Institute for Music Research
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Take a 'B' Out:
Creative Practice in Contemporary Manx Traditional Music

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requirements for the degree Master of Arts
in Ethnomusicology/Transcultural Music Studies

by
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Erklärung

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Würzburg, [Datum] 01.12.2018

ABSTRACT

This thesis is an ethnographic study of musical creativity and creative practice in contemporary, post-revival Manx traditional music, as played and created by bands and individuals who are members of a minority subcultural community in the Isle of Man. Through analysis of CD recordings, supplemented by secondary literature by Manx musicians themselves and information gained from ethnomusicological fieldwork conducting qualitative interviews with some of the most creative contemporary Manx traditional musicians, this study addresses the many factors, including formal Western classical training, that enhance creative potential and influence and encourage traditional musicians in the post-revival community to be creative. I argue that contemporary Manx traditional music is defined by a core ideology of eclecticism and freedom of creative agency, authority, and authenticity; this ideology, and with it the flexible boundaries of the contemporary tradition, is continually shaped and reshaped through creative practice and maintained and valorized by the community.

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1 Introduction

As *Barrule*—an award-winning trio from the Isle of Man (IOM)—concluded their awe-inspiring set at the 2016 'Celtic Classic' festival in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, USA, I immediately began to wonder more about Manx traditional music (MTM)[1]. Where had *Barrule* suddenly come from and what other treasures might be hiding in the Isle of Man? I soon realized that it had not been my first encounter with MTM, however—in both 2004 and 2006, I had seen the award-winning five-piece Manx trad band *King Chiaullee* play at the same festival; they had been fun, *funny,* full of energy, and, most of all, superb and creative musicians. Despite my fondness for the CDs purchased from the band both years, I encountered no other Manx music until 2016, when *Barrule* astounded me with their sheer talent and attractive arrangements of traditional and contemporary MTM. During their set, *Barrule* told the audience of the heavy fog protecting the IOM from invaders, sent down from atop South Barrule by the mythological Celtic deity, Manannan Mec Lir. It was as if the reach of 'Manannan's Cloak' (the fog's colloquial name) extended globally, beyond the Irish Sea, and only *Barrule* could lift it with their music—as if the esoteric and beautiful island that their songs described so well had suddenly been unveiled.

The following day, I would fly to Germany to begin my studies in ethnomusicology at the University of Würzburg; sitting on the plane, I had already decided that my thesis would *have* to be *something* about MTM. After my first field trip to the IOM and the insight gained from interviews with musicians, I discovered that the common approach to creative practice (composing, reinterpreting, arranging) in MTM is supported and encouraged by a liberal ideology that helps to define the contemporary tradition (see Section 3). During my research, I sought to comprehend what 'post-revival', contemporary attitudes toward creativity and resultant creative activities and products reveal about contemporary Manx traditional music in the Isle of Man—what makes MTM a special case among the many 'revived' music traditions around the world. Consequently, this thesis is an in-depth study of the various factors that enable, encourage, enhance and authenticate creative practice in contemporary MTM.

The remainder of the introductory section of this thesis briefly reviews literature from related and relevant areas of ethnomusicological research. Following this, I give an overview

[1] Following the abbreviation ITM for 'Irish traditional music' (Hillhouse 2005, among others). I also use 'trad' (an abbreviation of 'traditional music' commonly used in local discourse throughout the British Isles)—always in reference to MTM, unless otherwise noted; likewise, for the purposes of this thesis, both 'trad musicians' and 'musicians' will refer only to those musicians in the IOM who perform and create MTM, unless otherwise noted.

of the methods I used to gather data for this thesis; here, I clarify some of the parameters of this study and their implications. Finally, I introduce the Isle of Man and summarize the revival of Manx traditional music that occurred from the 1970's until, roughly, the turn of the century.

Section 2 addresses the many factors leading to creative practice within contemporary MTM, focusing mainly on musical training and development of technical, aural, and theoretical music skills, the expansion of one's appreciation for and influence from diverse genres and styles of music, the encouragement to be creative, and various other motivating reasons.

Section 3 expounds upon Section 2 by exploring the creativity-enabling ideological stance embraced by Manx traditional musicians. I explain how creative practice is legitimized through the value placed on creativity and Manx musicians' liberal ideals of authenticity and style. In this way, contemporary Manx 'style' can be given some definition.

In Section 4, I give examples of creativity in practice, using the band *King Chiaullee* as a primary case study, but also giving a brief overview of the creativity that occurs across the spectrum of contemporary MTM. This section focuses on composing, reinterpreting, and arranging as the three main forms of creative practice in MTM.

The final section will conclude by contextualizing my research findings within general, cross-cultural models and concepts of contemporary creativity-enabling ideologies and factors that allow for enhanced creative practice and potential within music cultures.

1.1 Review of related areas of research

There are several dissertations and theses on MTM written by Manx musicians themselves, however, these are generally unpublished. Although much of this (as well as other published) research deals with more historical topics, several studies include certain aspects of contemporary MTM—namely, Russell Cowin's 2007 M.A. thesis on commercial recordings of contemporary MTM; Laura Rowles' 2012 PhD dissertation, which provides an in-depth overview and analysis of the fiddling tradition in the IOM, including limited, but valuable insights on the creative practice of contemporary fiddlers; and Chloë Woolley's 2003 PhD dissertation tackling the revival of MTM, including some examination of trends in the early 'post-revival' (see Section 1.4). These researchers who have contributed to the very limited pool of literature concerning MTM are very involved in the MTM community, therefore giving a profoundly emic perspective to their research. However, no studies dedicated entirely to contemporary MTM, nor to creative practice in MTM have yet been undertaken by anyone.

Surprisingly, literature on MTM is virtually nonexistent in the field of ethnomusicology; this lack of studies of MTM reveals a serious gap in the specific areas of both Celtic music and traditional/folk music studies. The 2003 volume *Celtic Modern: Music at the Global Fringe* (Stokes and Bohlman, et al.) is devoid of any discussion, examination, or even mention of MTM. Although this thesis does not attempt to contextualize MTM within 'the Celtic imaginary', nor to locate "the Celtic within global cultural flows" (Stokes and Bohlman 2003:2), it may nonetheless contribute to filling a gap in the ethnomusicological sub-field of 'Celtic studies', which generally deals with a broad variety of topics concerning the music traditions of 'Celtic nations' (of which the IOM is one). The research findings presented in this thesis supplement previous research on music revival and 'post-revival' (Hill and Bithell 2014) and contemporary ideological stances toward creative practice, defined by 'bricolage', the 'new eclecticism', hybridity (Robinson, Buck and Cuthbert 1991 and Gayraud 2016), and 'global folk music fusions' (Hill 2007), as a result of globalization. For example, Finnish contemporary folk musicians freely and creatively 'mix and match' musical elements inspired by an array of diverse modern and historical/ancient musics from Western and Eastern Europe and elsewhere (Hill 2005:263), an ideology very similar to that held by Manx musicians (see Section 3). My study also adds to the discussion of the relationship between Western classical/'art' music and traditional/folk musics: Nettl (1985) addresses the former's impact on traditional musics in the Middle East, Africa, Asia, and South America, Bohlman (1988) mentions Western classical composers drawing on folk musics as a source of inspiration, and Hill (2005 and 2012) examines the Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department's encouragement of nonconformist, experimental (even avant-garde) creativity, almost in spite of Western classical music's strong limiting of creative practice. My study, however, attempts to illustrate the unique situation in the IOM, in which classical music provides Manx trad musicians with both a valuable learning context and certain tools that enable them to be more creative with MTM in novel and often complex ways (see Sections 2.1.3 and 4).

Furthermore, my study joins existing ethnomusicological literature on various creative generative processes, such as Merriam's (1964) overview of compositional processes and Cowdery's (1984) study of the tune family concept and how new tunes are composed in Irish traditional music. Particularly relevant to this thesis are Colin Quigley's (1995) investigation of creative generative processes in an oral tradition via a detailed and insightful study of Newfoundland fiddler and tune-writer Émile Benoît, Thomas Turino's (1993) in-depth study

of the collective group composition process amongst the Conimeño people in the Peruvian Altiplano, and Juniper Hill's 2005 dissertation on the liberal ideological stance toward creative practice in Finnish contemporary folk music, which shares the most in common with contemporary Manx traditional music. Hill's 2012 essay "Imagining Creativity" and 2018 monograph *Becoming Creative* offer further invaluable and insightful ideas on musical creativity from a comparative global perspective and key concepts about the common factors that enable or inhibit creativity within diverse musical traditions. Despite the lack of academic research on Manx traditional music, there is much to be learned from such a small island music culture; therefore, I hope this study does the contemporary MTM community justice by meaningfully contributing to discussions of musical creativity in general and how creative practice is enabled and allowed to flourish and push the boundaries of traditional music idioms.

1.2 Methodology & resources

Due to the lack of existing academic research on contemporary MTM, it was essential that I conduct fieldwork in the Isle of Man. Since events (concerts, workshops, sessions, festivals, etc.) in the MTM community are not organized on a constant, frequent basis, this made it difficult to plan my fieldwork in coincidence with a multitude of events—I was therefore only able to attend select events, such as *Shennaghys Jiu*, an annual festival that occurred during my second trip to the IOM. Additionally, my initial ideas and questions about contemporary MTM came mostly from commercial CD recordings and their liner notes, and so most of the examples of creative practice given in this thesis come from these recordings rather than from observed live performances. It therefore made more sense to focus my time in the IOM on conducting interviews with those musicians responsible for the recordings, rather than collecting data from live events. In this way, the parameters I placed around the scope of my research made the task of planning the fieldwork much simpler.

I decided to travel to the Isle of Man twice to conduct research: first in September 2017 and again in March/April 2018. In the seminal book on ethnomusicological fieldwork, *Shadows in the Field* (2008), shorter periods of time spent 'in the field' are justified by the normalcy of extended time 'in the field' digitally/online and more frequent trips to the field, "first for 'feasibility' trips, later for follow-up trips" (Barz and Cooley 2008:14). Indeed, by going to the IOM more than once, I was able to first test the practicality of my initial research ideas and questions, exploring the potential direction and scope of my research and any contacts and

source materials of interest. With a better understanding of the topic and aim of my research, my follow-up trip had a more focused approach. Both trips, however, were invaluable and provided the vast majority of the data used in this thesis, much of which came from interviews with some of MTM's most well-known and influential figures, with whom I was privileged enough to conduct informal qualitative interviews. A study of creativie practice in MTM would be impossible without them and the music they make (see Appendix A for more information on my interview partners, to which can be referred at any time while reading this thesis). Over the course of both trips, I conducted interviews with about eighteen individuals, some of them multiple times, and three of them in one group interview; this yielded about twenty hours of recorded audio material from interviews. I decided to conduct qualitative, informal interviews not adhering to a specific questionnaire, but rather allowing the conversation to flow naturally, based around some key questions I conceived during preparation or at the spur of the moment. I manually transcribed the recorded audio and coded relevant data to correspond with the main sections of this thesis. This data was supplemented by CD liner notes and secondary literature (theses, articles, tunebooks, and other publications), which I collected from the archives of the Manx Museum (in Douglas, IOM) or which was in some cases generously given to me by my interview partners in person or via online filesharing. In many ways, my fieldwork continued upon returning from my trips to the field, through the Facebook group 'Manx Music and Dance' (in which news about the MTM community is constantly posted), e-mail correspondence with interview partners, and finding and sorting through further supplementary resources like *Kiaull Manninagh Jiu*, the online Manx music and dance newsletter (from 2006-present).

From my time in the field I learned that one characteristic of contemporary MTM is the broad range of music that is considered to constitute 'MTM', including music for Manx dancing, music for stage performance and studio recording (bands), Manx choirs and vocal music, music for pedagogical purposes, orchestral music, solo piano music, and more. Although I try to relate this by giving a variety of examples of the creative practice observable in various areas of the contemporary tradition, I have mostly limited the scope of my research to the music arranged, composed, performed, and recorded by contemporary Manx trad bands/groups.

Additionally, the normality of 'crossover' between the MTM community and other cultural communities in the IOM, such as the Manx language community and the classical music, religious music, choral music, and theatre communities, and more, is particularly noteworthy. Rather than a multitude of separate, dispersed communities that "wouldn't be

associating with each other," as is the case in larger countries like Ireland and Scotland, in the IOM, there is only one, cohesive MTM community that comprises people involved in a wide-ranging 'melting pot' of cultural activities (Chloë Woolley, personal interview, Sept. 28, 2017; see Appendix A for more information). The strong sense of social cohesion inherent in the close-knit nature of the small MTM community is also at the root of the MTM's progress since the revival, Woolley reasons (Motooka 2016), while I argue that both the MTM community's social cohesion and the frequent crossover between communities are significant factors that shape the core ideology of MTM and enable creative practice (see Section 2). Finally, the small size of the IOM and MTM community was beneficial for fieldwork purposes and makes MTM almost perfect for an ethnographic study at the local community level, as advised by Rice (2010).

1.3 Introduction to the Isle of Man

The Isle of Man is a small island nation uniquely situated in the middle of the Irish Sea, roughly between Northern England and Northern Ireland. Its capital is Douglas (on the eastern coast), and other places of note are Ramsey (in the North), Peel (on the western coast), Port St. Mary and Port Erin (in the South), St. John's (in the middle, between Douglas and Peel), and Castletown, Onchan, and Laxey (all along the eastern coast). Although the IOM is a 'crown dependency' of the U.K., it is technically its own, independent nation internally governed by the Manx democratic parliament, *Tynwald*, which was established by Norse Vikings around the year 1000 and claims to be the oldest continuously running parliament in the world. Vikings ruled the IOM (also called 'Mann' or 'Ellan Vannin') from the ninth to the thirteenth century; during that time it served as the capital of what was known as the 'Kingdom of Mann and the Isles'. Norse influences are still observable today in the form of *Tynwald*, many of the island's place names (such as Douglas, Laxey, and Snaefell), and a certain sense of Viking identity, as demonstrated by the frequent appearance of Viking-related symbols (e.g. longships). In addition, the IOM is counted among the 'Celtic nations'—alongside Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Cornwall, Brittany (France), and Asturia and Galicia (Spain)—due to its ancient history, traditional culture and folklore/mythology, and revived native language (Manx Gaelic). All in all, the IOM has similarities to its neighbors, but its history, landmarks, geography, culture, language, and traditional music and dance all contribute to its curious, unique character.

1.4 The revival & 'post-revival' periods

It is imperative to first understand the revival of MTM, for, arguably, without it, the contemporary tradition would either be nonexistent or much different. The revival became necessary in the latter decades of the twentieth century because, in the fourteenth century, after the rule of the Vikings had ended, England gained control of the Isle of Man, thus beginning a gradual process of 'anglicization' that resulted in the loss of many aspects of traditional Manx culture, including language, customs, and traditional folk music. By the Victorian era, in the 1890s, the IOM had become a very popular tourist destination for the English working classes; this was the final push in the decline of both Manx Gaelic and Manx folk music, which, in order to entertain the island's visitors, had been more or less replaced with the styles of music that were popular in England at the time (Woolley 2003:29-30). At the same time, however, several men with antiquarian interests began to collect traditional music as a hobby, apparently uninfluenced by romantic nationalist or Celticist ideas, but simply inspired by a general sense of (nonpolitical) Manx pride (ibid.:27, 33). They traversed the island transcribing and collecting songs and melodies from the elderly—the only people still capable of performing them from aural memory. The realization that Manx music might soon be lost forever motivated the collectors to double their efforts in order to 'rescue' it from seemingly imminent extinction, and so they raced to preserve, through transcription, what remained of the island's traditional folk music (ibid.:27). The actual revival of MTM, which primarily occurred almost a century later, would not have been possible without the work of Victorian-era collectors, especially Dr. John Clague (and his helpers, brothers J.F. and W. H. Gill), a general practitioner who collected four manuscript books of almost three hundred tunes, now referred to as the Clague Collection (ibid.). These transcriptions provided the 1970s revivalists with a significant corpus of native Manx music that had otherwise been unknown until then, when a group of folk musicians 'rediscovered' the Clague Collection, from which they disseminated a core repertoire of tunes throughout the revivalist community and started playing them at sessions[2]. The tunes and songs[3] found in core revivalist Colin Jerry's seminal tunebooks, *Kiaull yn Theay 1* and *2* (1978 and 1979), which remain a key source for musicians today, mostly come from the Clague Collection. In view of the fact that the original tradition only continued to exist in the form of transcribed musical notation, the revivalists aimed to create a '*new* living tradition' (Jerry 1993:41, my

[2] From ITM, 'sessions' are informal social gatherings (often in a pub) where musicians play trad music together.
[3] The distinction between 'tunes' and 'songs' is important in MTM and related traditions. *Tunes* are instrumental melodies with different types/feels (reel, jig, slipjig, slide, waltz, etc.). *Songs* are sung melodies with a text in Manx, English, or both (macaronic).

emphasis)—for this reason, Rowles chose to describe contemporary MTM as a 'created tradition', rather than a 'revived' one (2012:27)—based on 'grassroots' activities like regular Manx pub sessions and Manx folk dancing groups. Eventually, the movement began to receive government support, which resulted in the founding of the Manx Heritage Foundation (renamed Culture Vannin), which aims to keep traditional music flourishing and relevant by providing the MTM community with educational, performance, and recording opportunities.

Although the collection, preservation, and the eventual revival of MTM occurred much later than the revivals of related music traditions in the British Isles, it is now very much a thriving, modern tradition. Today, it is clear that the revivalist's core goal has been achieved and the revival has come to an end, signaled by a shift in attitude away from 'purity' and 'authenticity' (Woolley 2003:183) and toward innovation and creativity. As suggested by Livingston, "innovation may be an indicator that the revival has moved into a post-revival phase and historical authenticity is no longer an overriding concern" (cited in Hill and Bithell 2014:23-4). At least two facts seem to undoubtedly confirm that MTM has entered into a 'post-revival' phase: that both Woolley (2003) and Rowles (2012) have come to the conclusion in their academic research that the revival phase has ended, and that, as I have learned in my research, innovation is embraced and regarded as an integral aspect of contemporary MTM. Unlike ITM and other related traditions that are still divided in an ongoing debate over the legitimacy of innovation (cf. Vallely 1999), "[the] notion of 'tradition' versus 'innovation' no longer seems to be a contentious issue [in] the Isle of Man" (Rowles 2012:212). Post-revival periods are also often marked by musicians "exploring their individual creativity alongside experimenting with a more eclectic palette of musical idioms, including influences from beyond their own culture" (Hill and Bithell 2014:29); this is the type of ideology and approach toward creative practice that flourishes in contemporary MTM, as I will discuss throughout this thesis.

2 Reasons for creativity

In this section, I will explore *why* contemporary Manx trad musicians engage in creative practice, answering three main questions: What factors within the MTM community lead to creative tendencies amongst musicians? How is creativity encouraged in the contemporary MTM community? What motivations do musicians have for engaging in creative practice? In this thesis, I define *creativity* as the ability and agency to practically employ learned cognitive tools (such as aural skills and/or theoretical knowledge) and 'divergent thinking' (following

Hill's definition: exploring and realizing multiple musical possibilities rather than adhering to one 'correct' model (Hill 2018:6)) to one's music-making, thereby yielding music that is in some way original. I define *creative practice* as using one's creativity to engage in the processes of composing, reinterpreting, and arranging music (the three main forms of creative practice in MTM, as I argue in Section 4). This contrasts somewhat with Hill's definition of creativity as a process rather than an ability that can be used in practice (cf. Hill 2012:87).

I have chosen to begin with what I perceive to be the vital, initial source of creativity in MTM—an individual's musical background and training. The various factors that constitute 'musical background and training' form a figurative 'toolbox' of musical ideas, skills, and knowledge that is subconsciously accessed during creative practice. Hill (2018) points to six 'skill sets'—among them technique, aural skills, musical vocabulary, memory facility, and the ability to practically apply one's understanding of music theory—that enable creativity in musicians around the globe (Hill 2018:28); these are skills that I consider to belong to one's 'musical toolbox'. In her 2005 study of Finnish contemporary folk music, Hill uses the term 'toolbox' or 'bag of tricks', as used by the Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department to connote various arranging techniques which one can *consciously* employ in creative practice (Hill 2005:266). While it is conceptually similar, the way I use 'musical toolbox' in reference to MTM describes a highly individualized, generally subconsciously accessed and employed collection of skills, knowledge, and influences. Beyond musical training and background, there are individual reasons for engaging in creative practice that are perhaps more consciously decided; these, too, are essential factors that must not be ignored, for these are the musicians' *motivations*. Overall, as Hill points out, "many factors influencing creativity are specific to particular cultural contexts" (Hill 2018:2); therefore, understanding the many pedagogical and environmental factors developed during and since the revival of MTM is paramount, as they contribute to the uniquely Manx way of thinking about and engaging in creative practice.

2.1 Development of technical, aural, theoretical, and group playing skills & exposure to diverse musical influences

One of the most basic factors enabling Manx trad musicians' creativity is their musical training, which can occur in both informal and formal contexts. The *informal* might consist of observing at performances, sessions, and dance group rehearsals the creative processes of others and then, either immediately or at a later time, emulating them. The *formal* might entail 'classical training'

or prompted exercises in creativity in various contexts. The vast majority of those who engage in creative practice have developed as musicians from a combination of simultaneous experiences in both contexts—another indication of the *crossover* mentioned in Section 1.2. In fact, only about five of my eighteen interview partners underwent informal training alone; they represent a rare exception in post-revival, contemporary MTM and show that formal training is not necessary—it simply offers a different perspective and set of skills and knowledge that can lead to different creative results. In general, a Manx trad musician's musical background and training usually includes playing music informally with others; participating in informal workshops, clubs, and youth groups; receiving classical training both in school and privately; playing in orchestras and other classical music ensembles; and experiencing influential international festivals in the IOM and abroad.

2.1.1 Manx dancing & sessions

Two of the core activities in the MTM community are accompanying traditional Manx dancing and playing a similar repertoire of tunes at pub sessions. They are also the two most important informal learning contexts for beginners, as these experiences impart to an individual the core repertoire of traditional Manx tunes and songs, a genuine understanding of and respect for the tradition, as well as aural, rhythmic, and group playing skills. The majority of those I interviewed had at one point played for one or more dance groups, and many of them still do. Gilno Carswell (see Appendix A) describes playing the accompanying Manx trad tunes for Manx dance groups as being 'major' to one's musical development (personal interview, April 5, 2018). Influential musician Greg Joughin (see Appendix A) had originally formed dance group *Perree Bane*, for which many talented musicians have played. Other musicians, including the members of influential late-revival period band *Mactullagh Vannin*, have played for *Ny Fennee*, a dance group based in Ramsey; more recently, Graínne Joughin's (see Appendix A) dance group, *Skeddan Jiarg*, based in Peel, has provided a new space for young musicians to learn and play MTM together. Manx dancing requires playing the traditional tunes in a basic, steady manner with little room for creative variation: "Basically, you can't play them too fast or too slow, because people have got to dance to them. Too fast and they can't—their feet won't move quick enough. Too slow and you can't hold yourself in the air that long. So, it's sort of *locked*, in a way" (Greg Joughin, personal interview, September 26, 2017). Although this conservative aspect of MTM may superficially appear to limit musical creativity, it provides

musicians with rudimentary musical skills that are honed through repetition, creative inspiration and influence from role models and friends, and a core foundation from which to then diverge through creative practice. Playing for Manx dancing, musicians are required to repeat a given tune many times, allowing them to very thoroughly learn the core repertoire of tunes, and the straightforward performance style used to accompany dancing also allows musicians to able to hone their rhythmic and technical instrumental skills (Katie Lawrence, personal interview, April 8, 2018). Additionally, playing in this context teaches young musicians to 'blend' with other musicians in the group. Through all of this, they gain the confidence to improvise contrapuntal variations of the melody and experiment with harmony. Another unique quality of the MTM community and the Manx dancing and session contexts is that it is normal for musicians of all ages and levels of experience to play together: "[I]f you look at the *ceilidhs*[4] and the things that we go to, it's adults and children. It's not something that adults do that children know nothing about. It's a mixed thing, so […] they feel quite at home with the adults" (Clare Kilgallon, cited in Lewis 2004:248). Obviously, this has a very positive effect on younger, less experienced musicians who are able to witness, learn from, and be inspired by the older musicians; it also means that they are seen as equals in these contexts, playing right alongside the older musicians, who are at once their mentors, role models, and peers. However, peers and friends of the same age can be a 'major boon' to one's musical development, making trad music more accessible, and giving one the confidence to engage in creative practice (Gilno Carswell, personal interview, April 5, 2018). Not only do friends increase the *accessibility* of MTM, one of main the arguments in favor of creative practice's value (Section 3), but they also make playing trad music more *fun*, both a reason in itself for being creative and a factor contributing to the development of musical skills and the maintenance of a creativity-enabling community—having fun with friends while 'musicking' increases one's confidence to be creative (see Section 2.3).

Older members of the MTM community who exhibit creativity are not only invaluable role models for younger musicians, but also a way of gauging one's own creative practice. For Katie Lawrence (see Appendix A), playing for the dance group *Ny Fennee* gave her the support to begin composing as a teenager, as she was encouraged by the older members and leaders of

[4] An informal social gathering at which a group of musicians accompanies participatory 'set dancing' (the instructions for which are 'called' by a specified individual). This is common to most folk music traditions in the British Isles, all of which have corresponding folk dancing traditions with unique Manx, Irish, Cornish, etc. dances.

the group to write tunes for new dances (personal interview, April 8, 2018). Moreover, the repertoire of *Ny Fennee* includes many original tunes by Manx whistle player and prolific tune-writer Peddyr Cubberley; Katie believes that being around Peddyr and playing his tunes subconsciously led her to feel it was acceptable to write her own tunes (ibid.). On the other hand, one can be more consciously influenced by older role models; this was the case with Matt Kelly (see Appendix A), whose trad guitar style was heavily impacted by observing, imitating, and being inspired by Greg Joughin's guitar playing in *Perree Bane* and The Mollag Band (personal interview, April 7, 2018). As a newcomer to MTM, learning from local role models was important for Matt's development as a competent accompanist for Manx dancing, sessions, and in his creative pursuits with *King Chiaullee*. Although the influence of role models is possible outside of Manx dancing and session contexts by seeing live performances at festivals or other events (see Section 2.1.2) or by listening to recordings, personal interaction and playing with creative role models seems to be the most enabling form of inspiration; due to the MTM community's small size, this opportunity is almost always available to young musicians.

Another key factor in playing for Manx dancing and at sessions is that, in conjunction with those already mentioned, it can foster divergent thinking. With the repertoire and style of playing for Manx dancing serving as a foundation of the tradition, musicians often find themselves wanting to try something different, for various reasons. One reason is that the repetitive nature of playing for Manx dancing can quickly become boring for musicians; as a result, "You kind of start playing with things, trying to create harmonies; harmonies bring up other ideas" (Gilno Carswell, personal interview, April 5, 2018). From this process of creative discovery typically comes an even stronger desire to be creative, and, eventually, a clearer idea of *how* to go about doing so, as David Kilgallon clarifies: "We [*King Chiaullee*] knew what sort of things we were trying to get out of the music that we'd learned [at Manx dancing]" (personal interview, September 22, 2017). I discuss all of this in more detail in Section 2.3.

Finally, innovations to the Manx dancing tradition have occurred since the post-revival—namely the all-girls dance group *Perree T*, who scandalously wore short skirts and T-shirts rather than the traditional Manx dancing outfits and created new, highly technical, choreographed dances based on Manx dancing and related dance traditions (Hayes 2008). Such innovations were sparked by a subconscious desire to do something *different* as a form of self-expression and coincidentally began as *King Chiaullee* began to find its way creatively, growing out of the same desire to do something new (Graínne Joughin, personal interview, September

24, 2017). The community's acceptance of *Perree T*'s innovations as legitimate was very influential for dancers and musicians alike—other dance groups began creating new dances, which required new tunes to be written; this not only gave musicians the incentive and opportunity to compose, but it also established the value of creativity in contemporary MTM.

It would appear that Manx dancing is the more popular venue for participating in MTM, but sessions offer a similar environment. Manx sessions can be quite varied in repertory, although the core repertoire of Manx tunes is the focus. Like Manx dancing, musicians of any level of experience and skill play alongside each other, the more experienced ones typically guiding the session and determining which tunes will be played (Lewis 2004). During both of my trips to the IOM, I observed and participated in several Manx sessions, at each of which there were visiting musicians, who, as Lewis (2004) observes, played tunes from the repertoire of their home tradition or tunes they learned from other traditions. This is common practice at Manx sessions, where musicians 'mix it up' to keep it interesting, playing Manx tunes that everyone will know, some from further afield (like Irish, Scottish, Welsh, Cornish, or Breton tunes), and perhaps even some original tunes. David Kilgallon (see Appendix A) and talented fiddler and tune-writer Tom Callister are very popular at sessions due to their skill at leading sessions in this manner (personal interviews, 2017 and 2018). Paul Rogers is an enthusiastic session-goer who incorporates his liberal ideological stance (see Section 3) into sessions, playing tunes from all over the world and then bringing it back to home with popular Manx tunes. From these illustrations, it should be clear that sessions offer musicians an important context in which to share and experience a diverse selection of tunes and practice one's group playing, aural, and technical skills, all of which are substantial factors in the development of one's musicianship and creativity. Importantly, these experiences demonstrate to younger musicians some of the creative possibilities when creating a 'set' (a group of two or three tunes that are strung or arranged together, usually in a very basic way at sessions and in more complex ways by bands). This means that one is able to witness the older, more experienced musicians' creative linking of tunes into sets, learn tunes in diverse styles, and develop aural skills (required for adapting to tune changes and spontaneously learning unfamiliar tunes). Even though age restrictions are nowadays more strictly enforced by Manx pubs (meaning younger musicians often cannot attend Manx pub sessions in the evening or at night), there are other venues for sessioning designed specifically for younger musicians, such as the *Bree* youth movement (see

Section 2.2.1). Sharing or 'swapping', and learning and being exposed to new tunes and music from other traditions and styles also commonly occurs at festivals, both in the IOM and abroad.

2.1.2 Festivals & exposure to different musics

> That's one of the biggest impacts, because you hear the tunes of other people, and you hear tunes from other countries, and you make friends with people, and they come over to the *Chruinnaght* every year. (Katie Lawrence, personal interview, April 8, 2018)

Yn Chruinnaght (now renamed 'Celtic Gathering') has been a prominent festival on the island for decades, featuring competitions that emphasize creativity (Section 2.2.2) and creative performances by bands from the IOM, neighboring countries, and countries further afield, as well as renowned trad/Celtic bands like Capercaillie and Altan. As with other such festivals in the IOM, sessions typically occur late into the night, giving Manx musicians the opportunity to play and swap tunes with international visitors. Another prominent festival, *Shennaghys Jiu*, aims to make MTM more accessible to young people by showing off young musicians' talent and creativity. Both *Shennaghys Jiu* and *Yn Chruinnaght* are noteworthy in that they act as a 'way in' to trad music, and many musicians begin to attend and participate in them at a very young age (personal interviews, 2017 and 2018). Not only that, but early exposure to all sorts of music and high caliber musicians at festivals can significantly impact young musicians' creative tastes and ideas, showing them the vast range of creative possibilities (Rowles 2012). For example, the members of *King Chiaullee* stress the significance of experiencing the innovative Breton band Forzh Penaos at *Yn Chruinnaght* 1994 and their subsequent major influence on *King Chiaullee*, who were impressionable young (twelve and thirteen-year-old) musicians already displaying creative tendencies (personal interviews, 2017 and 2018).

While festivals offer musicians the chance to witness performances by talented and unique bands and even to perform on the same stage as them, thus inspiring them to put their best creative efforts forward, it is often the social-musical aspect that is most impactful for many. However, some people feel that *Yn Chruinnaght* has now become too professionalized and the social aspect of the festival, in terms of making friends, playing in sessions, and participating in competitions and *cèilidhs*, has diminished (personal interviews 2017 and 2018). Breesha Maddrell (see Appendix A) defends the situation, however, by highlighting one of the reasons for the festival's changes—increased performance opportunities for Manx bands throughout the entire year—thus disclosing a more positive implication for the MTM community in general (personal interview, April 9, 2018). Despite changes, many of my

younger interview partners still agreed that the festival has been an impactful experience. Also, friends made at festivals in the IOM and abroad (particularly in Cornwall) still come to the island each year for festivals like *Yn Chruinnaght* and *Shennaghys Jiu*; in this way, festivals are crucial to cultivating long-lasting friendships that are a source of musical inspiration and a helpful connection for securing gigs and other opportunities.

In order to discover new and inspiring music, make new musical friends, and promote their own music, musicians have regularly made the trek to festivals in Cornwall, Wales, Scotland, Brittany, Ireland, and elsewhere. *King Chiaullee* began going to Lowender Peran, a Celtic festival in Cornwall, at the age of fifteen or sixteen (Gilno Carswell, personal interview, April 5, 2018), where they would perform as a band and as accompanists for *Perree T*, participate in the many sessions and various events, learn and compose new tunes, and form lasting friendships (personal interviews, 2017 and 2018). Since traditional dancing is often a main feature at festivals, Manx dance groups have also been invaluable to many musicians by giving them the opportunity to go to festivals and where they also attend sessions and learn from other traditions. In general, the lasting impression from these experiences could not be stressed enough by my interview partners.

Whether in the IOM or at any number of festivals elsewhere, purchasing and/or swapping CDs provides another particularly valuable resource. For Russell Cowin (see Appendix A), "spending all of [his] money on just getting a load of CDs" was a major part of going to Lorient and other festivals, particularly because different types of folk musics from around the world were, at the time, not available in the IOM or online (personal interview, September 25, 2017). The members of *King Chiaullee* recall passing between themselves cassettes and CDs that they found particularly inspiring and interesting, such as those by innovative bands like Forzh Penaos, Shooglenifty, Kíla, and Flook (personal interviews, 2017 and 2018). Most Manx trad musicians have very eclectic listening tastes, and the musics that influence them are not restricted to 'trad music', but include various styles of pop, rock, metal, 'world music', dance/electronica, jazz, classical, and more. These are often the kinds of influences that find their way into musicians' creative processes and give their music innovative qualities (see Section 4). With a band like *King Chiaullee*, an ethos of 'everything and anything' is particularly apparent in their music and was also confirmed by the band:

> We've all got interests in different music, so we all tried to bring some of that into what we were doing, so everything, anything—there's jazz, classical, world music. I think

> we all really loved Breton music. […] Just listening to anything, just trying to pick up little bits which interested us. (Gilno Carswell, personal interview, April 5, 2018)

Russell Cowin half-jokes that "You just kind of plagiarize—like all good musicians, I suppose […] You just beg, steal, and borrow the bits that amuse you, that's it" (personal interview, Sept. 25, 2017). As was often the case, *King Chiaullee* liked to have fun and 'just biff around' (ibid.); in order to amuse themselves, they adopted an 'anything goes' mentality (see Section 2.3.2). Breesha Maddrell argues that every musical influence one has ever heard or experienced forms one's musical background and subconsciously affects creativity (personal interview, April 9, 2018); this points to the previously mentioned concept of the 'musical toolbox', of which musical influences are a component. Whereas Matt Kelly initially came from a rock music background, and so he "would be listening to […] [The] Beatles and Jimi Hendrix and trying to throw anything [he] could in" to the music he made with *King Chiaullee* (personal interview, April 6, 2018), Gilno Carswell's eclectic taste in music could be partially attributed to the prior musical exposures and listening preferences of his family members, such as his father, Bob Carswell (see Appendix A), who grew up listening to a diverse array of musics on the radio, including Indian classical music (Bob Carswell, personal interview, April 9, 2018). In this way, families (and friends) are integral to one's musical and creative development in MTM, as they can inspire and encourage eclectic listening tastes and influences, thus significantly (and usually unintentionally) shaping one's personal musical toolbox. Bob Carswell's remark that "the idea of only liking one sort of music is a bit strange" (ibid.) is echoed by David Kilgallon, who asserts that to "draw on lots of different backgrounds [is] what makes you a musician in the first place" (personal interview, September 22, 2017). David adds that *King Chiaullee* was "armed with whatever things [they]'d learned"; this is particularly apparent in the obvious influence of Eastern European, Western classical music, and Breton and Irish trad music, among others (see Section 4). Russell Cowin also explains that, although the members of *King Chiaullee* were grounded in MTM through playing for Manx dancing and at sessions and *cèilidhs*, there was substantial crossover between other types of music (as mentioned in Section 1.2), including making music in rock bands, jazz bands, orchestras, Manx choirs, and at church and at home, among other contexts; all of these diverse experiences contributed to their store of musical knowledge and influence and would eventually significantly impact their creativity within MTM. Although I feel it is often best exemplified by *King Chiaullee*, this broad range

of musical activities and influences is the case for most Manx trad musicians, many of whom share in common a background in Western classical music.

2.1.3 Classical training & ensembles

One of the most profound influences on Manx trad musicians is the formal 'classical' training (in Western classical music theory, technique, and repertoire) available to young people in the IOM. Since 1969, the Isle of Man government has financed a Music Service that offers free lessons from peripatetic teachers and instruments that can be rented for an affordable fee; this means that all children, "regardless of their financial status," are able to access the benefits of classical training (Rowles 2012:166-7), and most musicians take advantage of this to varying degrees. Lessons adhere to the syllabi for ABRSM[5] exams, imparting knowledge of music theory and enhancing instrumental technique on one's chosen instrument(s)[6]. The Music Service also offers an array of ensembles[7] with enthusiastic and encouraging leaders and opportunities to perform on the island and abroad. The Youth Orchestra in particular has been a continually valuable and impactful context in which trad musicians can utilize their classical training, gain experience playing with a group, and expand their musical repertoire (Maddrell 2012a). Those who have received some amount of classical training have a very positive opinion of its impact on themselves as individuals, on the MTM community, and on MTM in general. Some of them, like Katie Lawrence, are even the second or third generation within a family to have strong backgrounds in both classical and trad music (personal interview, 2017 and 2018). Katie clearly delineates the contexts of the classical 'discipline' and the more informal trad scene, where "you can do what you want" (personal interview, April 9). However, she acknowledges that the skills acquired from both backgrounds overlap and that "one would help the other"; for example, through classical training, improved technical skills can allow one to play "tricky tunes," and the aural transmission of trad tunes is simplified when combined with the ability to easily sight-read musical notation (ibid.). Breesha Maddrell notes that, while it is just as important to have musicians who were not classically trained contributing to and

[5] The system of 'grades' (Grade 1 being beginner-level and Grade 8 the highest achievable level) created and maintained by the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music, in London. Each grade has a corresponding exam; the certificate received from passing an exam proves an individual's achieved level of 'classical training' (as it is called in the IOM and the British Isles).

[6] The Music Service offers violin, viola, cello, double bass, piano, guitar, and all woodwinds and brass

[7] Youth Wind Orchestra, Youth Guitar Ensemble, Youth Jazz Orchestra, Youth (String) Orchestra, and Children's Choir, among others.

participating in the tradition, classical training "makes it easier to write [music] down," adding that "it's quite helpful to have people who *scribe* things and can record them in another way" (personal interview, April 9, 2018). In her case, this has aided her creative practice in various bands and in the task of transcribing modern Manx tunes, which she undertook as editor of the *Kiaull yn Theay 3* and *4* (2009 and 2011) tunebooks produced by the Manx Heritage Foundation.

Alongside classical training through the Music Service, many young musicians opt to study music for their GCSE[8] and A level[9]. The music courses at this level often directly encourage creativity, as students are required to create complex and original compositions and arrangements in various styles for class projects. Not only does this teach young musicians to arrange in complex ways (using harmonies, 'polyphonic textures', and more), but it presents them with the challenge of engaging in creative practice at a high level of complexity, thus giving them more confidence to continue to do on their own (Isla Callister, personal interview, April 4, 2018). School projects and prompts allow one to exercise and explore one's creativity within certain set boundaries, in various styles, and sometimes in collaboration with classmates. This is imperative for young musicians, for early immersion in and positive experiences with the creative process encourages one to create music outside of school and gives one the knowledge, experience and skills to do so. Furthermore, students in these courses (as well as in private classical lessons, orchestra, and other ensembles) are exposed to all styles and eras of Western classical music, as well as jazz, musical theater, choral music, and more. Gilno Carswell reckons this aspect of one's classical training in the IOM is one of the factors most important to an individual's creative development:

> What makes you more creative? I think we might be coming back to the orchestra again. 'Cause when you're learning an instrument classically, you don't just do straight classical—you'll be doing all sorts of little influences. […] You might look at show tunes, you might look at something quite Baroque—there's a whole array of things you'd probably play through. (personal interview, April 5, 2018)

Parts of the A level music syllabus focus on ragtime, early blues, Gerschwin, and Russian composers like Shostakovich and Prokofiev (Matt Kelly, personal interview, April 6, 2018). The music *King Chiaullee* learned and played in these courses and in the orchestra remained a key source of musical influence and inspiration. Due to *King Chiaullee*'s trad music background,

[8] General Certificate of Secondary Education—received after passing exams in individually chosen topics of study, taken at age 15-16 in secondary school.
[9] Advanced level—an optional additional two years of school, studying a select few individually chosen core subjects after achieving one's GCSE.

their aural skills and memories were more honed than the typical classically trained musician, who would rely on notation; as a result, they were able to memorize passages or even complete pieces, which they then used as warm-ups before gigs and played for their own amusement between tunes at *cèilidhs* and other occasions (ibid.):

> Dave [Kilgallon] and Adam [Rhodes] would be pulling off all these classical moves, like two-part violin, […] playing all this spot-on classical stuff […] I remember them pulling off an absolutely blinding 'Star Wars' rendition once of all the key bits […] [They were] in the parade [at the Lowender Peran festival] in Cornwall playing this, just for a laugh. It [was] like, "Where's it from??"—"Ahh, we played it in the orchestra!" So, there was a lot of that *crossover* for years. (ibid.)

Although most Manx trad musicians demonstrate it to some degree in their creative practice, *King Chiaullee* are particularly well-known for their incorporating into their arrangements various musical elements discovered through their experiences with classical music and other genres (like jazz, ragtime, showtunes, etc.); one of the most obvious examples of this is their adaptation of Bartók's 'Romanian Folk Dances' (see Section 4).

An enriched understanding of music theory can unlock the creative potential of each tune and each set during the composing and arranging processes (see Section 4); for example, *King Chiaullee*'s knowledge of music theory allowed them to "translate [new ideas] into something a bit more practical" (Gilno Carswell, personal interview, April 5, 2018). Classical training also helps determine the range of creative possibilities in MTM and can increase the accessibility of MTM (see Section 3), because it gives musicians the freedom to experiment with more complex musical elements or to bring MTM "into another sphere", such as church organ or orchestral music (Breesha Maddrell, personal interview, April 9, 2018). Many of my interview partners would agree with Rowles' (2012) observation that classical training has "contributed to a general rise in the technical standard of playing amongst the younger generations[,] […] pushed the boundaries of what Manx fiddlers are able to accomplish with the given repertoire, and has also ensured that a higher level of technical expertise is required to play some of the compositions of contemporary fiddlers" (her study focuses solely on Manx fiddling, so I suggest replacing 'fiddlers' with 'trad musicians') (Rowles 2012:167). I find this best summarizes classical training's profound impact on one's technical skill and theoretical knowledge (and the ability to apply it), which in turn enables the initial generation and successful execution of more complex musical ideas during creative practice. In conclusion, classical training can profoundly affect an individual Manx trad musician's creativity by

providing a certain set of advanced musical tools and a wider range of musical influences, both of which can better enhance creative potential with trad music.

2.2 Encouragement of creativity

In Manx traditional music, creative practice is often directly encouraged, both formally and informally, and in various contexts other than those already discussed in Section 2.1 (Manx dancing, sessions, and classical training). These contexts are significant in the way they foster and enable individual and group creativity.

2.2.1 *Bree*

Certainly one of the most impactful developments in the MTM community is Culture Vannin's '*Bree* Manx music and dance youth movement'. *Bree* (meaning 'Vitality' in Manx Gaelic) is free to join; it organizes various events and opportunities throughout the year for busking, performing at community events, and learning trad music in a session environment. While sessions typically occur once a month, the main event is the annual 'Big *Bree* Workshop Weekend', at which a rotating lineup of voluntary tutors (including many of my interview partners) teaches youngsters (ages 10-18), both beginner-level or more experienced, to play trad instruments, sing in Manx, dance traditional Manx dances, as well as write songs and tunes, arrange sets, and more. The goal of *Bree* is to "provide an opportunity for young people to learn from experienced musicians and also come together to form friendships, swap ideas and learn from each other" (Yates 2006b:1). *Bree* serves as a comprehensive learning environment that combines the informal learning contexts of the session, Manx dancing, and the workshop.

The ways in which those who participate in the annual *Bree* workshops are encouraged to be creative allows them to gain the skills, experience, and motivation to continue to engage in creative practice outside of the *Bree* context. In 2009, *Bree* organizers introduced to the workshop a new composing group, which tasks individuals with writing original tunes "in a Manx idiom" (Maddrell 2009:3). Many compositions by *Bree* participants, such as 'The Breton Manx Air' by César Joughin, are published in the *Kiaull yn Theay 4* (2011) tunebook (Maddrell 2011a:11), as well as in the *Kiaull Manninagh Jiu* online newsletter; this has undoubtedly encouraged young people to compose more, knowing that their tunes will be accepted and valued by the MTM community. With the publication of this most recent volume of *Kiaull yn Theay*, the *Bree* workshop weekend in 2011 emphasized contemporary, recently composed music, both by learning, arranging, and performing tunes and songs published in *Kiaull yn*

Theay 3 (2009) and *4*, and by composing brand new tunes and songs (Maddrell 2011b:2). Since then, newer Manx tunes have been popular at *Bree* workshops and sessions, inspiring current bands like *Scran*, who formed within *Bree* in 2014, to perform newer tunes in their live sets[10].

In order to aid young musicians in creatively arranging sets of tunes, Chloë Woolley (see Appendix A) designed the book '*Bree* Session Tunes'. Used primarily at the monthly *Bree* sessions, this spiral-bound book's pages are divided into three separate sections—each featuring a different tune—that can be individually flipped at random or as one wishes. This allows one to easily 'mix and match' over eighty traditional and contemporary Manx tunes into unique combinations of three (or two) tunes per set, thus facilitating the creative arranging process; although in some ways restrictive, "[It's a] bit of fun. There's a randomness about it—[…] things they might not try normally" (Chloë Woolley, personal interview, Sept. 28, 2017). In addition to notated resources like the *Bree* session tunebook and the newer volumes of *Kiaull yn Theay*, which inspire and motivate young musicians to engage in the creative processes of arranging and composing, simply having some of MTM's most creative musicians as tutors has been very encouraging and inspiring for young musicians, allowing them to 'unlock' the creative process of tune-writing and arranging and giving them the confidence to do so on their own (Breesha Maddrell, personal interview, April 9, 2018).

Groups at *Bree* workshops are often encouraged to incorporate non-trad songs or melodies into their sets: for example, in 2014, one group arranged César Joughin's 'Breton Manx Air' (2009) with 'Seven Nation Army' by The White Stripes, while another arranged trad Manx dance tune 'Gorse Sticks' with trad Manx song '*Mannan Veg Veen'* and pop-rock song 'I'm Gonna Be (500 Miles)' by The Proclaimers (Maddrell 2014:3). While perhaps quite unusual in other trad musics, this practice of combining trad material with 'non-trad' material frequently occurs in contemporary MTM (see Sections 3 and 4). *Bree* tutors, especially Paul Rogers (see Appendix A), "always […] encourage [experimentation], and encourage [pupils] to go mad and put different styles of music together" (Breesha Maddrell, personal interview, April 9, 2018). This is an approach to arranging that has had an immense impact on contemporary MTM in general (see Section 3). Since *Bree* started in 2006, it has had a profound and lasting influence on talented and creative young musicians like Beccy Hurst, Isla Callister, César Joughin, Daniel Quayle[11], and Tom Callister, among others. Particularly in a changing

[10] Such as Gilno Carswell's '*Sac'* (1995), as I observed at the *Shennaghys Jiu* 2018 Peel Centenary Centre concert
[11] All of four of whom I met and socialized with at *Shennaghys Jiu* 2018

era of MTM in which sessions are no longer as feasible for or as popular among the youth as they had been during the revival and early post-revival (see Section 2.1.1), *Bree* functions as an invaluable source of creative inspiration and development. It provides contemporary MTM with a key informal learning context where all creative ideas are accepted and encouraged, all aspects of 'trad' Manx culture (music, dance, language, poetry, and drama) coexist and are exercised in creative ways, and where young musicians learn from the community's most creative musicians the confidence and skills to be creative.

2.2.2 School

In the IOM, schools have regularly been a place of forming musical friendships and of individual musical development and discovery. Although closely connected with the IOM Music Service (and thus classical music), there have been several key instances of the formation of a Manx trad music group in public schools. Many of my interview partners have mentioned Mike Boulton, a former primary school teacher and folk musician in Ramsey who led a trad group called *Share na Veg* at the *Bunscoill Rhumsaa* (Ramsey Primary School) for decades, as well as a school trad group for teenagers called *Bee er dthy Hwoaie*. His group teaching method has provided musicians with the encouragement and basic skills needed to continue playing trad music in junior and secondary school groups and outside of school (Yates 2003). Another trad school group, *Paitchyn Vannin*, was formed in the 1980s at Ramsey Grammar School (secondary school) at the encouragement of Dr. Fenella Bazin (Rowles 2012:48), a music teacher and Manx music historian. During two of the group's peak lineups during the early post-revival, they performed at two prestigious venues (Royal Albert Hall in 1994 and Millennium Dome in 2000) (ibid.). The first of the two lineups (consisting of Katie Lawrence, her sister Kirsty Lawrence, and Cinzia Curtis [Yates], among others) released an album on tape cassette in 1995 called 'Fragments', which features creative arrangements heavily influenced by popular '80s Manx trad band *Mactullagh Vannin* as well as some original compositions. Perhaps because *Paitchyn Vannin* was a group of Ramsey-based teenage girls, while *King Chiaullee* was a group of Douglas/Onchan-based boys, the two groups felt they were friendly rivals. Although that lineup of *Paitchyn Vannin* did not stay together after school, the boys, who were and still are best friends, continued on to release three CDs, perform internationally, and receive prestigious awards. *King Chiaullee* was formed out of a school trad group mentored

by Cristl Jerry[12] at St. Ninian's High School. Although she was sometimes a bit more inhibiting than encouraging of their creativity, they respected her guidance, and she helped to bolster their foundation in the traditional repertoire (Gilno Carswell, personal interview, April 5, 2018). Shrugging aside her 'purist' criticism, the setting of the school trad group allowed them to realize group creative aspirations and to independently encourage each other to be creative.

More recently, Paul Rogers has been running a school trad club simply called 'Club Kiaull' ('Music Club') at QEII (Queen Elizabeth II) High School, in Peel. The club invites any interested students to jam on a variety of trad and rock/pop instruments in a school music room (while also conversing, and maybe singing, in Manx—but this is not a requirement to join in). Club Kiaull provides a relaxed, fun, group environment that embraces and encourages creativity, exploration, experimentation, and fusion with a diversity of musical styles and influences (Isla Callister, personal interview, April 4, 2018). Isla Callister (see Appendix A) duly recognizes Paul's influence via his encouragement to be creative in any way, with an 'anything goes' attitude (see Section 3); as a teenager, this significantly boosted Isla's creative confidence (ibid.). In Club Kiaull and the young trad bands *Scran* and *Tree Cassyn* (both mentored by Paul Rogers) Paul emphasizes not only that they have fun and do not "take [themselves] too seriously" (ibid.), but that they are free to be creative however ways they want, such as by freely employing elements of any and all musical influences. In such informal contexts where this ideology is advocated and imparted to young people, musical explorations and creative practice thrive; furthermore, this ideology is a prevalent and idiom-defining aspect of MTM (see Section 3).

Elsewhere, Culture Vannin has been taking strides to increase the amount of traditional music education in the island's public schools. Working with the Music Service, they have devised and implemented several school music books, for use by music teachers who typically do not have much (or any) experience with trad music. While many of these books are beginner-level 'tutors' for a certain instrument, such as whistle and fiddle, they include prompts and exercises in composition. The more advanced 'Manx Music: Key Stage 3' (2005) book gives an overview of the musical history of the IOM, reviews instruments commonly associated with trad music, incorporates various exercises in composition (and a section entirely devoted to composition), and includes a CD with listening examples. One of the main objectives of this book is that, "using the time signatures and modes associated with Manx folk music, students should choose elements and compose their own melody […] using the suggested framework"

[12] Wife of Colin Jerry, the core revivalist who published the seminal *Kiaull yn Theay 1* and *2* tunebooks

(Woolley 2005:i). It is noteworthy that the book directly imparts the MTM community's ideology (see Section 3) that "There are no boundaries to the way Manx folk tunes should be played"—for instance, "Some bands play [MTM] with popular instruments or experiment with modern styles" (ibid.:10). Finally, the book suggests that pupils' "Compositions and performances could be entered in the annual *Cruinnaght Aeg* children's competitions" and "Songs composed in Manx Gaelic could be entered for the Manx section ['*Arrane son Mannin*'] of the Pan-Celtic Song Contest" (ibid.:vi). These resources are clearly aimed toward making MTM accessible to more young people; the hope is that those not yet involved in the MTM community might be motivated to participate in the Manx Folk Awards and, perhaps, *Bree* and other trad music groups and activities, while those already involved in MTM can benefit from exercises in composition and the reinforcement of MTM's creativity-enabling ideology.

2.2.3 Workshops & competitions

Several workshops and competitions that take place in the MTM community encourage creativity. One of these is the Manx Folk Awards, an annual children's Manx trad music competition, in which two 'classes' are 'Original composition in a Manx idiom'[13] and 'Original song on a Manx theme'; pupils who compose tunes and songs in private lessons or in school music classes are encouraged to perform them in the competition. Ruth Keggin (see Appendix A), who was an adjudicator at the 2018 Folk Awards, describes the competition as a consistently positive and encouraging event that promotes an 'anything goes' mentality (personal interview, March 28, 2018). Although composition/songwriting 'classes' are still relatively new to the competition, young musicians have successfully competed with their own, original tunes and songs, and creativity is increasingly becoming a main aspect of the competition. Meanwhile, the acceptance of participants playing 'non-trad' instruments, like saxophone and trombone, demonstrates the flexible boundaries of MTM (see Section 3). When the Folk Awards (then called *Chruinnaght Aeg*) were still part of the *Yn Chruinnaght* festival (which also had adult competitions), it served as a venue at which young bands and musicians could show off their creativity. This encouraged musicians to put their best creative work forward, and musicians would arrange new sets and compose new tunes just for the competition—for example, Katie

[13] Chloë Woolley, who co-organizes the Manx Folk Awards, explains: "we give no particular guidelines about the Manx Idiom. In a way, it's quite interesting to hear what youngsters have picked up from playing a range of Manx trad tunes and process[ed] into their own work" (personal communication, Sept. 28, 2018).

Lawrence recalls composing her extremely popular tune '*Dooraght*' for the 1996 *Chruinnaght Aeg* competition (personal interview, April 8, 2018).

Other festivals offer workshops and competitions with an emphasis on new Manx songs, such as *Cooish*, a Manx language festival founded in the '90s. Since song is an integral aspect of the Manx language revival, a 'new songs' workshop was introduced to the festival in 2000 by Breesha Maddrell (Maddrell 2017:4). Bob Carswell explains that such workshops motivated people such as himself to write new material: "You feel that you can't go along empty-handed, so you *do* try and produce *something* for things like that" (personal interview, April 9, 2018). Bob and other songwriters have also looked forward to *Arrane Son Mannin*, the competition to determine which new Manx song will represent the IOM at the annual Pan-Celtic song contest, a prestigious and celebrated competition with entries (sung in a Celtic language) from each of the Celtic nations. Both a new song in any style of music and a new song in a trad style are chosen, but all entries must have a Manx text; this has greatly encouraged the writing of new songs (even if written in English and then translated in Manx) specifically for the competition (Maddrell 2017:4) The allowance of diverse styles of music as accompaniment to these new songs offers much creative freedom (see Section 3) and encourages musicians and singer-songwriters from non-trad backgrounds to enter the contest and try their hand at singing in Manx, perhaps for the first time (ibid.). The competition produces at least one new song in Manx each year, some of which may have even gone on to win the Pan-Celtic contest and/or become popular in the MTM community. Some of Bob Carswell's most popular songs, like '*Ushag Varrey*', were composed for the contest in the '80s and '90s—indeed, it was the contest that first motivated him to begin writing songs in Manx, because he "wanted to use the Manx language […] just to show that you *can* still go on and write a song in Manx" (personal interview, April 9, 2018).

Other workshops occur throughout each year, often inviting trad musicians from the U.K. or Ireland to come work with and inspire Manx musicians. In 2006, workshop hosts Máire Breatnach and Cormac de Barra (from Ireland) and participants arranged the popular trad Manx tune '*Jem as Nancy'*, resulting in the group composition of a new B part (for the same tune) and "experiment[ation] with call and response and textural variations" (Yates 2006a:1). The new version of the trad tune was then published in the *Kiaull Manninagh Jiu* newsletter, thereby validating such creative practice in MTM and encouraging others to be creative in similar ways. More recently, members of *Scran* were given a workshop by visiting Scottish trad musician

Hamish Napier, who worked with them on one of his compositions and also on their own sets of tunes, allowing the young musicians to "experiment with what [their] instruments could do" and suggesting alternate creative options (Jack McLean and Aerin Roberts, personal interview, September 28, 2017). Workshops are often eye-opening experiences for musicians, and they tend to expose them to new music and new skills and tools for creative practice. From these examples, I have attempted to provide a thorough (though by no means complete) depiction of how Manx trad musicians are encouraged to be creative, regardless of one's level of technical skill or experience with trad music and creative processes.

2.3 Motivations for creative practice

Finally, alongside the previously discussed factors that enable individuals to engage in creative practice, there are a multiplicity of individually constructed reasons and motivations for creative practice. Some musicians are motivated by goals such as amusing and challenging oneself, while others arise out of the limited nature of traditional Manx material and the small size of the MTM community. It is essential to include these various motivations in order to fully depict the variety of factors leading to creative practice in the contemporary tradition.

2.3.1 Necessity

There are two principal reasons, both resulting from the natural characteristics of MTM, for which musicians find it *necessary* to engage in creative practice. All of my interview partners agree that, because there is a small corpus of revived traditional Manx tunes, they quickly grow bored of playing a limited number of tunes at Manx dancing and sessions and are thus motivated to create new interpretations and arrangements, compose new tunes, and creatively incorporate non-Manx tunes and non-trad musical elements into their arrangements. Russell Cowin acknowledges the limited corpus of traditional Manx material as one of the principal reasons for *King Chiaullee*'s initial (and continued) engagement in creative practice (personal interview, Sept. 25, 2017), while Gilno Carswell compares the small corpus of MTM to the substantially larger corpus of Irish traditional music:

> Compared to, say, Ireland, we've got quite a small pool to draw upon. So, I think, over time, Manx musicians have kind of had to play with things a bit more, maybe mix things up to make it a bit fresher, 'cause otherwise, if you play the same things in the same way all the time, you kind of get a stagnation, whereas I think we've kind of been quite successful at making it more fun to play, hopefully for other people to listen to. That's where I think a lot of Manx music's come from. (personal interview, April 5, 2018)

Manx bands often compose tunes because they are either bored of using the same Manx trad tunes, or because they feel no existing Manx trad tunes suit the arrangement or that an arrangement of a song requires some new melodic instrumental elements (either a tune or other melodic riff, etc.) (Breesha Maddrell, personal interview, Sept. 28, 2017 and April 9, 2018).

In addition to composing unique new tunes due to a perceived lack of existing material, musicians also reinterpret trad material in personal ways (see Section 4) and borrow 'outsourced' musical material from other music traditions and genres. In order to present new and different arranged sets, they intersperse these materials with traditional and original Manx material. For example, Paul Roger's band, *Skeeal*, commonly featured an eclectic mix of Manx, Welsh, Scottish, Irish, and original tunes and songs; *Scammylt* (a trio featuring Katie Lawrence and Russell Cowin) incorporated an even wider variety of tunes (such as Galician, Venezuelan, trad and contemporary Irish and Scottish, and Katie's originals); and *King Chiaullee* is known for their compositions inspired by and arrangements featuring Breton, Irish, Scottish, Cornish, Welsh, English, Galician, and Cape Breton tunes, as well as songs, pieces, and various elements from rock/pop, jazz, classical music, and more (see Sections 3 and 4).

The second most common reason musicians have for engaging in creative practice out of necessity is that the traditional material, as originally transcribed by its collectors, is very fragmentary in nature, including many tune 'fragments', 'snippets' and 'partial lines' and song texts with no melody (Gilno Carswell, personal interview, April 5, 2018). As a result, revivalists and post-revivalists alike have felt the need to 'complete' fragments of tunes (by composing a second part) and songs (by writing a new melody or new words):

> There's quite a few song words where there's no tune recorded, so you've just got words […] and you can write your own tune for them. […] One thing I've noticed in the Manx tradition is you get manuscripts of old tunes. Sometimes it'll just be a small part of a tune—the first section, eight bars, maybe—and people will play that, and it's like, "This is quite good, but it doesn't do anything," so they'll make up a B section—a second part. […] If you're playing music for dances, you can get bored, so […] it's much nicer to make up a different section… (Paul Rogers, personal interview, Sept. 28, 2018)

There have been many cases of this since the revival, and many of the newly composed B parts have even come to be considered 'traditional': they have become so ingrained in the contemporary tradition that people are often unaware that the A part is trad—transcribed and collected in the Victorian era or early twentieth century—and the B part was actually composed during the revival or even post-revival.

Additionally, there is a variety of other reasons that individuals have for composing new tunes, out of a perceived necessity. For instance, some musicians prefer to compose rather than learning existing tunes, sometimes because they are too impatient to do so (Maddrell 2004). Others compose simply to have new material to present at band rehearsals—for example, because they did not attend university in the U.K. like the other members of *King Chiaullee*, Gilno Carswell and Matt Kelly were motivated to continue composing new tunes so they would have new material to work on once their busy bandmates returned (Gilno Carswell, personal interview, April 5, 2018). Despite the variety of personal reasons for creative practice, only a few of which I have mentioned, most musicians are frequently motivated by a perceived need to avoid boredom and stagnation.

2.3.2 Friendly rivalry & personal amusement

Due to the close-knit nature of the MTM community, musicians often find themselves in friendly rivalries with their friends and peers, vying to outdo one another's creativity. As shown in Section 2.2.3, competitions are a popular venue for showing off new compositions and arrangements in a fun, friendly, supportive environment, in which bands and musicians like *King Chiaullee* and Katie Lawrence motivate and inspire each other to be creative:

> It's fun to see what anybody else has come up with. We used to […] be at *Chruinnaght* and we'd […] pull some classical thing out, and then I think Katie Lawrence was quite keen to have a go at that kind of thing as well, so [she would] make sure [she] kind of had something […] unexpected up [her] sleeve. We kind of spar off of each other. It was good fun. (Matt Kelly, personal interview, April 6, 2018)

Although often creative in contrasting ways, it is significant that *King Chiaullee* and Katie Lawrence were able to compete against and even share ideas with one another in a judgement-free context, and that the more conservative and innovative aspects of each group were able to coexist and even keep each other in check (see Section 3). These kinds of friendly rivalries can also exist within a band, as was sometimes the case with *King Chiaullee*, whose members often composed out of a sense of fun, friendly competition to see who could write the most tunes (Gilno Carswell, personal interview, April 5, 2018). Friendly rivalry can be entertaining, fun, and inspiring for those involved, thus sparking and fueling further creative practice.

Similarly, challenging oneself to compose new tunes or to create music in new and different ways is another factor that prompts creative practice in MTM. For example, Katie Lawrence recollects a "silly challenge" she created for herself while on a train journey to Wales:

at each train stop, she would compose a new tune, which she would write down on manuscript paper (personal interview, Sept. 24, 2017 and April 8, 2018). This required not only a certain level of creative confidence and (written and aural) skills, but also extreme focus, patience, and devotion to the challenge—for Katie, it was something fun to do to pass the time. Katie's former pupil, Isla Callister, describes composition as a gradual 'trial and error' process—an ongoing personal challenge that eventually rewards an individual with the skills and confidence to compose tunes one truly enjoys (personal interview, April 4, 2018). For *King Chiaullee*, the challenge of arranging their sets in creative ways, particularly by utilizing their extensive knowledge of music theory, was always a source of amusement:

> We enjoyed… surprising ourselves […] I don't mean [saying] "Look how good we are" to ourselves, but just keep[ing] it interesting and just challeng[ing] ourselves. [We] studied music at GCSE or A level, and so [we would] put out an idea: "Why don't we try and change to *this* key, then *this* key, then *this* key?" And we'd more do it for the sake of having done it rather than for any other reason—modulations or time signature changes and things like that. (Russell Cowin, personal interview, September 25, 2017)

Although their creative pursuits sometimes required hard work, *King Chiaullee*'s creativity thrived when they challenged themselves to create music in innovative and novel ways. Furthermore, as is clear from Russell's statement, such challenges were *fun* for them, as a group—and having fun was one of their principal motivations for creative practice.

On the other hand, although most bands demonstrate a profound knowledge of music theory and a certain level of complexity in their creative practice, they sometimes strive to simply have fun without over-challenging themselves (Breesha Maddrell, personal interview, April 9, 2018). Most people play trad music in the first place because it is enjoyable, but having fun is also a common motivator for creative practice in MTM—to *ensure* that it is enjoyable, entertaining, and amusing for themselves, musicians are creative. *King Chiaullee* serves as an excellent example of this; I argue that their remarkable creativity was not only a result of their musical backgrounds, abilities, and influences, but also from their desire to amuse themselves—whether they were doing so to avoid boredom or just to have a good time. As already mentioned, they grew tired of playing the same tunes in the same way for Manx dancing groups, and in order to have more fun, they teamed up with their friends in innovative all-girls dance group *Perree T*, crafting arranged sets of originally composed material and new interpretations of trad material to accompany *Perree T*'s newly choreographed dances. Playing for *Perree T*, the band experimented with implementing diverse musical influences into their sets, mostly because they

found it amusing, as Gilno illustrates: "Occasionally you'd pick a tune, and you'd go, 'That's nice, but what if we gave it a slightly Eastern European slant?'—just for your own amusement" (personal interview, April 5, 2018). *Perree T* was a valuable context in which *King Chiaullee* could foster their creativity and a spirit of innovation and novelty for the sake of personal amusement. In general, the members of *King Chiaullee* who I interviewed strongly emphasized that the main goal of their creative practice was simply to have a good time and a laugh together—this included "messing around" and "recording tracks in bedrooms" (Russell Cowin, personal interview, Sept. 25, 2017). As already mentioned, *King Chiaullee*'s core philosophy as a band was to try out 'anything and everything', and they delighted in making their music funny, weird, and different (though still very much recognizable as trad music), and this was frequently responsible for uncommon or unexpected elements (e.g. random extra beats) in their music (see Section 4) (Matt Kelly, personal interview, April 6, 2018 and Russell Cowin, personal interview, September 25, 2017). Quite often, *King Chiaullee* would strive to be (perhaps *overly*) clever with their arrangements and compositions, purely because they found it funny and fun:

> Well, […] where do these things come from? Sometimes it's just like, [cheekily] "Ehh, let's just do that. That'll be quite funny if you won't see that coming!" So, yeah […] just hav[ing] fun. (Gilno Carswell, personal interview, April 5, 2018)

Additionally, they frequently incorporated a strong sense of humor into their creative practice by means of various jokes and references. These jokes often appeared in the form of the titles of their original tunes, referencing their favorite comedy TV shows and other humorous sources. In other instances, they parodied aspects of MTM—for example, the title of one of their sets, 'Ta Cashen Carry' (from their 2006 CD *Nish!*), is a macaronic play on words that spoofs the traditional Manx tune '*Ta Cashen Ersooyl*':

> [A] 'cash and carry' is […] like a wholesale, where you'd go and buy loads of stuff for your shop… So, we called it 'Ta Cashen *Carry*'. […] So, that's where that comes from—just being daft with it. (Matt Kelly, personal interview, April 6, 2018)

This set consists of a tune by Matt Kelly ('The Road to Jurby'), followed by '*Ta Cashen Ersooyl*', and a third tune, by David Kilgallon, called 'Allen Barbara', itself a clever parody of trad tune 'Barbara Allen'[14] (see Section 4). Overall, *King Chiaullee*'s creative pursuits were motivated by having a good time together; indeed, their creative practice was monitored by this

[14] The Manx variant of the well-known tune/song of the same name found in the U.K. and North America

requirement—if something was not amusing, fun, or enjoyable enough, they chose another creative option. Gilno Carswell describes two instances when the band decided to revert 'back to just having fun with it again':

> I think maybe in some cases you can take [it] too far, which is why the hidden track, […] the Manx tune which sounds kind of Cuban[15]—'cause I think you can reach a point where you're over-engineering stuff—[…] that [one] really took us back to just having fun with it again, […] and of course it was much better for it. One of the fun tracks we did on *Nish*! [2006] was Matt's tune ['Feng Shui', track 8], and you can hear us just banging pots and pans in the background. […] That was good, 'cause that kind of brought back some more fun to it. We went out to Dave's cottage, […] and then we were just improvising, poorly, percussion [laughs]. (personal interview, April 5, 2018)

This motivation has been noted in studies of creativity in the field of psychology, such as Hennessey and Amabile (1988), who theorize that "People will be most creative when they feel motivated primarily by the interest, enjoyment, satisfaction, and challenge of the work itself – not by external pressures," which they term the 'intrinsic motivation principle of creativity' (1988:11). Similarly, Ward, Finke, and Smith (1995) propose that "Not all creative endeavors have to originate in a pressing problem, or culminate in a clever solution. […] Creativity can be its own reward" (1995:231). Importantly, they also point out that regardless of the nature, result, or value of "creative play" (engaging in creative practice as its own reward), the experience gained from doing so helps "cultivate the skills needed to be creative in more practical endeavors" (ibid.:251). This is frequently the case in MTM. However, while making music for one's own enjoyment and amusement is often a primary reason and motivation for creative practice in MTM, a secondary motivation is to entertain friends and peers in the close-knit MTM community by presenting them with novel and innovative music.

2.3.3 Novelty & nonconformity

Amongst the Manx trad musicians who engage in creative practice there is a general sense of wanting to create novel, original music, but the motivations behind this desire differ for each individual and each band. Some musicians aim to innovate, taking MTM into unchartered territory, while most others simply want to prove their ability to produce original creative ideas, while still adhering to a general 'trad' framework. Sometimes musicians may feel there is an aspect of MTM that is lacking and attempt to fill the gap with their creativity. However, it would appear that a common motivation for novelty and originality in MTM comes from an attitude

[15] See Section 4 for a more detailed examination

of nonconformity, a term that encompasses the concepts of novelty, innovation, difference, and originality (Hill 2018:6). Exactly what constitutes 'nonconformity' to the MTM community is perhaps less obvious, but most musicians would agree that to conform is to create music that is in some way the same as what already exists in the pool of recorded (or recollected) MTM.

The desire to make one's music stand out as novel and original and to 'add one's own stamp' to the music is a motivation in itself. *King Chiaullee*'s early motivation to do something new with MTM and to compose new tunes partly arose out of an aspiration to claim something as their own creation, with their 'own stamp' (Gilno Carswell, personal interview, April 5, 2018). Composition is a very direct way of making music that is 1) novel, since each composition is completely new and unique, and 2) easily recognized as a creative product of a certain musician in the MTM community. For example, an original tune by David Kilgallon, such as 'Allen Barbara' or 'Mike the Headless Chicken', or by Gilno Carswell, such as 'Sac' or 'Tune Generique', would be instantly recognized as a 'Dave tune' or a 'Gilno tune' by many in the MTM community. Gilno feels that "it's quite nice that someone can recognize something of you from what you've written"—this is one reason why, for him, "being original […] is quite important, […] as much as possible" (ibid.). Gilno is heralded in the MTM community not only for his quirky original compositions, but also for his unique playing style characterized by highly aurally improvised, fluid 'weaving'. His personal goal to be as original as possible meant that he always had to be highly attentive to what the rest of the band was playing: "You don't want to play what everyone else [in the group] is playing, so you kind of try and find something else which hasn't been covered, which is why you get that *weaving*" (ibid.) (see Section 4). Perhaps another reason for his distinctive style comes from a nonconformist attitude toward trad music conventions—thus his use of the low whistle to play complex and up-tempo tunes rather than slow airs, as it typical of the instrument (ibid.). While Gilno serves as a particularly obvious example of originality, most Manx trad musicians have quite individualized styles, and they all seem to enjoy when people can recognize their playing and composing—in fact, this can motivate them to compose more tunes. For Matt Kelly, composing tunes on the guitar was a unique way of contributing new material to *King Chiaullee* (personal interview, April 6, 2018); because he and his bandmates recognized this as *his* creative activity and contribution, Matt felt motivated to compose more, eventually composing on mandolin, as well. Matt's tunes are uniquely his own, with an innate, figurative 'stamp' of his composition style, while the way *King Chiaullee* then arranged his tunes gives them a distinctive '*King Chiaullee*' stamp.

Meanwhile, David Kilgallon wanted to do something different from what is customary in trad music, such as writing for orchestra, adding and removing beats at random, or generally trying to push the boundaries of the tradition (personal interview, Sept. 22, 2017). He explains that *King Chiaullee* "weren't happy just playing the music" (ibid.)—they always felt compelled to do something *different* with trad music. Many Manx trad musicians are often creative for this very reason—to do something different: "People just like to create something a bit different and kind of just be a step ahead" (Matt Kelly, personal interview, April 6, 2018). Breesha Maddrell argues that bands tend to try to create something different because "[O]ne of your motivations in a band is to *not* make your sets sound like another band, because otherwise they'll think you've got no ideas" (personal interview, April 9, 2018). She elucidates the situation by example of her band, *Skeeal*, which featured herself on wooden trad flute and Simone Renshaw on silver, classical flute; the two flutes were particularly important for the group, as this is uncommon for a trad band, thus setting *Skeeal* apart from other bands (Maddrell 2012a). Not only did they want to avoid creating music in the same ways as other bands, past and present, but they also aimed to make each of their arranged sets different from one another (Breesha Maddrell, personal interview, April 9, 2018). Breesha's other group, *Moot*, was very much nonconformist in approach to creative practice; although this seems to have been a natural result of their musical backgrounds and group creative processes, they also aimed to consciously create music in a way that they felt had never been done before in MTM. Similarly, Annie Kissack finds that "[i]t's quite fun looking out for things that nobody's ever done before"—for her, particularly in terms of using otherwise untouched trad Manx tunes and/or text fragments (Kissack 2012). Annie leads the Manx Gaelic choir, *Caarjyn Cooidjagh*, which she formed because she felt that, at the time (the '80s), there was a much stronger emphasis on instrumental music in MTM and she wanted to fill a perceived gap in the performance of and creative practice with *songs* (ibid.). Since then, vocal/choral music has had a much stronger presence in MTM, both as a general aspect of the tradition and in terms of creative practice.

Although many musicians belong to bands that have a more 'traditional', conservative approach to creating music (see Section 3), they often belong to other bands/projects with more creative (and potentially innovative) aspirations and motivations. For example, Katie Lawrence, known for composing, playing, and arranging on the more conservative end of the spectrum, explains that her group *Scammylt* was her effort to "try and get away from being too traditional"

(personal interview, April 8, 2018). It was a success—the group played tunes from all over the world (many of them in odd time signatures) in a very jazz-inspired style.

As a purposeful act of nonconformity, musicians might create music that is technically challenging to play. *King Chiaullee* is infamous for this—for example, their tune 'That Tune We Wrote In Cornwall' (see Section 4) was originally meant to be "really unpleasant for people to play" (Gilno Carswell, personal interview, April 5, 2018).

One final reason for nonconformity is a result of the size of the island, and thus the MTM community. As Rowles explains, "being on a small Island, with a limited number of performers, and a limited audience for them, it is easy to see how performances could become 'stale' to some" (Rowles 2012:132). Matt Kelly believes that *King Chiaullee*, like most Manx bands, wanted to "show off" and "edge ahead", in terms of always having something new and fresh in order to attract the same audience to continually come to their performances:

> You'd want to make something a bit different if you knew you were playing [for] a load of people that you knew—it's like, "Oh, we'll have to throw something new into the mix!". Because you play to the same people a lot of the time over here, […] people are like, "Ah, I've heard all this," so it's fun to throw in something sparkling and new right in the middle because nobody expects [it]. It keeps it lively, I think. Being a small place, it does warrant changing your set quite a bit of the time […] They'll be like, "Ah, we've seen it last time." So, our gigs were a bit like that—"Ahh, *King Chiaullee* are playing, I've seen them a few weeks ago"—like, "Right. We need to have something new […] so people *will* come and they'll talk about it." (personal interview, April 6, 2018)

Matt also points out that another probable reason for MTM's widespread nonconformist attitude and general motivation to create something new and novel comes from a sense of pride for the Isle of Man and unique characteristics of contemporary Manx traditional music: "People are proud of being from here, and it's not the biggest place in the world, so you want to make sure people know about us—[we] kind of do anything we can to get the point across" (ibid.).

There is clearly a variety of reasons and motivations that encourage and enable Manx trad musicians to engage in creative practice, and the diversity of approaches that musicians take to achieve their creative goals is what makes the range of contemporary MTM intriguing. Many of them are unique to MTM and the small community practicing it, while others are more diverse and individualized, though often influenced and shaped by the various creativity-enabling factors discussed in Sections 2.1 and 2.2. Additionally, many of them are reflected in or even contribute to the contemporary tradition's core ideology toward creative practice.

3 Contemporary Manx 'style' and ideology

In this section, I argue that the creativity-enabling ideology held by the majority of the post-revival MTM community acts as the central defining characteristic of 'style' in contemporary MTM. To create music in an 'authentically' Manx 'style', one simply needs to follow the ideology espoused and practiced by musicians today—an ideology of openness and freedom to do as one pleases, with few boundaries or limitations. There are several factors that have led to the development of this ideology, which gives value to and legitimizes creative practice as an integral part of the contemporary tradition.

3.1 Authenticity & authority

First of all, it is necessary to examine Manx ideas of 'authenticity' and 'authority' in order to fully unravel MTM's creativity-enabling ideology. In defense of any 'outside' influences from other music traditions in the British Isles and Celtic nations, musicians often cite the IOM's central geographical location. Due to its position in the Irish Sea, it is often described as a maritime or insular 'crossroads'. Ross Trench-Jellicoe, a '70s revivalist and archaeologist, explains that, both historically and contemporaneously, "the Isle of Man lies open to fresh cultural input which is then absorbed into the local tradition and modified (Trench-Jellicoe, 2002:11 as cited in Rowles 2012:17-8). This idea is accepted and maintained by the majority of the MTM community. For example, David Kilgallon believe that:

> [Manx] style goes back for many years, has always been influenced [by] and [is] influencing to its neighboring countries, and, geographically, that makes sense. […] Now, [the Manx] weren't necessarily known for their music, but […] the style is a lot of different things all put into one big pot. […] It's gonna have rolls. It's gonna have a little bit of a Scotch snap to it. It's gonna be a little bit flat footed, that you'd kind of expect a Welsh melody to be. A little bit English, in some cases. And, actually, to some extent, a little bit of influence from even further afield—France, Brittany. It just makes sense. (personal interview, Sept. 22, 2017)

Contemporary musicians acknowledge that, in centuries past, people from the IOM's neighboring countries (or even further abroad)—fishermen, smugglers, traders, and others who either passed through the island, perhaps frequented it, or even settled or immigrated there—would have brought with them their own music, thus exposing Manx musicians to a variety of musical styles that they absorbed into their own music. Indeed, within the traditional corpus of MTM, there are in fact many tunes and songs that are closely related to traditional melodies in England, Ireland, Scotland, and England—after arriving on the island, each melody would have

been reinterpreted over time, through what scholars have called 'communal re-creation' (Merriam 1964 and Bohlman 1988), resulting in a special Manx version that was ultimately transcribed by collectors in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These ideas help to legitimize the contemporary practices of playing 'non-Manx' trad music alongside trad Manx tunes and incorporating other diverse musical elements into MTM. Musicians today take this into account when developing their own playing and composing styles. For example, Beccy Hurst (see Appendix A) views her concertina style as "somewhere between" English Morris-style and Irish, which is validated by the IOM's location between England and Ireland (personal interview, March 30, 2018), and Isla Callister reckons that her style is "a mix of everything" and points out that Manx trad musicians "always talk about being in the middle of the Irish Sea, and […] that somewhere the style is around there" (personal interview, April 4, 2018).

Most musicians, however, find it difficult to define what it is exactly that characterizes the style of those collected melodies that are native to the IOM and have no counterparts off-island. Some try to analyze frequently used modes, while others look to common tune types and the prevalence of odd time signatures; most have a difficult time describing the Manx 'style' at all, but feel that, generally, the tunes that are most representative of a Manx 'style' are those that are used for Manx dancing (personal interviews, 2017 and 2018). Bob Carswell, a revivalist and Manx music historian, suggests that MTM is "unusual in that it [is] represented only by repertoire, not by style" (personal interview, April 9, 2018)—that is, because Manx trad tunes and songs were not passed on orally, but were instead only recently revived in written form, with no historical account of the original style in which they were played, 'Manx' tunes can only be identified by virtue of their belonging to the revived corpus of MTM, rather than by any specific marker of style. During the '70s, revivalists only had the written notation on which to base their playing of the tunes—no sound recordings, written remarks about style, nor any surviving first-hand accounts of a prior style exist; still to this day, the collected/transcribed material serves as the sole source providing evidence of any prior folk music tradition in the IOM. Musicians reason that this gives them the freedom to do with the material as they wish: "Because we haven't got that historical reference of authenticity, I think we can do what we like, really—[…] because we haven't got those restrictions of what Manx music is 'supposed' to sound like" (Chloë Woolley, personal interview, Sept. 28, 2017).

At the very least, the revivalists had the handwritten transcriptions (particularly from the Clague Collection), and this presented them with two options: either follow the notation

strictly—"slavishly following the […] dots on the page"—or *loosely*—using the notation as a basic structure to do with as one wants (Bob Carswell, personal interview, April 9, 2018). Although most musicians ultimately chose the second option, there was actually much disagreement during the revival between those who preferred one option over the other—what Woolley describes as the traditionalist/purist 'camp' and the progressive/syncretist 'camp' (Woolley 2003:258). Much of the progressive camp's creative decisions were inspired by the ways that popular bands in Ireland (such as The Chieftains and Planxty) were playing and arranging Irish trad music (Bob Carswell, personal interview, April 9, 2018). Choosing to follow the notation loosely, the progressive revivalists also began to creatively reinterpret the revived tunes—this often consisted of adapting them to structures common to Irish trad music and composing new B parts for tune 'fragments' (see Section 2.3.1). They also began to arrange tunes into sets (which the purists criticized) and, eventually, compose new tunes to add to the corpus of MTM. Much discord also resulted from the progressive revivalists' implementation of ornamentation from Irish music. The traditionalist camp felt that, because there were either very few or no ornaments notated in the collected material, the tunes should be played exactly as notated, in a tempo that was decided by the dancers (in a Manx dancing context) or collectively by the group (in a session context) (Woolley 2003). Thus, the traditionalists aimed to develop an 'authentic' Manx style of playing, based on the notation and on decisions made by the community as a whole, not only about style, structure, and tempo, but also about instrumentation and creative practice. Over time, however, those in the traditionalist camp came to accept more progressive ideas, allowing for the development of an ideology that, I argue, has defined MTM since the post-revival and has allowed creative practice to flourish.

In order to highlight the range of creative practice in the post-revival, I have created a conceptual diagram (Figure 1, next page) of the spectrum of contemporary MTM. Creative practice is observable at each point of the spectrum, including on the conservative end, where musicians generally involved in Manx dancing have produced many new compositions, as well as creative additions and alterations to trad tunes and tune fragments. While most performing/recording bands and individuals fall in the middle area of the spectrum, I have placed several groups on the 'innovative' end of the spectrum because their creativity has pushed and expanded the boundaries of MTM. Each item[16] I have listed along the spectrum is

[16] Either a band name, musician name, or category (in the case of 'Manx dancing', which I chose to use generally—besides specifically including *Perree T* on the innovative end of the spectrum)

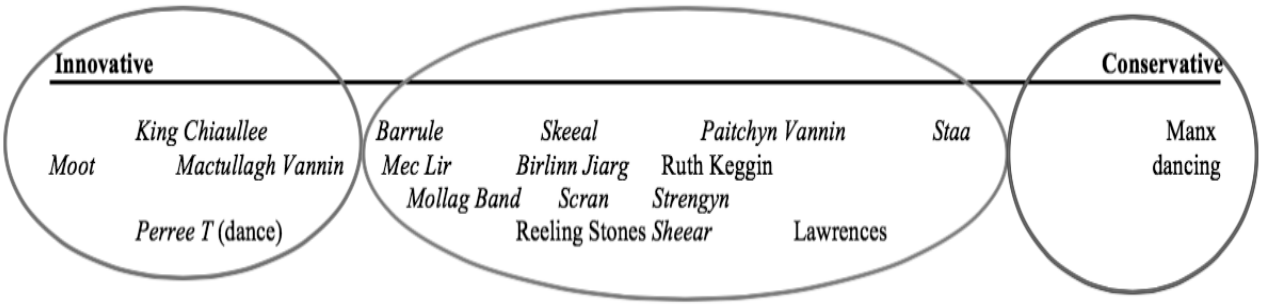

Figure 1: Spectrum of contemporary Manx traditional music.

considered by the MTM community to be equally 'Manx'. However, one key distinction between the two ends of the spectrum is that, as suggested by Bob Carswell, the music played for Manx dancing is defined as 'Manx' by *repertoire* (and secondly by performance style and context), whereas, I argue, the music on the innovative end and in the middle area of the spectrum is defined as 'Manx' by *ideology*. Although both sides are fundamentally different, they are both considered 'Manx' and coexist and keep each other in check; many feel that this, too, is a defining aspect of contemporary MTM, as explained by Breesha Maddrell:

> At the heart of it, we've got old tunes that we keep repeating, which gives some stability to the tradition—the conservative elements. I've always said, rather boringly, that you need conservative and innovative elements in any tradition, and it's the tension between the two of them that makes it interesting, but also holds it together. If you had it all conservative, it would just be boring—it would stagnate—and if it's all innovation, then it's just gonna go off and […] be wild, [but] the two of them—it sort of gives [the tradition] that tension, […] and it'll keep it together. (personal interview, Sept. 28, 2017)

Similarly, Ruth Keggin observes that "creativity's definitely embraced […] but there is obviously still […] some more definite traditional stuff, which is, you know, *not* having all the jazz [and rock] influences… but both are able to sit alongside one another" (personal interview, March 28, 2018), while Graínne Joughin points out that, although "there's *all* [these] other different styles and stuff, […] at the end of the day, we all come back to the core of it, which is the trad tunes [played for Manx dancing]" (personal interview, Sept. 24, 2017). Although the coexistence of conservative and innovative elements is a noteworthy aspect of contemporary MTM, this study is more concerned with the widespread ideology that determines the boundaries of creative practice, and with it open, liberal ideals of 'authenticity' and authority.

Despite the conservative revivalist camp's grassroots efforts to allow a new Manx style to develop, no standardized 'style' of MTM actually formed, nor was one in any way formally established. Core revivalist Colin Jerry was very critical of *Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann* (The

Irish Association of Traditional Music), an institution which created a standardized version of Irish music (style, repertoire, instrumentation, technique, etc.) for the purposes of uniform teaching and competition rubrics, which has in turn led to a widespread homogenized style among Irish trad musicians (Jerry 1993:41). Gilno Carswell reckons that, since no academies or conservatories dedicated to MTM exist (as is the case in Ireland and Scotland with Irish and Scottish trad music, respectively), the closest instance of standardization in MTM is the prevalence of orchestral music and the classical training received my most Manx trad musicians (personal interview, April 5, 2018). Most other music traditions of the British Isles (and, perhaps, globally) do not typically experience the amount of crossover between traditional and classical music that is normal in MTM. This, as well as the great diversity of individual styles and influences that have emerged, distinguish contemporary MTM from related traditions that usually have more conservative ideals of authenticity and certain 'rules' for strictly adhering to certain boundaries. Ruth Keggin mentions the *rigidity* of other traditions, which often have a 'set' or 'right' way of making music that is considered 'authentic'; in contrast, Ruth suggests, one of the core traits of MTM is its *flexibility* (personal interview, March 28, 2018).

Many of my interview partners have expressed the notion that MTM naturally 'invites' one to be creative with the traditional material. During the '70s revival, creative reinterpretations and adaptations were both a logical result of the fragmentary nature of the collected material and a conscious decision to freely interpret the 'bare bones' notation of the collected material that Colin Jerry eventually presented in tunebook format "for people to work on in any way they wanted with any instruments they wanted", sparking a profusion of creative practice during the revival and especially in the post-revival (Bob Carswell, personal interview, April 9, 2018). Generally, contemporary musicians agree with Chloë Woolley's statements that "there are no recognizable stylistic boundaries to adhere to in Manx traditional music. Stylistically, there is no 'right' or 'wrong' way of performing Manx traditional music" (Woolley 2003:269), and therefore "there's been quite a bit of freedom to interpret [tunes] in whatever way people [have] wanted to. […] That's the good thing about Manx music—it's open to interpretation" (personal interview, Sept. 28, 2017). Clearly, this is viewed as a positive, creativity-enabling characteristic of the tradition.

Revivalist Colin Jerry espoused the view that any changes and innovations to the revived MTM tradition must be decided by the community as a whole through a natural process of self-regulation and critical assessment (Jerry 1993:41). In 2018, innovations and changes to

the revived tradition have been successfully tested—the MTM community has long since approved of the types of creative practice common to contemporary MTM, although they are sometimes met with some initial resistance (particularly during the revival). *Moot*, certainly MTM's most boundary-defying and experimental group, received criticism at first, but this did not challenge the group's confidence to continue to be innovative (Breesha Maddrell, personal interview, Sept. 28, 2017). Breesha clarifies that, although "there may be people grumbling, just as they grumble when there's innovation in [Manx dancing]," changes and innovations in MTM are inevitably accepted (ibid.). When criticism is offered, most musicians, like Breesha, receive it with an open-mind and simply continue to do as they please, because they *know* that no one has the authority to deem what is or is not 'authentic'. If anything, today's 'tradition-bearers' or 'authority figures' are champions of MTM's liberal ideology toward creative practice. Despite this, having a recognized status as someone who is "firmly in the tradition" does seem to help improve initial reactions to major innovations:

> It's hard for the people who make the change when they make the change, […] and then […], soon, [the change is] just accepted. […] [The] *King Chiaullee* lads, most of them, they're second generation in the culture. […] So, if you're in a secure position in a culture, you have the confidence to do something and make a change, because nobody can turn around [and] say, "But, you don't understand the tradition," […] or, "What are you doing?" because they've […] got the credentials. (ibid.)

Even though some 'credentials' can help when it comes to pushing the boundaries, creative practice in MTM is open to anyone associated with the MTM community—anyone of any age, gender, or musical background is encouraged and given the authority to engage in creative practice in whatever way one sees fit. Authority is also given to people otherwise not involved the MTM community (such as Paul Cringle, whose tune 'Auldyn River' has become very popular among younger musicians currently) and to immigrants to the IOM. Many of the revivalists, including Colin Jerry, had moved to the IOM from England, bringing new ideas and enthusiasm to the revival and the new MTM community. Ever since, 'newcomers' have been accepted into the MTM community and gone on to make significant creative contributions to MTM—for example, Jamie Smith (of *Barrule*) and Paul Rogers are both originally come from Wales, although they have lived in the IOM for a number of years and are now considered by the MTM community to be Manx (personal interviews, 2017 and 2018). In conclusion, as outlined in this section, there are several key arguments (geographical location, lack of historical references, lack of strict boundaries, rules, and authority figures enforcing ideals of

'authenticity') that have prevailed over the initial 'purist' ideals of the revival and led to the development of contemporary MTM's open-minded, creativity-enabling ideology, which has subsequently come to define the contemporary Manx tradition and 'style'.

3.2 Ideology & the Manx 'style'

Today, the 'undefined' nature of MTM does not pose an issue for Manx trad musicians, who find that the 'Manx' style could easily be 'defined' as the 'eclectic style'—a style in itself that is shaped by and open to the incorporation of many diverse types of music (David Kilgallon, personal interview, Sept. 22, 2017). Gilno Carswell suggests a particularly useful metaphor for this 'eclectic style' and the resultant ideology toward creative practice, explaining that MTM is "a bit *magpie* […] 'cause […] there's not so much definite trad to draw upon, so you have to expand your sound somehow" (personal interview, April 5, 2018). The magpie is renowned for is extensive hoarding of miscellaneous objects—or, in the case of contemporary Manx trad musicians, diverse musics, which one adds to his or her musical palette, or toolbox. Significantly, Rowles (2012) emphasizes the impact of globalization on the development and maintenance of this 'eclectic style' (cf. Gayraud's (2016) study of eclecticism in the contemporary English music scene), as it provides musicians with "an infinite number of possible musical styles to draw inspiration from, and adopt elements into their own style, whether consciously or not" (Rowles 2012:9). The prevalence of eclectic tastes and influences, in conjunction with MTM's flexible boundaries and open-minded attitude towards creative practice, has led to a general ideology that defines the contemporary Manx style or idiom. Paul Rogers argues that, quite simply, "the Manx style is playing in whatever style you want," and, notably, "it can vary depending on what influences people are into at the time" (personal interview, Sept. 28, 2017). Listening to French-Canadian or Basque music, klezmer, Irish trad, or anything at all, learning tunes from those traditions, and then combining them with trad Manx material is a completely accepted form of creative practice (ibid.), and it also reflects the idiom-defining Manx ideology. Paul Rogers has extensively imparted and reinforced this ideology among the young musicians and groups he has taught and mentored, particularly *Scran*. With this 'anything goes' attitude—"if they want to play some Black Sabbath riff underneath it, fair enough" (ibid.)—musicians quickly develop the confidence to incorporate any and all musical influences. *Scran*'s debut album, *Nane* (2018), distinctively represents this ideology,

particularly ‘Bokset’, which features distorted lead electric guitar and a tune from the Basque Country called ‘Bok e Spok’.

Among the ‘magpie Manx’, the incorporation of elements from any and all musical influences is now completely embraced, and has been since the revival (though particularly since the beginning of the post-revival, in the early ‘90s). Although sometimes very critical of creative practice in MTM at the time, Colin Jerry wrote in a 1993 article:

> No single Manks [*sic.*] tune should be played in only one way. It depends on the musical background of the individual musician as to how it will be interpreted and the wider that experience is the better. Also the greater number of musicians making an input the better, and no influence should be ignored, even if it is later rejected. (Jerry1993:41)

He also restates his idea of communal self-regulation—that “no interpretation is valid until it finds general support” within the MTM community (ibid.). He then suggests that the hypothetical reinterpretation of a Manx tune in a New Orleans jazz style would be ridiculous; however, if such an interpretation were to come to fruition today, it would presumably find immediate support among the MTM community. Experiments such as this one and those which have actually occurred, are not only valid in contemporary MTM, but encouraged; the MTM community maintains a generally positive and encouraging attitude toward such experimentation (see Section 2). In contemporary MTM, “there is a supportive culture for letting people experiment, as well as teaching them the skills that they need to make that experimentation fruitful (Bob Carswell, personal interview, April 9, 2018). Ruth Keggin emphasizes this encouragement to experiment with various influences, saying that “if you have other influences […] from other areas—like if you learned classical or Spanish guitar, or rock, or jazz”, one is encouraged, by both mentors, role models, and peers, to “bring it to the table and see what it does” (personal interview, March 28, 2018).

This ideology is notably strong in the realm of song—again, due in large part to the fragmentary nature of the collected material. Since many traditional song texts lack music, and vice versa, “there’s room for creativity and there’s always been room for creativity” (Breesha Maddrell, personal interview, Sept. 28, 2017). One significant aspect of contemporary Manx song is the ideology that if it is sung in Manx Gaelic, any style of music is permitted:

> In a way, you can do any type of musical style, and, if it’s a song in Manx [Gaelic], then it feels traditional, ‘cause it’s got the language. So, it gives you a bit more freedom to do what you want musically. (Paul Rogers, personal interview, Sept. 28, 2017)

The annual *Arrane son Mannin* competition (see Section 2.2.3) receives song entries performed in a vast array of musical styles, yet, because the songs have Manx texts, they are considered to be part of MTM. This attitude, then, embraces contemporary MTM's core ideology of using any kinds of musical influences and styles, and it also gives Manx trad musicians some sense of identity—anything is considered 'Manx' if it has Manx words.

Likewise, since the collected traditional material is the only historical reference to a specifically *Manx* tradition, using the traditional material to engage in creative practice allows musicians to maintain a sense of *Manx* identity in the music, while still being able to express oneself creatively. In a tradition that embraces any and all types of musical influence, a sense of identity can be invaluable for musicians; however, it would appear that Manx trad musicians are not overly concerned with what makes their music 'Manx'—it simply is:

> It's Manx because being Manx isn't one thing, it's lots of different things. […] You're [going to] gather influences, and everybody is going to be excited by another tradition at one point [and] the tunes they write might sound a bit Irish, […] a bit Scottish, […] Welsh, […] [or] Breton, […] but that doesn't matter, that's just part of this really wide and sort of amorphous thing that is Manx music. (personal interview, Sept. 28, 2017)

This widespread mindset allows for a diversity of creative practice and reflects the core ideology that defines the 'Manx style'. While all types of creative practice are legitimized as 'Manx', the creativity of current musicians defines MTM and sets its boundaries—this process has continually shaped MTM since before the revival (see Section 5).

Another result of contemporary MTM's ideology is the sheer number of different interpretations and arrangements of the traditional material, all of which are equally valid and valued within the tradition. Significantly, young musicians are very aware of this aspect of MTM: "You'll get so many variations of the same tune, you'll never know which one's right, because everyone's just got a different way of playing it," and, therefore, "the only 'right way' to play it is however you want" (Aerin Roberts and Jack McLean, personal interview, Sept. 28, 2017). Such statements from individuals and groups (like *Scran*) from the younger generations—who are still finding their creative voice(s), all the while pushing the boundaries of MTM—reveals much about contemporary MTM and its core ideology. Moreover, the practice of reinterpreting existing material in new and personal ways reflects the final key characteristic of contemporary MTM.

So far, I have discussed how MTM's ideology encompasses the core concepts of the 'eclectic style' as an idiom in itself and the freedom that comes from the community's positive

encouragement of creative practice unrestrained by expectations of 'authenticity'. The final core concept of the contemporary Manx ideology, I argue, is the agency to be creative and exert personal expression. As explained by Breesha Maddrell, "if you just tried to reproduce what somebody else does or what's been recorded as dots on the page, it's not a traditional thing to do because it's just a really boring reproduction"; therefore, if one is to create music in a way that is true to the tradition, one must "bend it to [his/her] own voice" (personal interview, April 9, 2018). Breesha suggests, although *Moot* has likely been MTM's most boundary-pushing, innovative group, she finds that their creative practice closely adheres to this aspect of the tradition, and therefore serves as an ideal example of contemporary MTM (see Section 4):

> I think that Aalin Clague sings in a very […] traditional way, because she makes the songs her own, totally. So, it's not just relying on what's left to you on the page, it's actually making that a very personal rendition of the song, and I think that that's something that's at the heart of the tradition. So, even though it's quite electronic music and it's mixed with different styles and different genres, in one way, to me, it's the closest, in a strange way. (Maddrell 2012a)

Other Manx trad musicians would agree with this general concept, albeit in different ways with differing personal aesthetic ideals. Naturally, exactly how one approaches creative practice within the tradition differs on an individual basis, therefore allowing for boundless possibilities in MTM; this forms the third core aspect of the creativity-enabling ideology of contemporary MTM. In the introduction to the Victorian-era tunebook, *Manx National Music* (1898), W. H. Gill offers words of advice to 'future composers' of Manx tunes and songs:

> What we want is not so much the old form as the old spirit of the thing. We want the heart of the people, and the life of the people, and their character stamped upon the music, so that in times to come our countrymen may be able to say of your music, as we can all say of many of these old tunes, 'that music is essentially Manx — Manx in character, in purpose, in feeling.' (cited in McCartney 2009:10)

It would appear, then, that contemporary musicians have heeded Gill's advice from over a century ago and strive to create music that is not so much based on any prior, historical modes or forms, but rather on the liberal-minded ideological stance of the post-revival tradition that defines it as 'Manx' in character, purpose, and feeling.

3.3 The value of creative practice

Creative practice in MTM is valued for several reasons that I would like to briefly discuss. First and foremost, because creative practice helps to define the contemporary traditional idiom and

give contemporary music its 'Manx' identity, it is valuable to the contemporary MTM community (and to the tradition in general, moving forward). Secondly, many of my interview partners stressed the importance of bands acting as role models by 'taking the music further' with their creativity—an act that, they argue, makes MTM more accessible (personal interviews, 2017 and 2018). Others use the word 'relevant' rather than 'accessible':

> If it's seen as a boring museum piece, it's just going to fall into abeyance and that'll be that, but when people approach it in different ways, […] every time you bring a new style or bring a new element to the mix, then it just revitalizes that tune—you listen to it in a different way, and it perhaps gives it a different edge—a different […] *relevance*, shall we say—and it's keeping things *relevant* to the changing times, really, and I think that innovation is vital for that process to keep on going.
>
> (Bob Carswell, personal interview, April 9, 2018)

Bob Carswell suggests that creative practice allows the tradition to continue on, for there are limitless creative possibilities and each generation produces creative material that is relevant and accessible to its time. Today, one can clearly observe how the creativity of different bands and individuals helps keep contemporary MTM relevant to modern society. One common way of "breath[ing] new life into the old material" is to mix it with modern compositions; as Breesha Maddrell suggests, "It's like putting a really beautiful antique next to something really modern—it does bring out a new side to it" (Breesha Maddrell, personal interview, April 9, 2018). Creative practice confirms that the tradition is 'alive and well'—a 'living tradition' that is *relevant* to modern Manx society and the contemporary tradition and is therefore not something that is old and "fossilized in amber" (Breesha Maddrell, personal interview, April 9, 2018). On the contrary, it is a relatively *new* tradition and is constantly recognized as such. Breesha suggests that creative practice shows that 1) young people have the confidence to do what they want with the tradition and the traditional material, and, thus, 2) MTM is in a "healthy state" (ibid. Sept. 28, 2017).

One noteworthy indication of the tradition's development as a result of creative practice is the *Kiaull yn Theay 3* and *4* tunebooks, which primarily consist of newly composed Manx tunes and songs. Their publication in an official tunebook imitating the format of Colin Jerry's seminal tunebooks from the '70s gives these modern compositions a sense of authenticity that legitimizes them as part of the corpus of contemporary MTM. In her introduction to *Kiaull yn Theay 4* (2011), Breesha Maddrell explains that the material in both books is presented to the community in an effort to make those tunes available and more accessible for playing at sessions, for Manx dancing, and for use in creative practice (arranging and reinterpreting)

(Maddrell 2011a:ii). Many of my interview partners would agree with Isla Callister's suggestion that "in ten, twenty years' time, people will look back at these books as source material" (personal interview, April 4, 2018). The wealth of new compositions in MTM "is testament to the fact that the Manx music tradition is continuing to grow" (Rowles 2012:178).

The ways in which contemporary musicians have engaged in creative practice across the broad range of music that comprises MTM helps to make MTM more accessible and popular among audiences both in the IOM and abroad. Beccy Hurst argues that the general increase in accessibility due to creative practice also means that "people are [going to] want that music at festivals […] and then that brings in more funding to be able to do more things with it; it's just an ongoing cycle, really" (personal interview, March 30, 2018). The positive repercussions of creative practice, namely financial backing (such as funding for a CD), can allow MTM to flourish and develop by providing musicians with more opportunities to be creative in different ways. Additionally, many contemporary musicians receive royalties from PRS (Performing Right Society) for the performance of their original compositions, thus also giving creative practice a financial value, particularly for those musicians attempting to make music their career.

Furthermore, the results of creative practice can be heard on the numerous recordings of Manx bands and artists. Culture Vannin has supported the production of many recordings, including several compilations that spotlight *new* Manx trad music. For example, 'The Lighthouse', a cassette released in 1998, featured some of the early post-revival's most creative groups (including sixteen-year-old *King Chiaullee*) and their arrangements, reinterpretations of trad material, and newly composed tunes. Breesha Maddrell suggests that the intention of 'The Lighthouse' was to "shin[e] out a beacon" (personal interview, Sept. 28, 2017), thus revealing the new music created since the more recent adoption of MTM's creativity-enabling ideology and illuminating the wide boundaries of MTM, opening the way for more such creative practice. In this way, contemporary creative practice, as evidenced by published notation and recorded audio, is valued as part of the expanding corpus of MTM to be used for future creative practice, as an indicator of boundaries that can either be maintained, pushed, or crossed in the future, and as proof that the tradition is not only thriving, but is distinctively 'Manx' in identity.

4 Creative Practice

The aim of this final section is to provide examples of the three main forms of creative practice (composing, reinterpreting, and arranging) in order to illustrate the range of creativity in con-

temporary MTM. The examples I give are ones that I feel best reflect MTM's creativity-enabling ideology (Section 3) and the various other factors that motivate and enable creative practice (Section 2)—however, I mostly focus on instrumental *tunes* rather than *songs*, and the majority of my examples come from *King Chiaullee*, as I feel they are most representative of contemporary MTM. In many cases, an example might overlap between the three main forms (composing, reinterpreting, and arranging), but I have attempted to use them when discussing the form I feel it best represents. Since my interviews yielded limited details of creative processes, some examples will only be briefly mentioned because they are in some way representative or unique, while I may describe others in more detail, based on insight from the musicians, CD liner notes, and analysis of recorded audio and musical notation.

4.1 Composing

I have chosen to begin by examining various composing processes and their resultant products—the compositions themselves—and how both reflect contemporary MTM's core ideology and the various creativity-enabling factors present in the MTM community. I admit to a gap in emic perspective, however, as many of my interview partners provided insufficient details on their composing processes. I also doubt that I have successfully collected data on *all* possible forms of composing that occur in MTM. Nevertheless, composing is a principal form of creative practice in MTM, as evidenced by the wealth of original material recorded and published in various formats. Contemporary compositions demonstrate a remarkably high level of creativity in terms of technique, application of music theory, various musical influences, and overall individual style. Additionally, it is worth pointing out that the composing process is frequently a part of the arranging process—compositions may be created from scratch, altered, or completed while the composer (usually in collaboration with bandmates) simultaneously arranges them for performance. I have found that most new Manx tunes are written with some idea of ornamentation, accompaniment, and arrangement in mind—as opposed to writing 'bare bones' tunes to be played as written. Regardless of the original arrangement of a new composition, all tunes are essentially free to be reinterpreted and/or arranged in different ways by others. The following examples demonstrate some of the 'generative processes' (cf. Hill 2012, 2018 and Quigley 1995)—a useful concept for designating the use of aural skills to cognitively access a figurative toolbox of aurally stored 'units' of musical vocabulary, which one then uses to initially *generate* musical ideas—that I have observed in contemporary MTM.

Group composition (cf. Merriam 1964 and Turino 1993) sometimes occurs in MTM. Members of *King Chiaullee* have been known to compose tunes in collaboration—for example, 'Wyrd' (which Adam Rhodes and Gilno Carswell composed together), already contained accidentals and quirky rhythmic pauses that make it stand out as creative, but when *King Chiaullee* arranged it into a set, they decided to pair it up with a trad tune from Cornwall called 'Newlyn Fisherman's Reel', which, strangely enough, sounds very Eastern-European in style; therefore, they thought it would be fun to add to it Eastern-European inspired musical elements, some of which they borrowed directly from a Russian classical piece they had heard during their classical training. The resultant tune, 'Wyrdskii' (Musical example 1, see Appendix B), was more so a result of the group arranging process, and thus demonstrates how group arranging can result in a new tune or alter an existing one; it also shows the impact of classical training on creative practice (see Section 4.3). Another example, 'That Tune We Wrote In Cornwall' (Musical example 2), was a collaborative effort by Gilno Carswell and David Kilgallon. The tune has an unusual three-part structure (ABC), the C part of which contains what Gilno aptly describes as "oddness" (namely: sudden, syncopated stops and starts) (personal interview, April 5, 2018). This tune was also significantly influenced by *King Chiaullee*'s arrangement of it; regardless, the tune is a product of two very creative minds composing together, which David Kilgallon vaguely describes here:

> Sometimes I'd sit down with Gilno and come up with something, or I'd [already] have an A tune. We'd basically work together to try and get them in a tune, and I think the other times it's like *carving*[17]. […] [We] just happened to be in the room playing about or something and I quite liked the feel of it. […] We did work at some of them; we tried them out [and] said, "Here, I've got a tune here, what do you think?"—"Yeah, let's give it a go." And then that's when either people sort of felt […] like we've got something that we can work with or that, actually, it was kind of crap, and back to the drawing board again—and there were a lot of those. (personal interview, Sept. 22, 2017)

Essentially, their collaborative composition process consisted of 1) either presenting to Gilno (or vice versa) a small idea or perhaps a full A part idea, or unintentionally discovering an idea through "playing about" on their instruments in the same room and then 2) working on that idea together by sharing further ideas and critiques, following their natural creative instincts, and meticulously '*carving*' out a full tune. While 'That Tune We Wrote In Cornwall' is an excellent example of collaborative composition, other Manx groups have done so, as well, such as *Skeeal*:

[17] This likening of the gradual composition process—working out a tune from various ideas and eventually smoothing it out into the finished product—to *carving* to be an intriguing concept that requires further exploration.

> With one of our tracks, Paul had a little loop—a little chord sequence—and we all wrote our little tune over the top of it, and it became a [set] called 'Kitten Cake'—because it's light and fluffy and in layers. So, we all wrote our own bit for that and each person wrote their own little line which comes in as a motif and then they all go together.
>
> (personal interview, April 9, 2018)

Here, *Skeeal* shows another possible form of group composition (and arranging)—collaboratively creating a piece of music by layering individual members' musical ideas.

The second above example from *King Chiaullee* also reveals another type of composition: writing three-part tunes. As most tunes typically have two parts (A and B), writing three-part tunes (A, B, and C) is a way of exploring the creative possibilities of MTM. Matt Kelly is known for several such compositions, like 'Magnetic Hill' (Musical example 3) (composed on mandolin). Matt's tendency to write three-part tunes was initially inspired by two of *King Chiaullee*'s favorite innovative trad groups, Shooglenifty and Kíla, and by his natural creative instincts: "It's just what seemed natural to me. […] I didn't think two [parts] was enough—so [instead] you'd have a beginning, middle, and an end. […] You didn't have to resolve it quite so quickly" (personal interview, April 6, 2018).

Similarly, another form of composition is Matt's short solo pieces on guitar and mandolin, which the band used as (either fun and silly, or slower and calmer) interludes, interspersed throughout their energetic live sets (and CDs). Eventually, Matt's solos began to be arranged into *King Chiaullee's* sets of tunes (rather than serving as stand-alone pieces/tracks), this process thereby essentially transforming them into 'tunes' in their own right (Gilno Carswell, personal interview, April 5, 2018). In general, *King Chiaullee's* interlude pieces are quite unique and therefore not representative of a common creative practice in MTM; nevertheless, they indicate the broad range of creative possibilities. One particularly noteworthy interlude piece is Gilno Carswell's 'Rushen' (Musical example 4), which is fittingly described as "a Russian style ditty" that became "more like a musical accompaniment to a black and white film" (King Chiaullee 2006, liner notes) due to David Kilgallon's piano accompaniment in a similar style to a that used for early cinematic productions. Gilno explains that 'Rushen' started as a "weird little dance track", but then turned "into something utterly different", though more or less retaining the original melody (personal interview, April 5, 2018). Another tune by Gilno, 'Tobin's Chomp' (published in the *Kiaull yn Theay 4* tunebook, but not yet performed, arranged, or recorded), is also a great example of a unique composing process: the tune was specifically

composed overtop of a preexisting recording—Brazilian electronic musician Amon Tobin's 'Chomp Samba' (1997), which Gilno describes as "a strange drum and bass thing" (ibid.).

Gilno and David Kilgallon also wrote a 'tune' called 'Compo' (Musical example 5) that basically acts as a transitional section between a set of tunes ('Asleep At the Wagon Wheel') and Manx trad song '*Hie Mee Stiagh*'. Although not necessarily a 'tune', as it is primarily based on a repeated *riff*, it demonstrate the group's creativity and willingness to go beyond the conventional structures and approaches of traditional music. Gilno recalls taking a fiddle riff David had created and, together with him, repeating it, in the process 'altering' it and 'building on' it, with the aim of eventually transitioning directly into the song (personal interview, April 5, 2018). This type of composing is also representative of a number of bands that use riffs, motifs, short tunes, and other small melodic elements either before, between, and/or after verses and refrains of a song, or as some sort of transition or textural component.

Another composing method is to take inspiration from various existing compositions. For example, Gilno recalls hearing the jingle from "a strange pot noodle advert[isement]", which inspired the composition of his tune 'Tune Generique' (ibid.). Similarly, Quigley (1995) explored the concept of 'noticing', a "fundamental cognitive act which provides an initial musical idea"—usually hearing a particular ambient sound or noise (e.g. a car engine), a preexisting melody, or a novel combination of notes that initially inspires a new composition (Quigley 1995:73). 'Noticing' can be usefully applied to the generative processes of contemporary Manx trad musicians, such as in the case of Gilno aurally 'noticing' an advertisement jingle, thus sparking an idea for a new tune. David Kilgallon also explained that, as he developed as a young musician, he would often imitate (on piano or fiddle) melodies and sounds he heard around him; in this way, the cognitive act of 'noticing' not only serves as an initial starting point for creativity, but also facilitates honing the aural skills (part of the musical toolbox) so crucial to generative processes.

Improvisation is another fundamental generative act that can provide and develop musical ideas during composition (and performance). As a form of composing, improvisation was not typically mentioned by my interview partners. However, I believe that the majority of them engage in subconscious improvisation—for instance, 'playing around' on one's instrument, searching for an initial musical idea of interest (cf. Quigley 1995—"allowing his fingers to wander through patterns he knew while exerting a minimum of evaluative constraints" was Émile Benoît's primary method of generating new musical ideas (Quigley 1995:74)).

Newly generated musical ideas are then developed and completed through a process of trial and error, as described by Matt Kelly:

> You jam quite idly for a little while and you'll just play anything that comes to mind, almost absent-mindedly […] and then you just hit upon something—a run of notes, like, "Ah, I like the sound of that"—[…] and just keep adding to it, trying those notes with more or less every other note where it should go to next, and then a few more will come […] and it just blossoms from there. (personal interview, April 6, 2018)

Isla Callister, however, suggests that she *consciously* engages in improvisation as a means of generating and developing ideas for new tunes. This process often consists of turning on a drone (presumably via a smartphone app) in a certain key and either searching for new ideas or developing already existing ones (personal interview, April 4, 2018). Whether an unconscious or conscious decision, improvisation is a critical generative process that continually provides musicians with new ideas and allows those ideas to be developed into completed compositions.

Manx musicians often purposefully impose certain prompts or parameters on their generative processes. For example, Katie Lawrence finds that she is naturally inclined to composes waltzes, but sometimes, in order to create something more novel, she might choose 'at random' an uncommon time signature, like 7/8 or 15/8, in which to "be as daft as possible" (personal interview, Sept. 30, 2017). This decision is largely inspired by her listening tastes (such as Balkan music and innovative trad groups like Solas, who have composed tunes in odd times) and perhaps by her friends in *King Chiaullee* who also use odd time signatures; this process has resulted in several new tunes, such as her 'Broken Rollercoaster', which changes between 7/8 and 10/8 (ibid.). In other cases, musicians sometimes compose in order to practice a specific instrumental technique. For example, in order to practice the 'half-holing' technique, Beccy Hurst composed her tune 'The Plastic Octopus', and she has also composed others tunes to practice the 'cranning' technique (personal interview, March 30, 2018). This is a particularly useful method of composition, as it not only facilitates the improvement of technical skills but also results in unique, original tunes. In general, imposing parameters on one's generative process can result in novel ideas that otherwise might not be conceived or 'noticed'.

Finally, musicians sometimes compose tunes based on pre-existing ones. Although I find that the concept of the tune family is not suitable for an examination of contemporary Manx compositions, which are arguably too diverse to locate musical elements that could point to any sort of relationship (other than the fact that they might have been composed by the same person), Cowdery's 'outlining principle' and 'conjoining principle' could be application, in that the

former proposes that two tunes (in this case, the original and the one inspired by the original) have a contour that is generally similar but with some variation, and the latter suggests two tunes might have one part (A or B) in common, while the other part is unique, thus giving each tune its own distinct identity (Cowdery 1984). Gilno Carswell's tune 'Stüle, ja Stüle' is based on a traditional Manx jig (called 'Jig') with a modern B part by revivalist David Speers (King Chiaullee 2003, liner notes). Gilno explains that his creative process often entails "trying to write something new which maybe you could marry up with something trad or more established", usually in an unobtrusive, not entirely obvious way (personal interview, April 5, 2018). In general, the result of *reinterpreting*—consciously (or unconsciously) altering an existing melody—is only considered a new composition when alterations are extreme (cf. Turino 1993 and Cowdery 1984). A prime example of this is David Kilgallon's 'Allen Barbara' (Musical example 6): in the A part, David changed the time signature of the original tune ('Barbara Allen': Figure 2) from 6/4 to 12/8 and 6/8 (in the last measure) and significantly altered the original melody; he also added a new B part that changes between 12/8 and 15/8 and includes several accidentals, thus creating a unique new composition inspired by the original tune. David is known for both his complex, quirky original tunes and his drastic reinterpretations of trad tunes, some of which I will discuss in the following section.

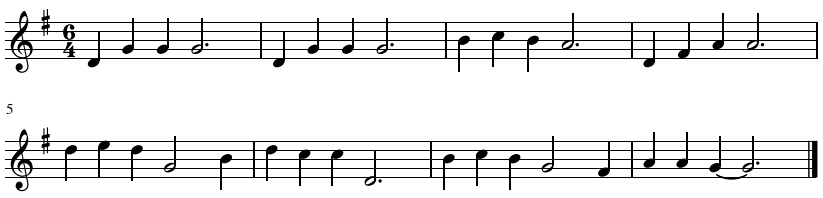

Figure 2: Barbara Allen 'A part' (trad. Manx, tune fragment), adapted from Jerry 1986:35

4.2 Reinterpreting

Creating new versions of traditional tunes (or more recently composed tunes) is the second main form of creative practice that I have observed in MTM. Merriam (1964) suggests the term 'conscious revision', while my interview partners have provided several other terms for this practice, such as "adapting" (Beccy Hurst, personal interview, March 30, 2018) and "repairing" (Breesha Maddrell, personal interview, Sept. 28, 2017). Regardless of terminology, reinterpreting is a highly individualized practice that yields a personal variant of a pre-existing original melody. Breesha Maddrell clarifies that the main purpose of reinterpretation is to create out of the existing material a version that one truly wants to play—if the original is somehow lacking, boring, or feels unnatural to an individual, he or she will seek to change it to better

fulfill one's personal enjoyment of playing the tune (personal interview, Sept. 28, 2017 and April 9, 2018). As elaborated in Section 3, this "making a song [or tune] your own," Breesha argues, is an integral part of the tradition (ibid., April 9, 2018). In order to better illustrate the creative practice of reinterpreting in contemporary MTM, I will present several examples.

Several traditional Manx tunes are reinterpreted more frequently than others; one of them is '*Arrane ny Niee*' (a 'fairy washing song'), which *King Chiaullee* and *Mactullagh Vannin*, among others, have interpreted in new ways (compare to the original, bare bones version of the tune: Figure 3). Rather than singing the song, both groups have adapted instrumental versions—in itself a common form of reinterpretation in MTM. *Mactullagh Vannin*'s version (Musical example 7) changes the original 3/4 time signature to a 4/4 hornpipe (emphasizing beats one and three, slightly swung) and is given a more arranged backing than is typical in a Manx dancing context. This, too—altering the original time signature and tune type (reel, hornpipe, jig, waltz)—is common practice in MTM. On the other hand, David Kilgallon's version (performed by *King Chiaullee*) of '*Arrane ny Niee*' (Musical example 8) pushes the boundaries of the creative possibilities of reinterpreting. Rather than a slow melody in 3/4, *King Chiaullee* play it as an energetic jig (in 6/8), giving the tune a much different sound and feel and making the A part melody *almost* indistinguishable from the original; David's significantly altered B part melody begins a minor third above the original and is played in descending syncopated dotted eighth note triplets. Moreover, in their arrangement, the tune is introduced with the B part (rather than the A part, as is usual in trad music), the key is F major (rather than the original G major), and the A part is changed from F major to D major the last two times (thus, the structure is BABAB***A***B***A***B, where ***A*** marks the A part in D major).

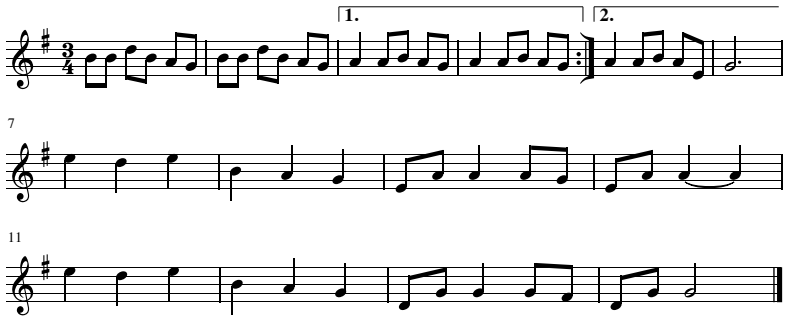

Figure 3: *Arrane ny Niee* (trad. Manx), adapted from Jerry 1986:66

The second frequently reinterpreted Manx trad tune is 'Flitter Dance'[18]. The acoustic duo *Strengyn* (Paul Rogers on guitar and Matt Kelly on mandolin) created a "funked up, rock

[18] I am aware of nine variants from commercial CD recordings; there are likely more than have not been recorded.

balladesque" version (Musical example 9) (Manx Heritage Foundation 2013, liner notes)—while this variant remains true to the original melody, the funky guitar backing places it in a different, more modern setting. Similarly, *Mec Lir*'s version (Musical example 10) is also very modernized, with funky drum kit (Scottish drummer Greg Barry), blistering organ (David Kilgallon), Irish bouzouki (Adam Rhodes) played through several effects pedals, and Tom Callister's slightly altered, heavily ornamented interpretation of the melody on fiddle. Finally, another noteworthy reinterpretation of 'Flitter Dance' is *Skeeal*'s 'Flitter Death' (Musical example 11): accompanied by Paul Rogers' driving guitar and singer Phil Gawne's words for rhythmic emphasis, the two flutes harmonize with each other and, rather than playing the entire A part, only play the first measure as a repeated riff before and after playing the full B part.

In order to fully demonstrate the range of MTM, I must mention the band *Moot*—one of the most innovative groups in contemporary MTM. I have chosen a single example of their reinterpretation of a trad song, although they have several: their version of trad Manx song '*Arrane Oie Vie*' (Musical example 12) is particularly representative. Underneath a looped backing made from samples by Robert Cain, Aalin Clague (see Appendix A) sings the melody (in 4/4, rather than the original 6/4) closer to the original the first time through, but varies and ornaments it differently each subsequent time, drawing it out and extending it, while Breesha Maddrell's flute meanders between Aalin's sung phrases.

Another way of reinterpreting songs is to change the lyrics (cf. Merriam 1964). For example, *Skeeal* decided to write new words to the traditional song '*Hie Mee Stiagh*', the original text of which is uncomfortably sexually explicit. Since *Skeeal*'s members are very involved in the Manx language scene, they wanted to make the song more accessible and appropriate to Manx speakers (of which there are increasingly more, particularly children) and to themselves (they felt embarrassed singing it). Their new words are about eating cake: "Phil [Gawne] and Paul [Rogers] loved cake more than anything," and so "it worked well for them, and they could sing it from the heart" (Breesha Maddrell, personal interview, April 9, 2018).

Finally, *King Chiaullee*'s reinterpretation of Manx trad tune '*She Bosun dy Row ayns Dover s'Thie*' (Musical example 13) (see Figure 4, next page, for notation of original tune) is worth examination, despite being an apparently lesser known tune. The group breathed new life into this tune by giving it a Cuban jazz feel, littered with tricky syncopated rhythms underneath Gilno Carswell's flashy, jazzed-up interpretation of the tune on whistle. Adam Rhodes begins by playing a steady shaker rhythm (which remains throughout the entire track); this is then fol-

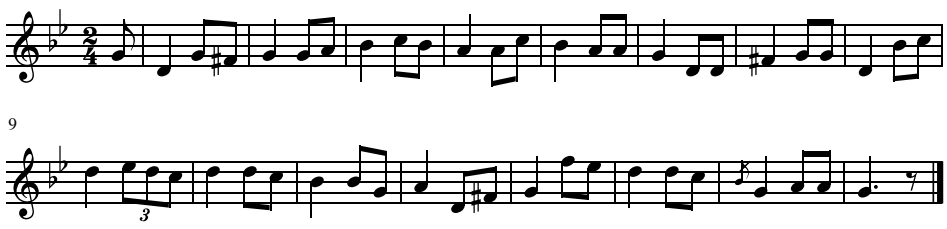

Figure 4: *She Bosun dy Row ayns Dover s'Thie* (trad. Manx), adapted from Clague 1893:20

lowed by Russell Cowin's syncopated pizzicato double bass riff, which is joined by David Kilgallon's piano and Matt Kelly's guitar vamp. All of these parts combined give a false impression of the down beat, which becomes apparent when they launch into full-on Cuban jazz style, led by David's *montuno* inspired chord progression. After this, Gilno enters on whistle, playing his jazzy version of the trad tune's A part while the others maintain the seemingly off-beat syncopated vamp from the introduction. The B part of the tune is significantly altered, in a jazzy style, and played over the *montuno* piano progression. The rest of the arrangement continues in this manner, with two brief instrumental sections after the B parts, until the track fades out with the *montuno* piano played over the syncopated bass line. All in all, this arrangement very clearly demonstrates *King Chiaullee*'s ability to adopt different styles of music and successfully apply them to MTM. It also showcases Gilno's improvisational whistle style, which offers an entirely new slant to the traditional tune, and it fully reveals the flexible boundaries and the creativity-enabling ideology of contemporary MTM in practice. Each of the above examples demonstrates how the creative practice of reinterpreting involves accessing one's individual, personalized musical toolbox (which includes all of one's various musical influences) to rework traditional or pre-existing material in way that is at once true to the individual's voice and novel within the tradition. Finally, they also show the overlap that commonly occurs between the forms of creative practice, particularly between reinterpreting and arranging (sometimes to the extent that the former could be considered a sub-category of the latter). In order to to distinguish these processes, I give several key examples of arranging in the following section.

4.3 Arranging

The creative practice of arranging is most often undertaken in group collaboration; as I have shown, it can also occur simultaneously with the processes of composition and reinterpretation. Generally, arranging involves the creation of 'sets' that consist of any combination of:

1. traditional Manx material (tunes and songs)
2. originally composed material by contemporary Manx musicians
3. traditional material from other related traditions (Irish, Scottish, Welsh, etc.)
4. originally composed material by non-Manx contemporary trad musicians
5. 'non-trad' songs/pieces (mostly from Western-based genres/styles of music, like classical, rock, pop, jazz, 'world music', etc.)
6. introductory/transitional/conclusory musical elements composed by the arranging band or individual (these elements do not necessarily belong to #2 but may be borrowed from or influenced by #5)

Musicians make combinations of the above types of musical elements in myriad different ways that are unique to the group or individual engaged in the arranging process; the following examples illustrate some ways that are common to MTM and some that are more novel, pushing the boundaries of creative possibilities in MTM.

King Chiaullee's 'Hatt Set' (Musical example 14) is an excellent example of a set that includes traditional and original Manx tunes (Elements 1 and 2, as above), a song from another tradition (Element 3) and a song from Western popular music (Element 5), all linked up by clever transitions, some of which were inspired by or borrowed from pre-existing music in the rock/metal genre (Element 6). Gilno Carswell describes the set (particularly the ending) as a joke, while others have called it "a set full of endings" (personal interview, April 5, 2018). The set begins with Manx trad tune '*Arrane y Chlean*' before Matt Kelly's guitar riff transitions the set into 'The Herring Boys', a trad Manx song (sung by D. Kilgallon). After the song, the set switches to another transition characterized by another guitar riff (based on a Rob Zombie guitar riff introduced to the band by Gilno), a humorous, maniacal laugh from David, and an extended bridge section marked by a repeated riff on the two fiddles, gradually transitioning into the trad Manx tune 'Flitter Dance'. The use of 'riffs' inspired by non-trad music was a common practice for *King Chiaullee*, commonly a result of Gilno's insistence and influence, as David explains:

> [Gilno] was into, like, *thrash*…you know, that sort of thing, and, actually, some things he was listening to, he'd pinch riffs from […] and he'd say, "Ahhh, here's this great riff, I'm gonna get that into the set somewhere" […] So, like, "Oh, this is a bit from Rammstein, I want to use that." (personal interview, Sept. 22, 2017)

Additionally, sometimes the group's strong desire to use a certain riff forced them to adapt the tune to fit the riff, a creative adjustment that they welcomed (Matt Kelly, personal interview, April 6, 2018). After several times through 'Flitter Dance', the group moves on to yet another transition (signaled by a groovy, rock-like guitar riff) and into Adam Rhodes' tune 'The Baldheaded Champion', which goes through several different feels (including a shift to the

parallel major key for the final iteration of the B part) and finally transitions into another rock-inspired guitar riff, overtop of which David and Gilno sing the English folk song 'All Around My Hat'. Eventually, Gilno continues to sing 'All Around My Hat,' while David veers off into 'Mercedes Benz' (1970) by Janis Joplin, creating a kind of contrapuntal trad–blues 'mash-up' that continues until the set concludes. Clearly, this impressively lengthy set (12 minutes) is particularly creative in its extensive use of riffs, the way in which *King Chiaullee* was able to transition between each tune or song, and the clever mash-up at the finale.

Other groups, especially those with Paul Rogers as a member (*Skeeal*, *Strengyn*, and others) or mentor (*Scran*), have incorporated non-trad material to great effect. For example, *Tree Cassyn*, a trio that included Paul (guitar) and Isla Callister (fiddle), arranged a set in which they integrated Michael Jackson's 'Smooth Criminal' by playing a brief instrumental 'trad' adaptation of its verse and refrain as a transition between two Manx tunes (manxmusicanddance 2014, online video). Paul Rogers and Matt Kelly (as *Strengyn*) frequently arranged sets with non-trad elements, including film music, rock riffs, "medieval stuff", and Vivaldi's 'Mandolin Concerto' (Paul Rogers, personal interview, Sept. 27, 2018 and Matt Kelly, personal interview, April 6, 2018). The young, up-and-coming band *Scran* also frequently arranges in this way, 'jazzing up' the Manx trad tunes and incorporating various musical elements into the mix, such as the James Bond theme as backing to a trad tune (Aerin Roberts, personal interview, September 28, 2018). In general, arranging in this manner is very much in line with MTM's fundamental ideology toward creative practice (see Section 3).

Another particularly noteworthy arranging feat is *King Chiaullee*'s 'Three Legs' (Musical example 15), which occupies the first half of the aptly named 'Funky Set' (from their 2006 CD *Nish!*). 'Three Legs' is a composite three-part tune created from combining one half (the A or B part only) of three separate tunes: the A part of the trad Irish tune 'The Rights of Man', the B part of the trad Manx melody '*Carval ny Drogh Vraane*', and the B part of 'Brenda Stubbart's' (by Cape Breton fiddler Jerry Holland), which, in that order, form the A, B, and C parts of 'Three Legs' (the complete structure of which could be roughly notated as AABBCC/AABBCC/bridge/AABB***C***C). This is the type of clever arranging that is completely novel and innovative not only in MTM but in trad music in general. Not only that, but *King Chiaullee* interprets all three parts in a heavily swung, jazzy/funky style, making this yet another example of the overlap between the creative practices of reinterpreting and arranging.

Manx trad musicians also frequently arrange their sets by including multiple key changes (as mentioned in the previous section, regarding *King Chiaullee*'s version of '*Arrane ny Niee*'). As an excellent example of this, the 'Club Sandwich' set by *Sheear*, which consisted of Breesha Maddrell, Chloë Woolley, Katie Lawrence, and Cinzia Yates, modulates four times in total, between two different tunes ([CinziaYates] 2010, online video). Beginning with 'Garey Ford' (by Peddyr Cubberley), the first key change occurs when the band transitions into Manx trad tune '*My Shenn Ayr*'. With each modulation to a brand new key, they alternate between the two tunes, finally concluding the set with the first tune. I have thus notated the overarching structure as 11m2m1m2m11, with 1 being 'Garey Ford' (AABB structure each time), 2 being '*My Shenn Ayr*' (AABB structure), and 'm' denoting a modulation (the first tune appears in a total of three and the second in a total of two key signatures). This practice, and the ability to successfully accomplish it, is an obvious testament to the impact of classical training in the IOM, which I intend to further highlight with the next and final example.

The final example in this section displays not only top-notch arranging and creativity, but also the influence of classical training on Manx trad musicians. *King Chiaullee*'s 'Take a 'B' Out' set (Musical example 16) begins with a guitar riff by Matt Kelly that was achieved by changing his guitar to a random, 'daft' tuning (EACGCe) that he created (personal interview, April 6, 2018). Matt's riff accompanies the first tune, 'Sac' by Gilno Carswell (one of his first ever compositions, from 1995), which goes through several different iterations, including the two fiddles (David and Adam) playing in round (0:52-1:00). The group plays through the tune four times in total, adding in an extra B part the fourth time (AABBAABBAABBAABBBB) before switching from the key of A minor to E minor for the second tune of the set, '*Balley Keill Eoin*' (by Peddyr Cubberley). At the end of the very first time through the A part, there is a sudden decrease in tempo (1:23); in *rubato*, the two fiddles, bowed double bass, and whistle play a slow, delicate descending phrase loosely based on the original notes in the final measure of the tune's A part. The way each instrument is voiced to create a complex group harmony required concentrated effort during the arranging process (Gilno Carswell, personal interview, April 5, 2018), but clearly displays the theoretical skills that the members of *King Chiaullee* gained from classical training. Coming out of that 'break-down' section, Russell Cowin plays a descending pizzicato bass pickup reminiscent of a jazz walking bassline (1:51) and the band resumes the tune, playing the A and B parts in different variants; they end the tune with the A part, which is significantly 'funked up' with harmonized, syncopated, chromatic fiddle 'fills'

based on the original notes (3:00-3:17). Skipping the B part entirely (hence the set's title, 'Take a 'B' Out'), the band modulates directly from the key of E minor to D major, beginning their adaptation of Béla Bartók's 'Romanian Folk Dances, No. 6 (*Aprózó* / *Mărunțel* / Fast Dance)', which itself goes through several key changes in its original form. While they mostly adhere to the original melody and harmonies, *King Chiaullee* slightly modified the structure, presumably in order to make it more suitable for 'trad' music, which is typically quite linear; thus, the structure is AABCCAABCC (rather than the Bartók version, which is more like AABCBC***C***); this is played twice through before ending on a D major chord. Interestingly, Béla Bartók himself suggested a theory of "crossing and recrossing", the process by which a particular melody is "taken over" or reinterpreted/'communally re-created' (cf. Merriam 1964) by another culture; this new version is then at some point "retaken" by the original culture and again reinterpreted in an entirely new way (Bartók 1944:132). In the case of *King Chiaullee*, Bartók's adaptation of a Romanian folk dance melody to the Western classical idiom was subsequently reinterpreted by *King Chiaullee* in a 'trad' idiom and structure; this presents another form of Bartók's 'crossing and recrossing' perhaps more representative of twenty-first century global cultural flows. I find 'Take a 'B' Out' to be the most quintessentially '*King Chiaullee*' and one of several examples most representative of contemporary MTM and the various creativity-enabling factors at play in the MTM community. The idea of simply taking a B part out because 1) it sounded better, 2) it would surprise and entertain listeners, and 3) it undoubtedly personally amused them, epitomizes the type of creativity that defines *King Chiaullee* as a group and, likewise, helps to define the creativity-enabling ideology of MTM, in which creative practice is not at all inhibited by certain expected structures, repertoires, or styles. It is also an indisputable example of how the skills acquired from classical training—a key component of any individual's musical toolbox in MTM—allow musicians to arrange music in creative and potentially novel and innovative ways, both through the direct use of Western classical music and through the ability to arrange complex harmonies and voicings and successfully modulate keys several times within the same set. Fully taking advantage of their orchestral background, David Kilgallon explains their desire not just to arrange, but to *orchestrate* (personal interview, Sept. 22, 2017), Matt Kelly describes the arranging (or orchestrating) process as using whatever seemed natural to the group (different styles, keys, time signatures, metric/rhythmic feels, etc.) to 'decorate' the set (personal interview, April 6, 2018). Drawing on their individual (and mutual) musical toolboxes, individual members suggested ideas on which the group would then

build more ideas, make adjustments and alterations, and ultimately fashion a complete set. In general, the *King Chiaullee*'s ethos or approach to the arranging process was as follows:

> A lot of it was trying to find something old that we could mix with something modern or something *other* […] [and] just kind of somehow *squidging* it all together—[…] somehow linking the different styles and eras, I suppose. […] Taking things which maybe didn't *quite* fit together and finding a way of linking them up. There might be some kind of *theme* or maybe a *riff* or something which unites them, but maybe they're not an obvious fit, but we'd find some way of bridging a gap.
>
> (Gilno Carswell, personal interview, April 5, 2018)

King Chiaullee took this particular approach to its maximum capacity. Coupled with the individual members' unique composing and playing styles, it was an approach that was, arguably, unrivaled in MTM at the time, and this innovative character garnered the group an almost legendary status amongst the MTM community. Since then, similar approaches to arranging, varying in extent and exact method(s), are clearly observable among other Manx bands. Furthermore, other groups that were active at the same time as *King Chiaullee*, such as *Moot* and *Skeeal*, were also innovative with arranging in various different ways, and they have also expanded the range of creative possibilities and the boundaries of MTM. In general, each musician ultimately has a highly individualized musical toolbox, and as a result, one person's specific creative methods and ideals will differ from another's, thus contributing to the unique character and voice of each group's or individual's arrangements. All Manx musicians, however, tend to practice arranging at a high level of creativity—evidence of the various factors that enable the flourishing of creativity within the flexible, open boundaries of MTM. Overall, as I have attempted to demonstrate through the above examples, the variety of the three main forms of creative practice (composing, reinterpreting, and arranging) clearly reflects MTM's core ideology toward creative practice, as discussed in Section 3.

5 Conclusions

This thesis is a study of contemporary, post-revival Manx traditional music in the small community that practices it in the Isle of Man. I have examined various environmental and sociocultural factors that influence and motivate Manx traditional musicians to engage in creative practice, the revived tradition's creativity-enabling ideology of creative freedom and open boundaries, and the three most common forms of creative practice—composing, reinterpreting, and arranging—which reflect the range of accepted and valued creative activity and possibility in contemporary Manx traditional music.

An interpretation of my research data could present a conceptual model (Figure 5) of a cyclic process, revolving around *ideology* as the core enabler (or inhibitor) of creative practice within any given music tradition or culture. On one side of the cycle is creative practice itself, which is *ideology-forming*: individual musicians' creative activities shape and reshape the boundaries of the musical tradition, as well as ideology toward creative practice. On the other side of the cycle is the community's legitimization as authentic and valorization of creative practice. This process is *ideology-maintaining*, in that the ideology (whether enabling or inhibiting of creativity) formed through creative practice is established and maintained by the community as a key aspect of the tradition that determines future creative activity.

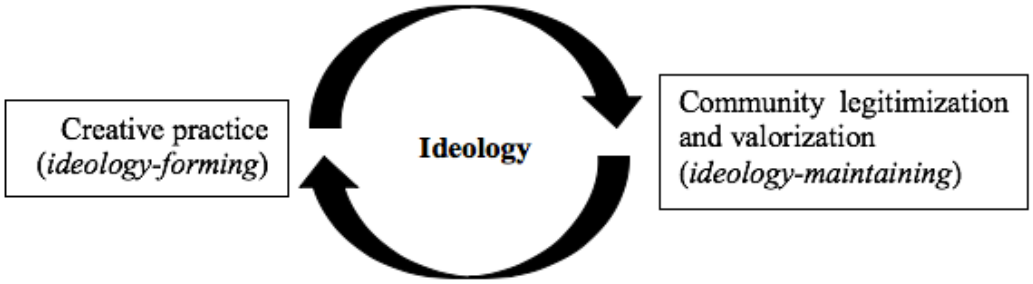

Figure 5: Conceptual model of creative practice's shaping and maintaining of ideology

This process can be observed in a number of music traditions around the world, such as American folk and old-time music (Hill 2012), Newfoundland folk fiddling (Quigley 1995) and Conimeño instrumental ensembles (Turino 1993), in all of which ideology is maintained, to different degrees, by a community consisting of the musicians themselves and their regular audience(s), and Finnish contemporary folk music (Hill 2005 and 2012), in which ideology is largely maintained by an institution—the Sibelius Academy Folk Music Department—and musicians affiliated with it. In MTM, ideology is principally maintained only by those involved in the MTM community; audiences, whether in the IOM or elsewhere, have little to no impact on MTM's ideology and creative activity (I include the possibility of some influence, because sometimes more 'professional' bands and musicians purposefully *limit* their creativity in order to appeal to a larger audience, but the majority of Manx musicians are amateur or 'semi-professional' and do not feel the need to limit the range of their creative practice for anyone but themselves, if they so choose). Through individual creative acts, the contemporary Manx ideology is formed; then, through the community's acceptance of those creative acts as authentic and valuable to the tradition, the ideology is established and maintained; this then leads to further creative practice, which can either maintain the ideology by conforming to

already existing boundaries, or attempt to reshape it through nonconformity and innovation; if these 'idiom-transforming acts' (Hill 2018:6) are accepted by the community, the ideology (and with it, the boundaries of the tradition) is expanded or in some way altered; the cycle continues in this manner with each creative act.

To this could be applied Rice's model of formative processes, which proposes that "music is historically constructed, socially maintained, and individually created and experienced" (Rice 2017:6). Although the revival of MTM so significantly transformed any previously existing folk music tradition in the IOM that, essentially, a new tradition was created (as is often the end result of most music revivals, as noted by Austerlitz 2000 and Hill and Bithell 2014, among others), contemporary, post-revival MTM is a still a product of historical construction: undocumented historical creative activity, later preservation and documentation efforts, and, finally, a full-on revival. During and since the revival, the cycle of ideology formation (through individuals' creative practice) and ideology maintenance (by the revival community) has ensued. As shown throughout this thesis, all three of Rice's formative processes define MTM as a unique music tradition set aside from other similar and dissimilar traditions around the world that also undergo such processes in their own unique ways.

Finally, creative practice in contemporary MTM aligns itself with Hill's (2012 and 2018) ideas about creativity-enabling ideologies and factors. Her model of the six components (generativity, agency, interaction, nonconformity, recycling, and flow) experienced by musicians exercising creativity (Hill 2018:4) is easily applicable to contemporary MTM, in which all six components are often supported and experienced by those musicians who opt to engage in creative practice. Additionally, Finnish contemporary folk music's core ideology towards ideals of authenticity and creativity involves a 'folk creative process', "in which one learns the tradition and then expresses it in one's own personal way, incorporating whatever influences may have touched the artist's life" (Hill 2012:90); this is very similar to MTM's core ideology toward creative practice, although in MTM it is more so the final sound product rather than the process that is valorized and legitimized as *ideology-forming*, boundary-shaping, and potentially 'idiom-transforming'. Even though the innovative end of the spectrum has not yet been explored with as much confidence as in Finland, contemporary MTM nevertheless serves as a unique music culture that both demonstrates and validates some of the ways in which creative practice and potential are most effectively enabled and enhanced.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
Interview partners:
Brief biographical introductions by alphabetical order (surname)

Robert Cain and **Aalin Clague**: This pair belongs to Manx Gaelic choir *Caarjyn Cooidjagh*, their formerly active trio, *Moot*, and currently active band, *Clash Vooar*, in which Aalin sings and plays cornet and Robert plays/controls various non-trad instruments, such as synthesizers, loops/samples, electric guitar, and ukulele, among others. I interviewed them together in Peel, outside of the "House of Manannan" museum, on April 7, 2018.

Isla Callister: She currently studies traditional music and fiddle in Glasgow (Scotland) and belongs to the talented band *Trip*, which is made up of young trad musicians from various parts of the British Isles. In the IOM, Isla was heavily involved in the MTM community and is a fluent speaker of Manx Gaelic. She is an extraordinary composer of modern tunes, some of which have been recorded and performed by the award-winning group *Ímar*[19]. I interviewed Isla at a session in the Albert Hotel, Port St. Mary, on April 4, 2018.

Gilno Carswell: As a musician and whistle player in *King Chiaullee* and a prolific tune-writer, he is well-respected by the MTM community and known for his inventive style of playing and composing. I interviewed Gilno in Douglas on April 5, 2018.

Robert "Bob" Corteen Carswell: He is the father of Gilno and a well-known and well-respected member of the Manx language and MTM communities. As a Manx dancer, whistle player, poet, song-writer, and speaker of Manx Gaelic, he was a prominent figure in the MTM revival. Several of his songs have found their way into the popular canon of MTM. I interviewed Bob at Culture Vannin, in St. John's, on April 9, 2018.

Russell Cowin: He co-founded *King Chiaullee*, in which he played *bodhrán* (Irish frame drum) and double bass. Russell has also played in various groups, such as *Scammylt* and The Mollag Band. For his M.A. in Manx Studies at the former Centre for Manx Studies at the University of Liverpool, he wrote his 2007 dissertation on commercial recordings in MTM. I interviewed Russell at his home in Onchan on September 25, 2017.

Beccy Hurst: A whistle and concertina player and tune-writer involved in MTM from a young age, Beccy formed her band, *Birlinn Jiarg*, which primarily plays Manx trad tunes and Beccy's original (considered modern Manx) tunes, while studying in the Folk Music program at Newcastle University (England). I interviewed Beccy in Ramsey, during *Shennaghys Jiu*, on March 30, 2018.

Gráinne Joughin: Growing up immersed in the MTM community, Gráinne was active in folk dance group *Perree Bane* before co-forming a separate, all-girls group called *Perree T*, which choreographed their own original dances often set to modern Manx tunes. After living in Wales for several years, Gráinne returned to the IOM and recently founded the dance group *Skeddan Jiarg*. I interviewed her at Sailor's Shelter, in Peel, after a dance rehearsal on September 24, 2017.

Greg Joughin: Greg has been active in Manx dance, music and culture for many years and is perhaps best known as the guitarist and lead singer of The Mollag Band, a folk group that sings in English and

[19] In which two members are Manx: Adam Rhodes (of *King Chiaullee, Barrule*, and *Mec Lir*) and Isla's older brother, Tom Callister (also of *Barrule* and *Mec Lir*), both of whom live in Glasgow, Scotland. Their rigorous professional touring schedule with various groups meant that I was unfortunately not able to interview them.

Manx, performing original material and some traditional material. As a songwriter, Greg is known for his original lyrics that commonly deal with themes of political protest and environmental activism. I interviewed Greg at his beach-side home in Peel on September 26, 2017.

Ruth Keggin: A Manx Gaelic singer and multi-instrumentalist, Ruth has recorded and performed with her band *Nish as Rish* (renamed *a'Nish*) and her solo act. Her two solo CDs were backed by Culture Vannin and predominantly feature thoughtful arrangements of both trad and contem-porary Manx songs and tunes. I interviewed Ruth at the Manx Museum in Douglas on March 28, 2018.

Matthew (Matt) Kelly: Matthew co-founded and played guitar and mandolin in *King Chiaullee*. Since the band's dissolution, he has performed in *Strengyn* with Paul Rogers, among other musical pursuits. He is also involved in the MTM community in general, helping to organize and run events like the *Shennaghys Jiu* festival. I interviewed Matt in Douglas on April 6, 2018.

David Kilgallon: Having grown up immersed in the MTM community and undergone extensive classical training, David became a multi-instrumentalist and composer of unmatched talent. Aside from playing fiddle, keys, and singing and composing for *King Chiaullee*, David plays keys in *Mec Lir*, has contributed piano to several track on the *Barrule* CDs, and has composed several commissioned orchestral pieces, among countless other musical activities. I interviewed David in St. John's on September 22, 2017.

Katie Lawrence: She grew up involved in the MTM community and playing for dance groups like *Ny Fennee*. Katie released a CD in 2006 with her sister Kirsty (whistles and cello), with whom she continues to perform, and she has been in various other groups, such as *Paitchyn Vannin* and *Scammylt*. In addition to teaching classical-based music, Katie is one of the only trad fiddle teachers in the IOM, having taught Tom and Isla Callister, among others. Katie is also a prolific composer of new tunes, many of which are very popular in the MTM community. I briefly interviewed Katie at Sailor's Shelter in Peel on September 24 and once again, briefly, on the ferry from Douglas to Liverpool on September 30, 2017; I conducted a more complete interview with her in Douglas on April 8, 2018.

Breesha Maddrell: Her deep involvement in Manx language, culture, music, and dance is demonstrated by her position as Director at Culture Vannin. She has researched Manx language and dialect and Manx song. Breesha is a singer in *Caarjyn Cooidjagh* and, as a flautist, a member of bands *Moot*, *Sheear*, *Skeeal*, and *Clash Vooar*. Breesha has done much to promote Manx music and culture, including compiling and publishing the *Kiaull yn Theay 3* and *4* tunebooks. I interviewed Breesha at Culture Vannin in St. John's twice: on September 28, 2017 and on April 9, 2018.

Paul Rogers: Originally from Wales, Paul has lived in the IOM for nearly two decades and teaches Manx Gaelic (and various courses *in* Manx) at QEII High School in Peel. A talented multi-instrumentalist, Paul has played guitar in various groups, like *Skeeal* and *Strengyn*, and regularly attends sessions, at which he plays guitar, fiddle, banjo, and various other stringed instruments. Paul also mentors *Scran*, a band that was formed from the *Bree* session workshops. I interviewed Paul at Culture Vannin in St. John's on September 28, 2017. **Aerin Roberts & Jack McLean** are two talented young musicians in *Scran*; I interviewed them with Paul Rogers at Culture Vannin on September 28, 2017.

Chloë Woolley: Involved in MTM from a young age, she eventually researched aspects of MTM for her master's thesis and PhD dissertation at the University of Edinburgh. She has been working for Culture Vannin for over a decade as Manx Music Development Officer and has done much to support MTM, including organizing the '*Bree*' youth movement, publishing various tunebooks and tutors for instruments, and generally being involved in many of the island's trad events. I interviewed Chloë in her office at Culture Vannin in St. John's on September 28, 2017.

Appendix B
Musical Examples

see: Discography (for more information)

Example 1: Wyrdskii, by Adam Rhodes and Gilno Carswell, performed by King Chiaullee. From Track 11 on *Baase Cooil Stroo*.

Example 2: That Tune We Wrote In Cornwall, by D. Kilgallon and G. Carswell (2000), performed by King Chiaullee. From Track 4 on *Reel:ode*.

Example 3: Magnetic Hill, by Matt Kelly (2005), performed by King Chiaullee. From Track 2 on *Nish!*.

Example 4: Rushen, by Gilno Carswell (2006), performed by King Chiaullee. Track 6 on *Nish!*.

Example 5: Compo, by D. Kilgallon and G. Carswell (2003), performed by King Chiaullee. From Track 4 on *Reel:ode.*

Example 6: Allen Barbara, by David Kilgallon (2006), performed by King Chiaullee. From Track 7 on *Nish!*.

Example 7: Arrane ny Niee, performed by Mactullagh Vannin. Track 5 on *Twisted Roots*.

Example 8: Arrane ny Niee, performed by King Chiaullee. From Track 3 on *Baase Cooil Stroo*.

Example 9: Flitter Dance, performed by Strengyn. From Track 1 on the 2013 CD *Blass*.

Example 10: Flitter Dance, performed by Mec Lir. From Track 4 on the 2014 CD *Not An EP*.

Example 11: Flitter Death, performed by Skeeal. From Track 4 on the 2009 CD *Slipway*.

Example 12: Arrane Oie Vie, performed by Moot. Track 13 on the 2001 CD *Uprooted*.

Example 13: She Bosun dy Row ayns Dover s'Thie, performed by King Chiaullee. 'Hidden track' at the end of track 12 on *Reel:ode*.

Example 14: Hatt Set, performed by King Chiaullee. Track 15 on *Baase Cooil Stroo*.

Example 15: Three Legs, arranged and performed by King Chiaullee. From Track 3 on *Nish!*.

Example 16: Take a 'B' Out, arranged and performed by King Chiaullee. Track 1 on *Reel:ode*.