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VERNON PRESS

SERIES IN PHILOSOPHY

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[www.vernonpress.com](http://www.vernonpress.com)

*In the Americas:*  
Vernon Press  
1000 N West Street,  
Suite 1200, Wilmington,  
Delaware 19801  
United States

*In the rest of the world:*  
Vernon Press  
C/Sancti Espiritu 17,  
Malaga, 29006  
Spain

Series in Philosophy

Library of Congress Control Number: 2019942228

ISBN: 978-1-62273-754-3

Cover design by Vernon Press. Cover image by Olivia Notaro ("Barbapapa", "Stag", "Duck", "Girl" from 2008, all 30 x 50 cm, Acrylic on canvas, framed).

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## Multiple authenticities of folk songs

Lea Hagmann and Franz Andres Morrissey

### **Abstract:**

*One of the key issues in the British Folk Revivals seems to be the notion of 'authenticity,' a term, which is foregrounded by the revivalists and is often the cause of highly emotional controversies. Revivalists tend to establish a 'historically informed performance practice,' which then becomes the norm. However, quite often newcomers to the scene challenge this universality and offer alternative interpretations instead, thereby causing severe controversies.*

*The frequently heard dichotomy 'purists' versus 'innovators' seems to arise from the fact that both factions seem to have different understandings of 'authenticity,' to which they refer. While the former look for 'historical authenticity', the latter are rather interested in the 'contemporary authenticity' of folk songs and how they integrate with the artists' personalities and ways of living. The debate around 'authenticity' becomes especially interesting during folk song performances, where in addition to the performers the audience constantly questions the 'authenticity' of the songs they hear. The authors of this chapter suggest a model of 'multiple authenticities' and evaluate it by taking the British folk song "Where Are You Going To?" (Roud No 298) as a case study. By comparing its appearance in various historic manuscripts as well as historical and contemporary recordings and performances, they analyse how this song keeps changing its music, its content and its use of language according to different contexts and the different interpretations of 'authenticity'.*

**Keywords:** folk music, revivalism, linguistics, performance, innovation

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### **Introduction**

Authenticity is a multi-layered and highly elusive concept, which seems to change its significance when it is applied to an object, a statement or a situation. In folk songs, the matter is further complicated by the fact that, on the one hand, they can be referred to as objects collected on paper or sound-recordings, i.e., as artefacts, while on the other hand, they also come to life the moment they are being sung, i.e., in performance. In this chapter, we discuss folk songs both as artefacts and in performance and evaluate how the concept of 'authenticity' changes according to these perspectives. We do so by introducing

a concept of *multiple authenticities*, based on notions by Denis Dutton and Regina Bendix. In the second part, we demonstrate how these insights work in practice with a case study of a folk song complex called *Where Are You Going To, Fair Maid?* with Roud number<sup>1</sup> 298. We conclude that ‘authenticity’ is a dialogic concept, which becomes ‘in-authentic’ as soon as its parameters become static.

### Folk songs and authenticity: introducing a model

One of the key issues in the British Folk Revivals<sup>2</sup> seems to be the notion of *authenticity*, a term which is foregrounded by the revivalists and is often the cause of highly emotional controversies.<sup>3</sup> The main problem herein lies in the fact that “much revival is about representing the past – but the representation itself takes place in the present,” as ethnomusicologist Owe Ronström summarizes.<sup>4</sup> This dilemma is not only an issue in folk music revivals but also in many other music scenes, such as the Early Music movement<sup>5</sup> or the revival of medieval music.<sup>6</sup>

Representing music of the past creates a number of problems. Folk songs, for instance, live in the moment of the performance. They vary from realization to realization and from singer to singer, and therefore inevitably develop and change over the time. Before the availability of recording devices, songs could only be noted down on paper, e.g., by folklorists like Cecil J. Sharp (1859–1924) or Sabine Baring-Gould (1834–1924) during the First British Folk Revival, with varying degrees of attention to detail. Thus, what folk songs really sounded like in former times leaves considerable room for interpretation. This not only concerns the musical aspects, but also the text and the use of the vernacular. In British folk songs, the only parameter which seems to be more or less stable is the story the song tells, as literary scholar Bertrand H. Bronson indicates in his account of variations in the written identical ballads sung by the legendary Mrs. Brown of Falkland (1747–1810); “What was it she had carried in her memory? Not a *text*, but a *ballad*: a fluid entity soluble in the mind, to be concretely realized at will in words and music.”<sup>7</sup>

As ethnomusicologist Tamara Livingston suggests, in the majority of music revivals the most common processes are the ambition to

- a) establish a corpus of revival music, i.e., a common repertoire,
- b) formulate a suitable narrative which surrounds the musical tradition and legitimizes its revival, and
- c) define the musical stylistic features, which distinguish the revival performance practice from other musical styles, e.g., mainstream pop, classical music or other folk musics.<sup>8</sup>

These aims are achieved by the revivalists’ research in libraries, in the field, e.g., by interviewing and recording primary informants, and in music archives. In a second step, revivalists, usually a small handful of people, analyze the written, aural and oral material and,

based on their results, then define what they consider a historically informed performance practice. The newly established stylistic parameters eventually become the norm for the interpretation of the revival corpus and are henceforth often regarded as unchangeable.<sup>9</sup>

However, in many revivals newcomers to the scene or second-generation musicians challenge the universality of these revival music aesthetics and offer alternative interpretations instead – an undertaking which, according to Livingston, can cause a revival to split.<sup>10</sup> In the innovators' eyes, the historically informed music practice is seen as artificial in the sense that the musical outcome is a soulless attempt to copy an unrepeatable – and in fact highly elusive and conjectural – original. Singer Martin Carthy (\*1940), one of the central figures in the early Second English folk revival, recalls that “if someone sang an old song that was new to everybody [...] your duty was to go and find a new version of it [...] that was the duty.”<sup>11</sup> At the same time a song might be considered to be better suited to the singers' way of performing if it were adapted to more contemporary practices, an approach that leads to the emerging English Folk-rock scene in the 1960s,<sup>12</sup> which fused ‘traditional’ folk music with contemporary rock. Similarly, in Irish traditional music in the 1980s and 1990s,<sup>13</sup> the world music sub-genre of ‘Celtic music’ was created and has since become extremely popular.<sup>14</sup>

The dichotomy ‘purists’ versus ‘innovators’ would appear to arise from the fact that both factions seem to work from different understandings of ‘authenticity.’ While the early revivalists try to establish norms based on the perception of historical authenticity, the second-generation artists are more interested in how folk song or folk music integrates with their artistic interpretations and the styles of their delivery. These opposing interpretations of ‘authenticity’ seem to be co-existent in many revival movements and can be best described by applying philosopher Denis Dutton's terminology.<sup>15</sup>

In his article “Authenticity in Art,” Dutton addresses a dualistic and contradictory understanding of ‘authenticity’ by introducing the dichotomy *nominal authenticity* versus *expressive authenticity*. *Nominal authenticity* is described as “the correct identification of the origins, authorship, or provenance of an object,” and is thus linked to a history in which a linear time factor is central. By contrast, Dutton's *expressive authenticity* evokes “a true expression of an individual's or a society's values and beliefs,” in which the historical/temporal aspect becomes irrelevant. Therefore, while *nominal authenticity* refers to historical authenticity, *expressive authenticity* is linked to the performance *per se* and to the performer: “[A]uthenticity is seen as committed, personal expression, being true [...] to one's artistic self, rather than true to an historical tradition.”<sup>16</sup>

In folk songs, both types of authenticity can be discussed with respect to the musical material, e.g., melody, rhythm, modes, tempo, ornamentation, instruments and style, and with respect to the language, e.g., content, register, language or language variety.<sup>17</sup> Musical *nominal authenticity* can be based on ancient scores, descriptions of historic instruments, or historic recordings, while *expressive authenticity* might adapt contemporary instruments and incorporate various musical styles, such as rock, pop, jazz or ‘world-musics.’ Linguistic *nominal authenticity* focuses on archaic forms of language and lyrics as something that is fixed, often as written texts, while *expressive authenticity* incorporates individual sociolects or

dialects of the performers, as well as the selection of verses and the adaptation of content and phrasing for contemporary understanding.

It is this kind of authenticity which we encounter in the etymology of the word itself. As folklorist Regina Bendix points out, the Greek origin of the word *authentēs* originally had two meanings: ‘one who acts with authority’ and ‘made by one’s own hand.’<sup>18</sup> Changes in music as well as in language happen constantly on a diachronic scale in the folk process. This contrasts markedly with the revival movements which, as stated above, have the tendency to fix the revived styles according to certain parameters.<sup>19</sup> Sociolinguists Richard Watts and the second author speak of ‘insects caught in amber’ to describe such fossilized forms.<sup>20</sup> Dutton’s *nominal* as well as his *expressive authenticity* are therefore in constant interaction in music revival processes.

However, in addition to Dutton’s dichotomy of authenticities, which are closely linked to the performer and the performance, it is useful to consider Bendix’ *In Search of Authenticity*, where she describes yet another aspect of authenticity. Focusing on the audience as authenticators, Bendix describes this type of authenticity as “quality of experience” which might manifest itself as “the chills running down one’s spine during musical performances [...], moments that may stir one to tears, laughter, elation.” Such emotions are intrinsically linked to the immediacy of a given performance.<sup>21</sup> Ethnomusicologist Owe Ronström describes something very similar with his *authenticity of the consumer*: “The authentic is the experience, the taste, or the emotion. What is true is what feels true [...]”<sup>22</sup>

We propose the term *experiential authenticity* for this and see it as closely related to Dutton’s *expressive authenticity* in that it can be also placed on a synchronic level, in contrast to the time-related *nominal authenticity*. However, while *expressive authenticity* is closely linked to the performer, *experiential authenticity* relates to the audience. These three aspects of *authenticity* and the issue of ‘time’ can be combined into the following model:

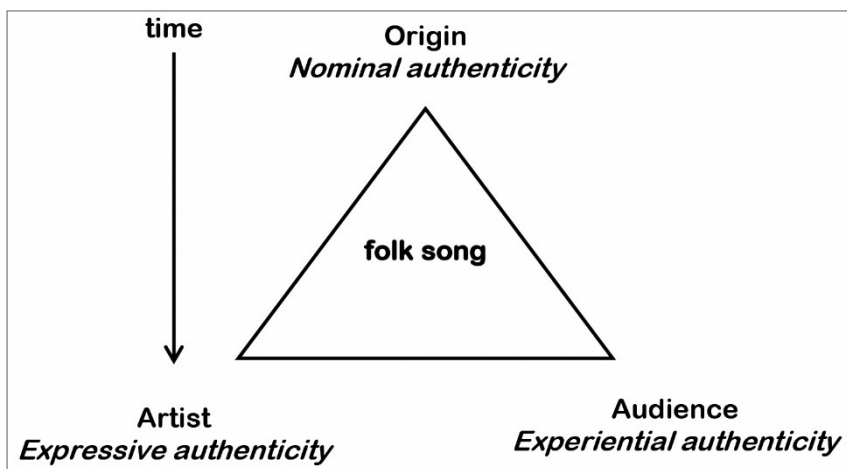


Figure 11.1. Multiple Authenticities 1.

As far as an actual folk song in relation to this model is concerned, we differentiate between two levels. The first considers the song as a tangible artefact in the form of a broadsheet, a manuscript or an archive recording, which can be analyzed in terms of *nominal authenticity*. Access to an artefact is largely independent of time, both in terms of the point in time and frequency. By contrast, the *expressive* instantiation by a performer, as well the *experiential* impact of folk song on an audience, manifest themselves only in an actual performance; they are as ephemeral and as irretrievable as the performance itself. This duality observable in any folk song can be integrated into our model as follows.

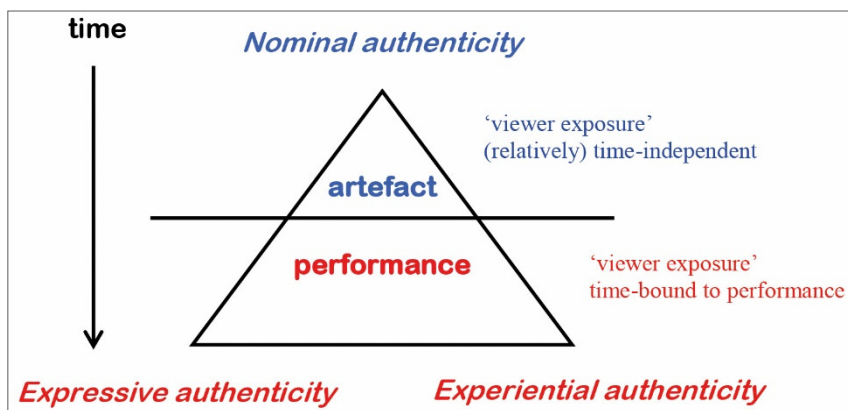


Figure 11.2. Multiple Authenticities 2.

### A case study: applying the model to song Roud 298

As the content of this book suggests, aspects of authenticity are analyzed from a theoretical as well as from a practical perspective. In order to avoid developing a model of authenticity that remains a purely theoretical construct, we will explore how these *multiple authenticities* can be applied to the concept of 'folk songs' in the following. We do so by taking the song Roud 298 as a case study. Aspects of *nominal authenticity*, i.e., the point and place of origin of this song, as well as *expressive authenticity*, i.e., the individual performances and artistic interpretations of the same song, and *experiential authenticity*, i.e., the effect the song has on its audience, will be analyzed in the following sections.

The first sub-section dedicates itself to a longstanding controversy between the English folk revivalists and folk musicians from Cornwall: they debate whether the song has an English or a Cornish, i.e., Celtic language origin and additionally question which of the over forty-four different melodies attached to this song might be the original one. By comparing various manuscripts and early print versions, we aim to locate the song's origin linguistically, geographically as well as chronologically. The subsequent sub-section focuses on the various individual artistic interpretations of the song. Here we discuss linguistic as well as musical variations and arrangements and evaluate statements by performing artists



about the song. The final sub-section addresses the song Roud 298 from the perspective of the listeners, focusing on the effect the song evokes in its audience, and evaluating paralinguistic and nonverbal reactions to the song.

As the first author (Lea Hagmann) is an ethnomusicologist with a linguistic background and the second author (Franz Andres Morrissey) a linguist with a background as an active folk-singer, our approach is a musico-linguistic anthropological one, as suggested by ethnomusicologists Steven Feld and Aaron Fox<sup>23</sup> as well as by Anthony Seeger.<sup>24</sup>

### Celtic or English? In search of *nominal authenticity*

In this sub-section, we explore the claim that the song which serves as our case study is of Celtic origins. It is in this context that considerations of *nominal authenticity* are particularly useful, the attempt to find the sources of the song complex Round 298. It includes songs such as *Where Are You Going To, Fair Maid?*, alongside others with a similar content, such as the English versions *Dabbling in the Dew*, *The Milkmaid's Song*, and *Pray, Whither So Trippingly*. It is closely linked to the Scots<sup>25</sup> versions *Rolling in the Dew*, *I'm Gawn to the Wood* and *Kind Hearted Nancy*, as well as the Gaelic waulking song *Anna Bheag Choibhneil Bhòidbeach*, the Welsh ballad *Ble 'r nyt ti'n myned yr enet ffein ddu?* and the Cornish<sup>26</sup> ditty *Pelea era why moaz, moes fetlow teag?*, now usually referred to as *Delkion Sery* or *Deho Syry*.<sup>27</sup> The song represents a dialogue between a man from the upper classes, often depicted as a knight or a tailor, and a young working-class girl, usually a milkmaid. The man tries either to seduce the girl and get her pregnant or, in the more gentle or bowdlerized<sup>28</sup> versions, simply asks her to marry him. In most versions, the two part without a happy ending, either because the girl is considered too poor to be married or because she takes offence to the advances and sends her seducer away in anger. The song usually starts with a stanza like this:

*Where are you going to, my pretty maid?  
With your red-rosy cheeks and your coal-black hair?  
I'm going a-milking, kind Sir, she said.  
For strawberry leaves make the milkmaids fair.*<sup>29</sup>

The color and shape of the milkmaid's hair vary from 'nut-brown' to 'black-curly' or even 'yellow,' and the recurring phrase: "for strawberry leaves make milkmaids fair" can be replaced by "for dabbling in the dew...", "for roving in the dew..." or "for rolling in the dew...", all of which clearly have sexual allusions.<sup>30</sup>

The big debate of the origin of this widely known song arises from the Cornish political and cultural activists who both aim at proving that the song is originally a Cornish and therefore Celtic rather than an English song.<sup>31</sup> References are made to the Welsh and the Scottish versions and to the antiquity of the Cornish version.<sup>32</sup> Amongst Cornish musicians, *Delkion Sery* nowadays is believed to be the "only 'living' remnant" of a Cornish language song<sup>33</sup> and it is celebrated for its 'Celticity'.<sup>34</sup>

In terms of Roud 298's *nominal authenticity*, there are indeed three early sources – the Gwavas manuscripts (1688), the Thomas Tonkin B manuscripts (1736) and the William Borlase manuscripts (1750) – which render the lyrics in Cornish with its English translation. The Gwavas and Tonkin manuscript versions vary slightly, whereas the version in Borlase seems to be a direct copy of the Tonkin manuscripts. The text in the Gwavas manuscript is written in a hand that differs from that of antiquarian William Gwavas and is signed by “your most humble servant to serve you whilst, Edward Chirgwin.”<sup>35</sup> The Tonkin B manuscript bears the annotation: “this song was the first Cornish song I ever heard, it was at Carclew [in Mylor parish] before Sister Kempe was married, sung by one Chygwyn,<sup>36</sup> brother in law to the old Mr. Grosse.”<sup>37</sup>

The Cornish antiquarian William Pryce (1735–1790) was the first to print the Cornish version with the English translation in his *Archaeologica Cornu-Britannica* in 1790. For this version, he quotes the year 1698 as a historical reference point. This date stems from the Tonkin manuscript, but is linked there to another poem that is thought to have been a Cornish song, *A mi a moaz*.<sup>38</sup> Revivalists and scholars have since taken Pryce's version as a reference to date *Delkioh Sery*. In addition, the Cornish song text was printed by the clergyman and poet Richard Polwhele (1760–1828) in 1803, where it bears the title “A Cornish Idyll,”<sup>39</sup> as well as by the Welshman Edward Jones (1752–1824) in 1794, entitled “A Cornish Song.”<sup>40</sup> The Cornish origin of this song can thus rely on some evidence in the antiquity of the sources, as well as the frequently quoted references, which link the song to Cornwall. No melody is provided.

However, there are two references which seem to contradict the claim of this being a Cornish original. On the one hand, there is an English broadside ballad<sup>41</sup> entitled *A mery new Iigge or the pleasant wooing betwixt Kit and Pegge*, which should be sung “to the tune of Strawberry leaves makes Maidens faire.” This song text was printed by a Henry Gosson in London around 1630.<sup>42</sup> On the other hand, there is another English broadside ballad entitled *A Merry new Dialogue between a Courteous young Knight, and a gallant Milk-Maid*, which suggests the song should be sung “[t]o a new Tune, called Adams fall, or Jockey and Jenny, or where art thou going my pritty maid.”<sup>43</sup> This ballad contains the main plot as well as many phrases, which reappear in the present versions of Roud 298. The print dates either from 1688 or 1689 and thus appears, as in the case with *A mery new Iigge*, to be slightly older than the Cornish manuscripts. The earliest English sources of the song can therefore be dated roughly around the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, i.e., about fifty years before the Cornish versions appeared.

Regarding the geographic origin, a Scottish version provides some information. In 1794, poet Robert Burns (1759–1796) writes to his friend and musical publisher George Thomson in a note regarding his latest poem *O Luv Will Venture In*, which he set to a tune called *The Posie*: “The air was taken down from Mrs. Burns's voice. It is well known in the West Country but the words are trash.”<sup>44</sup> In a longer note on this source he claims that the verses, which he “took down from a country girl's voice” and which he condemns for having “no great merit,” were the following:

*There was a pretty May\*, and a milkin' she went;  
Wi' her red rosy cheeks, and her coal-black hair:  
And she has met a young man a comin' o'er the bent;  
With a double and adieu to thee fair May.<sup>45</sup>*

\*May = maid

This version is interesting for two reasons. Linguistic analyses show that although there is some Scots vocabulary in the version, such as *ain* 'own', *gang* 'would go', *warse* 'worse', morpho-syntactic structure of a-prefixing in 'a milkin' or 'a coming' point to a South-Western English influence. Secondly, the rather unfamiliar-looking chorus *With a double and adieu* is yet another interesting indicator. Although it had been suggested that this chorus "may have the connotation of two acts of intercourse on the bent,"<sup>46</sup> this rather seems to point in the direction of a mis-heard 'dabble in the dew.' 'Dabble in the dew' /dæbəl ɪn ðə dju:/ and 'double and adieu' /dʌbəl ənd ədju:/ are phonetically very close to homophones if the syllable boundary moves from [ɪn#ðə#dju:] to [ənd#ədju:].<sup>47</sup> This phenomenon is commonly known as 'mondegreen,' a term coined by the American writer Sylvia Wright in 1954, taken from her childhood misinterpretation of the line of a Scottish ballad *The Douglas Tragedy*, where instead of 'and laid him on the green' she understood 'and Lady Mondegreen.'<sup>48</sup> Three conclusions can be drawn from this misheard phrase. Firstly, the song was clearly transmitted to Burns orally rather than in written form. Secondly, as Scottish literary scholar Thomas Crawford suggests, the pre-Reformation custom of 'dabbling in the dew', which was connected to the English Mayday festivals, must have been unknown in Scotland at Burns' times.<sup>49</sup> Thirdly, the very word *dabble* seems to be spread in Southern England rather than Scotland. Crawford supposes that the word could have been unknown in 18<sup>th</sup> century Scots.<sup>50</sup>

A song which Crawford links to Roud 298 is the Scots *Kind Hearted Nancy*, which likewise consists of a dialogue between a young girl and her seducer. It first appears in print in David Herd's manuscript in 1776.<sup>51</sup> *Kind Hearted Nancy* shows a lot of Scots linguistic influences, especially concerning the vocabulary, e.g. *gif* 'given, if', *bairn* 'child' or *gae* 'go'.

*I'll go to the Green Wood [...]  
O what an I come after you? [...]  
And what gif ye come back again? [...]  
But what gif I shou'd lay thee down? [...]  
And what gif I can rise again? [...]  
But what if I get you wi' bairn? [...]  
If you can get it, I can bear't. [...]<sup>52</sup>*

Regarding the song's origin, Crawford states: "It would be a bold critic indeed who would pronounce *Kind Hearted Nancy* other than a Scottish song, yet its forebears too are English."<sup>53</sup> *Kind Hearted Nancy* bears many similarities in content as well as in structure to the 20<sup>th</sup> century Scots song *I'm Gann To The Wood* and the Gaelic *Anna Bheag Choibhneil Bhòidbeach*. At first sight, the Gaelic version, collected in 1954 by the broadcaster James

Ross from a Calum Johnston, might indicate a Celtic language origin of the song. However, according to *The Barra Folklore Committee*, an organization hosted at the School of Scottish Studies at the University of Edinburgh, it is more likely to be a translation of *Kind Hearted Nancy*.<sup>54</sup> On the other hand, *I'm Gaun To The Wood*, collected in the 20<sup>th</sup> century by the folklorists Gavin Greig and James Bruce Duncan of the Scottish traveler Bell Robertson, bears many similarities with both *Kind Hearted Nancy* and the early English strawberry leaves-version:

*I'm gaun to the wood, my pretty maid  
 Wi' your gay gilted gloves, and your bonny yellow hair  
 Wat gin I follow you kind sir she said  
 For strawberry leaves maks young maidens wonderous fair.  
 W'hat gin we a bairnie get my pretty maid  
 Gin ye get it, I've bear't, kind sir, she said. [etc.]*<sup>55</sup>

Linguistic and etymological analysis of these Scottish versions of Roud 298 clearly indicates that although the song had been adapted to the Scots and Gaelic singers' contexts, the song's geographic origin must be South Western England.

The Welsh version, *Ble 'r wyt ti'n myned yr enet ffein ddu?* ("Where art thou going, thou fine dark maid?"), likewise seems a rather modern translation. The Welsh scholar Howel W. Lloyd (1816–1893) writes in the Welsh literary journal *Y Cymmrodor* in 1883: "[S]o far as we have been able to learn by inquiry, the composition is not to be found in the dialects of Brittany, Wales, or Ireland."<sup>56</sup> All these factors, related to the notion and derived from the methodological approaches to song text origins from the perspective of *nominal authenticity*, clearly speak against Celtic roots of Roud 298 and place it in 17<sup>th</sup> century Southwest England, from where it might have been adapted to Cornish.

As the discussion of the lyrics from a point of view of *nominal authenticity* has demonstrated, we can make out early printed versions of the texts. By contrast, locating the origin of its melody seems nearly impossible for a number of reasons. Firstly, the number of written or printed musical notations before the First British Folk Revival is very small, and titles to the tunes vary greatly, making identification difficult. The American based *English Broadside Ballads Archive* EBBA records an unaccompanied vocal version on their webpage, which is entitled *Strawberry Leaves Make Maidens Fair*<sup>57</sup> for which they give no precise reference but which seems to be based on Claude Simpson's interpretation of a 17<sup>th</sup> century manuscript tune called *Strawberry Leaves*.<sup>58</sup> The same melody is used by the Cornish revivalist Mike O'Connor (\*1946),<sup>59</sup> who connects this tune to the Cornish Tonkin text. The tune in the manuscript<sup>60</sup> comes without text or any other allusion to the song, so no direct connection is given, but it is the earliest noted melody that has been linked to Roud 298. Both Simpson's and O'Connor's version vary considerably from the original manuscript.

Secondly, it was a common practice, especially with British broadside ballads, to reuse existing melodies for new lyrics, as was the case with the two ballad texts mentioned above

and Robert Burns's *O Luw Will Venture In*, which he set to the tune *The Posie*. This tune appears in print in 1792 in the fourth volume of the *Scots Musical Museum* with Burns' new lyrics. The beautiful tune is in melodic minor and bears the tempo description "slow."<sup>61</sup> It has nothing in common with *Strawberry Leaves* of the *Vocal and instrumental pieces by English composers* suggested by Simpson and O'Connor, which is in major and interpreted as an up-tempo song. At the same time, *The Posie* stands in stark contrast to the description of a tune mentioned for *Rolling in the Dew* as printed in 1874 by Scottish poet and song collector Robert Fort (\* 1846); "An English version of this song has gained much popularity, due, doubtless, to the lively and catching air to which it is set [...]"<sup>62</sup>

Thirdly, while lyrics of English folk songs are relatively stable, the melody is often highly flexible and not only changes between different singers but even between performances of the same singer. Recorded melodies of Roud 298 vary therefore greatly from each other. Sometimes they are influenced by other folk songs, by music hall songs or opera arias and sometimes they seem to be the product of the immediate moment when they are being sung. It becomes impossible to locate which was the original tune, if ever there was one, which shows where the limits of *nominal authenticity* are. In the next sub-section, we therefore approach folk song melodies from the perspective of *expressive authenticity*, always following our case study of Roud 298.

### **Making a song your own: in search of *expressive authenticity***

The discussion of song lyrics and to an extent that of tunes available as notation has shown that printed sources can be approached from a point of view of *nominal authenticity*. These printed sources represent artefacts that can be accessed and studied repeatedly and at any time, and they, obviously, remain static.

However, we do well to remember that as soon as a performer takes these artefacts and 'transmediates' them from paper to an expression in a context, e.g., a sing-song or a concert, *expressive authenticity* comes into play. Such an instantiation, as our model shows, is linked to a time and place and, even if repeated by the same performer, will differ from other performances, perhaps only in a small detail or quite fundamentally. Collector of the First British Folk Revival, Cecil Sharp, illustrates this in his exploration of the 'evolution' of English folk songs when he says that "in most cases, melodic alterations apparently spring spontaneously from out the heart of the singer,"<sup>63</sup> and the revivalists of the Second British Folk Revival Ewan McColl (1915–1989) and Peggy Seeger (\*1935), claim:

Folksingers tend to alter melodies at each performance with the result that the tunes are always in a state of flux. [...] A singer may, if he chooses, give more attention to the story than to the musical line; or he may concentrate on the tune, explore it, adding here and subtracting there as the mood takes him.<sup>64</sup>

This description is clearly in step with Dutton's idea of *expressive authenticity* and is also present in Peter Kivy's description of 'performance authenticity' as "faithfulness to the performer's own self, original, not derivative or aping of someone else's way of playing."<sup>65</sup>

In the context of our discussion of authenticities, the adaptation of the artefact, be it a recording or a printed source (words and/or musical notation), the performer's personal style will inform how the material can be expressed authentically. This transmediation, the transfer from artefact to a performance, means that a performer has to evaluate what to do with the artefact. Charles Seeger identified two purposes of musical notation: one is used by the performer as a visual memory aid and is therefore broad, lacking many details; the other is an exact transcription of all sounds produced, providing as many details as possible. The latter is used, for instance, by song collectors or ethnomusicologists.<sup>66</sup> Thus a printed musical score may be read, in Seeger's terminology, "descriptively," i.e. as a set of instructions to be adhered to as it is printed, or more "prescriptively," which means that a performer is familiar with interpretative practices which, of course, entails the choice of either following, ignoring or subverting these practices. In this sense, a musical notation can be regarded as a set of instruction informed by the quest for *nominal authenticity* or as a departure point for an interpretation that may (or may not) be focused on *expressive authenticity*.

In the following sub-section, we will explore in what ways *expressive authenticity* appears in relation to Roud 298, in that we focus on a limited amount of orally collected versions from the First and the Second British Folk Revival and as they currently appear in the Cornish Music Revival.

### Collections during the first British folk revival

The earliest orally collected versions of *Where Are You Going?* are the ones Sabine Baring-Gould found in Launceston, Cornwall, (1891) and in Lewdown, Devon (1892). The Launceston version, which was communicated by a James Olver, is the version which serves as a basis for numerous contemporary Cornish interpretations, often in connection with the Tonkin text. Being in Aeolian mode, it proves to be much more attractive for the Cornish revivalists and their goal of constructing a Celtic musical heritage for Cornwall, than the major version that Cecil Sharp collected from a Jim Thomas in Camborne, Cornwall, in 1914. A note in Baring-Gould's manuscript of Olver's version links the beginning of the song to *I'd be a butterfly* by Thomas Haynes Bayly (1797–1839), a popular English song-writer of his age. Apart from the fact that Bayly's version is in the major key and Olver's in Aeolian minor, they both show great similarity.

The version Baring-Gould collected from his Devonian informant James Parsons, which is in the Mixolydian major key, was never used for one of the revived Cornish versions presumably because it was collected in Lewdown, Devon, an area outside of the Celto-Cornish imaginary.<sup>67</sup> However, it is precisely this Devonian version found in the collection *Songs of the Four Nations*, published in 1892, which is listed as the only "Cornish Song" amongst English, Scottish and Irish songs.<sup>68</sup> The Cornish lyrics that follow the English

version of the song in *Songs of the Four Nations* is the one printed by the Welsh harpist and bard Edward Jones (1752–1824).

Between 1904 and 1914, folk music collector Cecil Sharp collected fourteen versions of *Where Are You Going to?* in the Southwest of England, twelve of which he found in Somerset alone. During the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a further twenty versions were noted down by Sharp's fellow collectors such as Percy Grainger (1882–1961), Anne Geddes Gilchrist (1863–1954) and Ralph Vaughan Williams (1872–1958). Most versions were found in South England, but there are others as far north as Staffordshire, Lincolnshire, Herefordshire, Lancashire and even Aberdeenshire.

These melodies collected during the First British Folk Revival vary a great deal from one another in tonality, rhythm, and meter. This phenomenon was already observed at the time, when various versions of the song *Dabbling in the Dew* appeared in the *Journal of the Folk Song Society* (nowadays EFDSS).<sup>69</sup> Similar to the Cornish preferences, tonalities, such as “Mixolydian,” “Mixolydian with Dorian ending,” “Dorian” and “Aeolian with Dorian Influence” seem to have attracted most interest among the early revivalists, as versions in the major key lack similar descriptions. This was presumably the case because to the collectors' ears modal tunes sounded ‘exotic’ or ‘ancient’ and provided a good basis for their project to define the ‘English national sound.’ However, one of the most common melodic versions collected in connection with Roud 298 in the early 1900s is a 4/4 major tune. This is the version that featured in the repertoires of, and was popularized in, the late 1800s by music hall singers Dan Leno (1860–1904), Slade Murray (1859–1913) and Nellie Wallace (1870–1948).<sup>70</sup> The popularity of this version shows that the large majority of the people during the First British Folk Revival, who did not belong to the intellectual elite of the revivalists, preferred tunes which were ‘in tune,’ as it were, with their everyday lives to long lost and re-discovered versions in church modes. This situation is probably best described in the introduction to the fifth edition to Sabine Baring-Gould's *Songs of the West*, in which he states:

When the first edition was issued [1890], we had to catch the public taste, and to humour it. [...]. But now that the real interest in Folk airs has been awakened, we have discarded this feature. [...] [W]hen our first edition was published, modal melodies were not appreciated, and we had regretfully to put many aside and introduce more of the airs of a modern character. Public taste is a little healthier now, and musicians have multiplied who can value these early melodies.<sup>71</sup>

Baring-Gould's statement clearly indicates the discrepancy between *nominal authenticity* as understood by the early British revivalists and *expressive authenticity* as felt by the common people in 20<sup>th</sup> century UK.

### Recordings during the second British folk revival

*Expressive authenticity* also manifests itself in the different sound-recordings of Roud 298 collected in the Second British Folk Revival by Peter Kennedy (1922–2006), Bob Copper (1915–2004), Roy Palmer (1932–2015), Reg Hall (\*1933), Steve Gardham (\*1947) and Hamish Henderson (1919–2002).<sup>72</sup> They show individual realizations of dialect features (the Southeast, West Midlands, Yorkshire and Aberdeenshire), as well as individual musical ornamentations. An interesting case study concerning language realization is the *Rolling in the Dew* version sung by Jeannie Robertson and recorded by Hamish Henderson in 1957.<sup>73</sup> Robertson's version is again tied to Herd's *Kind Hearted Nancy* and Miss Bell's *I'm Goun to the Wood*:

“O what wad ye dae if I were to lay ye doon,  
 Wi' your reid and rosy cheeks and your curly black hair?”  
 “I'd be fit enough to rise again, kind sir,” she answered me,  
 Rolling in the dew maks a milkmaid fair.

“What wad ye dae if I were tae bairn ye, [...]”  
 “For you wad be the daddie o't, and I wad be the mither o't,  
 kind sir,” she answered me. [...]”  
 “But what wad ye dae if I were to run away, [...]”  
 “For the deil would run after you, kind sir,” she answered me, [...]”<sup>74</sup>

Henderson notes of this recording: “*Rollin' in the Dew* is a curious example of a song which is in the process of assimilation and still bears unmistakable marks of its southern origin.”<sup>75</sup> That Robertson's version has still not been fully adapted to Scots in the 1960s, even though there are early versions of it found in Scotland, such as the one Robert Scots mentions, intrigues Thomas Crawford. He comes to the conclusion that the song must have entered the Scots song repertoire “at least twice,” once in the eighteenth century and then again later.<sup>76</sup> However, sociolinguists Richard Watts and Franz Andres Morrissey offer a different interpretation which might explain the linguistic amalgam between Southern English and Scots. They suggest that folk songs linguistically seem to apply a special kind of ‘folk song register’:<sup>77</sup>

We submit that although folk songs are associated with the vernacular, they need not be and are often not an expression of everyday nonstandard language, but rather an expression of the ‘informal conventions of a dominant folk usage’. They are rooted in people's everyday lives (at least historically), but are different enough in their diction and in their subject matter to stand the test of time.<sup>78</sup>

In other words, this folk song register lies somewhere between a regional vernacular and more standard forms of the language and results in a variant which enables the songs to remain relatively stable across geographical distance and dialect variation. Watts and



Andres Morrissey demonstrate this with the example of a Swiss folk song whose lyrics represent a mixture of Swiss German and Standard German (which would not occur in spoken language!), and draw an analogy to the Scots and Received Pronunciation (RP) language situation:

In most contexts, speakers can place themselves on a cline between vernacular and standard, e.g. in Scotland between Scots/Lallans and RP. [...] For a singer of a Scottish song, there is considerable leeway between singing a song in Scots and replacing lexical items like 'kirk' or 'nicht' with 'church' or 'night', indexing Scottishness merely with pronunciation.<sup>79</sup>

This is precisely what happens in Jeannie Robertson's *Rolling in the Dew*, although the other way round, where the phrase <to get you with child> is replaced by the Scots <to bairn you> and where the <devil> becomes the <deil>. However, the remaining morpho-syntax is largely Standard English, while Robertson's pronunciation has a strong local flavor.

Robertson's *Rolling in the Dew* version is also a good example for individual musical expression. Contrary to most of the early English recordings, which do not show any specific ornamentations or musical arrangements, her version features a number of specific musical techniques, including glissandi, tremolo, trills, fermatas and dynamics. This seems to indicate that she has, in keeping with *expressive authenticity*, adapted the song to her musical taste and interpretation. This process becomes even more obvious in the more modern recordings of the same song.

### Modern recordings

Unfortunately, there are not that many modern or even contemporary recordings of Roud 298 available which are in a Folk-style, for two possible but different reasons. Firstly, there are the bowdlerized school-version *Dabbling in the Dew* edited by Cecil Sharp and Sabine Baring-Gould,<sup>80</sup> as well as another similarly adapted version *Where Are You Going to, My Pretty Fair Maid?* in *Mother Goose's* nursery rhymes,<sup>81</sup> which is the music-hall version. These two versions have become increasingly regarded as children's songs. As a result, there are various recordings designed for children,<sup>82</sup> with somewhat saccharine keyboard sounds and children's voices, entirely unattractive arrangements for a Folk audience. Secondly, the 'unedited' version of *Rolling in the Dew* has clearly misogynistic lyrics: the young man tries to rape the girl and is not willing to pay for the consequences. Such a story no longer seems to have a place in a time of gender awareness and is therefore unattractive for Folk singers and audiences alike. The only way out of this dilemma would then be to play the tune as an instrumental.

### Shirley Collins

One of the earliest modern versions is Shirley Collins's *Dabbling in the Dew*, which was recorded for Peter Kennedy's HMV album *Folksong Today* in 1955.<sup>83</sup> It was also included on

Collins's 2002 album *Within Sound*,<sup>84</sup> as well as on numerous later compilations. The sleeve notes of Kennedy's LP read:

Shirley, who works in a London coffee bar, learnt most of her songs at home in Sussex. She is a young girl with a modern approach to folk music, laying an automatic zither across her knee and pressing buttons to select accompanying chords:—

*Oh, where are you going to, my pretty little dear  
 With your red rosy cheeks and your coal black hair?*<sup>85</sup>

This best exemplifies how *expressive authenticity* manifests itself in Collins's approach. Going firmly against the orthodoxy of the Second British Folk Revival with its insistence on unaccompanied music as the only 'authentic' way to perform folk music, her interpretation not only includes an instrumental accompaniment, but with the autoharp, she also chooses an instrument which was considered very modern in the 1950s and had been only used in connection with American folk music.<sup>86</sup> Therefore, although her arrangement might sound quite tame from a modern perspective because it includes no more than a single chord on the first beat of each bar, Collins's approach was quite revolutionary for her time. The version she sings generally follows Cecil Sharp and Sabine Baring-Gould's school-version with the bowdlerized text by clergyman Charles Marson (1859–1914), with minor differences.

### ***John Kirkpatrick and Sue Harris***

In 1974 folk singer John Kirkpatrick (\*1947) and his then-wife Sue Harris (\*1949) recorded *The Milkmaid's Song* on their album *The Rose of Britain's Isle*, which was voted the 'Record of the Year' by the magazine *Folk Review*.<sup>87</sup> While Harris sings, Kirkpatrick accompanies her with his own arrangement on his concertina, not only providing harmonies but also adding harmony and sometimes even a second voice.

Kirkpatrick and Harris sing one of the less common versions collected by Ella Mary Leather (1876–1928) and Ralph Vaughan Williams in Herefordshire that starts as follows:

*Across the fields I chanced to stray  
 I met a pretty fair maid  
 With her red a rosy cheeks, and her curly black hair.  
 With her pail around her arms she slung  
 And like a nightingale she sung:  
 "Tis rolling in the dew makes the milkmaids fair."*<sup>88</sup>

This is likewise one of the bolder versions that end with the girl sending the devil after her seducer, and in the interpretation by Harris and Kirkpatrick, the song lasts almost five minutes. The accompanying concertina not only plays the introduction to the song but

also an instrumental interlude between stanzas 6 and 7. These are remarkable innovations to the tune, where instruments are not only used for accompaniment, but also to play melodies and harmonies not noted down in the folklorists' notes.

### **Carla Sciaky**

An interesting modern version of *Rolling in the Dew* is that of American Folk-singer and baroque violinist Carla Sciaky of Denver, Colorado.<sup>89</sup> The recording features her light soprano and a second male voice during the chorus lines. The accompanying instruments are guitar, violin, and accordion. The latter plays in unison with the singing voice, while the violin plays the transitions from one stanza to the next and improvises around the main voice. The version is one of the quick jig-tunes in the Mixolydian mode, as collected by Francis Jekyll (1882–1965) in Sussex.<sup>90</sup> The intro of Sciaky's version consists of her lilting<sup>91</sup> the whole first stanza, accompanied by a fingerpicked guitar. Her outro likewise consists of her lilting, although this time she is accompanied only by the violin, which improvises around her melody line. A fade-out concludes this version, which has a strong Irish feel about it. In her interpretation of the song not only is Carla Sciaky's choice of source material, tempo, and instrumental accompaniment, as well as intro and outro of significance, but additionally, as one of her reviewer states, "[her] seemingly delicate voice carries a surprising range of emotions: haunting, joyful, plaintive, and playful."<sup>92</sup> When the first author asked Carla Sciaky via e-mail what she aimed to express with the arrangement of this song, she gave the following explanation:

I love this song both because the young man actually looks into the future, asking about all of the possibilities of what could happen if he and the milkmaid actually roll in the dew, and then I love the responses of the young maid. In so many British folk songs the young woman ends up the victim of a one-time frolic. The man walks away free and the woman is ruined forever, between having to raise a child alone and the stigma attached. In this song, they have an open conversation that considers several aspects of what could occur. The milkmaid's attitude is direct and matter-of-fact, and I imagine her personality to be bright, cheerful, and even sassy. 'What if I should lay you down?' 'Then you shall help me up again!' She solves every possible problem – including wrapping the baby and putting it to bed – and then even has the spitfire to retort that the devil will pursue the man if he leaves!

And finally, I love what my producer, Pete Sutherland, added with his guitar part and the voice of the fiddle, as well as the harmonies on the refrain. All of it brings this song alive and makes it fun and 'frolicky', to match the sass of the young maid.<sup>93</sup>

This lengthy quote clearly indicates the *expressive authenticity* Sciaky seeks in her version of the song, which seems to illustrate her interpretation of the story in the recording.

### **Brenda Wootton**

In Cornwall, the Cornish version of the Roud 298, *Delkion Sery*, has played an essential role, a process that reaches back to the early collections by Sabine Baring-Gould of the First British Folk Revival. It is embraced again by the collector Peter Kennedy and the Cornish composer Inglis Gundry (1905–2000) during the Second British Folk Revival and became popularized by Cornish Folk singer Brenda Wootton (1928–1994) during the Cornish Music Revival.<sup>94</sup> As was explained earlier, Baring-Gould collected two versions of this song, one in Cornwall and one in Devon, with English words. Although he points to the Cornish text version by Pryce in his manuscripts, he does not seem to think that the song should be sung in the extinct Cornish language.

The connection of the Cornish text and a melody is first made in 1966 by Inglis Gundry, who was deeply involved in the political Cornish Movement. He chose the melody collected by Baring-Gould in Launceston as a basis and added the English words as well as Pryce's Cornish text below the musical score. In Gundry's opinion, the tune Baring-Gould had collected in Cornwall could without hesitation be connected to the Cornish words: "The Cornish [text] is different from the English [text] version collected by Baring-Gould but *clearly may have been sung to the same or similar tune* [our italics]."<sup>95</sup> It is this version that Cornish Folk artist Brenda Wootton recorded together with singer Robert Bartlett on her LP *Starry-Gazey Pie* in 1975. On the album sleeve, she states: "Our language (Kernewek) died out in the late seventeen hundreds and this song is the only 'living' remnant of it. It has never been translated into English and has come down to us intact, although its theme is universal."<sup>96</sup> This claim, together with Gundry's statement completed the narrative of a Cornish and therefore Celtic original.

Wootton's version consists of a dialogue between singer Robert Bartlett as the seducer, or in Wootton's words as "a very amorous travelling tailor" and herself as "a rather keen Cornish maid."<sup>97</sup> The song in Unified Cornish<sup>98</sup> is accompanied by Bartlett's fingerpicked guitar, which also plays an introduction as composed by the musicians. There are quite a few melodic differences between Wootton's melody and the notations by Baring-Gould, and they cannot be solely explained by the need to adjust the notes to the Cornish words, but are clearly her own interpretation, in which she expresses musical Celto-Cornishness. In our investigation on *experiential authenticity*, we shall now focus on this version as a case study.

### **Celebrating Celto-Cornishness: in search of *experiential authenticity***

Similar to *expressive authenticity*, *experiential authenticity* is on a level that is highly individual. However, instead of being the product of an artist who expresses his or her feelings through music, *experiential authenticity* as experienced by the audience, hardly manifests itself visibly or audibly. It is an entirely interior emotional process that usually remains un verbalized. Statements, such as 'it's beautiful,' 'I am truly touched' or 'I like it' can be imbued with very differing degrees of emotion, which can be partly grasped on the paralinguistic level, e.g. intonation, or emphasis, and partly on the non-verbal level, e.g.

smiles, red cheeks or even tears. But many of these processes are experienced on a very subtle internal level, which tends to elude a scientific approach.

In order to obtain an insight into how *experiential authenticity* functions in connection with the Cornish versions of Roud 298, we use two approaches. Firstly, we analyze the written reactions to a recording of *Deho Syry* [Unified Cornish spelling] by Brenda Wootton and Robert Bartlett on social media, and secondly, we observe a live performance of the song in a pub, which was uploaded on YouTube. We will then analyze the non-verbal reactions of the audience to the song performances. Although the outcomes of both approaches might still be somewhat superficial, they nevertheless give some indications of how and where *experiential authenticity* manifests itself in connection to this song.

Triggering reactions of people on the Internet is relatively simple: virtual platforms such as YouTube and Facebook offer the possibility for people to write their comments below any posting. Thus to test people's reactions to the Cornish version of Roud 298, we first checked what reactions a recording by Brenda Wootton and Robert Bartlett of *Deho Syry* posted on YouTube had hitherto provoked. In order to obtain further reactions, we copied the YouTube link of the same recording to Facebook, accompanied by the question: "What is your first feeling, reaction, thought that comes up when you hear this song?" In order to reach a broad range of people, who are all somehow connected to the Cornish Movement or revival scene, we uploaded Brenda Wootton's *Deho Syry* on three different Facebook pages. These were the first author's private one, to which only her Facebook friends have access, and the public sites "Cornish Dialect" and "Institute of Cornish Studies," to which all their members have access. The two Facebook groups had 2416 and 1225 members respectively in September 2016.<sup>99</sup> The reactions expressed to the YouTube posts, as well as the answers to our question on Facebook, with a total of 17 interactions, all seem to fall broadly in three categories:

- a) the immediate emotional reaction one gets when listening to the song (6)
- b) a memory the recording evokes of former times (5)
- c) a cognitive association made to the song (6)

Emotional reactions to the songs included statements such as: "I love Brenda, and I love this song! Wonderful to hear singing in Cornish. The words to this song are very old. ☺," or: "This song is so so beautiful!"<sup>100</sup> In these statements, emoticons, exclamation marks and doubling of intensifiers (e.g. 'so so') are the means to express the emotion felt by the listeners. Memories of former times include statements such as: "I grew up with that recording. Thanks. I haven't heard it for years!XX" or: "First thing that comes to mind: singing along with her [Brenda Wootton] as a school kid. I seem to remember this as a children's radio show our teacher tuned into and we sang along to. But it might well have been a recording. Too many years ago!" Here we can see what emotions childhood memories of *Deho Syry* evoke in the Cornish Facebook community. Examples of posts that express cognitive associations with Wootton's version are: "It is a rare survival of a

traditional Cornish language folk song.” Although they are only a few, these posts are sufficiently credible indicators for how *experiential authenticity* can be expressed by means of words and emoticons as well as the two kisses “XX” in one of the above examples. However, body language and facial expressions would be even more revealing.

The live performance of *Delkion Sery*, available on YouTube, takes place in a pub, the “Masons Arms” after the Bodmin Riding festival in 2014.<sup>101</sup> The performers are members of the community singing group *Red River Singers* and the woodwind band *The Hornets*. It is difficult to decide from the video how many musicians and singers were actually involved in the performance because of the restricted camera angle. Furthermore, the boundaries between the audience and the musicians are blurred, with the audience singing along in the chorus, the singers becoming part of the audience during the instrumental parts, and the instrumentalists turning into singers for the stanzas played only by the rhythm section. There are approximately five people singing actively, eight are playing an instrument and five seem to be only listening. Non-verbal expressions of approval participants who seem to be audience members in the course of the three minutes of recordings fall into four different categories:

- 1) **facial expressions:** smiling, open mouths indicating attentive listening, wiping the eyes (in 9 cases)
- 2) **joining in with the singers** (in 7 cases)
- 3) **joining in the rhythm:** clapping, seesawing, stamping, nodding, beating rhythm with an implement, e.g. a spoon, dancing (in 10 cases)
- 4) **symbolic gestures of approval:** applause, thumbs up (in 6 cases)

The frequent occurrence of these non-verbal signals of emotional as well as physical engagement suggests a considerable degree of *experiential authenticity* of this performance of *Delkion Sery*. None of the listeners seems completely untouched by the song and the general impression of joy and personal commitment of the audience seems authentic indeed, in the sense of Watts and Andres Morrissey’s “most complete experience of delight.”<sup>102</sup> The manifestation of *expressive* and *experiential* authenticity is central to a performance “involving the whole group, performer(s) and audience, in bonding [them] together socially.” From this they draw “[t]he practical conclusion [...] that songs are authenticated by and, in their turn, authenticate singers in performance events, and although we may still wish to search for authenticity in the representation of past traditions, the performance is always in the here-and-now.”<sup>103</sup>

### Conclusion

By adding to Denis Dutton’s concepts of *nominal authenticity* and *expressive authenticity* the notion of *experiential authenticity*, and by thereby developing a model of *multiple authenticities*, in our case study of Roud 298 we have demonstrated that *authenticity* in folk songs is

indeed not one-dimensional but instead draws on a number of different aspects. On the one hand, there is the song as an artefact, which appears either in written or recorded form and serves as a source for the performance. In our case, these artefacts were manuscripts of the late 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> century as well as early prints in the form of broadside ballads and collected song texts dating roughly from the same period. The only early written melody for Roud 298 appears in a manuscript from the 17<sup>th</sup> century and bears the title *Strawberry Leaves*. The *nominal authenticity* of these artefacts allows for certain pronouncements concerning its sources, but it also proves quite elusive because of the highly fluid nature due to the orality of folk songs. In other words, historical sources, often relatively scarce, are rarely more than a pointer towards a song's origin in time and space. Thus, comparison of language varieties in Roud 298 leads us to the conclusion that, although we are not able to provide an *urtext* of this song, we can say that it is most likely to have originated somewhere in the South West of England, probably during the 17<sup>th</sup> century and in an English-speaking context. The numerous variations in lyrics, dialect variants and melodies clearly demonstrate that the *nominal authenticity* of folk songs, as postulated by the music revivalists, remains rather elusive.

On the other hand, folk songs only come alive when they are being sung, i.e. in performance. The singers' artistic creativity, their *expressive authenticity*, is crucial for individual artistic interpretation of their material, for avoiding replication of already existing versions, and as a means to affect the audience. Our case study has discussed several recordings of the First and the Second British Folk Revival as well as four modern interpretations of the song. One artist, Carla Sciaky, gave us an insight into what she actively wants to express musically through this song. It has to be said that recordings linger somewhere between *nominal* and *expressive authenticity*: if they are seen as a direct expression of the singer frozen in time, they belong to the latter. However, if they are used as a point of reference for a later performance, which sees this as 'the original,' they can also shift towards *nominal authenticity*. This might be the case with Brenda Wootton's interpretation of *Dejò Syry*, which is currently constantly re-interpreted by musicians of the Cornish Music Revival.

In a song performance, the audience becomes an authenticator of that song. Audience evaluation can either rely on notions of assumed *nominal* authenticity, which, as we have seen above, may be mainly based on stylistic norms established by a community of practice such as music revivalists, or it may opt to evaluate the performance in terms of its *experiential authenticity*. The latter can be rather elusive if not verbally formulated; it can, however, be traced if we focus on the audience's paralinguistic and non-verbal reactions, as we have illustrated with the example of the Cornish versions.

To summarize, it seems that in folk songs, all three kinds of *authenticities* discussed in the beginning are present and interact with each other. In fact, they are in a dialogic relationship with one another and have to co-exist alongside each other. As soon as the *nominal authenticity* of a folk song seems certain, this may curtail the *expressive authenticity* of a performer. Although a song might be historically informed when being sung in a historical speech variety, performed by an artist wearing a 17<sup>th</sup> century dress and accompanied on a

historical instrument, it might be rejected as *experientially 'inauthentic'* by an audience because it fails to appeal, perhaps because in its attention to historical detail it is inaccessible to the listeners. Conversely, while a modern rendition of a traditional song might be experienced as sincere and inspiring by an audience, the very same version may be rejected by revivalist orthodoxy as being completely ahistorical. Folk song performance thus constantly negotiates between *nominal*, *expressive* and *experiential authenticity*. In the final analysis, it is this intricate interplay which in folk circles represents an authentic folk song.

### Notes

<sup>1</sup> So-called Roud numbers refer to an index created by Steve Roud, which assigns a number to folk songs that share the same theme, in other words songs that are (arguably) related. (cf. Roud's Benjamin Botkin lecture on creating his index: <https://www.loc.gov/today/cyberlc/transcripts/110414afc1200.txt>; accessed May 8, 2018).

<sup>2</sup> First British Folk Revival ca. 1890–1920, Second British Folk Revival, ca. 1945–1970

<sup>3</sup> Brocken, Michael. *The British Folk Revival 1944–2002*. 89–91.

<sup>4</sup> Ronström, Owe. "Traditional Music, Heritage Music." 43.

<sup>5</sup> Taruskin, Richard. *Text and Act: Essays on Music and Performance*. 60.

<sup>6</sup> Haines, John. "Living Troubadours and Other Recent Uses for Medieval Music." 133–153.

<sup>7</sup> Bronson, Bertrand H. "Mrs. Brown and the Ballad." 129–140; cf. also the discussion of "folk song as product or process" in Watts, Richard, and Franz Andres Morrissey. *Language, the Singer and the Song: The Sociolinguistics of Folk Performance*. 173 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Livingston, Tamara. "Music Revivals: Towards a General Theory." 71.

<sup>9</sup> Shull, Jonathan. "Locating the Past in the Present: Living Traditions and the Performance of Early Music Author(s)." 87–111.

<sup>10</sup> Livingston, Tamara. "Music Revivals: Towards a General Theory." 66–85.

<sup>11</sup> "Scarborough Fair." *BBC Radio*. n.pag.

<sup>12</sup> Brocken, Michael. *The British Folk Revival 1944–2002*. 93–94.

<sup>13</sup> A famous example for such changes from traditional music to world music would be the production *Riverdance*, which in 1994 staged a fusion of traditional Irish step dancing, ballet traditional Irish music and rock elements in the intermission of the Eurovision Song Contest.

<sup>14</sup> Reiss, Scott. "Tradition and Imaginary: Irish Traditional Music and the Celtic Phenomenon." 152–158.

<sup>15</sup> Dutton, Denis. "Authenticity in Art." 259.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* 267.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. also: Watts, Richard, and Franz Andres Morrissey. *Language, the Singer and the Song: The Sociolinguistics of Folk Performance*. 248 ff. and 230 ff.

<sup>18</sup> Bendix, Regina. *In Search of Authenticity: The Formation of Folklore Studies*. 14.

<sup>19</sup> Livingston, Tamara. "Music Revivals: Towards a General Theory." 71.

<sup>20</sup> Watts, Richard, and Franz Andres Morrissey. *Language, the Singer and the Song: The Sociolinguistics of Folk Performance*. 234–268.

<sup>21</sup> Bendix, Regina. *In Search of Authenticity: The Formation of Folklore Studies*. 14.

<sup>22</sup> Ronström, Owe. "Traditional Music, Heritage Music." 47.

<sup>23</sup> Feld, Steven, and Aron Fox. "Music and Language." 25–53.

<sup>24</sup> Seeger, Anthony. "Oratory Is Spoken, Myth Is Told, and Song Is Sung, But They Are All Music to My Ears." 59–82.



<sup>25</sup> Scots is a linguistic variety spoken in some parts of Scotland, which is considered by some to be a language on its own rather than a dialect of English.

<sup>26</sup> Cornish was the formerly spoken Celtic language of Cornwall, in the South West of Britain. As a Brythonic language it was closely related to Welsh in Wales and Breton in Brittany, France and more loosely with the Goidelic languages Scottish Gaelic, Irish Gaeilge and Manx Gaelic. It died out towards the end of the 18th century and is currently being revived by a number of scholars and enthusiasts.

<sup>27</sup> *Delkiew Sery* and *Delyo Syry* 'Strawberry Leaves' are two different language varieties of the revived Celto-Cornish language *Kernevek* in Cornwall.

<sup>28</sup> Bowdlerization is the process of rewriting a potentially (sexually) offensive text in more moderate language suitable for schools or members of the middle and upper classes, especially women, who had become a target audience for folk song collections as of the late 18th century (cf. Harker, Dave. *Fakesong: The Manufacture of British 'Folksong' 1799 to the Present Day*).

<sup>29</sup> A vast amount of various versions can be found on the *Full English Digital Archive*. Cf. The Vaughan Williams Memorial Library. <<https://www.vwml.org/search?q=dabbling/%20in%20the%20dew&is=1>>.

<sup>30</sup> Strawberries are seen in the folk belief as an aphrodisiac.

<sup>31</sup> There is a big political movement observable in present Cornwall, which aims at proving that Cornwall is not actually a part of England and should therefore be regarded a Celtic nation of its own.

<sup>32</sup> Kennedy, Peter. *Folksongs of Britain and Ireland*. 236.

<sup>33</sup> Wootton, Brenda. *Starry-Gazy Pie. Songs of Cornwall*. Album sleeve.

<sup>34</sup> A similar politically motivated fight over the geographic origin of a song is depicted in Adela Peeva's film *Whose Is This Song?* (2003). In it she traces the origins of a famous melody, which is claimed by seven different Eastern European countries to be theirs originally.

<sup>35</sup> Gwavas, William. *Manuscripts*. 135.

<sup>36</sup> This spelling is presumably miscopied by Tonkin, meaning 'Chirgwin'.

<sup>37</sup> Tonkin, Thomas. *Tonkin B Manuscript*. 207g.

<sup>38</sup> Pryce, William. (1790). *Archeologia Cornu-Britannica: Or, an Essay to Preserve the Ancient Cornish Language [...]*. 245.

<sup>39</sup> Polwhele, Richard. *The History of Cornwall*. 32.

<sup>40</sup> Jones, Edward. *Musical and Poetical Relicks of the Welsh Bards*. 69.

<sup>41</sup> Broadside ballads are a kind of cheap prints with song texts which widely circulated in the 17th and 18th centuries.

<sup>42</sup> "A mery nevv Iigge or the pleasant wooing betwixt Kit and Pegge." ff. 1258, 1259. Also on: English Broadside Ballad Archive. <<http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/20119/citation>>.

<sup>43</sup> "A Merry new Dialogue between a Courteous young Knight, and a gallant Milk-Maid." f. 156b. On: *Broadside Ballads Online*. <<http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/view/edition/5381>>.

<sup>44</sup> Burns, Robert, qtd. in Low, Donald A., ed. *The Songs of Robert Burns*. 533.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Crawford, Thomas. "Jean Armour's 'Double and Adieu'." 42.

<sup>47</sup> The reduced vowels /ɪ/ and /ə/ are interchangeable; the voiced fricative /ð/ and the plosive /d/ in fluent reproduction are almost indistinguishable.

<sup>48</sup> Wright, Sylvia. "The Death of Lady Mondegreen." 48–51. For a more detailed discussion of what role this phenomenon plays in folk song transmission from a sociolinguistic perspective, see: Watts, Richard, and Franz Andres Morrissey. *Language, the Singer and the Song: The Sociolinguistics of Folk Performance*. 193 ff.

<sup>49</sup> Crawford, Thomas. "Jean Armour's 'Double and Adieu'." 42.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid. 42.

- <sup>51</sup> Herd, David. *Scots Songs*. Vol 2. 177–178.
- <sup>52</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>53</sup> Crawford, Thomas. “Jean Armour’s ‘Double and Adieu.’” 44.
- <sup>54</sup> Barra Folklore Committee. “Anna Bheag Choibhneil Bhòidheach.” n.pag; *Tocher* 13: 170–171.
- <sup>55</sup> Hunter, Andrew R. *The Greig-Duncan Folk Song Collection*. 811.
- <sup>56</sup> Lloyd, Howel W. “A Cornish Song.” 89.
- <sup>57</sup> English Broadside Ballads Archive. <<https://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/20119/recording>>.
- <sup>58</sup> Simpson, Claude. *The British Broadside Ballad and its Music*. 693.
- <sup>59</sup> O’ Connor, Mike. “Delkiow Seve.” Loose leaflet.
- <sup>60</sup> *Vocal and instrumental pieces by English composers, arranged for five, six and seven parts*. Manuscript. MS 17786-17791.
- <sup>61</sup> Johnson, James. *The Scottish Musical Museum*. Vol. 4. 386.
- <sup>62</sup> Fort, Robert, ed. *Vagabond Songs and Ballads of Scotland*. 150.
- <sup>63</sup> Sharp, Cecil. *English Folk-Song: Some Conclusions*. 21.
- <sup>64</sup> McColl, Ewan, and Peggy Seeger. “Music Note.” 17.
- <sup>65</sup> Kivy, Peter. *Authenticities: Philosophical Reflections on Musical Performance*. 7.
- <sup>66</sup> Seeger, Charles. “Prescriptive and Descriptive Music-Writing.” 1845–1895.
- <sup>67</sup> The concept of Arjan Appadurai’s (1990) ‘imaginary’ as “image-centred, narrative-based accounts of strips of reality” was linked to the concept of Celtic, as ‘Celtic imaginary’ by Reiss, Scott. “Tradition and Imaginary: Irish Traditional Music and the Celtic Phenomenon.” 164.
- <sup>68</sup> Boulton, Harold. *Songs of the Four Nations: A Collection of Old Songs of the People of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales*. 58–60.
- <sup>69</sup> Keel, Frederick, ed. “Dabbling in the Dew.” 282–286.
- <sup>70</sup> Stradling, Rod. “George Dunn: Chainmaker.” n.pag.
- <sup>71</sup> Baring-Gould, Sabine. “Preface.” v.
- <sup>72</sup> The British Library Sound Archive. <[sounds.bl.uk](https://sounds.bl.uk)>.
- <sup>73</sup> Barra Folklore Committee. “Rolling in the Dew Makes the Milkmaid Fair.” n.pag.
- <sup>74</sup> Crawford, Thomas. “Jean Armour’s ‘Double and Adieu.’” 37.
- <sup>75</sup> Henderson, Hamish. No title. Album sleeve.
- <sup>76</sup> Crawford, Thomas. “Jean Armour’s ‘Double and Adieu.’” 43.
- <sup>77</sup> Watts Richard, and Franz Andres Morrissey. *Language, the Singer and the Song: The Sociolinguistics of Folk Performance*. 363.
- <sup>78</sup> Ibid. 365. Cf. also: Andres Morrissey, Franz. “Song Performance as Language Contact: Ideologies of Language Variety, Genre and Style.” forthcoming.
- <sup>79</sup> Watts Richard, and Franz Andres Morrissey. *Language, the Singer and the Song: The Sociolinguistics of Folk Performance*. 364.
- <sup>80</sup> Sharp, Cecil James, and Sabine Baring-Gould. *English Folk-Songs for Schools*. 49.
- <sup>81</sup> E.g. Wheeler, William. *Mother Goose’s Melodies or Songs for the Nursery*. 85–86.
- <sup>82</sup> E.g. Orff, Carl, and Gunild Keetman. “Where Are You Going To, My Pretty Maid?” CX 1549, No B18. / Blanchard, Sarah, and St Joseph’s School Choir. “Where are you going to, my pretty maid?” B0011XDIV8, No 12.
- <sup>83</sup> Kennedy, Peter. “Dabbling in the Dew.”
- <sup>84</sup> Collins, Shirley. “Dabbling in the Dew.”
- <sup>85</sup> “Dabbling in the Dew.” <https://mainlynorfolk.info/shirley.collins/songs/dabblinginthedew.html>.

<sup>86</sup> Revivalists such as Ewan McColl and A. L. Lloyd were of the opinion that the only authentic way of performing English folk songs would be a) to sing them as unaccompanied songs, b) to sing them in the dialect of the song's origin, e.g. without an American accent, and c) to sing them vocally 'unsyncopated.' Cf. Brocken, Michael. *The British Folk Revival 1944–2002*.

<sup>87</sup> Kirkpatrick, John, and Sue Harris. "The Milkmaid's Song."

<sup>88</sup> Leather, Ella Mary. *Ella Mary Leather's Scrap Book of Songs and Tunes*. Digital Archive Reference: (EML/1/19).

<sup>89</sup> Sciaky, Carla. *The Underton*. CT 06810.

<sup>90</sup> Sedley, Stephen. "Rolling in the Dew." n.pag.

<sup>91</sup> Compared to Irish liling, which often uses the syllables /diddldi/ etc., Sciaky rather uses /da da dadlda/ as a syllabic basis.

<sup>92</sup> Sciaky, Carla. *Carla Sciaky Official Homepage*. <http://www.carlasciaky.com>

<sup>93</sup> Sciaky. Personal correspondence. 2016.

<sup>94</sup> 1976 until the present day.

<sup>95</sup> Gundry, Inglis. *Canow Kernow: Songs and Dances from Cornwall*. 28.

<sup>96</sup> Wootton, Brenda. *Starry-Gazy Pie: Songs of Cornwall*. Album sleeve.

<sup>97</sup> Wootton, Brenda. *Nosnyth Lowen 1*. 00:18:35–00:21:21. (The sound stops at 00:25:57).

<sup>98</sup> Unified Cornish is a re-invented variety of Cornish, which is based on the medieval Cornish variety but is completed with words from other Celtic languages, e.g. Welsh or Breton.

<sup>99</sup> Status: 21/09/2016.

<sup>100</sup> All statements are given as anonymous.

<sup>101</sup> The Hornets and Red River Singers. *Delkion Sery*.

<sup>102</sup> Watts Richard, and Franz Andres Morrissey. *Language, the Singer and the Song: The Sociolinguistics of Folk Performance*. 218.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid. 233.

## Acknowledgments

The editors would like to thank the SNF (Swiss National Foundation) for supporting the project „Theories and Practices of Authenticity in Global Cultural Production” between 2015 and 2018, which this book (and numerous others) grew out of.

We would also like to express our gratitude to the University of Bern and the University of Lausanne for supporting this project logistically and financially.

Thanks also go out to all the scholars, Ph.D. students and interested public for providing interest and input for the many occasions when the members of the project met and discussed or presented their subprojects.

Besides the contributors to this book, we would specifically like to thank Susanne Knaller, Susan Bassnett and Thomas Fillitz for their productive contributions and interventions.

The editors would also like to acknowledge the substantial contribution made by Prof. Wendy Shaw during the early stages of the project, and of Prof. Martine Hennard-Dutheil during the entire duration of the project.

Finally, we would like to give special thanks to Malaika Sutter for doing such a thorough and engaged job at proof-reading, lay-outing and editing this collection; and to Dr. Christina Cavedon for being the best project coordinator one could possibly imagine.

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