             | SA1951/5/A9             |
| Strontian          | Nam bu leam fhìn thalainn thu                                                  | SA1952/73/7             |
| Sutherland         | Crò Chinn t‘Saile                                                             | SA1957/58/10            |
| Tiree              | Cailleach Beinn na Bric ho ro  
Cha tig Mor mo bhean dhachaidh  
Dean an cadalan  
Phuair mi lorg na h‘éal’air an t‘sàmh (Mo chubhrachan)  
Tha fhoinn air an ighinn bhig            | SA1968/39/A4            |
|                    |                                                                            | SA1968/37/A1            |
|                    |                                                                            | SA1968/37/A2            |
|                    |                                                                            | SA1968/31/B3            |
|                    |                                                                            | SA1966/104/B1           |
| Wester Ross        | Dean cadalan sàmhach, a chuailin mo ruin (ibid.)  
O na Dean cadal idir (ibid.)  
(ibid.) (ibid.)            | SA1952/59/1a,1b         |
|                    |                                                                            | SA1957/104/A3           |
|                    |                                                                            | SA1951/45/6a,6b         |
|                    |                                                                            | SA1952/88/B11           |
|                    |                                                                            | SA1957/103/B9           |
|                    |                                                                            | SA1958/169/A10          |

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