Women’s Songs

The Lullaby in the Spanish Autonomous Region of Valencia

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ABSTRACT

A lullaby is a song performed almost exclusively by women in all cultures to make children fall asleep. But traditional lullaby singing has declined due to social change. This study analyzes its structure and content thoroughly and aspects of this tradition providing information on usage, customs, themes and types of melody, and reflecting the importance of this form of cultural expression. Keywords: Lullaby, Traditional songs, Women’s songs, Spain, Qualitative research.

A lullaby is a song performed by an adult, almost exclusively by women, which conveys a direct, brief and concise message, where words, music, movement and rhythm are combined with the sole aim of sending a baby off to sleep. It is never used in other
situations and it includes, amongst other things, musical, literary, anthropological, sociological, psychological and educational aspects.

Traditionally, this genre has been considered an integral part of folk childhood lyrical songs. However, it is important to bear in mind that children never sing lullabies (rather, they are the direct recipient of the lullaby) and this is what determines the categorization of this type of song.

In Spain, lullabies are known by several names depending on the geographical area and the dominant language in the region. Thus, to mention just a few terms, *nanas* is used throughout Spain, *arrorrós* in the Canary Islands, Latin America and the Castilian Spanish-speaking part of mainland Spain (Menéndez-Ponte and Serna 1999), *bezcó* in the Galician-Portuguese region, *kantak* in the Basque Country and *bressol* in Catalan or Valencian-speaking communities (Catalonia, Valencia and the Balearic Islands). There are additional terms employed at a more local level, such as *nanes* in the Spanish Autonomous Region of Valencia or *vou-veri-vou* in Majorca.

This type of cultural expression is common to all levels of society, differentiating it from most traditional activities that are always preconditioned by an awareness of belonging to a particular social group.

For this reason its survival might appear guaranteed, because it ought not to suffer from the vagaries of social change which condition and negatively affect the transmission and continuity of oral tradition.

But nothing could be further from the truth. The change of uses and practices in modern society is contributing towards the complete disappearance of this cultural expression. On the one hand, the fact that women have fully entered the workforce has resulted in a loss of this tradition. The typical family unit in which the man is the breadwinner and the mother or grandmother are the homemakers (socializing agents) is no longer that common. On the other hand, as shown in the study carried out by Irene Watt (2012), the introduction of means of mass communication in the home, such as TV, radio, CDs, and DVDs has also significantly influenced
the replacement of proper chants with the songs that are in fashion at that particular time.

As part of this research project, on the 2nd, 3rd and 4th of November 2011, a survey was carried out on 420 students (257 women and 163 men) between the ages of 19 and 22 undergoing teacher training at the University of Alicante. They were asked to supply socio-demographic information (such as age, sex, place of residence, birthplace and that of their parents and grandparents) and had to answer 4 open questions:

1. Do you know any lullabies?
2. If so, which ones?
3. Who did you learn them from?
4. Do you sing lullabies to your children, nieces or nephews or any other children you look after?

The main response (252 women and 100% of men) was that they did not know any lullabies. Only two women knew songs relating to their hometown, indicating that they had learnt them from their mothers, grandmothers and/or aunts. The other three women knew songs which were not local to their hometown or region and which they had learnt from a CD.

Lullabies in Spain have always been an interesting object of study. Thus, there is an abundance of literary and/or musical references. The first lullaby appeared in the 15th century with the work of the poet Gómez Manrique (Tejero Robledo 2002), and in 1626 Rodrigo Caro (1978) wrote Días geniales o lúdricos, the first great compilation of folklore material that included these types of songs.

From a literary point of view, the research carried out during the first third of the twentieth century by Caballero (1995) and, in particular, by García Lorca (1972, 1974)—whose dissertation on lullabies in 1929 constituted a turning point regarding the classification and literary-theatrical significance of the genre (Pelegrín Sandoval 2003)—are worth mentioning.

Within the Autonomous Region of Valencia (our geographical area of study), hereafter referred to simply as “Valencia” (given
that we will always be referring to the region, not the city), it is important to note the collection *Cuadernos de Música Folklórica Valenciana* (Books on Valencian Folk Music), edited by Palau Boix (1950), who began compiling Valencian folk music. Subsequently, the collections of Seguí Pérez (1973); Seguí Pérez, et al. (1980); Seguí Pérez, et al. (1990) and the *Fonoteca de materials* (a large sound archive of field recordings held by the Valencian Government. Situated in Valencia. http://ivm.gva.es/cms/es/catalogo-fonoteca-de-materials.html) are also worth mentioning.

This research project focuses on the lullaby of Valencia from an ethnomusicological point of view, since this aspect has practically never been dealt with and there is a particular lack of overall analysis which could produce valid results.

![Figure 1: Map of Spain highlighting the Autonomous Region of Valencia](image)

Despite the fact that the entire population of our target area speaks Spanish (also known as Castilian), we can identify three linguistic regions: (a) Valencian, spoken along the coast and in adjacent areas; (b) Castilian-Aragonese (*churro*), spoken in the areas of Serranos, Foya de Buñol, Ademúz, Alto Palancia and Alto Mijares (the people in these areas understand Valencian perfectly well and can easily take part in crossed conversations, but they do not tend to use it); (c) Spanish, spoken mainly in the central and western parts of the region and in a small area in the south (la Plana de Utiel, Bajo
Figure 2: Map of the Autonomous Region of Valencia, showing the linguistic variation by district
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Linguistic area</th>
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<tr>
<td>Ports</td>
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<td>Baix Maestrat</td>
<td>Valencian</td>
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<td>Alt Maestrat</td>
<td>Valencian</td>
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<td>Plana Alta</td>
<td>Valencian</td>
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<td>Alcalatén</td>
<td>Valencian</td>
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<td>Alt Millars</td>
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<td>Plana Baixa</td>
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<td>Alt Palància</td>
<td>Castillian-Aragonese</td>
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<td>Racó d’Ademús</td>
<td>Castillian-Aragonese</td>
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<td>Serrans</td>
<td>Castillian-Aragonese</td>
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<td>Camp de Túria</td>
<td>Valencian and Castillian-Aragonese</td>
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<td>Camp de Morvedre</td>
<td>Valencian and Castillian-Aragonese</td>
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<tr>
<td>Plana d’Utiel</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
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<td>Foia de Bunyol</td>
<td>Castillian-Aragonese</td>
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<tr>
<td>Horta Nord, Oest, Sud and Ciutat de València</td>
<td>Valencian</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vall de Cofrents</td>
<td>Valencian</td>
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<td>Canal de Navarrés</td>
<td>Valencian</td>
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<td>Ribera Alta</td>
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<td>Ribera Baixa</td>
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<td>La Costera</td>
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<td>Vall d’Albaida</td>
<td>Valencian</td>
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<td>La Safor</td>
<td>Valencian</td>
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<td>Marina Alta</td>
<td>Valencian</td>
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<td>Marina Baixa</td>
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<td>El Comtat</td>
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<td>L’Alcoià</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alt Vinalopó</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
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<td>Vinalopó Mitjà</td>
<td>Valencian</td>
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<td>L’Alacantí</td>
<td>Valencian</td>
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<tr>
<td>Baix Vinalopó</td>
<td>Spanish-Valencian</td>
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<td>Baix Segura</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
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</table>
Segura, Alto Vinalopó and certain towns in Bajo Vinalopó). Area a) covers 75% of the territory, with 87% of the population, whilst (b) and (c) make up 25% of the territory, with 13% of the population, according to the Valencian Statistics Institute (2011).

In Valencian-speaking areas, widespread use of this language occurs in areas of medium or low urban development, whereas Spanish predominates in large metropolises given that a significant part of their population is from other parts of Spain.

**METHOD**

The research was carried out in four consecutive stages:

a) Search and compilation of lullabies
b) Selection of the compiled material in accordance with the criteria set out below
c) Classification
d) Study

The investigation began with open interviews, which were carried out with interviewees during visits to their respective towns or cities after an initial contact had been made, since this type of approach provides underlying information that is difficult to observe in other processes.

All the interviews were recorded and transcribed word for word at a later date, for further selection, analysis and classification.

**RANGE**

This research stems from the three fieldwork sessions conducted by José María Esteve-Faubel, Rosa Pilar Esteve-Faubel, Victoria Cavia-Naya and María Teresa Oller Benlloch Folklore throughout Valencia. They compiled a total of 253 interviews carried out between 1950 and 2009: Professor Benlloch interviewed 121 people between 1950 and 1960, J.M. Esteve-Faubel completed 80 interviews from 1980 to 1989, and R.P. Esteve-Faubel obtained 52 more interviews between 2007 and 2009.
FIELDWORK AND DEVELOPMENT

The first tactic for finding participants was to contact people living in different towns in Valencia. Interviews were always conducted at the interviewee’s home, without set time limits. It is important to note that, once initial contact had been made, interviewees often discussed the purpose of the visit with their friends or neighbors, meaning that, on many occasions, up to four participants would attend the same interview.

ANALYSIS STRATEGIES

The interview transcripts were analyzed following a particular process in order to simplify the information and make it more straightforward. The standard interpretation procedure consisted of: data reduction, keyword selection, dimensional grouping of phrases, thorough editing of categories, and classification of categories.

The categories were not defined in the first instance. Instead, they emerged after reviewing all of the documents. We first established a loose framework in which to classify the responses, and then grouped and counted the number of answers that fitted into the framework. This gave us an idea of the different subjects being studied.

We established a process for categorizing the data collected, in which each researcher proposed a way of classifying the significant units.

After each researcher had analyzed around 10 interviews and questions regarding the songs’ lyrics and music, and with the aim of speeding up the process, an idea sharing session took place at the first group meeting as a starting point for categorization. This formed the basis of the research group’s discussion and, after four meetings, they reached a 98% consensus.

In accordance with the aims of the study, the analysis phase consisted of:

1. Getting to know the etymology of words meaning “lullaby” (cuna, bressol and nana), which helped us to classify these types of songs.
2. Researching how these songs are performed and discovering
the themes which are inherent to the speakers’ descriptions.
3. Identifying and classifying the lullabies sung in Valencia according to their literary themes.
4. Analyzing and cataloguing the region’s lullabies according to musical parameters.

With regards to the first objective, the interviewees’ accounts and bibliographic documentation were divided into the following groups: a) origin of the term cuna; b) materials used to make the cradle or cot; c) information relating to the subject.

With regards to the second objective, the information was classified into four groups: a) characteristics relating to when they are performed; b) how the action of making a child go to sleep occurs; c) which songs are performed; and d) information relating to the subject.

With regards to the third objective, identifying and classifying the lullabies sung in Valencia according to their literary themes, two important groups were established: a) structure and b) theme.

“Structure” was, in turn, subdivided into two categories:

1. Monostrophic songs, with only one stanza
2. Polystrophic songs, with more than one stanza. In this case, given that the interviewees tended to join different stanzas together in the same melody, we decided to place those with defined, independent, but symmetrically unified stanzas within the polystrophic category, expressing a complete thought.

With regards to versification, this study has grouped all verses into Quatrain (stanza of four arte menor verses with consonance); Seguidillas (stanza of either four or seven verses, of which the first and third verses are heptasyllabic and free while the other two have five syllables and are assonant; when it contains seven verses, the fifth and seventh also have five syllables and are assonant while the sixth is heptasyllabic and free, like the first and third syllables, with the odd verses rhyming with each other); Irregular Seguidillas (containing a verse with six syllables instead of five or seven, which is what characterises the seguidilla); Nine-syllable verses (an arte
major verse with nine syllables); Octosyllables (an arte menor verse with eight metric syllables, in assonance or consonance, and with the strophic stress on the seventh syllable, which is why its rhythm is trochaic and the rhythmic stress is that of the odd syllables); Heptasyllabic (a verse with seven syllables, whose main typologies are dactylic, trochaic and polyrhythmic, with the stress on the sixth syllable); Hexasyllabic (an arte menor verse with six syllables, with the stress on the fifth syllable and on one of the first syllables; if the stress is on the second syllable, its rhythm is amphibrachic, and if the stress is on the odd syllable, its rhythm is trochaic).

Five themes were identified from a literary perspective: a) protective, corresponding to real or unreal things, or something which protects children from harm or danger; b) cultural, for archetypes which describe the way of life and customs of a real society; c) social, belonging to certain classes or groups; d) ethical, referring to the rules which govern certain human behaviours; e) menacing, for beings which are used to intimidate children, threatening to harm them or their family.

These five groups were then subdivided into the following categories:

1. Protective: Consisting of religious symbols, where saints and/or virgins from the calendar of saints protect the child’s slumber; natural symbols, both botanical, such as parsley, and astrological, such as the moon and stars; and human symbols (mother, grandmother and grandfather).

2. Cultural: Divided into possession, where the child seems to be in charge of certain objects or belongings which give him power and control over the domain; poetic, where the main objective is to achieve a beautiful text; the mother’s absence, either justified or displaying a certain amount of indifference towards her child; wrongdoers, which includes the woman’s involvement with her lover and topics relating to single mothers; overwhelmed mothers, relating to the number of things mothers have to do, their lack of milk for breastfeeding and their resignation over how long it takes the child to go to sleep; and helplessness
of the child, either through illness or injuries caused by accidents and disabilities.

3. Social: Consisting of shortage, such as not having a cot; a rise in status, a promising present and/or future; the marriage of daughters; and the gender divide.

4. Ethical: divided into the reward that is offered if the child goes to sleep (the conditional if) and the child's request for the reward promised by the mother (in this case, the child sings via the mother).

5. Menacing Beings: These arise in contrast to the protective symbols. This group consists of personifications, which can be real or unreal, such as El Coco (a bogeyman-like creature), l'home del saco (sack man, another bogeyman-like monster), la reina mora (the Moorish queen), the mother herself and the devil; and animals, such as bulls and donkeys.

With regards to the fourth objective, four themes were identified: a) melodic; b) rhythmic; c) formal; and d) words and music, which have been subdivided into the following categories:

1. Melodic: Divided into five characteristics: melodic organisation, which groups melodies into modal, tonal or modal-tonal; notes used, which refers to complete or defective scales. A scale is an ordered series of seven sounds (musical notes, scale degrees) which go from the lowest frequency to the highest, or vice versa, starting from the first note, known as the tonic, which is where the scale gets its name from. Notes are separated by intervals of tones and semitones. In general, this implies that scales can be obtained from each of the notes in the series and the difference between them lies in the place occupied by the tones and semitones between the scale degrees.

Mode refers to the way in which the scales were ordered in the Greek (descending order) and Gregorian (ascending order) systems. Examples have only been provided of those which appear in this study.
Modal system

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Greek modes</th>
<th>Gregorian modes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dorian</td>
<td>Protus Authentic or Protus</td>
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</table>

The tone follows the so-called Diatonic scale (ascending order), mainly used in western classical music from the 17th century onwards.

Seven natural scales can be obtained, one from each note of the series. This type of scale is known as Major. Thus, the example shown is a C (its first note or tonic) Major, i.e. C tone, Major mode and its relative minor is A minor.

Tonal System

| Major scale | Minor scale |

The difference between modal and tonal systems is that, in modal systems, each scale type has its own pitch, whereas in tonal systems, the same model and succession of tones and semitones are applied to all of the scales.

Finally, it is important to note that, when we talk about the E mode or scale, this refers to a change of the Dorian mode and reflects the typical scales used in Spanish music. This is what makes a tune, apart from any metric issues, “sound like Spanish music”.

E Spanish scales or modes

| Scale I | Scale II |

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The raised sixth scale degree is the result of a strong ethnomusical and amplifying process in both of the previous scales.

It is also important to note that, in those songs in which the singers establish exact pitches from a tonal and/or modal perspective for the sounds in their chants, these have been transcribed by maintaining the traditional configuration of the musical notes. On the other hand, in those in which the tuning is approximate, such as Fondó (Carmen Escadell Amorós) and Llíria (Enriqueta Faubel Martínez), they have chosen to replace the note head with X on the stave to indicate approximate pitches.

Melodic range, which indicates the interval between the highest and lowest notes of a melody and is associated with the course of the melodic line; the greatest interval produced between successive notes; and melodic style, which consists of a description of the melodic line, with a particular focus on the formal schema.

2. Rhythmic: Made up of five categories. The first two refer to the use of the beats in a bar, which can be isometric, with one type of rhythm, or heterometric, with different time signatures. The third category refers to the type of beginning (thesis and arsis, meaning down-beat and up-beat), while the fourth refers to the ending (masculine, meaning down-beat, or feminine meaning up-beat) of the song. The fifth category describes the tempo.

3. Formal: Provides information on the formal structure (semi-phrases, phrases and periods) that shapes the song, is divided into the following categories: Isorhythmic, when all the musical phrases appear to be made up of the same rhythmic schemata; and heterorhythmic (when the rhythmic schemata of each phrase or semi-phrase that makes up the period are different).

4. Words and music: Where the relationship between literary and musical accents is analyzed and typology of the song (syllabic: one syllable is equivalent to one musical note; adorned or melismatic: one syllable is equivalent to several musical note).
On completion of this process, all the songs belonging to other genres were eliminated (19 songs), even if they are occasionally sung as lullabies, such as ballads, jota songs, fandango and harvest songs, which are considered as functional lullabies.

It should also be noted that within the inclusion-exclusion criteria, all repeated lullabies, or those with only minor literary-musical variations, were discarded. However, these songs were taken into account when studying how far they had spread throughout Valencia.

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RESULTS

An analysis of the three fieldwork sessions has revealed the effect that time has had on lullabies. As such, the initial group of interviewees (1950-1970), which included people from 50 to 105 years of age, did not differentiate between traditional customs and songs for the nursery. In other words, the process of transferring that knowledge from one generation to the next was clearly effective.

When it comes to the interviews conducted from 2007 to 2009 (of women aged between 60 and 90), two distinct groups emerge: 20 women aged between 60 and 70 and 32 women aged between 70 and 90. The younger group stated that they had not sung much to their children because they had joined the labor market, but they still knew some songs thanks to their parents.

The interviews carried out in 1980/89 saw an increase in the age of those interviewees (aged 70 and 103) who possessed some knowledge of the subject of traditions. It is important to note that, even though the interviewees’ daughters stated that they knew the songs, they claimed that, “... because I had to go to work, my mother was in charge of singing them ...”.

With regards to the first objective (getting to know the etymology
of the words *cuna*, *bressol* and *nana*, which are used to refer to this type of song in Valencia), *cuna* and *bressol* refer to the cot in which the child sleeps, while *nana* is a meaningless syllabic pair used in the song’s text.

In *El Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española*, written by Sebastián de Covarrubias in 1611, the word *cuna* appears with the following meaning: “a small box or cradle used to swing or rock children to sleep; from the Latin *cunae*, *cunaram*...” (1995:703).

The *Diccionario de la Lengua Española* states that the noun *cuna* comes from the Latin *cuna* and provides the definition given by Covarrubias. The *Diccionari Català-Valencià-Balear* (Alcover and Moll 2002:664) also gives the same definition.

The word *berciolum*, corresponding to *bressol*, was already used in the 8th century. According to Corominas (1954-1957:216-23) *bres* may be a back-formation of *bressar*, itself a back-formation of *bressol*.

With regards to the type of bed in which the children were put to sleep, we can identify three types of cots, coinciding with the three distinct geographical areas in Valencia: the inland mountainous region, where cots were made of wood; the irrigated land areas, where they were primarily made of wicker; and the dry regions of non-irrigated land, where they were made of esparto grass. In other words, the materials used to make the cots were those that were plentiful in each area.

This description is endorsed not only by de Covarrubias y Orozco (1995:685), but also by the *Diccionari Català-Valencià-Balear* (Alcover and Moll 2002:662).

There are some syllabic peculiarities concerning the second point. The terms *nini* and *nana*, which characterize these songs in the area of study, already appeared in the *Diccionario de Autoridades* in 1837 as:

Terms which have no meaning whatsoever, used by someone who is singing to follow the tune without actually pronouncing any words. It is also used to mean something impertinent and often repeated, with an unknown purpose. *Futilis cantiuncula.*

(de Covarrubias y Orozco 1995:668)
The *Diccionario de la Lengua Española* (2001:944) states that *nana* is a “sort of small bag, sometimes with a hood, with an opening in the front which is usually closed with a zip and whose purpose is to keep breast-fed babies warm”.

The *Diccionari Català-Valencià-Balear* (Alcover and Moll 2002:689) defines *nana* as “Mother, in childhood language” given that it is a common term in Valencia, Minorca and Ibiza.

As far as Corominas (1980:876) is concerned, *nana* comes from *Nonnus, Nonna* (“old person, childminder, grandmother). *El Tesoro de la lengua Castellana o Española* defines the verb *arrullar* (to lull) as the action of “sending a child to sleep by singing little sounds and repeating the word *roro*”. The word *arrullarse* (to lull oneself to sleep) implies falling asleep with a little whimper (de Covarrubias y Orozco 1995:421).

With regards to the second question concerning research of performance practices and discovery of themes inherent to the speakers’ descriptions, all of the interviewees noted the importance of the lullaby as a song used for inducing sleep, following the baby’s circadian rhythm. It is therefore sung several times a day with that purpose, with all of the interviewees agreeing that they had only ever sung lullabies with this intention in mind.

In a new-born baby’s first weeks of life, lullabies are usually only sung sporadically and quietly, almost in a whisper. This may be due to the fact that a breast-fed baby is overcome by sleep. They tend to sleep 16 to 18 hours a day, divided into 6 or 7 periods, and only wake up to feed every two hours.

Once this first stage is over, lullabies are usually sung to get the baby off to sleep, although the mother’s humming sounds still continue. “We sing to the child because he/she wants to go to sleep …” the interviewees stated, claiming that they emphasized the song by using a musical introduction that preceded the singing.

This introduction, which takes the form of an ostinato given the constant repetition of the same distance of a minor melodic third, does not contain a specific number of bars.

Vocalizations are made with an “a” sound, using a rather nasal, dark tone, without singing a specific melody. Whether or not an introduction is used, the invariable element is the gentle patting on
the buttocks with the right hand, using the same rhythm as the pulse or the beats per bar of the song, and a toing and froing movement of the body, reinforcing the pulse or accent, in the ostinato form, which continues until the child falls asleep.

To send a baby to sleep, the mother usually takes him/her in her arms, placing the child’s head over her left arm and holding him close to her heart, or lying the child face-up on her lap like a rocking cradle.

The song can be performed standing up or sitting down. If the mother is standing up the beat is accompanied by a slight swaying motion while remaining in the same place. If the mother is seated, typically in a low rush chair, she tends to start the same rocking motion, with the chair becoming a rhythmic instrument, making a characteristic clatter as the weight is alternately placed on the front and then the back legs.

When seated, the feet remain still and the leg movement goes from left to right, or the other way around.

Lullabies are sung until the child is a “big boy” or “big girl” (aged two or even three), and all the interviewees expressed the desperation felt when the child “does not want to go to sleep”. The child complains and cries. The mother sings the song louder and increases her movements, the pats on the baby’s buttocks and back, and the swinging motion until the child falls asleep.

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The participants, especially those aged over 80, also commented on what they did after the baby’s midday meal. Once the table had been cleared, the mother or grandmother would pull the curtains to dim the light. They would then take the child in their arms and sing to the baby until he/she fell asleep, when they would put him in the rocking cradle.

If the living room could not be made any darker, they would place the palm of their left-hand over the baby’s eyes, like a curtain,
Cançó de bressol

The rocking rhythm of the chair

La meua xica és l'amala
The little girl is the owner

My Little girl is the owner
de la flor del taronger
of the orange blossom

del corral i del carrer
de the yard and the street.
del corral i del carrer

Musical transcription by Maria Teresa Oller Benlloch. Recorded by Maria Teresa Oller Benlloch, from Amparo and Remedio Petró Mascarell, Potries, 1 August 1970

so as to soften the light while the child is being held and sung to.

All those interviewed clearly understood that lullabies are sung to send children off to sleep. Yet when telling their own stories, the participants invariably distinguished between lullabies and “many other songs they would sing”, their reason being that “children don’t fall asleep immediately so you need to know or use other songs to keep them from waking up.”

It is perhaps for this reason that they claim that mothers have to sing up to fourteen or fifteen songs to get their babies to go to sleep.

When questioned, “many other songs” generally refer to ballads (romances) used as lullabies. The lyrics and literary themes of these compositions (Cristiana Cautiva, Gerineldo, Amnón and Tamar) can date back to at least the sixteenth century (Alvar López 1970,
Cançó de bressol

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Can de bressol

Belgida - Val d'Albaida

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Catalán 1983, Díaz-Mas 1996, Menéndez Pidal 1957, 1968, Menéndez Pidal, et al. 1992) and have been passed on by oral tradition to the present day. Mothers occasionally sang jota or fandango choruses and peasant songs which tended to become linked with the lullaby itself. Lastly, it is important to note that the interviewees never sang whilst breastfeeding or when giving the baby a bottle given that they did not want the child to fall asleep.

Another notable custom was to place under the mattress of the cot printed images of Christ, the Blessed Virgin Mary or any Saints that may have been held in veneration by the family in order to protect the baby from misfortune.

The cradle was decorated with folds of fabric, embroidered with different motifs, and a bow (blue for a boy and pink for a girl).

Also, if the baby was considered particularly bonny, a red ribbon (Cirlot 2007) was placed on the pushchair when taking the baby out for a walk in order to prevent anyone from casting an “evil eye”.

The words of the lullabies clearly represent a female perspective, as noted by other workers in the field (Cerrillo Torremocha 2003:84) and confirmed by our results.

Mothers sing in a natural way and, sometimes without realising, employ onomatopoeic forms, such as “hey-diddle-diddle” or “too-

The results of this study endorse these perceptions. The sexual differentiation between the participants produces significant data of the testimonies from the fieldwork of Oller-Benlloch and JM Esteve-Faubel, in which 100% of the participants were women. Despite being the custom, it does not mean that the fathers hadn’t developed a list of lullabies, but simply that they hadn’t consistently rehearsed them. The research mostly focused on women, following the traditional family unit in which the man is the breadwinner and the woman is the homemaker.

With regards to the genre’s survival, in the fieldwork carried out in the 1950s-1960s there is little difference between urban and rural areas. A decrease in the former begins to be noted in the interviews carried out in the 1990s, with a considerable increase in favor of rural areas in the 2007 to 2009 period (84.5% versus 15.15%). This tendency was confirmed in the surveys handed out to university students in 2009.

With regards to structure, 94.2% of songs are monostrophic (with only one stanza) and 5.8% are polystrophic (with more than one stanza). When it comes to versification, quatrains represent the greatest percentage.

TABLE 1: TYPES OF VERSIFICATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Versification</th>
<th>Songs n = 224</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Quatrains</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>67.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quatrains with repetition</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seguidillas (triple rhythm)</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irregular seguidillas</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonosyllabic verses</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Octosyllabic verses</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heptasyllabic verses</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quatrains with irregular seguidilla</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hexasyllabic verses</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
With regards to the theme, 9.4% of lullabies correspond to the protective theme, 56.7% to the cultural theme, 14.7% to the social theme, 7.6% to the ethical theme, and 11.6% to the menacing theme.

When cross-checking the versification data with the theme, this indicates that the quatrain is present in all of the themes with the exception of the categories relating to gender (the social theme), which always consist of octosyllabic verses; when something is lacking relating to the cot (the ethical theme), which uses nonosyllabic verses; and those in which El Coco bogeyman appears (menacing theme), which contains seguidillas and 2% of the songs present some kind of metric irregularity.

With regards to the third objective, it is important to note that 75% of lullabies were sung in Valencian and in 25% in Castilian Spanish. Furthermore, Valencian is never used in these types of songs in areas where only Spanish is spoken, whereas 10.26% of songs are performed in Spanish in Valencian-speaking areas.

All of the themes and categories are represented in the lullabies sung in the areas where Valencian is spoken, with the exception of the natural elements category (part of the Protective theme).

**TABLE 2: THEME AND LANGUAGE IN THE LULLABIES OF THE VALENCIA AUTONOMOUS REGION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Linguistic Dominance of the District</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Valencian n = 169(%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>1 (0.6%)</td>
<td>10 (18.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protective</td>
<td>Natural</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Human</td>
<td>3 (1.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>counts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cultural</strong></td>
<td>Possession</td>
<td>59 (34.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Poetic</td>
<td>9 (5.3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Absent mother</td>
<td>6 (3.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wrongdoer</td>
<td>13 (7.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Overwhelmed mother</td>
<td>7 (4.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Child’s disability</td>
<td>19 (11.2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social</strong></td>
<td>Lack of a cradle</td>
<td>3 (1.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Absolute poverty</td>
<td>4 (2.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rise in status</td>
<td>12 (7.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Daughter’s marriage</td>
<td>1 (0.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gender-related</td>
<td>7 (4.1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ethical</strong></td>
<td>The singing child</td>
<td>8 (4.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The conditional “if”</td>
<td>8 (4.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Coco” bogeyman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reina Mora (Moorish queen)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>El hombre del saco (the sack man/bogeyman)</td>
<td>5 (3.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Menacing Beings</strong></td>
<td>The mother herself</td>
<td>1 (0.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The devil</td>
<td>1 (0.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Animals</td>
<td>2 (1.2%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Cançó de bressol

When studying the link between language and theme the following results were obtained:

The results show that the themes of El Coca bogeyman and the Moorish queen only appear in lullabies sung in Spanish, despite being folk throughout Valencia.

The theme of sleep or the need to go to sleep is present in all of the songs with a protective theme, either directly or through the use of euphemisms, such as cosir la soneta (to embroider dreams); in 100% of the categories relating to the overwhelmed mother, the absent mother and the wrongdoer (corresponding to the single-mother subcategory), which are all sung in Spanish and belong to the cultural theme; in 3% of the lullabies in the poetic category; in all of the songs with an ethical theme; and in those with a menacing beings theme, excluding those which mention “The Sack Man”.

The ways in which the lullabies encourage babies to go to sleep, ranging from the imperative to the vocative, vary according to their theme. For example, in lullabies with a protective theme, the person who sings adopts the calming role by using the different categories described above.

In those containing the conditional “if,” a reward is always promised.

Musical transcription by Jose Maria Esteve-Faubel. Recorded by José Maria Esteve-Faubel, from Amparo Berbegall, Oliva, 18 August 1985.
In those lullabies in which it is the child who “sings”, it is interesting to see the baby carrying out two different actions: first he/she asks the mother for what she had promised (a doll) and, once this has been achieved (although never stated clearly), the baby sings to the doll to make it go to sleep.

**Cançó de bressol**

*Musical transcription by Maria Teresa Oller Benlloch. Recorded by Maria Teresa Oller Benlloch. From Encarna Pascual Sebastià. 1 April 1960***

If my little girl falls asleep
her mother will buy her
some new shoes

Musical transcription by Jose Maria Esteve-Faubel. Recorded by Rosa Pilar Esteve-Faubel. From Enriqueta Faubel Martinez. Llíria, 2 February 2010
This cultural category includes the songs in which the solitary mother (single) pleads with her child to go to sleep.

Cançó de bressol

This lullaby contrasts with the threatening nature of all the other songs with a menacing theme.

Cançó de Bressol
The mother’s presence is indicated implicitly when the following expressions appear in the opening line: “La meua xiqueta” (my daughter), “el meu xiquet” (my son), or “La meua...” “El meu...” (My ... followed by baby’s name).

**Canción de cuna**

El Chopo - Serranos

This lullaby has the same words as the one given in score 2 (Potries) Musical transcription by José María Esteve-Faubel. Recorded by José María Esteve-Faubel, from Gabriela Torrijos, Llíria, 7 April 1980

My boy is sleepy and cannot fall asleep.
San Joseph will make a cot for him
Virgin Mary the pillow.

Musical transcription by Maria Teresa Oller Benlloch. Recorded by Maria Teresa Oller Benlloch, from Leonor Herrera Pérez, El Chopo, 3 July 1968
The mother’s presence is stated explicitly when, in addition to the expressions previously mentioned, the word “mare” (mother) or grandmother (depending on who is singing the song) is used.

The father figure or male character can appear in three different ways. The first entails the fatherly task of making a cot for the child, which can be carried out either by a generic father or by Saint Joseph, a carpenter by trade and the caregiver of baby Jesus.

The second type could refer to the mother possibly taking advantage of the father’s absence to be with another man. In this case, in a rather apprehensive tone, the mother’s song indirectly lauds it and indeed it is a dramatic interpretation of the song.

The third type entails the absence of both the father and the mother. In this type of scenario, the lullaby tells the child that the mother is more at fault than the father, highlighting a mother’s reluctance to leaving her established role as carer. There are no reasons to justify her absence nor could any treats she might bring on her return have any value to the child given that she has abandoned her maternal duties at home.

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Cançó de bressol

Banyeres de Mariola - L'Alcoià

Other times, the mother brings an unpleasant present, such as “a hen which is blind in one eye”, on her return to the home, whereas the father’s absence is always justified by having to do a particular task.

Cançó de bressol

Bellreguard - La Safor
Two types of lullabies within the child’s disability category are particularly worth mentioning. The first type, shown above, is sung in Valencian and the lyrics always talk of a disability caused by some kind of fall because the child is not calm enough.

Musical transcription by Jose Maria Esteve Faubel. Recorder by Rosa Pilar Esteve Faubel, from Carmen Escandell Amoros. Fondo dels Frares 15 August 2010
The second type are those found in Castilian-speaking districts and describe the need for a certain type of food (such as chicken broth or snail soup) in order to improve the child's health.

In the lullabies with a theme containing a menacing being, the threat is presented in two ways. Firstly, through imaginary beings such as El Coco bogeyman, as shown by García Lorca in the following example:

The magical power of El Coco bogeyman is his nebulosity. He is never to be seen, even though he roams through the rooms. And the most remarkable thing is that he remains a blur to everyone. He is a poetic abstraction and, for this reason, the fear produced is a cosmic fear, a fear in which the senses cannot impose their life-saving boundaries ... because there is no possible explanation [...] . The child's fear is based on this fantasy and can even develop a kindly feeling towards him. (1972:82)

Secondly, the threat is presented through real beings such as the bull or Toni, the sack man or the mother herself:

**Cançó de bressol**

*Musical transcription by Maria Teresa Oliver Benlloch. Recorder by Maria Teresa Oliver Benlloch, from Maria Picó, Cocentaina, 10 July 1970*
Nonsense syllables are present in all of the gender-related examples and in the remainder of the themes, with the exception of the menacing beings theme, where no examples have been found. They tend to appear at the whim of the person singing, whether at the start (as a kind of introduction, before beginning the “real song”) or at the end of the song, as a coda. They can either be part of the lyrics of the song or substitute the first verse of the original song. Thus, they do not follow any particular pattern and the utterance of syllables which do not mean anything in particular is very common.

With regards to the music, an analysis of the melodic typology shows that 72.3% use modal scales and the rest use tonal scales. The modal ranges can be classified into two groups:

1. The Mi scale, containing different types of alterations to the notes
Cançó de bressol

Balones - El Comtat

\( \text{\texttt{j=60}} \)

El meu xiquet serà l'amor del corral i del carrer de la ful·lia de llimera, de la flor del taronger

El meu xiquet serà l'amor del corral i del carrer de la ful·lia de llimera, de la flor del taronger

My boy will be the owner of the yard and the street of the lemon leaf and the orange blossom.

Musical transcription by Maria Teresa Oller Benlloch. Recorder by Maria Teresa Oller Benlloch, from Milagros García, Balones, 1 March 1970

Cançó de bressol

Lliria - Camp de Túria

\( \text{\texttt{j=108}} \)

Si, si, no, no toma-te-tal pimentó pa les xiques xo-cola-te i pals homens un bastó

Si, si, no, no toma-te-tal pimentó pa les xiques xo-cola-te i pals homens un bastó

Yes, yes, no, no tomatoes and peppers chocolate for the girls and a stick for the men.

Musical transcription by Jose Maria Esteve-Faubel. Recorder by Rosa Pilar Esteve-Faubel, from Enriqueta Faubel Martinez, Lliria, 2 February 2010
2. The range of Gregorian modes, using the Protus authentic with the fifth note minorised.

Cançó de bressol

Callosa d'Ensarria - Marina baixa

Musical transcription by Jose Maria Esteve-Faubel. Recorder by Jose Maria Esteve-Faubel, from Rosalia Ferri, Callosa d'Ensarria, 15 junio 1990

The tonal scales are mainly melodic major scales.

Cançó de bressol

Musical transcription by Maria Teresa Oller Bennlloch. Recorded by Maria Teresa Oller Bennlloch, from Piedad Remolar Fernandez, Betxi, 15 August 1965

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The notes used to form the scales of the melodies correspond to six of the “defective” type with 2 notes (a major second or a descending minor third), ten made up of three notes (a descending minor third followed by a diminished fifth or minor sixth); twenty-one made up of four notes; forty-eight made up of five notes; fifty-five made up of six notes; thirty-five made up of 7 notes and forty-nine complete scales or those which go beyond the range of the octave.

Of the total repertoire of 224 songs, the Melodic ranges are the following:

(a) Major second: 1 song
(b) Diminished seventh: 1 song
(c) Major ninth: 1 song
(d) Minor tenth: 1 song
Where the rhythmic aspects of the time signature are concerned, the majority are ternary groupings of 130 songs. Fifty-two contain binary subdivisions of which thirteen songs are in 6/8 form, a binary time signature with a ternary subdivision. The following table contains a complete analysis of this aspect and also refers to the types of meter.

**TABLE 4: METRICAL TYPOLOGY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time signature</th>
<th>Isometric</th>
<th>Heterometric</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n = 195 (%)</td>
<td>n = 29 (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simple binary 2/4</td>
<td>39 (20.0%)</td>
<td>2 (6.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simple ternary 3/4</td>
<td>110 (56.4%)</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simple ternary 3/8</td>
<td>19 (9.7%)</td>
<td>1 (3.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simple ternary 3/2</td>
<td>1 (0.5%)</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quaternary 4/4</td>
<td>6 (3.1%)</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compound binary 6/8</td>
<td>13 (6.7%)</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compound ternary 9/8</td>
<td>1 (0.5%)</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simple amalgam 5/4</td>
<td>1 (0.5%)</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combination 2/4 3/4</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>15 (51.7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combination 2/4 3/4 4/4</td>
<td>2 (1.0%)</td>
<td>2 (6.9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combination 2/4 4/4</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>1 (3.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combination 4/4 5/4</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>1 (3.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combination 3/4 4/4</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>4 (13.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combination 3/4 4/4 5/4</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>1 (3.4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free</td>
<td>3 (1.5%)</td>
<td>2 (6.9%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An analysis of the types of beginning for all the melodies shows that 127 are thetic and 97 are arsic. The following results were obtained by analysing the notes of the scale they were produced on:

**TABLE 5: ANALYSIS OF THE TYPES OF BEGINNING**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of beginning</th>
<th>Scale Degrees</th>
<th>Type of scale</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

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Thetic beginnings tend to be made in the tonic scale (such as the case of Banyeres de Mariola, previously cited), followed by the mediant and the subdominant, whilst arsic beginnings tend to be made in the tonic (the case of Bellreguard, for example, as referenced earlier) and mediant and dominant scale.

With regards to the endings, 2 melodies contain a masculine ascending and 8 a feminine ascending, whereas 79 songs contain a masculine descending and 135 a feminine descending. The results obtained from combining the type of ending with the scale degree are as follows:

**TABLE 6: ANALYSIS OF THE TYPES OF ENDINGS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of ending</th>
<th>Scale Degrees</th>
<th>Type of scale</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Modal</td>
<td>Tonal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ascending</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subdominant</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominant</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tonic</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supertonic</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Descending</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tonic</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supertonic</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mediant</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mediant</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominant</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As can be seen, the majority (214) of the lullabies are descending melodies, with the feminine ending (such as the case of Bufalí) standing out within this group. There seems to be no link between the type of beginning and ending.

An analysis of the meter type (formal aspects) shows that 175 melodies are isorhythmic (such as the case of Betxi) and 49 are heterorhythmic (such as the case of Potries).

With regards to tempo, most lullabies (nearly a third) were moderato while around a quarter were allegretto. Just over a quarter were faster (vivace, presto, etc.) while the remainder were slower (andantino, etc.). The vast majority of the moderato tunes are in the range of 90-95 beats per minute.

The tempo of the melody can be seen in the mother’s rocking motion, the rattling of the chair and the patting of her right hand on the child’s buttocks. All of these actions become synchronised through the pulse or accent, depending on the lullaby, and the metronomic speed generally matches the range of a baby’s heartbeats.

The general structure (formal aspects) shows four verses expressed in two musical phrases, A+B, in 220 melodies and three musical phrases, A+B+C, in four songs. The phrasing can be subdivided into two semi-phrases, bearing in mind that the song can be extended by repeating certain musical phrases or semi-phrases as well as repeating some of the song’s verses. This arrangement always reflects the wishes of the interpreter and does not follow any set pattern.

A coda appears in eighteen of the songs without bearing any relation to the other musical elements or themes.

With regards to formal typology, 175 isometric (such as the case of Llíria nineta) whilst 49 are heterometric (such as the case of Chopo). Rhythm-melody parallels, those with one syllable per note, only appear in 30 cases (such as Bellreguard); the other 221 do not contain this musical construct and so remain non-parallel in measure/nature.

Regarding the lyrics and music, 158 songs are syllabic. Twenty have small embellishments throughout the melodic discourse, and melismata are mostly produced on the last syllable of the last verse in 46 of the lullabies. It is important to note that, out of these 46
melodies, 33 have melismata throughout the verses, 7 have them in the second verse and 6 have them in the final verse.

We have analyzed the link between musical and literary variables and noted that there is no tendency which would indicate a link between the two aspects. Furthermore, on many occasions, the same melody supports totally different lyrics; thus, we cannot assume that the results would be consistent.

The only exceptions are songs in the gender-related group, which all have a similar melodic-rhythmic structure.

The main difference is found in the rhythmic patterns of Valencian and Castilian languages. In Valencian lullabies the stress is placed on the last syllable of the word, whereas in Castilian lullabies the stress is generally placed on the penultimate syllable of the word. However, it should be noted that there are no clear dividing lines between the rhythmic patterns of the music derived from Valencian or Castilian lullabies. This can be illustrated we compare, for example, songs with the same words but different melody and rhythm, such as *Potries* and *Lliria* (My little girl is the owner...).

We are unable to draw any conclusions with regards to any marked tendencies to use different musical or literary parameters in different areas.

**DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS**

The results show that lullabies are songs sung by mothers, accompanied by a rocking motion which, in turn, results in light pats on the child's buttocks, a binary or ternary rhythm, and a pulse or beat in the form of an ostinato. A silent ritual accompanies these sounds in order to ensure that the child falls asleep.

The study also shows that lullabies are an integral part of folklore due to their oral communication, their manner of transmission and the anonymous nature of the composition. The results confirm this, given that there is no conscious acquisition, but rather a process of learning through immersion and actions of vocal expression that are very personal.

With regards to the above-mentioned comparison of etymology, history and the evolution of the oral tradition of lullabies, the studies
of Frenk Alatorre (1992) and Opie and Opie (1997) demonstrate just how ancient the subject is. However, we must accept that:

Despite the recognition of the antiquity of lullabies or “arrorrós”, the problems faced by all researchers lie in the difficulty of finding sufficient written evidence before the 19th century. (Masera 1994:202)

Our findings prove that lullabies are a communicative act, but what differentiates them from other types of communication is the fact that the “addressee” does not expect a verbal answer from the “addressee”. Instead, they expect a gesture (that the child should fall asleep). In the first months of their lives, babies, in the first moths of life, do not understand the significance of the lullaby’s words or the song’s melody, which means that we have to assume that it is the way the song is sung, how the baby is held, how the ostinato rhythm is instilled and how the room is prepared by dimming the light when it is bedtime that are the essential parts of the ritual and which transmit to the baby the need to go to sleep.

In spite of this, the symbolic and expressive functions of the language that complete the communicative circuit still remain. It is here that the phatic function comes into play, as the results show that the intention is not to exchange information but rather to show mutual willingness between “addressee” and “addressee”. It seems that the aim is not to inform but to facilitate social contact in order to transmit and optimize messages with greater content at a later date. Thus, we can come to the conclusion that lullabies are far from neutral.

According to Menéndez-Ponte and Serna (1999), lullabies are “an emotion which is sung, a demonstration of affection and tenderness” ... “where the words are less important than the expression of a feeling, the musicality and rhythm”. This implies two things: the songs must use pacifying words as well as the type of music that promotes this feeling.

Federico García Lorca largely contradicts this idyllic vision of Spanish lullabies, since he states that “… it is not only pleasing to express agreeable things whilst falling asleep, but also to let crude reality take over and allow the infiltration of the dramatic world.” (1972:97)
The participants’ descriptions and the themes of the lullabies show that the songs are more a product of human activity than anything else and, as such, they are influenced by the surrounding culture.

This interpretation of lullabies has been questioned by López Tamés (1990:182), amongst others, who describe it as extremely inadequate and incoherent.

According to López Tamés, lullabies are bursting with emotion, love or affection. But this does not tally with the case of Beniarjó, previously cited, where the mother wants to exchange her child for another one at the fair.

Celaya (1972:259) denies that there are lullabies about adulterous women and claims that these songs “call for the protection of the father”. However, the lullabies in the wrongdoer category, mentioned above, contradict this. Furthermore, this theme is ever-present in the Hispanic published compilation and an example taken from Carabaña (Madrid) continues to question López Tamés’ point of view:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Duerme el niño en la cuna</th>
<th>The child sleeps in his cot</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>y dice su madre:</td>
<td>and his mother says:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>–Calla, que viene el coco.</td>
<td>-quiet or the bogeyman will come.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y era su padre.</td>
<td>And it was his father.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coco, coquito;</td>
<td>Coco, coquito;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coco, no vengas,</td>
<td>coco, don’t come,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mira que no es tuyo</td>
<td>look, he’s not even yours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ni un pelo siquiera</td>
<td>not even a single hair on his head</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(García Matos 1951:109)

One could argue that Lorca has a certain tendency towards dramatizing oral literature. However, what has become clear is that the different interpretations given to lullabies depend on the person doing the analyzing given that these types of songs are partly influenced by our personal experiences.

Schneider (1948:19) explores this idea further:
Singing a lullaby was, in primitive times, an apotropaic rite intended to ward off the evil spirits of the dead who roamed the lake. These beliefs still remain in many other European countries, and still show through in melody 28b.

The melody and the words of 28b coincide with the aforementioned quotation from García Matos. This proves that, as with all organizational procedures, the classification adopted in this study is selective, and even more so considering the emotional tension that might arise from each text, thus demonstrating the complexity of these short literary passages. For example, Masera (1994:207) proposes:

...making a classification between proper and functional lullabies, there is a need to clarify the contradiction which might arise between a definition based solely on function and a definition based on the lyrics.

This would imply categorizing those songs that plead with the child to go to sleep and those which do not.

The second group would contain those classified as functional lullabies, which in the current study corresponds to those grouped in the category of the absence of a cot within the Social theme, for example. The research carried out by Alín (1968), Frenk Alatorre (1971), Pérez Vidal (1986) and Masera (1994), to name a few, suggests that these are “a lo divino” (sacred) songs which are used as lullabies.

Given the ease of the technique, divinization was so easily within the reach of everyone, that the number of imitations is incalculable. Everything could become divine...(Alín 1968:131).

However, in this study, the songs which participants argued were not lullabies but “something you have to sing to make the child go to sleep…” were considered functional lullabies. And the “a lo divino” songs, according to the aforementioned authors, would be part of this group.
A unique classification derived from the texts would be very difficult to achieve. Thus, despite various attempts, a unique thematic classification has not been achieved, meaning that this can never be presented as a closed subject.

After examining several Hispanic songbooks, some of which have been mentioned already, we can state that the lullabies found therein are a constant in all of them, and the difference in volume according to the language used in the current study is, in all probability, in direct relation to the number of district which use one or other language.

Rodríguez Marín (1882), in reference to lullaby themes, goes beyond Hispanic culture itself (Del Giudice 1988) when he states that there is a common Romance tradition that includes Spanish, Italian, Portuguese and French lullabies. The contributions of Masera (1994) also confirm this.

It is important to note that the majority of the songs in this study, which are all sung in Valencian, revolve around the theme of a promising future. Nevertheless, this is also common to all the Hispanic lullabies, as is the rise in status. However, the opening line "la meua xiqueta és l'ama" (my little girl is the mistress) is certainly an unusual form and is specific to the Valencian-speaking areas.

The musical aspect is understood as the expression of a feeling, the musicality and the rhythm, as stated by Menéndez-Ponte and Serna (1999) and López Tamés (1990). Music itself does not express any sentiments and, if it does, this is due to cultural conditioning factors rather than scientific criteria.

It is difficult to support this vision of musical lyricism, as the same melody tends to sustain lyrics with differing themes. However, this does not mean that the melodies are not a responsive experience; they are just not a concrete one, as is the case, for example, of the lullaby called Las Eras.

With regards to the modal constructions we have analyzed, they can be found either in a pure state or with several alterations. This is very common in Spain, especially in the Mediterranean Basin:

...it is a well-known fact that people have freedom and that they do not subject themselves to strict rules in their artistic
endeavors. When it comes to folk music, anything is possible. (de Donostia 1946:154).

Concerning melodic range, the majority do not go beyond the range of an octave, a distance which corresponds to the natural range of any person. With regards to the interval between two consecutive notes, the majority are adjoining notes and the rest do not go much beyond the distance of a sixth (in other words, vocal leaps which are easy for the singer to control).

One controversial area concerns the musical analysis of type of scale used when classifying the melodies using defective scales, of up to five notes, especially those which do not go beyond bitonic or tritonic systems. One could be forgiven for thinking that they are the origin of the use of the pre-pentatonic or the defective pentatonic system (Esteve-Faubel, et al. 2012).

From a theoretical point of view, it would be easy to formulate this affirmation. In reality, though, when these songs are performed they either present a modal sense on the mi mode (doric) or they have a marked tonal accent on a major mode. We can therefore deduce that the complete or defective pentatonic system is not deep-rooted in the Spanish Autonomous Region of Valencia, at least where the analysis of these songs is concerned.

Although the present study is a global view of the collection of lullabies sung in the Valencian Community, it should be noted that the process of collecting the lullabies began in the 1950s. Therefore, it is likely that the lullabies studied represent a relatively small sample of the lullabies that existed previously.

Furthermore, large studies have also been conducted in other Spanish regions, such as those carried out by Manuel Milà i Fontanals, who came before Francis J Child. The work of Ramón Menéndez Pidal and the “Fundación Ramón Menéndez Pidal”, directed by Diego Catalán, is also worth mentioning, as is the collection created in Catalonia in the 1920s and 30s for the “Obra del Cançoner Popular de Catalunya”. However, there are no studies on the lullaby in the Autonomous Region of Valencia, which is one of the reasons why much of this research has been carried out.

The classification and later literary and/or musical analysis cannot be treated as a closed subject. As a result, one cannot avoid
the difficulties posed by certain compositions. In thematic analysis, for example, it is often not possible to assign a lullaby to a particular category using objective arguments; or, in the study of the musical typology, researchers often come across a great variety of criteria embedded in the melody.

This musical complexity has been confirmed by our attempt to crosscheck the musical data obtained in the results, with the aim of designing a coherent typological classification.

One can certainly identify certain rhythmic and melodic archetypes (Schneider 1948), but the reality is that every single song requires such a detailed individual study that, if carried out, would not allow for consistent results given that folk songs do not have fixed or definitive metric-melodic lines.

As stated by Tejero Robledo (2002:212), the main problem is that:

The simple and aseptic academic definition of the lullaby as “a song with which one soothes children” does not imply the complex and disturbing world which it contains.

Thus, there are two objectives in folkloric-musical material: on the one hand, to recover this folk tradition and, on the other, to design a scientific approach for interpreting the data in order to draw useful conclusions.

It is for this reason that this research study aims to offer complementary or alternative approaches for obtaining a better understanding of the facts analyzed. It also aims to address and carry out a critical analysis of the issues we have raised, avoiding any simplistic interpretations.

The need to go beyond the particular or actual physical limits of the area studied is clear. In our compilation and analysis, one can observe, for example, that the conceptual representations referring to menacing characters symbolized by animals or by the sack man, the Moorish queen or El Coco, the bogeyman, are not just typical of, or exclusive to, the Spanish Autonomous Region of Valencia. There are parallels in Celto-Hispanic mythology and oral texts (Tejero Robledo 1998:150), meaning that it cannot be confined
to this geographical area or even to the Hispanic world given that lullabies are deeply-rooted in most cultures (Amades i Gelats 1957, Brasey 2001).

This way of understanding the materials analyzed helps to enrich the collective work that has been carried out on the topic of folk tradition and that is still being undertaken today. This, in turn, promotes the desire to carry out more research and innovations in the field of folklore, with the aim of preserving, understanding and transmitting this culture to future generations.

WORKS CITED


