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A. Doja: Socializing Enchantment: A Socio-Anthropological Approach to Infant-Directed Singing, Music Education and Cultural Socialization

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Introduction

In an earlier study of age-grading practices and meanings, aimed to show the process of identity construction and cultural socialization of children among Albanians (Doja 2000a), the extent and diversity of cultural values and social relations were analyzed against the assumption that cultural models are embedded in numerous primary social experiences of children, within what Vygotsky called the »zone of proximal development« for a child (Rogoff & Wertsch 1984). This zone is nevertheless culturally variable and can be decisively shifted at different stages of life, especially in societies with elaborate rites of passage for children. In European societies, it is more usually limited to a domestic space defined by parents and other primary caregivers. In this connection, psychologists taking notice of cross-cultural differences in cognition and knowledge transmission (Shweder & Bourne 1984) consider that much of what passed as clinical research on personality is really about cultural

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Abstract - Résumé

In the standard traditions of both folklore studies and child psychology, descriptive and empirical research has only confirmed that lullabies and play songs are either a part of children's lore or a means of caregiving. In this paper, I will show how and why a socio-anthropological analysis of infant-directed singing, including ideas and themes represented in sleeping and waking songs, can provide fresh insights to grasp the social and cultural environment for their formal components, their performance features, and their semantic and functional aspects. Methodologically, a new picture of actors' practice must arise if we consider lullabies and play songs within an analytical context where they become an important instance of both music education and the symbolic structuration of cultural socialization.

Keywords: lullaby • cradle song • rocking • play song • music • ethnomusicology • sociology • anthropology • child psychology • education • socialization • Albania

constructions of personhood. In this case, what characterizes the type of communication established around children is a mode of communication qualified as being more »distal« rather than »proximal« mode of interaction. Indeed, the analysis of Albanian upbringing (Doja 2000a) suggested that the social development of children takes place under the tight constraints of age-grading practices, largely based in symbolic and non-institutionalized education and socialization.

Collective meanings are internalized, not by a process of education and knowledge transmission implying a direct transfer of a narrative model to novices, but by the translation of a symbolic practice into a sequence of kinesthetic experiences and bodily performances. Symbolic practices do not so much recount the model of knowledge creation as actually enact models in the very mode of a culturally motivated process of knowledge transformation. This refers above all as much to oral and narrative forms as to gestural and bodily manners, situated in the face-to-face discursive experiences in the framework of family and community. In this way, the translation of cultural institutions into personal experiences involves the embodiment and transformation of the primary understandings of experience in infants who undergo a gradual transformation of their experience of themselves through organized and ritualized sequences of socialization and education practices. Similar ceremonials and symbols are replayed for them according to the actual moment of their life course from birth to adulthood. In this way, as children are grown into adults, old forms take on new meanings through the model-mediated manipulation of their memories. Yet models also contain idiosyncratic features that are a function of a particular individual's prior experiences and expectations. Salience normally changes over time as context or circumstances vary, but in addition to individual variations in models over time, these kinds of changes are often culturally standardized. This is the case with age-grading practices, in which the salience of key symbols within a set of traditional models is altered over time.

This approach, like that of Christina Toren's work in Fijian ethnography (1999) which in many respect parallels my work in Albanian ethnography, allows us to understand how this process occurs without recourse to the commonplace approach to culture or society which treats them as transhistorical entities essentially equivalent to ethnicity or nation-state. By contrast, the ways of making sense of the world in which children live, or the kind of education qualified as symbolic and non-institutionalized (Doja 2000a), parallels in many ways the theoretical perspective on the dynamic nature of cultural and individual processes involved in human development (Rogoff 2003). Starting from an adaptation of Piagetian developmental psychology to Malinowskian ethnographic investigation, it can be argued that while children enter a world that is given to them, they must necessarily make sense of the world for themselves, and then make sense of it in relation to the senses that others have made of it. A child growing up in an Albanian

village will necessarily come to make sense of the world in a manner that is recognizably Albanian, by dint of dense interactions with other Albanian villagers. However, because children in this Albanian village necessarily make sense of the world through their own unique experiences of it, nothing guarantees that they all make sense of it in exactly the same way. Also the fact that all children in this Albanian village make sense of the world in ways that are manifestly versions of each other does not require us to posit a common culture or society into which they have all been 'enculturated' or 'socialized'. Instead, we can see such commonalities as the grounding for the specific social lives children engage in, in other words, as the effect of how these children have come to constitute themselves over time.

Building on this earlier work on childhood and non-institutionalized educational practices, I propose in this paper a socio-anthropological approach to lullabies and infant-directed singing in order to appreciate their role in the music education and cultural socialization of children. A major contribution in the present account should be seen in a descriptive approach grounded in a broad spectrum of original field data and primary ethnographic and ethno-musicological sources. The nuanced descriptions of social facts formulated in lullabies and other songs directed to children are historically and ideologically contextualized within a methodological framework informed by a deep understanding and the detailed methods of sociological and anthropological theories. Special attention is paid, as I recently explained in more detail (Doja 2013: 79-100), to the use of standard and multi-sited ethnographic methods within fieldwork, the corner stone of anthropology as an empirical social science. In addition, the analysis of the descriptive evidence provides a context for the limited body of empirical research on songs for infants, which remains primarily informed by experimental, therapeutic and developmental psychological sources.

Essentially, the overall data come from my own first-hand knowledge of several Albanian areas, starting with significant residential fieldworks from 1981 to 1985 in a remote area of southern Albania, followed by systematic fieldwork researches, on average three to four months per year between 1985 and 1990, in several southern and northern Albanian rural areas. At the same time, the results of fieldwork research are systematically supplemented by significant traditional historical sources, including archival research, review of periodic press, travel literature, and a series of folklore collections and ethnographic accounts, which provide data recorded since the first half of the nineteenth century and covering a large portion of the Albanian-speaking areas and diasporas. The bulk of data related to childbirth and socialization, especially archival and field recordings of cradle songs and other forms of infant-directed singing are published in a representative collection of Albanian cultural heritage in this area (Doja 1990). Since the early 1990s, extensive research has been carried out among Albanian migrants in Western Europe, specifically in France, Belgium, Italy, Greece, England, or

Switzerland. In particular, ad hoc interviews in 2003 with medical staff in Prato near Florence, Italy, allowed exploring the opinions of practitioners in gynecology and pediatrics, infectious disease, mental health, and other medical and social services in relation to the role of music therapy practice for parturient women and newborn children in emigration.

The descriptive and empirical analysis of ideas and themes represented in lullabies and other infant-directed singing is expected to provide the analytical context to grasp the actors' practice in their social and cultural environments, while considering lullabies and play songs as an important instance of both music education and the symbolic structuration of cultural socialization or enculturation. Methodologically, the ideal mode of analysis is a socio-anthropological approach allowing thinking about children in their own otherness and considering children's cultures and educational practices as rooted in the notion of agency. Clearly, we must recognize the child as an active and creative subject, who appropriates the cultural heritage and collective knowledge received in the socio-cultural environment and who becomes initiated by the promotion of its own rights and the evolution of its own status. In so doing, the socio-anthropological approach contrasts with commonplace perceptions of the social and symbolic construction of childhood that associated lullabies and other infant-directed singing to an adult discourse addressed to children, as if children were only would-become adults and passive recipients of education.

Context and function

Studies of oral tradition have shown that songs serve as a repository of cultural knowledge and enhance the solidarity of a community by fostering identification between singer and audience (Booth 1981; Pantaleoni 1985), by marking significant rites of passage (Lomax 1968; Finnegan 1977/1992), and by emphasizing mainstream values and ideals that help cultural socialization of children (Doja 2000a). Songs can also serve as a vehicle of the ideological process by which the tracks of community power become evident in disciplinary discourses and in widespread cultural practices that altogether attempt to assert authority over social production and over biological and cultural reproduction (Doja 2005a, 2005b, 2005c), with the result of silencing human agency, in particular women's agency (Doja 2008), under the appearance of structural coherence (Doja 2010). For example, in the oral tradition of Albanian and other Southeast European peoples the young mother dedicated to childcare in the name of the social group is celebrated with a song as the following illustrates:

*Kur në mur -o t'më muroni,
syn e djathtë t'ma leni jashtë,
dorn e djathtë t'ma leni jashtë,
kambn e djathtë t'ma leni jashtë,
gjin e djathtë t'ma leni jashtë,
se e kam djalin të vogël,
e kur t'nisi djali gjamën,
me njan' sy ta shikoj,
me njan' dorë ta lëmoj,
me njan' kambë ta lurtoj,
me njan' gji ta nërroj.
Gjini i em u nguroftë
e kalaja u forcoftë,
djali i em e gëzofte,
u baftë krajl e n'te luftoftë!*

(Doja 2000a: 219)

When you immure me in the wall,
Leave my right eye to look out,
Leave my right arm out,
Leave my right leg out,
Leave my right breast out,
For I have a little infant,
and when he begins to whine,
I will watch over him with one eye,
I will caress him with one arm,
I will rock him with one leg,
I will nourish him with one breast.
May my breasts turn to stone,
may the fortress thus grow strong,
may my son one day rule it,
as a King to fight the war!

Throughout the European cultural area, as elsewhere, maternal caregiving is highly important, and exchanges with infants are fairly intense in physical, visual and sonic terms. Bathing or diapering, for example, sometimes give rise to extended commentaries, voiced and nuanced, addressed to the baby and relating to what the mother is doing at the moment or to the baby's supposed affective states. One of the most important findings of experimental and cross-cultural research in child psychology is the idea that newborns have already a potential for infraverbal communication that enables them to transmit to an attentive adult their intentions and their needs as well as a certain form of what they are experiencing (Super & Harkness 1982). Here the mother plays a very important role in developing the child's communication skills. She increasingly comes to understand, beyond the simple biological needs, the possible meanings of the child's gestures and expressions.

The bulk of the exchanges between baby and mother seem to be carried out by vocalizations and partially codified squeals. The evolution of these verbal responses is connected with a highly important comforting strategy. In the exchanges that spring spontaneously from contact and clearly reflect mutual comfort and pleasure, the mouth noises and the onomatopoetic sounds are kept up for long periods. They are often marked, and when the baby makes its first sounds, the mother echoes them each time, gradually merging the sounds into simple forms of oral expression. The mother's vocalizations, modulated in accordance to the child's age, constitute for the baby a kind of »sound enfolding« (*enveloppe sonore*), the intensity of the visual and vocal exchanges of which no doubt makes

up for the lack of communication by skin contact, which H el ene Stork has considered as characteristic of the European mothering styles (Stork 1986).

The sensory quality of the contacts experienced during these exchanges, various physical, visual or vocal attentions, suckling, rocking, and alternation of reassuring looks, verbalized caresses and song games, all have an important soothing effect and help maintain or restore child's rhythmic, somatic and psychic well-being and development. In these interactions, the mother produces a highly stereotyped form of what is known as »baby talk« or infant-directed speech the register of which is characterized by higher pitch, increased pitch range, simpler pitch contours, shorter utterances, longer pauses, slower tempo, and greater rhythmicity compared to speech typically directed to adults. As these differences are apparent in a wide range of languages, such modifications are effected intuitively, either as a biological disposition of infants to attend to the pitch contours of speech because of a primitive access to their meanings (Fernald 1992), or infants simply respond to signals with highly contrastive elements infant-directed speech being one example (Panneton-Cooper 1993). At any case, a more elevated pitch should result in a clearer than usual voice quality to convey affective meaning to preverbal infants, while a slower tempo should facilitate the perception of such patterns for listeners with limited linguistic processing capacity, and one consequence of these modifications is that infant-directed speech is much more musical than speech directed to adults (Trehub & Trainor 1998). Indeed, typical infant-directed utterances have a singsong quality that sets them apart from other utterances, so that they approach the formulaic expressions of oral poetry (Lord [1960]2000; Finnegan 1977/1992; Zumthor 1983).

Extensive research studies have identified distinctive and surprising aspects of early musical capacity in the human infant (Trehub 2003). There is a substantial body of evidence to show that infants prefer music to speech. They especially show preference for their mother's singing rather than her speaking (Nakata & Trehub 2004), and prefer this singing when it has infant-directed features (Trainor 1996). This suggests that infants may not be discriminating between music and speech but instead are drawn to the types of vocal interplay that they experience as more meaningful and recognizable. The overall performance features of a song, such as pitch level, rhythmicity, tempo, and tone of voice are communicative of emotional intention to infants, who are sensitive to the underlying affective message contained within the songs, while the affective nature of music can have an effect on infants' preferences depending on context (Tsang & Conrad 2010; Conrad *et al.* 2011).

Any mother or caregiver soon realizes that the infant will best attend and respond to requests for playful interactions through offering stereotypical singsong vocalizations. The mother often initiates physical and word games with her child in which their two bodies are mutually engaged. She warms its feet,

tickles it, bounces it on her knees, and makes it laugh while naming the parts of its body, or while singing and chanting in time to the action. The ritualized and predictable infant-directed singing helps to engage infants' attention, modulate their arousal, communicate different emotional states, and regulate their behavior, thereby communicating not so much shared information but providing an important social regulatory function (Trehub 2003). To achieve their emotional regulatory goals, mothers often deviate from conventional renditions of songs, imbuing their performances with situationally appropriate affect, while infants, through their ongoing behavioral responses, make an important contribution to singing, thus setting in motion a cyclical meaningful interaction and communication. The significance of this coordinated exchange is perhaps best understood within the context of attachment that results from reciprocal interactions relationship between mother and infant (Bowlby 1988), whereby singing may help establish a secure relationship as needed for optimal infant development. As such, infant-directed singing in general and lullaby in particular have clearly a therapeutic value (Edwards 2011).

While the growing body of literature on music effects and music perception by infants is not the focus of extensive review in this paper, there is still a paucity of music studies on education and cultural socialization. Infant-directed singing altogether with physical and verbal games may be a subject of interest in showing how the child's education is conducted by means of concrete bodily experiences of touch, sight and sound, in different and alternating doses. The child's body, with all of its senses fully awakened, is a privileged place in which social relations are embedded. A game of sensory interactions is established to gradually influence the child's future development, in a process where the leading role is increasingly taken by child-raising practices of a cultural nature (Rogoff 2003). Actually, as I showed elsewhere in more detail, the mother/child relationship, far from being exclusive, opens wide onto the world of social relations, while the mother's responses are probably located at a level at which a very important role is played by these cultural practices and forms which closely surround the birth and socialization of the child (Doja 2000a).

Traditionally, when Albanian mothers in rural areas needed to leave the house to work in the fields, or to go to market, to gather wood or fetch water, they could not leave their baby alone. If they have to be away for some time, they are obliged to take the baby along in order to feed it. But they cannot afford to immobilize their hands while they walk by carrying the child in their arms, for Albanian women use this time to spin or knit. These are a few of the practical reasons for using the cradle, while yet other reasons have to do with history and culture. The cradle is inseparable from Albanian culture; it is one of the physical symbols of the child's status within the family, just as the fireside corner is for men, and the loom or the kneading trough for women. The ancestors were themselves rocked

generation after generation, and the ancestors were all »wise« and »honorable« people, and they were also »brave fighters«. It has been even argued that the way the child was laid in the cradle helps explain the Albanians' characteristic physical constitution, with their broad straight shoulders and a certain flattening of the back of the head (Coon 1950: 90–98).

The new relations the infant begins to have with the mother after being ceremonially placed in the cradle for the first time can no longer be purely biological. The moments of interaction, which are very important for psychic development and integration, because it lies in the cradle, will be completed by other equally important moments such as falling asleep and waking up. With the help of such moments, reiteration and continuation of the experience of interactive communication with the mother is ensured. The care and attentions given by the mother, the behavioral nuances in her expressions and positions when she is beside the cradle, the different tones of voice all gradually develop into another series of symbolic forms of the traditions surrounding birth and socialization. They begin by simple more or less verbalized attentions and caresses, nursery rhymes and games, and continue up to the more developed lullabies, sung »beside the cradle«, in other words »cradle songs« proper.

These traditions are connected both with the remnants of the mother's own affective experience in childhood and with the relations she entertains with the family and kin group. The group is actively involved in the ritual organization of the interactive mother-child dialogue so necessary to the child's personalization and socialization. In effect, research on maternal deprivation shows that this is not due simply to the mother's absence, it also depends on the way the child reacts and on the attitude of the mother and her entourage to these reactions, which depend on the parents' cultural belief systems and sociocultural representations of the child-raising practices (Harkness & Super 1996; Campbell 2010). Indeed, as I showed elsewhere in more detail (Doja 2010), a mere observation of attitudes, behaviors and events in themselves tells us nothing about their psychological significance if there is no reference to words spoken, to a discourse, to a code that positions the conducts within a system of collective meanings.

The affective »distance« that characterizes the mother-infant exchanges, like the type of communication established between them, with its preponderance of visual and vocal elements, must be related to local cultural norms common to European cultures. Lullabies in particular, as the vocal and affective cultural form *par excellence*, are better known in the culture area that comprises Europe and its extensions (Katona 1980). The formal components, the performance features, and the semantic and functional fields of the lullaby in oral tradition establish what is called here the socializing *enchantment of the child*, which set up a first stage of musical education leading to cultural socialization.

Delimitation

One of the first aspects in the study of lullabies is to look for the real existence of this cultural form in everyday practice. Among Albanians, cradling generally lasts as long as breast-feeding, in the age of three or somewhat longer. To each age group are assigned appropriate lullabies that increasingly turn into play songs. The singing of play songs begins later in the infant's development than that of lullabies, but continues long after lullaby singing has ceased until the child's own repertoire of songs is firmly in place. Evidence from empirical research suggests that play songs and lullabies may be used to communicate different affective information, indicating that mothers modify their singing in the presence of their infants, that infants attend to these changes, that play songs and lullabies are likely distinct musical styles differing in their rhythmic quality, and that what adults perceive to be a loving tone of voice is highly salient to infants (Trainor 1996; Rock, Trainor & Addison 1999).

Yet, the universality of lullaby is often affirmed on the postulation of the generality of cradling and the invariance of maternal sentiment in building bonds of love within a secure relationship which involves easily identified musical elements (Malloch & Trevarthen 2009). The mother's limitless love and attention to her child and the way the infant responds to her playful vocalizations easily promote feelings of loving intimacy which is vital to bonding in general (Gerhardt 2004) and to the emotional permanence of lullabies in particular. Normally represented for a long time as powerless and passive, the infant is presented in lullabies as part of the mother's person. In European lullabies (Katona 1980: 63), the child appears in terms of affectionate representations, such as the Albanian *ëngjëll, shpirt, xhan, kukull, vogëlush*, »angel, soul, doll, little one«, etc., nearly without exception accompanied by possessive pronouns, *zemra ime* »my heart«, *shpirti im* »my soul«, *jeta ime* »my life«, etc. The mother's love is limitless, above all when expressed in poetic and idealized forms. One might even assume that lullaby, which apparently draws its *raison d'être* from the very foundations of human emotional life as a »natural human means of musical self-expression« (Kennedy 1994), may be a foundation source for the universals of human musical behavior, even if there is little agreement about their origin (Dissanayake 2000).

Many parents also learn that a lullaby can be used to aid relaxation, soothe distress, and invite sleep (Trehub & Trainor 1998). Not surprisingly, many scholars (Versteeg-Solleveld 1937; Brakeley 1950), including Albanian ones (Agani 1962; Sokoli 1969; Pllana 1970; Daja 1982; Fetiu 1982), have adopted the axiom of the universality of lullaby without the least controversy. However, things are not quite so simple. Field research in Albanian context shows that the lullaby is rarely used as an exclusive soothing modality. Elsewhere mothers also use frequently playful and soothing styles of performance, but only occasionally do they sing lullabies (Trehub & Trainor 1998: 62), which means that the lullaby is neither an

universal nor a necessary act. Field research in European context shows that the number of lullabies known to a good representative of the tradition – or even all representatives in a given village or territory taken together – is in fact very small compared to the vastly larger number of lyrical songs, tales, and narrative songs known to certain singers in nearly all the villages (Katona 1980). One might argue that the lullaby depends, more so than other lyrical songs, on the representative's temperament, family tradition, and social circumstances.

In principle, infants have the potential to perceive and respond differentially to variations in performance and song type (Tsang & Conrad 2010; Conrad *et al.* 2011), and there is suggestive evidence that the perception of subtle distinctions between performing contexts or between soothing and playful song types seems to be within the capabilities of infants (Trehub & Trainor 1998). However, the most emotionally available mothers, those who have assimilated this habit in their family, and mothers and grandmothers, who do not consider this habit unfavorable or harmful, sing more lullabies. For most mothers do not have the time to do it and largely choose play songs whose lyrics match better their caregiving goals. In fact, the lullaby enjoys a relative independence above all due to its circumstantial character and function.

The mother and child are the lullaby's protagonists, but children can be cradled and lulled to sleep with singing by other caregivers. Infants may even show greater visual attention when listening to fathers' singing than to mothers' singing (O'Neill, Trainor & Trehub 2001), even though cradling and lulling children to sleep by song is considered to be mainly a female verbal art. Infants' older sisters are in fact the mother's closest assistants. Their role in this maternal activity is also to assure the continual transmission of the oral song tradition. However, the sister's repertory is more cheerful and gay than the mother's. As has been noted across the European cultural area (Katona 1980: 60), their pleasure in playing often appears in their lullabies even though they consider this activity to be a genuine form of work. While they sing some of the comically mean things in lullabies, they may resemble »a captive laborer venting spleen at the taskmaster« (Booth 1981: 199), but their singing could also ease their physical burdens of caregiving and foster feelings of their own emotional well-being, as it does for laborers everywhere (Merriam 1964). More than anything else, sisters' lullabies display their extreme love for their brother, which is not so much a typical singularity of Albanian feminine mentality (Pllana 1970: 161-162), but a more typical pattern of gender segregation within the patrilineal conditions of society (Doja 1999a, 2008, 2010), shared across the southeast European cultural area.

*Lumi motra për vllanë e vet,
tash m'përcjell kur t'bahem nuse!
Lumi motra për vllanë e vet,*

Happy the sister with her little brother,
you'll escort me when I get married!
Happy the sister with her little brother,

*se tash motrën vjen e thrret,
vjen e thrret me ardh' n'gjini,
marr për dore dhe noj thmi.*

now he comes and calls his sister,
calls his sister back to her parents,
bringing in her arms her own baby.

(Doja 1990: 567)

Yet the mother's natural assistants are grandmothers, possibly aunts and other women close to the family. It may be that the melancholic and saddened intonation of certain lullabies comes from them. Mothers, sisters, grandmothers, other women and occasionally men are normally those who cradle newborns, nurslings, and small children. By contrast, there is no information on adult-directed singing to lull them to sleep, although the motif of »lice hunting« in legends, like that of Rimbaud's poem *Les Chercheuses de poux*, indicates that the heroes were also calmed and put to sleep by their mothers' or lovers' lullabies. Different observations have also been brought to bear on lullabies to dolls. Little girls genuinely seek to put their dolls to sleep with the same lullabies that they were able to learn by listening to their mothers. These playful imitations fulfill an educational role. Some singing forms may express wishes analogous to the lullabies and can be used by their master or young girls for the most important domestic animals – the dog, cat, colt, calf, lamb, etc. – when they are still young. But this often takes the form of a joke when one caresses or feeds them. The improvised song thus has no future role and is quickly forgotten.

Lullabies and infant-directed singing include distinctive pitches and other performance features such as final phrase syllable lengthening, placing emphasis on certain words like »sleep« or »calm« at different levels of their semantic meaning, and using a »loving tone of voice« that is probably a function of smiling while singing (Trainor 1996). Words and features for preparing and inciting calm and sleep, which express the very essence and function of the lullaby, are located at the beginning, end, or middle of regularly repeating verses, that is, at those places in which the greatest emphasis is placed. There are even cases in which certain lullabies are only the regular repetition of cradling sounds or motions accompanied by a simple humming melody (Hawes 1974). In the repertory of Albanian lullabies, despite certain local nuances, one finds variants on the terms *nina* and *nani*, which characterize several Mediterranean regions of Europe and the European cultural area more generally (Katona 1980: 58-60). Though the doubling of refrain terms *nina-nana* is not very common, it appears in Albanian denominational terminology apparently under the influence of the Italian *ninne-nanne* (Biagiola 1989). The terms *luli* and *lila*, characteristic of Europe's northern, central, and eastern cultural areas, are also used in northeastern regions of Albania, probably due to a South-Slavic influence. The frequency of lullaby terms, to only consider the Albanian case, cannot be simply a question of chance, even though their regional distribution cannot be clearly defined. One might suggest that the frequency of these

terms can be related to the imitation of interaction between text and melody, on the one hand, and between sounds and movements, on the other hand, which divide into two during the come and go of cradling.

Typology

Lullabies account for a form that comprises performance features which, by their constant practice in a given group, fulfills the function of lulling children to sleep, even though there is not always clear whether the defining features of lullabies are in the text, melody, movement, performance style, or all of these (Trehub & Trainor 1998). The act of putting the child to sleep is a daily and continually repeated occurrence. Nevertheless, this act was never ritualized because it never had a ceremonial character. The lullabies cannot be considered celebratory songs, even though from an individual, family, kinship, and social perspective they can express certain semantic and functional modules that evoke the ritualized passages of the life-cycle, from birth to necessarily happy marriage and heroic death.

It can be said that the function of lullabies finds itself realized by means of melodic and poetic structures that run parallel to each other. One must thus include in the category of lullabies whole poetic texts with such elements as versified fragments, exclamations, anacruses, and lightly rhymed prose portions which have hardly been modulated from a musical point of view as well as those which can really be sung while presenting in the text and melody special morphological traits (Niculescu 1970: 100-101). One is thus in the presence of a continuous and graduated development of the means of expression. Beginning with the minimal prosodic contours of a language's poetic and melodic possibilities (recitative *parlato* and the melo-poetics that characterize the limits between infant-directed speech and singing), the verbal and musical forms extend to crystallized lullabies and songs used as lullabies, that is to say, different lyrical songs more or less suited to the circumstances of cradling.

To give such a dimension to the definition, including simple iambic, pyrrhic, spondaic humming and so forth, is obviously to enlarge the social space accorded to the practice of the lullaby. In any case, there is no doubt that the verbal aspect of lullabies begins with the first phrasal orderings. In the framework of a complete performance, approximately measured by the period of putting a child to sleep, the lullaby often presents in this respect successive degrees and alternations in the prosodic and poetic organization of speech, possibly beginning in the form of prose narrative. Until now, however, only the versified forms have generally captured scholarly interest.

Lullabies have not given rise to as much research as empirical or theoretical studies of other poetic genres of oral tradition aiming to appreciate the system of serial categories and organize a coherent framework including the various coex-

isting stages of verbal and musical composition of oral traditions and rituals. And yet the differences between lullaby and simple *parlato* recitation are radical. Moreover, in what concerns the supposedly graduated categories of lullaby composition, the different degrees are not mutually equivalent. The qualitative status of lullabies structured relative to the more or less amorphous manifestations with which they coexist must nevertheless be evaluated. Two related and inter-dependent notions concerning in equal measure the genre's melodic and poetic levels must be taken into account: the generalized notion of the *lato sensu* lullaby, which refers to the functional and semantic substance of this form, and the notion of the lullaby's core referring to poetically organized verbal texts. In this group of sleeping songs, one must also include their opposites, waking songs, although they may constitute in themselves a distinct genre. Indeed, French folklorists technically distinguish between *berceuse* »lullaby« used to induce sleep and a category of *sauteuse* used to play awake (Lortat-Jacob 1992: 7). Many data of waking songs are in fact located in lullabies or their motifs are often borrowed from those of lullabies (Doja 1990: 383-392).

Genre identification and description is a problem much discussed in the study of lullabies, and probably an unsolvable one (Hawes 1974). The old debate of function against structure is spread across the humanities and social sciences and considerable theoretical issues are also challenging the study of lullabies and other infant-directed singing (Lortat-Jacob 1992), simply because they integrate the interaction of musical and verbal meanings with their functions and effects on music education and cultural socialization. Surely, attempts at classification have been conducted from a structural semantic or functional point of view. Yet, texts seem to play the largest role in lullaby classification, even though the usual convention of classifying lullabies by lexical content seems unexpected in view of the incomprehensibility of the text to most lullaby listeners. In addition, if the lullaby is neither universal nor necessary, this situation calls into question the usual practice of classifying lullabies on the basis of text rather than function or performance style (Trehub & Trainor 1998: 62). Moreover, it raises questions about claims of cross-cultural differences in the distribution of play songs and lullabies because such claims are based on textual rather than performance criteria.

Actually, lullabies cannot be classified exclusively by their function, subject, structure, or narrative mode, in spite of many efforts in that direction (Gerstner-Hirzel 1984). Their motifs are ramified and elusive. These improvised texts, which have an enhanced fragmentary character due to the relative liberty of the distich and other strophic structures, can with difficulty be considered as autonomous units. Perhaps one must reorganize them into larger units on the basis of thematic, inter-textual, and functional criteria that would allow them to be outlined as typological groups. Considered separately, lullabies do not reveal the characteristics of the genre, whereas a successful classification must take into account that despite their poor typology the content of lullaby's themes and motifs is much

richer than that of other songs of oral tradition. While typological poverty simplifies the classification of lullabies, the wealth of their themes and motifs, their great transformational capacity, their circumstantial specificity and improvisational character render them as complex as the typology of other lyric songs of oral tradition.

In practice, the systematization of lullabies is carried out on the basis of the songs' principal motifs: putting to sleep, waking, family members' work and that of the child when he becomes an adult, evocation of the future, of his marriage, his exploits, virtues, aptitudes, and so forth (Doja 1990: 245-807). Other principles are also adopted, as in the study of Russian and other East-Slavic lullabies, which stress the actors' function in the songs, what is asked of the child, addressed to those outside the family, the place accorded partially recounted stories, and so forth (Klymasz 1968; Spitz 1979).

As the lullaby's principal heroes are the mother and her child, however, and its aim to put the child asleep, the typology of lullabies could be made on this basis. Typological groupings will be constructed by imaginary conceptions of the world, the duty to follow the example given, flatteries and promises. Following the example proposed by Imre Katona (1980: 67-69), such an example might be schematically presented in a series of processes which can be defined along the terms of exposition, appeal, poeticization, and promise. For exposition, the mother gives the child either a positive example (most cases) or a (sometimes) negative one by means of persons, parents, other family members or members of the kinship and social group, etc. or by means of the objects which surround the child, house, hearth, external world, etc. As to the moment of appeal, the mother asks the child to sleep or she appeals to the help of sleep or to fantastic beings to put the child to sleep. The poeticization occurs when the mother puts the child to sleep more quickly by laudatory idealization of his person or of his future. Finally, another category shows the mother promises concrete and tangible things to the child in a positive way by means of different gifts or in negative way by intimidating the child with various warnings. Among the groups mentioned, one might further specify the negative and positive poles as direct or indirect moments. It would be interesting to identify and study them in certain songs. At any case, it can be argued that a more rigorous classification can be conceived on the basis of groups of exposition, appeal, poeticization, and promise, which *mutatis mutandis* could serve to classify other lyric songs.

Interaction

The lullaby as a musical and verbal act carries out a harmonization between melodic and poetic texts. In general, in oral tradition, there are few distinct melodies relative to texts, which means that the same melody often appears with

numerous texts (Merriam 1964). By contrast, it would be enough to associate the characteristic words of a lullaby with a given melody to give that melody, thanks to its poetic text, certain inflexions specific to lullaby music. At an immediate phenomenal and contextual level, things might indeed present themselves in this way. Nevertheless, when the structure of interaction between poetic and melodic text specific to the lullaby is more closely considered, the poetic text is not dominant. On the contrary, it only plays a subordinate and unnecessary role in the song. In a certain number of cases, the poetic text can simply be suggestive, calling to the spirits of sleep and other supernatural powers supposed to bring about or protect the child's sleep. The texts may also have no logical correlation. They may successively present images with no relation to the child's state or recount stories which have nothing to do with the act of falling asleep (Kneutgen 1970: 261). That the poetic text is not primordial is similarly demonstrated by the fact that, without diminishing the lullaby's function, their verbal enunciation may reduce to a pure exercise in scales. By contrast, the inverse cannot be impossible. The musical act exists as such in minimal melo-poetic conditions and even in the *parlato* mode of cradling. More significantly, any lyrical or narrative text having a *cantabile* verse form can be sung in lullaby, which does not hold for other melodies.

Lullabies' poetic texts are probably created not only for reason of their verbal content but also because of the prosodic and melodic sonority of the words. Albanian lullabies are normally constructed in octosyllabic verse combined with other types, especially the decasyllabic and the heptameter. The different rhythmic accents enrich them with melodic sounds. These verses often display great musicality in which the caesura plays a very important role. As non-accompanied homophonic songs, lullabies are sung in all Albanian regions as extended melody, which gives sweetness to the songs and requires the prolongation of verses from beginning to end by means of complementary syllables formed from interjections or different onomatopoeic expressions with varied interpolations. Their structure is normally in columns of flat rhymes or in distich which is an independent strophic element found largely in the lullabies of North and Northeast Albanian areas (Fetiu 1982: 7-8). The verses also often include interior rhymes, doublings of cradling words, assonances, and alliterations. From the beginning to the end of these strophic structures or within longer or shorter structural units specific refrains of a principally formulating character are associated.

The lullaby's text is in large measure formulated in 'baby-talk' terms, that is, an infant-directed speech that goes naturally close to children's language. Sounds with circumvented phonetic values, which the child learns earliest, often appear at the phonological level, especially in refrains. One finds neither the difficult sounds nor the inter-syllabic consonant groups that the child only later assimilates. This phonetic aspect in the Albanian lullaby is in general accompanied by the 'lallaing' syllable game specific to the child, the rhythmic reiteration of certain syllables, the combination of different rhymes and assonances – for example,

those of *urullaj-opturllaj*, *llaj-llaj-llaj*, *optiriri-optiriri*, *gugugu-gugugu*, *tukato-tukaturo*, and so forth (Shala 1983: 99). The syllable is a fundamental element of infant-directed speech, not only as a phonological unit but also as a rhythmic one. Rhyme, for its part, understood as a symmetric order of sounds and syllables, plays an important role in children's talk. Children's pleasure in symmetric sonorities is not so much in extended regular cadences as in brief associations of sonorities, assonance, and rhyme, with pairs or series of words in alliteration and correspondences drawn between words on the basis of their analogical structure.

Mimesis is also present in the Albanian lullaby's linguistic structures. The refrains reproduce the condition of the child's primitive vocabulary, which is to say, monosyllables or bi-syllabic words generally formulated by repetition of the same syllable as well as the exclusive use of open syllables assuring consonant vowel continuation. In fact, the child insists on the use of open syllables in dragging out the final consonants of closed syllables. The syntactic economy, above all in refrains, aims at the holophrastic expression of a consequent parataxis just as morphological simplicity, generative of the lullaby's text, draws on the resonance of children's talk and reflects the simple syntax of the small child who can only pronounce monomeric or dimeric sentences. In the lullaby's linguistic structure, this appears above all through the extensive use of verbally valued exclamations, a use nearly exclusive to the indicative and even more so in the case of the imperative, a use in which verbs appear mainly in the third person, the nominative of substantives has precedence, and so forth. These characteristic traits draw the lullaby tradition towards children's folklore. It is not even rare that lullabies as a folklore genre are in most cases classed as part of children's folklore.

Lullaby as a genre of oral poetry is distinguished by a rich exploitation of prosodic and sonorous effects offered by language together with melody, which also must be adapted itself to certain parameters required by the genre if it is to be used successfully. In other words, a melody becomes a lullaby, not because a *nani-nana* appears in the poetic text with which it is associated, but principally because its function is that of a lullaby. The interactive relations between the poetic and melodic texts are not only superficial manifestations of the underlying pressure exercised by the function. The interaction is also able of acting indirectly, through the melodic text's influence on the poetic text and conversely.

In general the melodies of Albanian lullabies are not of broad ambit; they go from the fourth or the fifth up to the upper sixth. Their melodic line is relatively calm and narrow in range. They are slowly performed in a deep tonality, with neither the excited leaps nor impetuous outbursts of restless dances or love songs (Pllana 1970: 164). The inventory of Albanian lullabies is lightly melancholic without being sad. Their poetic texts are much enriched by vocal traits privileging sentimental expression as well as the melody's soothing and sleep-inducing allure. In this way, the lullaby's melody and slow tempo as well as its cradling

rhythms are all important musical elements which exude calm and incite sleep (Kneutgen 1970: 247). The singsong speech, intentionally monotone, is at first clear and spoken aloud, but it soon becomes a soft and confiding murmur which can suddenly be interrupted as soon as it has fulfilled its task. Like its formal singularities, the structural characteristics of the lullaby's content can be more or less defined, but not by its length, as this depends on the context of specific performances.

Like play songs, dance songs, and work songs, the soothing codes of lullabies are at once verbal, musical and kinetic, as they are also related to movement, though they are not practiced in groups but rather by a single individual. They serve neither to prepare or accompany an occupation nor to brighten the atmosphere. On the contrary, they aim to suspend, for a certain time, all sorts of activity and relationship. The focus on the child, the *conative* function of the lullaby's performance, to borrow a term from Roman Jakobson (1960/1981), finds its purest grammatical expression in the vocative and the imperative, which, from a syntactical, morphological, and often phonological point of view, rule out the other nominal and verbal categories. The child does not understand the verbal text but he »accepts«, so to speak, the song's musical text as a cradling rhythm.

The soothing emotive effect of the cradling rhythm is also supported by empirical research on the kinetic power of music. Lullabies are experienced as patterns of movement as well as patterns of sound by their audience and their performers, not only because music-making and music-listening are motor events as well as sonic events (Baily 1985), but also because music and movement share a common dynamic structure that supports equivalent and universal expressions of emotion (Sievers *et al.* 2013). In general, the simple rhythms of lullabies are related to the accompanying movements of the singer, whether rocking, swaying, or patting (Ayres 1973). In addition, lullabies appease infants because they find in these melopoeias the carnal contact of the voice they perceived *in utero* (Damstra-Wijmenga 1993), accompanied by the swaying of the crib, which was until recently that of the maternal body in motion. From very early on, cradling gives infants a sense of rhythm, which later they will often find in the movements of work and those of dance.

Technically, the functional motive of lullaby acts through the elementary condition of a mechanical rocking movement. From a dynamic point of view, however, the rocking double movement is asymmetric. The energy consumed in the 'push' is more important than that consumed in the 'swing back'. Other rocking movements can be just as asymmetric as those of crib cradling – for example, swaying the child in a basket, in a carriage, or in the mother's arms. Thanks to its limited amplitude and its intended Galilean isochronal movement, the motor act of the binary rocking movement is next palpably reproduced in the binary organization of the tonic and metric structure of the musical and verbal texts of

the lullaby.¹ Their fundamental characteristic is rhythmic doubling and regular repetition. Lullabies are thus constituted from melodic motifs constructed in bi- or tri-tonal rhythmic pairs, nearly infinitely reproducible, or playful melodies in a uniform and punctuated coming and going. The kinesthetic relation of the binary rocking movement thus corresponds to the absolute coincidence between the verse's rhythm and meter, the melody's rhythm and meter, and the infinitely symmetric repetition of the same element or the same two-element melodic double movement. Interior rhythms with a marked tendency for the iambic, punctuated values, extended finales, and so forth, correspond to this asymmetry of the rocking movement.

All of these prosodic and melodic contours naturally occur in the Albanian musical repertoire and more especially in certain genres of children's songs (Sokoli 1969; Daja 1982), including lullabies which may therefore be considered as a kind of *sound rocking*. Functionally, lullabies act in a twofold intellectual and physical code. While singing, the mother needs two sorts of double rhythms: an intellectual verbal and musical rhythm and another physical cradling rhythm of a kinetic and kinesthetic nature. All of these superimposed levels fulfill cradling functions in the lullaby's texture taken as a whole (Lozica & Perić-Polonijo 1988: 132). These two double rhythms, one for the body, the other for the psyche (Lorca 1961: 17), are adapted and coordinated until the mother finds the tone necessary for the enchantment of the child. This clearly shows that, through the influence of communicative musicality, the lullaby is above anything else a matter of psychic meaning (Niculescu 1970: 108-111). Its melodic and poetic components act as signs of quasi-magic functions. Through their rhythms, sonic coloring, and melodic arcs, lullabies aim to enchant the child to the point of sleep.

Communication

Seemingly, soothing and sleep-inducing functions are mainly or perhaps entirely accomplished by the melody's rhythm. Infant-directed singing often includes verbal texts that the child is still in no position to understand. As a result, the poetic properties can be mediocre. In fact, this can occur in lyrics or lyric-narrative text used *ad hoc* in lullaby melodies or ordinary melodies adapted to the lullaby style. In this case, the intercommunicative relations between mother and child, besides kinesthetic impulsions, are limited to the rhythmic and melodic impulses. The song's inner calm and seriousness tend to recreate, from a psychological and emotional point of view, the serene and warm atmosphere of a family

¹ The term »tonic« refers to the first note in a scale which in conventional harmony provides the keynote of a piece of music, while in phonetics it denotes or relates to the syllable within a tone group that has greatest prominence because it carries the main change of pitch.

setting. By means of lullabies, the mother makes her child aware of her presence, stripping him of his feelings of loneliness and uncertainty, such that he can without fear abandon himself to sleep.

However, this does not occur in those lullabies where refrains and specific contexts constitute complete messages (Niculescu 1970: 108-111). These messages require a contact, a linguistic canal that permits them to establish and maintain communication. This intensification of contact, the *phatic* function of lullaby performances, to take a term from Malinowski (1923/1969), can give rise to a profuse exchange of ritualized formulae, even to whole dialogues the sole object of which is to prolong the conversation. The effort to establish and maintain communication is the first verbal function acquired by children (Jakobson 1960/1981). Among them, the disposition to communicate precedes the capacity to emit or receive information-bearing messages. In addition to intonation, which has an important affect-producing influence on the child, in lullabies numerous textual formulations seek to find a common language. Verbal relations with the mother are from the very beginning relations of communication.

The child also plays a special role in lullabies. In the first place, they involve a continuous and indissoluble inter-personal relationship that exists between the child and the mother. Their final aim is in effect to calm the child and put him to sleep when he does not wish to do so, whether at night-time, during the day when he would rather continue to play, or when it is necessary to satisfy his desire or relieve his suffering. Sometimes this leads to a genuine struggle, involving blows, sobbing, and finally sleep. As poet Federico-Garcia Lorca showed in his discussion of Spanish lullabies (1961: 17), the most complete and widely distributed group of Albanian lullabies is also comprised of songs in which the child is required to be the only character of his own lullaby. In their text, second-person communication in the optative present dominates. Through the form of the active monologue that often takes on the characteristics of a functional dialogue, this level of communication often creates possible situations for the invention and elaboration of special poetic structures. Among these forms, one may find the most sung and most characteristic models of Albanian lullabies. In these lullabies, the child is teased and reproached in the most tender way just as he is praised and idealized in the most hyperbolic and fantastic fashion.

Actually, one almost never sings elaborated lullabies to infants immediately after birth. They are cradled to a simple melody, wordless and often hushed, with the emphasis on rhythm and cradling. Lullabies are only sung to the child once he has begun to walk, understand the words, and may even be able to sing himself. With older children, meanwhile, one often sings heroic songs, narrative ballads, fairy tales, and so forth – anything that responds to the immediate need for inducing sleep, especially among children who are no longer satisfied with lullabies. In general, mothers are loyal to the most successful genre. If the child no longer likes lullabies he has already heard, the mother immediately replaces them with

semantically more developed pieces. In general, they involve a wise listener who follows the course of events and is amused by the story, heroes, and landscape described in the song. At the song's end, a particular relationship is established between mother and child. He is ready to contradict the text or to give more liveliness to an excessively monotonous rhythm. Thus observed, the mother gives close attention to her song.

With lullabies, the child becomes familiar to history and historical events and heroes. Thanks to his visual experience, he sketches images. He is required to be at once spectator and author but, as the poet Federico-Garcia Lorca (1961: 17-18) said, he is the author of an exceptional poetic sentiment. Observing his first games is enough to notice the depth that he discovers into the most commonplace objects and facts as well as the simplicity and the mysterious relations he discovers in them. With a button, a thread spool, a feather and his five fingers, the child constructs a poetic world that neither logic nor the most subtle imagination can penetrate.

So it is with language games, and like other examples of infant-directed speech utterances, lullabies are often only word plays and expressions adapted to the linguistic capacities of early childhood. Their formative text certainly derives from this need to play with words but is not for all that simple verbal juggling. An utterance may appear meaningless to an adult but can have meaning for a child, suggesting to him associations of ideas, comparisons, judgments, and different states of consciousness that, in one way or another, influence his psychic development. The tradition adapts the educational aims of the parent to the aptitude and comprehension of the child. This allows the lullaby to draw upon both the parent's inventive powers and the imaginative freshness of the child. This apparently paradoxical convergence permits a very original artistic expression, at once speech and gesture, leading the child to resolve his own tensions through laughter and ritual.

Another principal aspect of lullabies, for long been ignored, is their modality of customary performance, especially as a verbal and musical specific category of the symbolic traditions of child education and cultural socialization. If from a formal point of view the lullaby contains a certain ambiguity that appears in the fact that it concerns a song that is realized, in its ultimate intention, as an imperative act of communication, then they must have a certain incantatory and magical power. Lullabies must have been formerly used – following the example of incantations, exorcisms, charms, and other magical ritual forms, probably since the Old Babylonian times (Farber 1990) – as a means to protect the child against malevolent and destructive forces, thanks to the magical and sacred power of speech. In the lullabies of several Albanian regions, especially in the North highland remote areas (Fetiu 1982: 8-9), these qualities still appear in the form of verbal and poetic expressions similar to those formerly used in charms, exorcisms, and incanta-

tions, and which aimed at the same goal: the struggle to push away evil and malevolent forces, such as in the following lullaby:

*Flej, biro, se po t'përkundi,
flej në djep se po t'ojen gjumi,
t'ardht i bardhë pors i pëllumi,
pëllumi ka krah' dhe fletë,
ti më paç jetë e shëndet;
kurrinji e keqe mos te gjetë,
as se kjo sh çue as se kjo sh fjetë!
Te shkojshin t'ligat n'mal të shkretë,
ku s'këndon as pulë, as gjel,
ku s'kullot as ki as edh,
ku nuk bin bar i njomë,
ku nuk bje drapën me korrë,
ku mos shkojshin kurr' puntorë,
njatje t'ligat të paçin dalë,
kurr' n'shtat tand mos me ardhë!*

(Doja 1990: 778)

Sleep, my child, for mother will rock you,
sleep in your cradle, you are now falling asleep,
may your sleep be as peaceful as a dove,
a dove with its wings and feathers,
may you have a long life and good health,
may no evil befall you
neither you're sleeping nor awake!
May the evil spirits go in barren mountains,
where neither hen nor rooster crows,
where neither calves nor kids graze,
where fresh grass never grows,
where the scythe swings at harvest time,
may you never go there to work,
may the evil spirits be banished from your sight,
and never approach to your body!

While certain lullabies confirm the hypothesis of underlying magic because they approximate charms and incantations, one cannot, however, either theoretically or practically, equate lullabies with exorcisms. Perhaps the same type of mentality gave birth to the incantation and the lullaby, with the former more sophisticated and formal whereas the latter simpler and more familiar. References to the evil eye, to wild and domestic animals, birds and insects, natural plants and agricultural crops, sicknesses, and other malevolent forces, are not a contingent practice. Instead, they testify to elements profoundly rooted in the structure of the songs, while their logic is rooted in arguments of a magical order. Without going to consider this phenomenon as a reflection of productive preoccupations and animist conceptions of humanity, as most Albanian scholars believe (e.g. Agani 1962: 200-201), animal references represent the spirits of good and evil which one engages or distances oneself from according to the lyrics sung, whereas vegetal references represent growth and fertility fundamental for life. The magical power of song also determines the desired course of events. One can equally imagine that the difficulty of relaxing a sleepy child imposed the use of anything that might serve this intention. Normally the mother's song to the child invokes, for instance, certain animals typically associated with sleep.

In certain cases, the magical influence of lullabies appears manifest but their nature is not sufficiently modified so that one can consider them as a magic practice. In different Albanian regions, the predominant magic sometimes attains a maximum, especially in the North or Southwest remote highland areas, whereas it

weakens with the approach of more urbanized settings. Nonetheless, in its generic variants, the diminution of the supernatural verbal operation to simple metaphorical techniques renders more or less imperceptible their magical dimension.

Socialization

If the mother needs speech in order to attract the attention of her child and lullabies can better establish full messages towards a more intensive contact with the child by means of language, then the most important thing is that the socialization and education of the child has already started in the cradle, first in a rather instinctive way and then more and more consciously. The child begins to learn about the world of natural, cultural, social and symbolic surroundings. The human figures of his little imaginary theatre become real active beings, among which his very place is already defined.

Due to their significant improvisational character as well as the mother's communicative intentions, lullabies are extremely diverse poems from the standpoint of their motifs. Within a single lullaby several motifs can appear, as the distich offers almost unlimited possibilities. The dynamics of real life affect poetic structures and their artistic elements, assembling and disassembling their different formative structures. Nevertheless, it is not necessary to focus exclusively on a purely literary perspective, despite the heavy mortgage of the communist era that, as far as Albanian context is concerned, weighed on the official study of cultural forms of oral tradition (Doja 2014). This genre of songs and sayings obviously qualifies as artistic expression, but the lullaby draws upon spontaneous poetry and aesthetic experience. One must see in this poetry a form, which exercises a power allowing memorization and playing an active role in the real life of whoever performs it or listens to it. Every listener is also a potential singer in a new performance, in other words, a potential carrier of the tradition.

Lullaby verses employ extremely complex figurative techniques. Used in multiple functions, the comparison dominates, often creating the very foundations upon which an entire system of poetic images may be constructed. Other stylistic figures such as metaphors, apostrophes, and epithets include many adjectival attributes, as well as fabulous exaggerations and formal rhyming games, imitations of sounds and movements, simple enumerations, and other gradations slightly evolved in parallelisms and contrasts. In regards to the most intimate moments of joy and optimism, the lullabies testify to a sophisticated intuitive imaginativeness, expressed by means of a tremendous capacity to poetically transpose all what is considered good and beautiful.

They represent permanent relations of the child to the moral world, cultural values, social milieu, and historical evolution. The child's beauty and health are particularly compared to such elements of agricultural, pastoral, and rural life as

plants, trees, flowers known for the beauty of their colors, the most beautiful birds, and the sweetest and most sensitive animals. The future strength of boys is compared to the mythological figures, like *Zana* and *Dragùà* (Doja 2005b), while the child's courage and bravery are compared to the illustrious heroes of legendary and historical narrative tradition as well as to real figures in Albanian history, from Skanderbeg the national hero to more recent characters.

From the point of view of composition, lullabies use a lot of monologues and lyric emotional explosions that sometimes overlap with epic pretensions. They affectively invent an increasingly glorious future for the child, while sketching a moral portrait for him marked by heroism and bravery. This particularity of the Albanian lullabies relies upon the mother's aspirations to see soon realized the intentions of personal, family, and kinship progress in the child (Agani 1962: 200). All of this stems from a powerful feeling of optimism aimed at overcoming momentary difficulties and especially at creating a future at once happier and more worthy of being lived. It is therefore all the more important that the aspiration for progress in individual and collective life is sung as a marvelous anticipation, which finds its representation in the vital force of the newborn. The mother addresses herself to future generations through the mediation of her child, and her ambitions magically exceed the profane and more limited contours of the circle of her daily occupations.

In its imaginative scope, Albanian lullaby appears as an enthusiastic and optimistic song. As such, they clearly fit with one or more of classical descriptions of lullaby as an expression of »maternal admiration for the child or predictions of his glorious future« (Brakeley 1950). In turn, complaints about the mother's condition or the father's misbehaviour also occur and are well represented in the overall corpus of Albanian lullabies (Doja 1990). Like Slavic and other peoples' lullabies where motifs of desire are entangled in motifs of discontent, violence, and death (Klymasz 1968; Spitz 1979; Masuyama 1989; Achté *et al.* 1989), they illustrate an important function of traditional oral expression as a socially acceptable medium for venting positive and negative feelings in protected and unconstrained circumstances (Merriam 1964; Finnegan 1977/1992). In these lullabies it becomes possible to say not only what may otherwise be »unsayable« in public (Bascom 1954), but the study of lullabies and other women's folk songs as ethno-history might even allow to better account of contemporary violence and make sense of violent acts without compromising their sheer excess and their meaning-defying core (Daniel 1996).

In these lullabies, the presence of a noncomprehending listener must have allowed the mother to release repressed feelings of desire and discontent, and discharge emotional states of hostility and tension. Thus, lullabies of yearning, mockery, envy, anger, frustration, grief and so forth are sung to put up with the hardship of life and social relations. Actually, while the child is in the process of

falling asleep, the mother does not only tell him agreeable things. She tries to initiate her child to the brutal reality of the world by adding to her song an entirely dramatic element, which frighten the child, provoke in him doubt and embarrassment, anxiety and terror. But if this practice risks impeding the child's sleep, it is against this that the tender melody is juxtaposed.

Lullabies dispose of a large number of symbolic possibilities, the semantic and functional values of which do not only answer to an exclusively magic or aesthetic mental disposition. They are enriched, to a certain extent, by the semantic and functional dimension of the system of birth and socialization practices. Surely, the different magic-religious and ceremonial forms that cultural traditions and educational practices develop around birth and socialization are nowadays increasingly reduced (Doja 1998b). Nevertheless, the verbal expressions and mental dispositions of multiple practices surrounding birth and socialization (Doja 2000a) remain more or less present in the poetic fare of lullabies. The whole system of social organization and kinship relations (Doja 1999a), the imagination of naming structural patterns (Doja 1998c), patriarchal conceptions and social differences (Doja 2005a), ideological influences related to cultural activism (Doja 2010) and to social behavior at childbirth (Doja 2005c), categorization patterns of religious affiliations and gendered ascriptions (Doja 2008), the nexus of relationship between honor ideology, religion, morality and social organization (Doja 2011), intercultural interactions with neighboring ethnic groups and their impact on identity construction (Doja 1999b, 2000c), the politics of religion in Albanian history (Doja 2000b), and many other similar issues (Doja 2013), all are directly or indirectly transposed in lullabies.

As a special genre of verbal and musical expression of the symbolic communication of these traditions, lullabies exert an important influence on the affective relations between the child, the mother, the family and the kinship group. At the root of Albanian lullabies, the principal stages of the social and individual life cycle of the person are enacted in a poeticized and idealized way, which works to further organize and ritualize the ongoing process of personalization and cultural socialization. Their semantic and functional values relate to the first interactive models guaranteed by the mother, thanks to whom the child will learn to direct his life in the network of the family, kinship and social structure. Important historical moments, cultural norms, and social relations are then enacted and re-enacted, while the fundamental impetus of their openly expressed intentions arises from the influence of the ritual and ceremonial practices which, when performed collectively, have an important symbolic effectiveness.

In this way, through the educational and socializing functions they fulfill, lullabies treat the totality of human life and its relation to social reality during different periods of historical changes. In lullabies, the entire cultural system is represented, beginning with myths, religions, rites, customs, and modes of life, including the singer's wishes for a happy future for herself, her child, her commu-

nity and society in general. If considered as a whole, lullabies inform social relations between the individual and the community, the family, descendants, relatives, the village, the region, and global society, as well as relations between culture and nature. The ties between the inner self and the external world effectively contain multiple ethical and educational possibilities. Lullabies are indications of the uninterrupted continuity of generations, and they ensure the faithful preservation of tradition. They are poetic manifestations of the global society's link to the collective community, that of the family household to the external world, that of the present to the future.

Even though the lullabies are formally well-established songs, they are yet capable of being renewed at any time. They are universal and international as the sentiments expressed in lullabies have something universal about them. As songs, they are not necessarily bound to the soil from which they are born. Without difficulty, their themes, motifs, and the mathematical framework of their rhythm can change. They accept alternations in accent, and they even employ different lyrical inventories. At the same time, they are endowed with a particular national character and cultural value. Clearly, all Albanian regions share an unchanging lullaby element (Doja 1998a). If one could construct a symbolic map of Albanian lullabies, one would see that, across regions, they draw from, mix together, and exchange the lyrical sap of poetical and musical elements from all the seasons of Albanian life. One would then clearly see the network that unites all regions, an extremely sensitive aerial network that closes itself off at the slightest external attack in order to reopen in the proliferation of collective culture.

Conclusion

The specific role of infant-directed singing on music education and cultural socialization may appear unusual, and difficult to grasp, if one schematically employs traditional categories developed separately in the current scholarship of either folklore studies or child psychology. However, an articulate combination of the main results in both areas, linked to a careful examination of both sleeping and waking songs in socio-anthropological perspective, is likely to produce a better understanding of infant-directed singing relationship to the emergence of music education and cultural socialization. While analyzing the physical, musical, and verbal interactions between mother and child in which certain important ideas and practices of infant-directed singing emerge, the aim of this article was to frame the argument in such a way as to take into account the close association of such singing with music education and cultural socialization.

More simply, as an implication of my discussions in this paper, both sleeping and waking songs share the emotional and cohesive nature of group songs from oral traditions, particularly their informal way of performance (Lomax 1968),

minimal psychological distance or dissolution of personal boundaries between performer and audience (Booth 1981; Pantaleoni 1985), as well as presentation of ritualized praise or complaint (Finnegan 1977/1992). In addition, in private performance, lullabies have the potential for much more personal and individualized commentary and improvisation than is possible in group contexts, while play songs alter their form and function over time, beginning as intimate to increasingly become instructional group songs (Trehub & Trainor 1998). In this way, feelings of the moment can be expressed by means of freely improvised text and performance, so that singing a lullaby or a play song can reinforce and communicate positive feelings for a particular infant, not necessarily for infants in general. Such singing can also function cathartically, reducing the impact of negative feelings about the infant or about other aspects of the caregiver's life. Adults' singing may also pave the way to the child-created genre of play songs that are sung or chanted in playgrounds the world over, while providing joyous transitions from the protected world of intimate songs to the wider world of interpersonal games and social relations, as well as particular rituals of a social community's culture. As such, both sleeping and waking songs may be of greater importance as vehicles of music education and cultural socialization or enculturation.

In methodological terms, I tried to engage with a socio-anthropological analysis of ideas and practices rather than with a search for positive literal proof. This approach might not be exhaustive, and certainly a number of questions remain open. However, if this article has managed to provoke at the very least a non-stereotyped discussion throughout an interesting set of cogent reflections on infant-directed singing and its association with music education and cultural socialization, it will hopefully constitute a starting point for further, deeper enquiries, which can suggest alternative explanations. Ultimately, while the difficulty of simultaneously taking into account distinct strands of academic traditions is clearly realized, I believe the attempt to articulate them in relation to one another may lead to a fascinating intellectual problem. The conceptual aspects of this situation do not only show how to deal with an extant musical and social structural problem of knowledge transmission but may also have important theoretical and methodological implications beyond that of the specific problems addressed in this article.

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