Versification

Metrics in Practice

Edited by
Frog, Satu Grünthal, Kati Kallio and Jarkko Niemi

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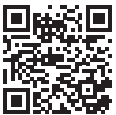

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Preface

It was 2016, on the lovely morning of May 25th. The Great Hall of the Finnish Literature Society (SKS) swiftly became crowded with voices as innumerable hands fastened nametags, flipped through papers and hastened to pour another cup of coffee. The air veritably shimmered with the vibrant bustle of enthusiasm in the beams of sunlight that poured in through the room's dizzyingly tall, slender windows, playing on a chandelier otherwise too high to be noticed. And at the crescendo rose a voice above the multitude, words of welcome washing across the crowd as shuffling feet rapidly found their places, and from the impression of chaos emerged an illusion of order.

Sometimes a lively scholarly event sets into motion spirited discussions that grow for years to follow. Thus began *Versification: Metrics in Practice*, the 13th conference of the Nordic Society for Metrical Studies (NordMetrik), organised by Folklore Studies of the University of Helsinki, the Finnish Literature Society and the Department of Finnish, Finno-Ugrian and Scandinavian Studies, University of Helsinki. This three-day event brought together forty-seven speaking participants and roughly as many additional attendees. The participants represented a wide variety of disciplines, meeting to discuss shared interests in the operation of metrics and poetics as they are and have been used. The cordial atmosphere nurtured rich and fruitful dialogues across the diversity of views, alternating between plenary lectures and parallel sessions on sites of both the Finnish Literature Society and the University of Helsinki. The book that you hold before you has been developed on the platform of those discussions. Rather than conference proceedings that aim to provide a written record of the many papers and lectures presented in that venue, this volume is a continuation and sequel as a publication project. The chapters of this volume have been invited, organized and developed to form a dynamic exposition of discussions surrounding the phenomenon of versification.

We are grateful for the support from the Academy of Finland research project, "Oral Poetry, Mythic Knowledge, and Vernacular Imagination: Interfaces of Individual Expression and Collective Traditions in Pre-modern Northeast Europe" (2012–2016) of Folklore Studies, University of Helsinki, the University of Helsinki Research Community, "Cultural Meanings and Vernacular Genres (CMVG)", the Finnish Literature Society, the Department of Finnish, Finno-Ugrian and Scandinavian Studies, University of Helsinki, and the generous support of the Wihuri Foundation.

— *The Editors*

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Helsinki sive in Tartarum descendens sive *Katabasis*: ad urbis nomen lusus

In Tartarum descendenti mi non eunt
umbrae viventes obviam, quidem tenera
luce carentes utque vidimus neque
Stygias paludes nec cumbam Charonticam.
5 Quam mirum quam novum quanto inauditu' sit.
Nunc apparent rari nantes in gurgite
salso, nunc Baltico in sinu laeti manent.
Mutantur Elysii campique in Piceam
hanc insulam, pratorum divitem, mare
10 complectentem fluctusque undasque et aequora.
Non mirum non novum neque inauditu' sit,
ut prato quondam ranam conspexi levem,
ranam non ranam quandam, quae minime viret,
colorem mutans purpureum accipit, caput
15 summum ferens nigrum vel ambulat et non salit.
Quam mirum quam novum quanto inauditu' sit
Humanam quasi imaginem dabat sibi.
Venimus ad illud, linguam conantes mihi
captare ignotam, quae caret sono lepido
20 Latinitatis haud mihi inimicissimae.
Nequit coaxare illud peregrinum sed tamen
Quid dicit, quid dicit exoticum rogo,
et audiendo iterum audiendo amplexa tum
nonnulla verba demum capto: *Terve tervetuloa.*

Ab imo pectore vobis gratias agimus,
Hans Nollet

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Helsinki or Sinking down into Hell or *Katabasis*: Pun on the Name of the Town

As I sink down into Hell I don't come across
The living shades, nor did I see the ones who
Miss the lovely daylight nor did I notice
The Stygian marshes or Charon's boat.
5 How strange, how new, so unheard of, this might be.
Here and there people now appear in the salty
whirlpool, and they are happy to stay by the Baltic Gulf.
And the Elysian Fields have changed into Pitch-black
Island [Tervasaari], rich in meadows, embracing
10 The sea, the water and the rolling waves.
Not strange, however not new or so unheard of, will be the fact
That I happened to observe a moving frog in the meadow,
A frog who is not a frog, who is not green at all.
It changed its colour into purple, and on the top of its
15 Head it wears a black scarf, and it walks instead of hopping.
How strange, how new, so unheard of, this might be.
It gave itself the shape and the appearance of a human being.
I approach it, in an attempt to understand the language
Which is unknown to me, which lacks the soft tones
20 Of Latin that is so dear to me.
This foreign creature cannot croak and still
I keep on asking myself, what is this exotic saying?
And I try to listen again and again, I finally capture
some entangled words: *Terve tervetuloa.*

As a token of sincere gratitude,
Hans Nollet

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Introduction

Versification describes the marriage of language and poetic form through which poetry is produced. Formal principles, such as metre, alliteration, rhyme or parallelism, take precedence over syntax and prosody, resulting in expressions becoming organised as verse rather than prose. The aesthetic appeal of poetry is often linked to the potential for this process to seem mysterious or almost magical, not to mention the interplay of particular expressions with forms and expectations. The dynamics of versification thus draw a general interest for everyone, from enthusiasts of poetry or forms of verbal art to researchers of folklore, ethnomusicology, linguistics, literature, philology and more. The authors of the works in the present volume explore versification from a variety of angles and in diverse cultural milieus. The focus is on metrics in practice, meaning that the authors concentrate not so much on the analysis of the metrical systems per se as on the ways that metres are used and varied in performance by individual poets and in relationship to language.

This volume is straightforwardly organised. It opens with an introductory chapter, "Metrics in Practice", followed by three sections that bring particular aspects of versification into focus, illustrated through focused empirical studies or investigated through broader comparative settings. In the first section, *From Metre to Performance*, the authors explore how metres operate and evolve in social discourse, with a focus on oral traditions. Metre is often approached abstractly as the formalisation of how words, sounds and sometimes also semantics relate to rhythm. Such models of metres developed in research provide invaluable frames of reference for discussion, but the chapters of this first section highlight that abstract approaches to metres can be highly idealised and conceal the range of variations in a broad tradition, the evolution of a poetic form over time, and the flexibility with which individuals may manipulate metrical form in specific situations. In the second section, *Poets and Metres over Time*, particular poets are then brought into focus, with their choices and strategies. These chapters focus on literary poetry and how individual agents engage with and manipulate poetic forms, ranging from a heritage of oral tradition to that of Classical Latin. In the

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third section, *Language and Poetic Form*, the chapters pay attention to formal dynamics at the heart of versification. Together, these different discussions not only elucidate specific cases in numerous traditions; they also unite to offer a deeper understanding of how versification operates both socially and at the level of individuals, and both in the technical operation of forms and as a vehicle for meanings bound up with ideologies.

From Metre to Performance

We have become so accustomed to discussions on metre and poetics in abstract terms that it is easy to lose sight of the fact that poetic metre exists only through the use of language. It is still easier to forget that such use of language is not simply theoretical; it is connected with social practices that provide a framework for poetry and its reception. Such frameworks are especially salient in oral poetries, which offer rich laboratories for developing insights into the operation of versification and perspectives on variation in practice.

Discussions about many traditions of oral poetry tend to become reduced to a generalised abstraction of the poetic form as a frame of reference for discussing particular performances or recorded texts. As a consequence, local conventions of poetry become marginalised, and variations linked to practices outside the generalised model easily remain beyond discussion. Kati Kallio illuminates these issues through traditions of the so-called Kalevala-metre poetry of Finland, Karelia and Ingria. This poetic form seems to belong to the common linguistic heritage of Finnic-speaking peoples. Kallio uses it to illustrate what can occur as historical language changes lead spoken language forms to become unmetrical, structural impacts of adapting new singing forms to metrical verses, and the potential for the metrical form of linguistic verses to shift to a deep structure where the performance mode transforms the surface structure in singing.

Traditions of song and metre do not exist in isolation, and understanding a tradition of versification may require perspectives on interactions among different poetic traditions. Jarkko Niemi explores the challenging case of sung metres in the Uralic languages of northern Eurasia. These different language groups have a long history of contacts and interactions that have affected the evolution of their respective metres and singing traditions. Only by gaining perspectives on the relations among these traditions can their particular manifestations be fully understood.

The potential for variations in the relationships between metre and music may also be built into a tradition. For example, rather than simply having a predictable metre that might be used with different musical forms, the court poetry of the Ottoman Empire was produced within a complex system with principles for generating metrical structures, on one hand, and a complementary set of principles for musical structures, on the other hand, along with conventional strategies for how these might be combined. Nicolas Royer-Artuso presents the dynamics of this system of poetry and music, illustrating its workings through an experimental approach that shifts the

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perspective from considering these systems at a level of abstraction to their pragmatic and flexible operation in use.

Historical poetic traditions surviving only as texts naturally give rise to various hypotheses about the ways that they might have been performed. Particularly where such poetries diverge from familiar forms, such hypotheses easily drift as speculation, untethered from empirically grounded frames of reference. A significant strategy for evaluating different possible manners of performance is a comparison with more extensively documented later traditions. Jacqueline Pattison Ekgren and Joe Siri Ekgren reveal the formal correspondence of Old Germanic verse forms to twentieth-century recordings of Norwegian *stev* songs. Old Germanic verse forms, similar to those in Old English and Old Norse, were composed in an accentual metre that lacks a regular rhythm, for which performance analogues have been difficult to identify. Ekgren and Ekgren show the formal similarity to *stev*, composed in corresponding accentual metrical structures and performed with a rather free rhythm that people raised in the tradition could nevertheless predict. This case study illustrates comparative methods' potential to offer new perspectives on practices behind poetry traditions that have reached us only as texts.

Whereas the four preceding chapters consider versification and its variations in performance as phenomena linked to and shaped by particular social-historical settings, this section's final chapter considers versification as an integrated part of complex practices. Through their study of interactions between music and language in Yattuka funeral chants, Maria V. Stanyukovich, Galina B. Sychenko and Sergei B. Klimenko reveal the complexity of the practices, of which verbal art may be just one part. The context of the practices provides a framework for considering larger structural units in performances and how these operate in versification.

These five perspectives on performance, variation and change in metre are complementary. They form a progression from local and regional variations to broader traditions in multicultural networks and return to a versification form's potential for internal variation and embeddedness in situated practices. Together, these chapters offer insights into the processes through which poetic forms operate and evolve in relation to factors beyond simply words and metres.

Poets and Metres over Time

Although metres and poetics have social foundations for the production and reception of texts as poetry, they are nevertheless engaged by individuals. What occurs in such engagements – both during the course of an individual's life and, more generally, concerning the individual's relations to poetry and poetics in society over time – is most observable through literary traditions.

In the second section of this volume, attention precisely turns to literary poets and the poetic systems with which they engage or potentially even transform. When approaching individual poets within a literary tradition, the individual's perception of poetics – that is, the subjective understanding

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of poetry and its principles – is brought into focus. Erika Laamanen leads us into the world of the poetics of the Finnish poet Lauri Viita (1916–1965) and their evolution across his career, with a particular focus on what she refers to as *metalyric* or poetry that reflects on the lyric genre. Through her investigation, Laamanen reveals the complexity of an individual's engagement with poetic forms. The case of Viita's adaptation of (literary) Kalevala-metre and statements about it are explored to uncover interfaces between poetics proper and broader ideologies, which in this case is an ideology of the life and evolution of poetic forms.

Within a tradition of written poetry, poets may engage with models of form and language that span centuries. Hans Nollet introduces Justus Lipsius (1547–1606) as an example of a neo-Latin poet who engaged with models of verses that go back to the works of Vergil and Ovid. Nollet subjects Lipsius' poetry to a detailed statistical analysis of form against the context of other evidence of influence. Rather than principles of metrical form varying in isolation, influences on Lipsius' lexicon through the models of certain Latin authors are revealed as significant factors affecting the preferred rhythmical shape of his verses. The emerging perspective on impacts affecting the language of a poet in his use of metrical form anticipates the discussions in the closing section of this volume.

In contrast to Kalevala-metre, rhymed metres are less known among Finnic traditional poetic forms. During nineteenth-century Romantic Nationalism, the role of folk poetry was self-contradictory. The elite's interest and appraisal mainly focused on folklore in the Kalevala-metre, which was nonetheless being rapidly replaced by end-rhyming types of folk songs composed in couplets and stanzas similar to those found in many European traditions. These new types of rhymed couplets became very popular among the people, and many poets started using them by the end of the nineteenth century. Hanna Karhu explores the adaptation of oral tradition to written poetic forms in the works and the notebooks of Otto Manninen (1872–1950). She brings into focus rhymes as used by Manninen alongside rhymes in oral poetry, with comparisons that offer insights into the processes whereby traditional forms of verbal art could be used as resources in composition or adapted more directly to the milieu where written rather than oral poetry was valorised.

Together, the authors of the three chapters in this section offer insights into how diverse strands of influence shape the uses of verbal art by particular poets, as well as how poets draw on, use and manipulate models that they regard as constituting the heritage of the poetry in which they participate. These three studies serve as reminders that versification is not simply something that happens in the world but is an activity engaged in by agents. These agents use it to do things, ranging from supernaturally affecting the world or pacifying children with lullabies to constructing individual identities as poets and collective identities as members of certain cultural traditions.

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Language and Poetic Form

Versification is fundamentally concerned with relating language to poetic form, irrespective of its social or personal significance, its varieties of synchronic or diachronic uses, or its use and manipulation by individual poets or other agents. Relationships between language and metre and how these interact are repeatedly addressed in the first eight chapters of this book before being brought into targeted focus in the final section.

Metres tend to be formalised templates that organise phonic and syllabic features of language that are salient for language users. As stressed in the opening chapters, historical language changes affect how words and phonology function and are perceived in relation to metre. Janika Oras and Mari Sarv stress that the potential for variability resulting from such changes may make the variations impossible to analyse independently of melodic form. They return to a discussion on Kalevala-metre poetry, now in the Seto singing tradition, that is, the poetic form in the Finnic language branch most distantly related to Finnish and Karelian and the traditions earlier addressed by Kallio. The Seto tradition has been affected by both language changes and singing traditions of neighbouring cultures. Metrical analysis raises distinct issues because verse lines appear far more flexibly handled than in other regions, with potentially multiple available solutions for making a verse well-formed in sung performance. When the sung form is taken into account, Oras shows that changes in syllabic quantity that occurred in several branches of the Finnic language fed back into the evolution of the Seto metre. She reveals how phenomena that appear as simple or perhaps almost random variations, when viewed against Kalevala-metre as a common abstract system, are in fact regulated by the language's conventions for the relations between language and metre in performance.

Perhaps the most iconic example of the relations between language and metre is formulaic phraseology that is fitted to regular use in particular metrical contexts. This relation is turned on its head in the tradition of Icelandic post-medieval *þulur*, a form of poetry that is simultaneously written and oral and that organises verses through metre, rhythm, parallelism, alliteration and rhyme or other phonic patterning. However, poetic features are mixed and matched in a more or less continuous density rather than employed periodically or even consistently. Yelena Sesselja Helgadóttir explores the interaction between language and poetic form in the movement of poetically structured phraseology between other genres and *þulur*, revealing how they may be reformed in the movement across different poetic environments. She stresses that although *þulur* lack periodic metre, formulaic language used in them crystallises in relation to metrical or other poetic principles. As a consequence, formulae not only develop stable relationships with poetic principles but also import those principles into the stretches of text where they are used.

Conventional linkages between language and poetic principles are found in an astounding variety of forms and contexts, of which formulaic language in *þulur* is but one. In the final chapter of this book, Frog theorises this broad phenomenon as *metrical entanglement*, which he discusses in relation to

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different poetic principles for organising discourse both at the level of whole texts and in smaller units of utterance used in larger sequences of text, like the formulae of *þulur*. In this wide-ranging chapter, Frog addresses formulaic sequences in metred verse and considers preferential uses of individual words in particular metrical positions or in order to carry alliteration or rhyme. He examines how language can become entangled with semantic parallelism and how metrical entanglement is even manifested in idioms of conversational talk. Frog's overview closes the collection by bringing into focus a phenomenon lurking in the background of the preceding discussions.

The authors of the three chapters in this section explore subtleties of the relations between language and poetic form, even if this cannot be done exhaustively within the confines of a single book. The authors progress from considering impacts of language changes on metrical form to asking what happens to formulaic language when it moves between poetic environments and, finally, to considering conventional relationships between language and poetic form that evolve socially through discourse. Taken together, their works offer new insights into the dynamics of versification as contextualised in the preceding sections of this volume.

Into the World of Versification

No natural language in human history is known to have been without some form of verbal art. Even where it has not been recorded, some form of poetically organised discourse can be inferred. This fact suggests that versification is somehow fundamental to culture and underscores the importance of subjecting this phenomenon to concentrated discussion. The contributors to this volume examine many facets of versification as a process and a practice from both synchronic and diachronic perspectives across a wide range of forms of cultural expression. The three sections bring different relations of poetic form in versification into focus: performance, individual agents of composition or performance and language. The order of the sections is less important than reading the chapters of each section in dialogue with those of the others. Against the background of the discussions in the other sections, the significance of individual chapters comes in full bloom. Together, the contributions to this volume yield new knowledge and understandings of this quite fundamental phenomenon of metrics in practice. They should also be recognised as contributions to not only one book but as contributions to much broader networks of discussions in a fertile exchange of knowledge, with roots digging deep into the past and with branches growing towards the future. The negotiation of such knowledge with our readers will undoubtedly lead to new understandings and open new directions for investigation. We are glad that you have been able to join us.

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I An Overview

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Metrics in Practice

Metrics is often discussed in terms of abstract templates or other systems that act as frameworks in which words, sounds and sometimes semantics are arranged. Such abstractions can seem to reduce the art of composition, the aesthetics of its products or the social dynamics of a traditional practice to the simple mechanics of a child's toy, in which square blocks should be put into square holes, round blocks into round holes, and so on. This reduction occurs through the tendency to break down poetry into constituents of words or language and abstract metrics. Poetic form becomes a primary "thing" with different-shaped slots into which linguistic blocks are fitted secondarily, in what can appear as an almost automated model. Distinguishing and abstracting poetic form are extremely important for understanding poetry yet make it easy to lose sight of the fact that poetic form cannot exist without instantiation through language. At the other end of the spectrum, the building blocks of language come to the fore with a focus on poetic products, and every word easily becomes read for its meaningfulness; aesthetics and intentionality fill the field of vision, and metre becomes incidental. Navigating between these two poles of research can be as challenging as sailing between Scylla and Charybdis. However, it becomes possible when the focus shifts to the union of abstract models of form and poetic products in the process of versification. This shift rapidly expands the field of vision from language and form to voice, music, movement, meaning-making, social contexts and so forth – that is, to a full spectrum of media and contextual factors as poetics and poetry are resituated from "things" to "practice."

The present chapter draws together some of the many threads that run through this book to outline and briefly discuss several complementary aspects of oral and literary versification. It begins, however, with the most basic question of how versification is distinguished and conceived. Attention then turns to the diversity of forms which verse takes at the levels of structure and text. This naturally leads to the question of the types of sources from which versification can be explored and how different types of sources are

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able to tell us different things about the phenomenon. As a thing made of language, it is necessary to consider how verse and different types of verse engage with language and may shape it or may lead certain types of language to become emblematic of a type of verse. However, language only becomes verse in relation to articulation, which brings the discussion to performance or other representation. The roles of music and meanings are then brought forward before turning to people who use and manipulate verse – individual poets engaging with social traditions. Following this arc of topics provides an overview in relation to which the other chapters of this volume can be considered studies of particular cases and aspects of versification.

What is Versification?

The key question of what precisely "versification" is tends to be taken for granted. The intuitive answer seems straightforward: *Versification is the process of versifying – composing in verses or expressing things in verse*. Such an answer would not be incorrect, but it leads into the more fundamental question of what makes something "verse." Distinguishing verse is crucial for determining whether someone's composition or expression is "versifying" as opposed to something else. The thorny issue of the definition can be approached from one of two primary perspectives: the *emic* view, that is, how people in a particular society categorise their own language use; and the *etic* view, that is, how outsiders, such as researchers, distinguish such categories. Emic approaches define verse (if only implicitly) as a socially perceivable quality of text. In other words, people recognise certain uses of language rather than others as verse, and what they recognise as verse is connected with social conventions of categorising and talking about different types of language use (see also, e.g., Agha 2007; Gal & Irvine 2019). This does not mean that the categories are uniform in a language, culture, society or even in a broad community any more than what is or is not "music," which might vary across a generational gap. The approach outlined here also does not exclude the possibility of ambiguous cases or disagreements within groups.

Emic approaches often run counter to the tendency to abstract poetic forms and how they "work" as strict ideal systems. Instead, emic approaches attend to variation as symptomatic of the potential for flexibility that may also have functions or meanings in performance (Foley 2002: 33; see also Kallio, this volume). Emic terms are often brought into focus for discussing categories as they are used and perceived, from words for metres and melodies (Royer-Artuso, this volume) to vernacular uses of concepts such as "word," which may refer to a whole formulaic expression (Foley 1996: 14–17). The same is true of vernacular descriptions and metaphors of producing poetry (Tarkka 2013; Ekgren & Ekgren, this volume), as well as descriptions that may distinguish categories, not strictly by structural or linguistic features of poetic form, but by the manner of performance (Stepanova E. 2015: 268; Stepanova & Frog 2019: 99–101). Notably, however, emic approaches tend to focus on particular forms of poetry. This is less surprising in light of observations such as that most speakers of Modern English do not include song lyrics in

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the category of "poetry" – they are just "lyrics." Most cultures lack a simple and equivalently broad concept of versification as used in scholarship. Emic approaches tend to have the greatest utility when addressing particular forms and uses of verse in a culture, language or small group, and such studies tend not to be concerned with versification generally but with versification in a particular form of verbal art.

Etic approaches can be constructed according to a researcher's needs. Nigel Fabb (2015) has proposed a universal definition for distinguishing poetry from prose according to the dominant principles of organising discourse when producing texts. In this approach, prose is understood as "text made of language that is divided into sections on the basis of syntactic or prosodic structure" (2015: 10). Poetry is distinguished by dividing a text into sections on the basis of principles or factors that are given precedence over syntactic or prosodic structure (Fabb 2015: 9). For example, poetic principles such as metre, parallelism or sound patterning like alliteration and rhyme are commonly in focus as organizing text into units – i.e., forming verses. Poetic features may be present in particular passages of other types of discourse as well, but the dominance of linguistic principles of syntax and prosody in organizing it into units determines its classification as prose (see further Fabb 2015). The etic approach circumvents questions of how local people classify types of text and does not require social contexts: a text may be uniquely organised on poetic principles without anyone in the respective society acknowledging it as a poem, yet it may still be considered poetry by the researcher. Whereas poetic principles can also be used to analyse smaller units of text, such as formulaic expressions (Frog, this volume), poetry is distinguished where an entire text is organised poetically, even if the particular poetic principles may vary through the text (Yelena Sesselja Helgadóttir, this volume).

A focus on poetic principles such as metre and rhyme is, however, text-centred, with a linguistic emphasis. On the one hand, articulation into units in a written medium may be accomplished primarily through arrangement on a page or a screen. Thus, visual line breaks may be the primary principle for organising units into verses rather than a pattern in sound, such as rhyme, or a pattern in sense, such as parallelism. On the other hand, a broader range of features in performance can also be considered, such as melody or a systematic rhythm that organises utterance into units as verse no less than line breaks on a page. Both of these types of cases advance towards a parting of ways between poetry and versification, when versification is understood in the sense of formulating something in verse. Modern literary poetry also often challenges the distinction between poetry and prose, with whole genres that may be considered poetry without being organised in verses. For example, visual poetry is based on the appearance of text and its arrangement as fundamental to approaching its rhythm and meaning without necessarily forming verse units, while the prose poem is normally conceived of as lacking a verse structure. Conversely, the alphabet set to music in a children's song arranges it in verses, but most people would not say that this makes the alphabet a poem. Defining poetry according to how it is organised at the level of language excludes prose poetry and visual poetry,

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while the children's song of the alphabet in English could be considered a poem because the verse units are organised based on rhyme (*gee*, *pee*, *vee*, *zee*). From the point of view of popular modern usage, this seems counter-intuitive because calling something "poetry" involves an aesthetic assessment or at least has aesthetic implications. From this perspective, to say that Jorge Luis Borges' "Ragnarök" is not a poem is to devalue it, while it sounds like nonsense to claim that the alphabet is a poem because it can be sung. In research, however, an etic definition becomes a research tool that – ideally, at least – provides objective criteria for analysis and a single frame of reference that can be used across languages and cultures.

However we choose to define poetry, versification can be approached according to the hierarchy of organising principles applied in arranging language into units. Such an approach also allows it to be distinguished from the discourse that ethnopoetic research has revealed to be similarly structured, such as some oral narrative traditions (Hymes 1977), but for which syntax and prosody remain primary principles of organisation. This etic type of approach operates at an abstract level, and the researcher can calibrate its scope, for example, to consider only linguistic texts, or extend it to include visual, melodic or other rhythmic structures. For some research, it might be useful to calibrate the definition to include forms of discourse that are analysable as verses through an ethnopoetic approach, even where other poetic principles are absent. Most important for an etic definition is utility, so it may be useful in some research to narrow the criteria to be specific to, for instance, verbal art in a particular language.

Rather than one being "right" and the other being "wrong," emic and etic approaches are simply useful for different things. They bring the phenomenon of versification into focus from different perspectives, but these differences also have an impact on the definition of "versification." Versification is a phenomenon in the world, but the term and the concept are not fixed and universally prescribed. Instead, versification may be defined and adapted in different ways, which makes it a potentially flexible research tool.

A Diversity of Forms

Verbal art takes an apparently infinite variety of forms. This is often viewed through the lens of formal structuring principles, whether at the level of lines, larger stretches of text like couplets or stanzas, or principles applied systematically to organize a whole poem, such as a sonnet. Researchers often bring into focus particular formal features and classify them according to broad analytical categories, such as syllabic versus accentual verse, and the categories are used as tools both to analyse what is observed in a corpus and to understand variation (e.g., Oras & Sarv, this volume).

Within a culture, categories are often more fluid or at least less systematic. They may only bring into focus a particular feature or a small group of them as emblematic (cf. Agha 2007: ch. 3), or the distinctions may be quite sophisticated but based on a broad number of criteria that advance well beyond the domain of metrics into features of style and rhetoric (e.g.,

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Snorri Sturluson 1999). The categorisations of verse form connect or even converge with text-type categories of poetic products, commonly called poetic genres. All forms of oral and literary poetry become produced and interpreted in relation to ideas about genres. According to a structuralist-typological approach, genre types are distinguishable in potentially complex systems. Extremely broad categories or supergenres, such as narrative or lyric poetry, include hierarchies of subcategories, like epic, ballad, narrative lament and so forth – and there may be a whole typology within the epic genre, another within the ballad genre, and so on. Alongside hierarchies, there may be "families" of closely related genres, while the reality of genres is complicated by hybrids and the manipulation of their accompanying forms and expectations. (Bhatia 2004; Mäntynen & Shore 2014; Frog et al. 2016.)

In oral traditions, the relationship of poetic form to a type of poetry may take different forms. For example, the Finno-Karelian short-epic is composed in the common Finnic tetrameter, a poetic form that was used across a remarkably wide range of genres, from proverbs and riddles to lyric poetry and a number of varieties of narrative poetry (Kallio et al. 2017). In Viking and medieval Scandinavia, this range of genres was covered by a set of historically related metres. In the latter poetic ecology, different types of poetry were not necessarily distinguished by metre *per se* but by particular constellations of metre, stylistic features and language varieties, and the Scandinavian short-epic form could combine multiple metres in a single poem (Clunies Ross 2005). Russian *bylina*s have a comparable short-epic form with a quite flexible metre that emerged in conjunction with musical accompaniment, a poetic form in which all *bylina*s were composed but not used with other forms of poetry, making it emblematic of the epic tradition (Vesterholt 1973). The emergent interaction between language and music can be especially salient in improvised poetry that is organised on principles other than periodic metre, allowing dynamic flexibility in the duration of each utterance, as in North Finnic laments (see Niemi 2002; Stepanova E. 2015; Silvonen 2022). Conversely, the metre organising language may remain consistent, while the verses in performance may be restructured as subordinate to melody and performance rhythms, whether at the level of syllables (Niemi, this volume) or whole verses and parts of verses (Kallio, this volume). Moving out of a purely oral tradition, these systems of relations can open to myriads of combinations (Royer-Artuso, this volume). The relations among the verse form, its manifestations in practice and the types of text produced can be amazingly complex.

The fields of both oral and written traditions have never been stable, and, in some environments, the interaction between orality and literacy can be remarkably fluid (Finnegan 1977; O'Keeffe 1990; Amodio 2004; Ready 2019). Discussions on genre have a history going back more than two millennia, the vast majority of which was characterised by viewing genres as ideal "things" to which text should correspond and that define the texts identified with them. This view of genres changed radically across the second half of the twentieth century (e.g., Tynjanow 1982; Frog et al. 2016). Poetic forms have always been in ongoing interaction with one another and with other cultural forms, and they have been affected by linguistic, social, historical

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and personal features that are contemporary to the performer or the poet. Today, genres tend to be conceived of in terms of prototype categories or core types of generic forms, which are represented by their various and diverse realisations in oral and written reality. The prototype categories offer recognisable frames of reference that people may deviate from, for instance, in order to create meanings. It must be remembered that although genres are constantly in the process of change, this process is not one of degeneration. Scholarship especially on oral traditions was dominated by a discourse of devolution, viewing change in terms of "deterioration" and "corruption" (Dundes 1969). Although genres may equally atrophy or drop out of use entirely, their continuation is best seen in terms of maintenance and renewal, as can be illustrated through a brief look at the history of the ballad.

Historically, ballads emerged as a poetic narrative form that spread rapidly through medieval Europe (Vargyas 1983; Colbert 1989). The poetic form is generally characterised by an end-rhymed stanzaic structure. Oral folk ballads have customarily been songs of love and death, intertwined with supernatural events. Old folk ballads are often characterised by elliptic narration that leaves aside descriptions of feelings and minor events. Listeners and performers of ballads could recognise the strong emotions the songs engage even without explicit elaboration. Typically, love presented in ballads has been disparaged and doomed to fail by the surrounding society. In the end, true lovers have been united in death, which might be symbolised, for example, by two rose bushes that grow on one of the lovers' graves. As the genre became established, individual ballads could move between languages, being translated from one language to another within a shared genre framework (see also Vargyas 1983: 137).

Although the common historical roots of Europe's ballad traditions can be brought into focus, the poetic form evolved in different directions in the poetic ecology of each language and potentially in each local tradition. In Finland, however, the predominance of alliteration in the poetic ecology seems to have made it difficult for rhymed forms to gain a foothold. The earliest ballads are considered to have been assimilated as stories told in verse, translated completely into the Finnic tetrameter with its alliterative, stichic lines, and the rhymed stanzaic form was only adapted later (Kuusi et al. 1977: 56–57). In most of Scandinavia, the ballad form seems to have been assimilated and superseded other forms of narrative poetry, producing a prominent tradition of heroic ballads with continuity of names and narratives from the Old Germanic epic tradition, as well as producing new narratives of the same epic ballad type (Jonsson et al. 1978; Colbert 1989). In Iceland, the narrative non-rhymed genre called *sagnakvæði*, rooted in the common Germanic alliterative metre, persisted for many centuries (Aðalheiður Guðmundsdóttir 2014), and the trochaic, alliterative end-rhymed poetry called *rímur*, independent of the ballad form, has continued alongside it until the present day (Vésteinn Ólason 1982). The international genre of the ballad, which began orally, soon moved into a fluid relation with written culture as oral singing practices were augmented by the circulation of printed texts (see also Harris 1991). The lively activity of ballads in society led it to take a number of different local and language-specific forms.

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During the era of Romanticism, the ballad's evolution was augmented by a revival when the genre was found well-suited to aesthetic and political endeavours of the times. The awakening national movements in many European countries called for a nation's heroic past and the "true voice" of its ancestral generations. Poets such as Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Friedrich Schiller admired folk ballads and re-invented them as a poetic literary genre suited to the needs of their contemporary societies. In the twentieth and the twenty-first centuries, ballads have continued their life both as a popular song genre and as a literary poetic genre. Contemporary literary ballads are often capricious. As pointed out by Russian formalists, the more sharply a literary work deviates from a literary system, the stronger the position of, and the emphasis on, the same system in that work's literary context. In this way, every system by nature includes the possibility of deviation and denial of itself. A poem written in free verse enhances its opposite, the rhythmic element, with its free, non-metrical elements. (Tynjanow 1982.) Continuous discourse on and modification of a genre's history have been called repetition with a difference (Hutcheon 1991) – repetition being a medium through which a poem imitates, modifies, parodies or denies its genre.

The category of ballad has varied according to the area and poetic tradition in question, sometimes encompassing a large scale of different narrative songs. Just as the genre has developed over time to encompass an increasing number of varieties of verbal art, so too has the conception of the category "ballad." The borders between ballads, epics and lyric-epics have shifted according to scholarly and local needs. "Ballad" has sometimes been specific to varieties of historically related songs and those similar enough to them to obviate any clear distinction. The term has also been elevated to an abstraction that, with globalisation, entered into dialogue with the multitudes of poetic forms found in cultures elsewhere that have been seen as comparable in some respect to the European form. As a consequence, "ballad" has been used to describe historically unrelated traditions of narrative song that are stylistically similar to the prototypical European genre. This pattern of usage has stretched even to include poetry that generally follows the semantic patterns of Western ballads but lacks its formal features, such as stanzaic structure or end-rhyme. In some areas, "ballad" has simply become a practical term complementary to "epic," principally based on the length of narrative poems, that is, viewing "ballads" as narrative poetry that is not of "epic" length. Consequently, outsiders view poems that may handle vernacular mythology or have ritual uses or other religious connotations through the lens of a Western genre of secular poetry (Atrey 2016: 360 n.1). In literary poetry, the term is found in titles of a number of poems, although their connections with the genre may not be evident at first sight. The terms used to distinguish categories of verbal art can influence thinking and interpretation (e.g., Leslie-Jacobsen 2017), making it important to carefully consider the effects of projecting abstract types onto traditions of different languages and cultures. However, the same impacts underlie literary authors' identification of a work with a genre through its title, which is never without motivation; be it descriptive or ironic, the title evokes the reader's awareness

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of that genre as a frame of reference for receiving the poem (Grünthal 1997: 203–222).

The ballad is still alive as both a popular song genre and as a contemporary poetic form, with various styles of versification. It functions as an example of generic development, change, variation and sustainability that is illustrative of the centuries-long tradition of one genre both as an oral and as a written poetic form in many national literatures (e.g., Grünthal 1997). This example highlights issues of terminology and its categorisation as a type of poetry that has been commonly used as a lens for approaching forms of verbal art around the world. Amid the multitude of forms of poetry worldwide, it is always necessary to consider the best way to negotiate between emic and etic categories. Emic categories may enable quite nuanced perspectives on local varieties of versification, whereas etic categories offer frames of reference, not only for comparison in research, but also for discussions about emic categories in a way that outsiders can understand (on this controversy, see, e.g., Ben-Amos 1992; Honko 1998: 24–29). When considering these issues, it is equally important to remember the potential associations and implications of the labels used and the potential of those labels to be manipulated for strategic effects.

Diversity of Source Materials

Questions about versification in any tradition are affected by the available source materials. The metrical traditions and cognitive processes may look rather different, depending on the oral, literary, improvised, repetitive and creative emphases, styles or backgrounds of particular poems. Certain questions can be answered where poetry is a living practice that might be limited to speculation where poetry is only preserved in archives, published works and ancient texts (e.g., Honko 1998; Sykäri 2011). Some corpora may offer "big data" from a particular period that can be analysed in other ways, especially where these have been digitised (Harvilahti 2013; Kallio et al. 2020). Nonetheless, other corpora may not be rich enough for similar synchronic analyses but may offer diachronic perspectives on the evolution of a poetic form in relation to, for example, historical language change (Russom 2017). In the present book, the range of source materials flows from historical texts to fieldwork and archival collections and on to contemporary literary poetry, although historical traditions hold a predominant position.

The beginning of all poetry ultimately lies in the oral past, and the vast majority of its history remains out of reach. The oldest known poems are preserved in forms of writing, and it is impossible to unravel with certainty the relation between orality and literacy in such sources. Evidence from Ancient Greece is particularly interesting because of the rich variety of evidence, including references to what happened in the background of such texts. For example, the earliest Greek philosophers formulated their works in verse, perhaps as a memory technology, while the Homeric epics that have come down to us appear to have been filtered through standardisation projects that ultimately gave rise to authoritative written texts (Herren 2017: ch. 2; Ready

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2019). Old English alliterative poetry emerges from a vibrant environment of interaction between the inherited form of Germanic alliterative verse and scribal culture, which could also vary poems in a manuscript transmission through so-called *scribal performance* (Doane 1994; Amodio 2004). A text such as that of *Beowulf* appears to be a product of precisely this multimodal discourse, manifesting a long epic as a continuous and coherent text without evidence of the interruptions inevitable for an oral performance, which would not only require periodic breaks but even span across days. John Miles Foley (1990) addresses these not as oral but as *oral-derived texts*, from which we can infer that an oral tradition has provided the resources behind them, but the texts almost certainly do not represent oral performance in the manner of an ethnographic field recording.

Sometimes, early texts themselves can offer glimpses of the ideology of the text in the background. Old English poetry was written and texts were copied in the same environments as those of Latin poetry, yet Latin poetry was laid out on a page in verses, whereas Old English verse was written continuously in the manner of Latin prose (O'Keeffe 1990: ch. 2). The alternative ways of writing texts reflect differences in the categories of language with which Latin and vernacular verse were identified, and "verses" as units of utterance were not conceived of as the same for both. In Old Norse (i.e., from which Scandinavian languages derive), vernacular poetry was similarly written as prose, yet it is clear that the verses were written with the aim of preserving their orally delivered metrical rhythm. Historical changes in language had caused the loss of prefixes to certain verb forms, which was accommodated in the metre by filling these positions with a meaningless syllable. These metrical fillers were also transcribed rather than reducing verses to meaning-bearing words, indicating a closer connection with oral delivery than might be expected for written text. (Frog 2022.) Whereas the prominence of literacy in most cultures today naturalises us to writing words according to conventional semantic units, an early Old High German text known as the Second Merseberg Charm reveals a form of *metrical transcription*, with breaks based on metrical rather than lexical units, although also breaking these units as needed at the edge of the manuscript page (Frog forthcoming). It is possible to gain insights into the ways that people understood verse in some of these early texts, but the indications are often subtle and require excavation.

Patterns across cultures become visible through a broad comparative analysis, such as the spread of rhyme through European poetics (Gasparov 1996). The process is challenging to explain in detail, but it seems to arise from poetries becoming known by speakers across different languages, which is also implicit in the spread of whole genres, such as the medieval ballad (Vargyas 1983). When a phenomenon, such as rhyme, appears in literary sources, it may already have been an established category in some oral genre(s) that were not written down. Literate poets may be using features that they know from oral culture, and oral and literary culture may thrive side by side in a relation of mutual exchange. Some features of literary poetry may equally be similar to oral poetry, and sometimes the difference between oral and literary traditions blurs. Broadside ballads were printed on leaflets

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and performed to certain melodies, and sometimes their authors were known by name; at the same time, variations of popular broadside ballads spread orally and became considered folksongs (Asplund 1994; Grünthal 1997). Depending on the culture, poets rely more or less on already existing models, schemes, formulae, verse forms and genres, from which they draw as malleable resources that might be used in conventional or innovative ways (see also Karhu, this volume).

More recently recorded traditions may also only be accessible through archival materials, but some of these were documented with great enthusiasm and detail in the wake of Romanticism, when traditional poetry could serve in the construction of national and ethnic identities. This was the case with kalevalaic poetry in Finland, generating a corpus of around 150,000 texts, of which more than 87,000 are now in a searchable database (Wilson 1976; Anttonen 2005; Tarkka et al. 2018; *SKVR*). Especially when this sort of corpus can be situated in relation to metadiscourse on performance and ethnographic data, it offers a valuable laboratory for testing diverse hypotheses linked to the evolution and variation of versification, as well as theories about how language works across poetries in traditions of this type (e.g., Timonen 2000; Tarkka 2013; see also Kallio 2015; Frog 2016b). Every corpus of archival materials has its own historical background, which has defined what it does or does not contain. It may also be possible to construct specific corpora, for example, of large samples of poetry from different periods, in order to analyse patterns in diachronic change (Bybee & Torres Cacoullos 2009). The content of the corpus determines the sort of questions with which it can be interrogated.

Where a form of poetry is found in living practice, it can be investigated with specific aims, asking questions directly of performers and testing them with specific challenges to produce distinct empirical data. The potential of what can be done with such data is tremendous, but it brings different things into focus, while often being much more restricted in quantity. This data also tends to be far more limited in social or geographical scope than the large-scale collection campaigns that developed large corpora. Perspectives from different types of data are often complementary and can produce valuable insights through analogical comparison. For example, Milman Parry and Albert B. Lord did research with South Slavic epic singers in order to better understand Homeric epic through analogical comparison in what became the foundation of Oral-Formulaic Theory (OFT) (esp. Lord 1960). Their work has provided a fundamental framework for examining the dynamics of how oral traditions of verbal art "work" and vary in practice, although that framework and associated approaches have also developed considerably over time (Frog & Lamb 2022). By bringing together the knowledge gained from a variety of traditions, approached through different types of materials, our understanding of versification as a phenomenon in society can be significantly deepened.

An important observation to be made about the variety of corpora is how sources change in relation to technologies for documenting poetry, as well as how changes in technologies reciprocally affect ways of thinking about corpora and the questions that can be asked of them. Technologies are

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what enabled the documentation and preservation of ancient and medieval written texts, technologies not just for writing but also for producing practical and enduring mobile documents of considerable length. For instance, the earliest examples of Germanic verse are in runic inscriptions, which are often so short that it is not clear whether alliteration is merely a stylistic feature or an indicator of metre (e.g., Schulte 2007). Only with technologies of vellum manuscript production does Old Germanic poetry of any length begin to be written. These technologies were carried with the infrastructures of the Church during the spread of Christianity, a process of spread that impacted on what was written down and preserved, for example, in the lively interaction between oral and written culture that produced corpora of Old English poetry (Amodio 2004). Paper production made movable texts more economical and lighter, which not only facilitated manuscript copying but was also a precondition for, among many other things, the wide-ranging collection of oral poetry in the nineteenth century (Timonen 2000).

Printing had a transformative impact on text reproduction, which had formerly been done by hand, giving rise to the sort of rich interaction between oral and written culture found in connection with ballads (Harris 1991; Ramsten et al. 2015). These technologies were combined with mobility and globalisation as preconditions for the rich research and documentation of poetries that were carried out by Romanticism. Technologies are sometimes given credit as significant for the breakthrough of the Lutheran Reformation, enabling the quick spread and popularity of Lutheran hymns (Brown 2005). At the same time, these technologies supported an ideology of poetry as verbal "text," and the corpora produced were made of such "texts" (Foley 2000; Tarkka et al. 2018). There was an awareness of other aspects of performance, and melodies were documented during the nineteenth century, even by collectors for whom they were not necessarily of primary interest (Fig. 1; Kallio 2013: 52–54). Nevertheless, the cultural documentation at that time was strongly text-oriented, not only owing to the practicalities of documentation, but also because language was at the centre of heritage-construction projects. In addition, the circulation of both oral-derived and literary verse in print culture was organised for private consumption, mainly through silent reading, leaving how it should sound to the reader's imagination.

The possibility of making audio recordings with a phonograph changed not only practical but also theoretical views. The first important audio recorder of Finnic oral poetry, Armas Launis, explained that the purpose of the recordings was to document and preserve performance practices for posterity, as well as to increase the scientific precision of transcriptions. The records of the philological committee of the Finnish Literature Society add, probably following Launis, that the recordings would also enable "a fully reliable view on the ways that words and melody are related, which may also bear some philological significance" (Suomi 1906: 19; Kallio 2013: 69–70). Collectors' and researchers' ideology nevertheless remained inclined to reduce versification to verbal "text," partly because that was what predominant documentation technologies did to it. During the second half of the twentieth century, technologies for audio recording became increasingly

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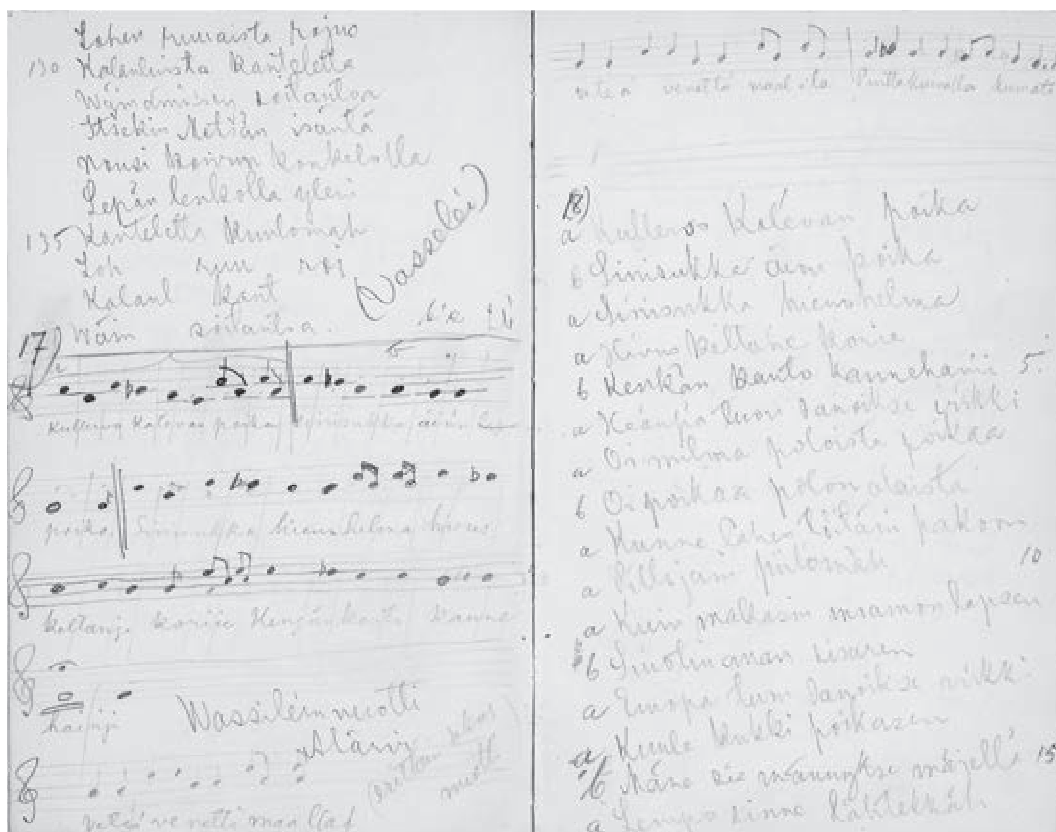

Figure 1. I. K. Inha's musical notation of the melody used by "Vasselei" in the performance of a kalevalaic epic recorded in 1895 in Alajärvi, Uhtua, Viena Karelia (i.e., the northern region of Russian Karelia, across the border from Finland). (SKS KRA, Inha 16–17.)

portable, affordable and available, soon followed by video. These changes in technologies transformed the corpora that were created in documentation, and they were fundamental in reconceptualising traditions of versification through embodied performance (Katajamäki & Lukin 2013: 10). Literary poetry followed a corresponding trajectory of evolution but is so deeply rooted in conceptions of poetry as text rather than, for example, song, that its evolution in relation to changing media, such as so-called *cinépoetry* or *video poetry* of art installations and on YouTube, has gained comparatively little attention. Forms of art, such as rap, that combine oral and literary traditions are popular today and warrant more theoretical interest than they have generally received (see, e.g., Sykäri 2019). The sorts of materials that are brought into focus relate to the technologies that record and mediate versification, as well as reciprocally structure the thinking of researchers and of people in society about what versification is and what to focus on in its study.

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Versification and Language

Poetry today is widely viewed as usage of language that somehow transcends ordinary speech, moving beyond commonplace combinatory constructions of lexicon and grammar to create something aesthetic and distinct (see, e.g., Perloff & Dworkin 2009). Such ideas are especially connected with modern literary poetry, whereas oral traditions of verbal art can operate quite differently.

The literary poetry of Western cultures today basically allows poets to draw on a full spectrum of language repertoires and combine these with any poetic forms and devices available, with potentially quite sophisticated inner structuring of the individual poem (e.g., Hasan 1989). Of course, oral poetry may also draw on different language repertoires and exhibit sophisticated inner structuring, but there are also significant differences. First, oral "poetry" is not a single broad category; instead, many poetic systems are often linked to different genres and practices, and the categories are much more specific. Second, the genres and the practices circulate socially as part of oral culture, often without the support of, or with minimal support of, writing. There may be a dynamic interaction between orality and literacy, but the crucial aspect is that the process of circulation depends on people reproducing "the same" poetry. This occurs by type as in the case of lyrics or laments, may be conceived of as reproducing the same information or telling the same story as in long epics, or may more regularly reproduce the same "texts," however conceived, as in some shorter narrative poetries, verbal charms, ritual dialogues, and so forth (Frog 2019b). Rather than generating poetry through a more or less free selection of language and forms, oral poetry is transmitted and internalised as language practice or behaviour and as comprising language varieties, now commonly called *registers* (Halliday 1978; Foley 1995; Agha 2001, 2007). These registers are as natural for the particular type of situation or communication as conversational language would be for others (Foley 1996). Such verbal art is often analysed by isolating text from situations or performance and then separating language from poetic structuring features, such as metre. However, these are all unified in social transmission, where poetic form is mediated through instantiations in language in a way that is comparable to how people learn grammar (Frog 2015). As a consequence, a distinctive register of language normally evolves for a tradition of verbal art in relation to conventions of a poetic form and its patterns of use.

From a historical perspective, the register or idiom of language can be considered to develop in a symbiotic relationship with the poetic form, on one hand (Foley 1996), and in relation to the expressive needs for how it is conventionally used, on the other (Parry 1928). OFT was founded on the idea that traditions of metred oral poetry developed formulaic phraseology that was pre-fitted to the metre as a prerequisite for composing verses at the rate of performance (Lord 1960). The recurrent structure formed regular *metrical capsules* into which expressions should fit (Foley 1996: 14–19), limiting the potential for variation and, instead, shaping phraseology into predictable structures. This situation creates a sort of feedback loop, both inclining phrases to take particular forms rather than others and inclining performers

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to reuse and internalise predictable phraseology as a practical resource in performance. Similar metrical capsules can be found in traditional literary poetic forms, such as sonnets. Ultimately, they can lead to monotonous and anticipated expression (Lotman R. 2019a).

The metres in OFT's focus counted syllables and their quantities, and the identified formulae were phrases that had evolved to fit slots in a verse with a particular syllabic or moraic structure (see also Foley 1990: ch. 3–5). In poetries organised on different metrical principles, formulae also evolve differently, alongside syntax. For example, Old English alliterative verse has an accentual metre, which allows variation in the number of syllables, with the requirement of alliteration. The metrical capsules of this poetry were defined differently (Foley 1990: ch. 6), and the requirement of alliteration led the register to develop sets of equivalence vocabulary for the main things that poets talked about, so that poets could "say the same thing" with words that met different patterns of alliteration (Roper 2012). The requirement of alliteration that linked metrical capsules also led paired words and more complex systems of vocabulary to form that could fill this requirement of the metre even when alliterating words belonged to separate clauses. These pairs and systems could be used purely to fill formal needs rather than to express a particular unit of meaning as a formula. (See Frog, this volume.) Such variation in formulaic language was very different from that in the syllabically organised metres on which OFT was founded, although it was still shaped by metrical capsules. In contrast, Karelian lament is organised by alliteration without a periodic metre; thus, the alliterative equivalence vocabulary is not constrained to metrical units. Instead, formulae in this poetry are built from alliterating vocabulary and could expand and contract according to the needs of the performer (Stepanova E. 2015). Rather than patterns of sounds or syllables, some poetry is organised through patterning of words and meanings through parallelism. Verse parallelism can itself be viewed as a phenomenon of syntax that links units of language across phrases (Du Bois 2014). Verbal art organised by parallelism develops special types of formulaic language, such as word pairs that together "say the same thing" when distributed across parallel verses (see further Fox 2016). The types of formal conventions on which a form of poetry is built condition the evolution of the register.

An oral-poetic register may develop and maintain a variety of resources for meeting constraints and conventions of form. Quite basic features are uses of syncope and apocope, contracting words to meet syllabic rhythms (Foley 1996: 30–33). Vocabulary that has dropped out of other forms of speech is also commonly maintained as a resource in a poetic register. Such vocabulary is often described in terms of "archaisms" but it may be considered "normal" from the perspective of the particular register (Foley 1996: 33–37). Alternative inflectional forms may be similarly maintained from different periods of language development (Coleman 1999: 37–38, 44), or the poetic register may even preserve inflections of words that have dropped out of other types of language use (Nikolaev 2011). Language change may also result in certain types of syllables being used in special ways, such as filling two positions rather than one where a word has historically become

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shorter. However, current users will view such usage as practice, extending it by analogy to similarly structured words, irrespective of their etymology (Helgi Skúli Kjartansson 2009: 250–252; Sarv 2015: 10; Oras & Sarv, this volume). Parallel dialectal forms of words may also be found, and variations between parallel dialectal forms may equally generate similar word forms by analogy (Foley 1996: 27–30). Alternative words from different dialects and even different languages may become integrated as equivalence vocabulary (Frog with Tarkka 2017: 219). The semantics of words that are commonly used in other registers may be subordinated to poetic needs, "bending" or "flexing" their semantics (Roper 2012). New words may be generated in conventional ways to create alliteration or rhyme (Frog with Tarkka 2017: 219) or to produce equivalent terms for parallelism (Metcalf 1989: 40–44). New words may also be generated on an onomatopoetic basis (Tarkka 2013: 154–156; on similar strategies in literary poetry, see, e.g., Perloff N. 2009; Grünthal 2012). Developments at the level of the basic lexicon may extend into more complex systems for equivalence vocabulary, such as the Old Norse system for generating the circumlocutions called *kennings* (Meissner 1921; Clunies Ross et al. 2012) or those of Karelian laments (Stepanova A. 2012; see also Stepanova E. 2015). Whether only a few or many of these types of devices operate in a register, they may become distinctive of it as varying from types of language use in other contexts.

OFT was initially developed with the idea that formulaic density could be a sort of litmus test for origins in orality of poems that have only been preserved as written text-transcripts, such as the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (see further Foley 1988). However, formulaic language is not exclusive to oral poetry. Some types of poetry with a written tradition can be extremely formulaic as a function of the style that has evolved from oral-formulaic discourse (e.g., Blackburn 1988). Literary poetry traditions can also develop language that works in the same way, where the conventional phraseology is used in connection with the meanings that it can carry or even as a strategy to avoid unwitting metrical blunders (Hansson 2011; Nollet 2022). On the other hand, formulaic language may become bound up with the metre that is carried with it, both structuring the verses where it is used (Yelena Sesselja Helgadóttir, this volume) and constraining how phraseology varies in the lines (Frog, this volume). In any case, where a form of versification develops a distinct register shared by its users, the evolution of language and form becomes symbiotic, separable in analysis but unified in practice.

From Language to Performance

An interesting aspect of verse is that it is never simply "text." The quality of verse resides in its articulation, which is perceivable, and perceivable as verse. Put simply, people articulate verse differently from other language use precisely so that it is perceived as "verse" or as a particular sort of verbal art. Its quality as verse may be marked in oral delivery; it may be linguistically encoded in written text, as when metre is recognised through the language rather than the layout, as with Old English verse in medieval

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manuscripts; or it may be visually marked through its appearance on a page, from a commonplace editorial line-breaks to free-verse poems that have been characterised as objects of visual art (Steele 1990: 219). Of course, it is possible to articulate verse as natural speech, as actors in a Shakespearean play may do with his iambic pentameter. In such a case, the metre may operate as a mnemonic or as a subtle texture, but what is said does not come across saliently as verse. Oral poetry is by definition physically articulated in what Reuven Tsur (1992: ch. 2) describes as *vocal performance*, yet a poem's verbal text may vary on each occasion. In contrast, literary poetry is customarily static as text, yet its articulations may vary considerably by reader or be inextricably bound with the visual representation on paper or on a screen.

Examining literary poetry from a cognitive perspective, Tsur (1992: ch. 2) distinguishes *vocal performance* from *mental performance* as something that occurs in the mind of a reader of poetry. The key difference in mental performance is that it does not necessarily require resolving all possible alternatives, whereas the physicality of vocal performance reduces all possible alternatives to a single articulation. Literary poetry is widely conceived of as rooted in music and the musicality of language. For example, the modernist poet Amy Lowell (2004: 70) states that "[p]oetry is as much an art to be heard as is music, if we could only get people to understand the fact." Poets sometimes refer to poetic elements such as rhythm, repetitive structures and sound elements (e.g., alliteration and rhyme) as "word music," and they may allude to the musical dimensions of compositions by including words such as "song," "ballad" or "lament" in the title (see, e.g., Steele 1990: 209–223; Perloff N. 2009). So-called *sound poetry*, born in the era of early twentieth-century modernism, can be regarded as carrying this emphasis to an extreme by building its meanings and aesthetics on imitating sounds, for instance, of a machine, or even advancing to detachment from all denotation (McCaffery 2009). The general discourse surrounding the musicality of poetry and poetry as an art of manipulating sound shapes modern readers' thinking about poetry in a way that reflexively becomes an implicit guide for poems' performance in reading, whether silently or aloud. Especially after the modernist movements, the visual representation of a poem has often been central in understanding the text (see, e.g., Lotman et al. 2008). The role of visual representation in interpretation is carried to an extreme in *visual poetry*, which can be defined as poetry that "presupposes a viewer as well as a reader" (Bohn 2001: 15) so that even mental performance cannot be divorced from the representation of the text as something that must be seen. Nonetheless, whether performance is mental, vocal or visual, verse is linked to articulation.

As Karl Reichl (2012: 9) puts it, "[o]ral poetry is as a rule sung poetry," although it may not always seem like "singing" to a Western ear. Researchers documenting forms of oral poetry have long observed and discussed differences between texts that were produced in a traditional mode of performance and their counterparts produced in dictation (for a survey, see Ready 2015). At the level of verse structure, this can have different effects. For example, it is common for what Foley (2000: 83) describes as "strictly performance-based features" to disappear. Foley (2000) looks at sounds

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inserted between words where these begin and end with vowels, but it is also common for vocables and expletives to disappear in dictation (e.g., Klimenko 2022). Vocables are vocal sounds that participate in melody and rhythm or metre but are not perceived as words. Expletives are words or sometimes phrases that fill positions in rhythm or metre but do not carry any meaning in the context, instead filling functions related to metre or duration. Singers of kalevalaic epic did not normally use vocables, but they could drop the word *on* ("is") into a verse to fill a position if needed, although they also frequently used it in the place of the vowel of the preceding word as a textural variation, that is, with apocope: *košešša* > *Košešš' on* ("in a course of rapids (is)") (e.g., SKVR I_2 781; 767). Although performance-based features may be inconsequential for the propositional meanings communicated through the text, they can be fundamental to understanding its metrics, aesthetics and potentially even its rhetorical devices.

The relation between metrical form and performance may also be manifested in different ways. In some traditions, the metrical structure of lines may only become observable in full performance because, in dictation, people present only the words with propositional meanings, eliminating expletives and vocables (Niemi, this volume). Metrical form might also appear more regular in dictation or might equally become more flexible or break down entirely, shifting into a summary of content (Ready 2015: 13–24). Alternatively, the metrical form of verses may seem to disappear in performance, becoming a substructure adapted and subordinated to musical structures (Kallio, this volume). These types of variations reveal the importance of understanding what source materials represent when only transcripts are available, and provides a point of departure for exploring how a particular tradition of verbal art works from the perspective of its users.

Research on versification easily overlooks the potential for non-linguistic aspects of performance to structure language. The focus tends to fall on metre, sound patterning and parallelism. It is important to recognise that some traditional forms of sung verbal art place melody and language in a dynamic, emergent relation, as in the above-mentioned cases of Russian *bylina* epics and Finnic laments (Vesterholt 1973; Silvonen 2022). Today, it is not uncommon for verse to be composed for some particular music, which is fixed. The music may also be designed to produce *sound-gestures*, combining linguistic and musical expressions in order to enhance the desired semantic allusions (see, e.g., Middleton 1990: 230–231), not to mention the translation of popular songs across languages. In these cases, music presents a dominant structuring principle for organising language into verses, although the text lacks metre or the corresponding poetic structuring principles. However, many features of performance practice involve the body, movement and the space where the performance occurs. Rhythms of dance or movement, music and language are often all organically coordinated in performance (Frog 2017).

Just as it is possible to observe differences in the hierarchy of relations between language and music, both may be involved in hierarchies linked to the physicality of performance or a virtual multimodal production, in which the different levels of composition may ultimately be subordinated

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to the rhythms structuring the whole. In visual poetry, alongside the form and arrangement of words or letters on a page, choices of words or phrasing might be affected by the visual length of a line, the number of letters or how written letters of different words align. Video poetry is able to combine the features of both visual poetry and performance into even more complex arrangements. From the latter half of the twentieth century onwards, the production of all mediated popular culture has been strongly based on designs involving multimodality for creating meanings, affects and desires. This form of production expands the role and function of textual forms of versification, sound and movement. The voice of the artist-performer does not only "recite" poetic forms with musical accompaniment; the modern technical possibilities of sound production are designed to create feelings of presence and intimate and affective communication that may be united with a visual dimension of the performance (see Frith 1998: 183–202). Versification thus extends into what Eva Lilja (2009) describes as *aesthetic rhythm*, that is, a work of art's play with proportions in time and space, whatever its medium (see also Hopsch & Lilja 2017). From an emic perspective, verse is verse because it is heard or seen as such, which is always linked to how it is articulated, whether mentally, vocally or visually. The relations between language on the one hand and melody, rhythm and/or visible arrangement with which it may be articulated on the other are many and diverse, but they are relevant for consideration even where only text-artefacts of verbal art in ancient languages are available, whether the aim is to read for enjoyment or for critical analysis.

Approaching Semiosis

The theme of versification is associated in various ways with articulations of *language as culture*, and it seems to be an especially thought-provoking example in considerations about *representation*, *symbolic systems*, *meaning-production* and *cultural orders* in general. The accounts and analyses of cultural orders presented in this collection represent a wide range of methodological and theoretical stances. Nevertheless, whether in cultural performance or in textual artefacts, the overall theme of versification touches on the methodological background of the *semiotic* explanation. If nothing else, its articulation involves the interrelationship of *cultural performance* and *cultural text*. Cultural performance – for example, a song performance in oral culture – results in an ephemeral entextualisation of an orally transmitted cultural discourse. This entextualisation can produce various other discourses (and also entextualisations or textualisations), depending on the ways that it is remembered, discussed, used, saved, documented or reworked by the members of the culture or by outsiders (see Silverstein & Urban 1996: 1–3).

The history of the relations and tensions between the concepts of language and culture in scientific thought during the twentieth century illuminates the core of this discussion. The Saussurean heritage for understanding language as a system for producing *semiosis*, with its conceptual distinctions at the level

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of the arbitrary and evolving interrelations of the symbol and its meaning, paved the way for the scientific belief in a stable and invariant constitution of the elements of culture. In a way, one result of this heritage was the structuralist postulate of understanding human culture as comprising a set of underlying, invariant interpretations and adaptations of its environment. This trajectory of research evolved especially in linguistics. Already in the beginning of the twentieth century, however, Ferdinand de Saussure (1983: 16) pointed out that the then-fresh concept of semiotics ("semiology") must be understood as an intellectual enterprise for working with *all* sign systems, thus being something larger than merely an interest in linguistic semiosis.

It is hardly surprising that semiotics evolved mainly in linguistics and in combination with it. Even some of the most influential musicological methods of structural or generative analysis (Rahn 1983 Ruwet 1987; Nattiez 1990; Lerdahl & Jackendoff 1996) were designed largely around such an identification and conceptualisation of elements and their orders in a system that was reminiscent of analytical procedures in structural linguistics. The semiotic-structuralist stances in linguistics in the 1960s – as well as language as a paramount example of a system and a cultural order – paved the way for the massive popularity of the structuralist explanation in most of the human sciences over the following decades. This can be observed in Noam Chomsky's (1966) studies of linguistic structure, Roman Jakobson's (1960) studies of versification, Claude Lévi-Strauss' (1979) anthropology, Algirdas Greimas' (1980) linguistic-narratological semiotics, Eero Tarasti's (1979) musicological studies and Yuri Lotman's (2005) over-arching concept of the semiosphere as a semiotic universe constituting the totality of individual texts and languages as they relate to one another.

Despite the popularity of these semiotic and structuralist, linguistically based branches of science, the linguists were the ones who could claim to have the most rigorous methods for universal application – for working with any language in the world. This situation was never the same for the structural anthropologists or musicologists: even their most refined analytical methods did not seem to yield a definitive revelation of the cultural phenomenon under study (cf. Monelle 1992: 21–22). The so-called "grammars" or "syntaxes" of myth or music never seemed exhaustive or universally applicable. In the vast diversity of cultural variations, language seems to be a true universal and "easily" accessible with a chosen method of analysis in linguistics. This might be a slight exaggeration, but it can nevertheless be illuminating if language is considered from a biolinguistic and species-specific perspective (see, e.g., Deacon 1997).

The study of versification, as it is obviously associated with both language and cultural conventions, can be seen as one of the most important crossroads for multidisciplinary discussion, also when arguing about the alleged "linguisticality" of culture. One of the most enticing contact surfaces is between language and cultural performance, especially in those empirical cases where we can examine linguistic text-artefacts together with recorded audio or video data of the performance situation and with ethnographic accounts of the cultural context of the performance. This may not be the easiest possible setting for research, but it enables researchers to analyse the

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culture as it appears in the fleeting moment of performance, giving a transient living form to the language expressed. Cultural codes associated with the specific modes or registers of performance are ideally observed and analysed during the moment of performance in its conventional arena and with the customary performer–audience interaction, some elements of which can be readily observed in video recordings (see, e.g., Foley 1995; Honko 1998; Frog 2017). The study of versification on the basis of only verbal textual sources presents somewhat different choices for the relevant analytical methods, but it remains possible to gain perspectives on such traditions, even if these leave considerable gaps in knowledge about many dimensions of performance. In these cases, it is sometimes the critical mass of the analysed material that offers a possibility for a fruitful interpretation. For example, the analysis of thousands of lines of verse is usually needed to understand the occurrences, distribution and positions of linguistic phenomena in verse-form data (e.g., Kristján Árnason 1991; Fulk 1992; see also Foley 1990). However, one of the wonders of *language* is its apparent ability to leave diverse traces of the original performance's tendencies of versification – even after multiphased processes of recording, transcription and intersemiotic translation, until the original performance is fixed in the typography of a literal source.

How did the evolving semiotic-structuralist legacy elaborate on the concept of structure in twentieth-century European linguistics? Whereas de Saussure (1983 [1916]) was more concerned with language in a specific diachronic frame, Roman Jakobson (1956) further developed many of his concepts and aimed at broad, universal and synchronic generalisations about human language. One of these generalisations concerns those structures of language that could be understood to have analogies in other culturally organised structures (whether text-artefacts or human actions).[1] The structuralist explanation involves discerning a system-like character in the examined object. It is not necessary here to discuss the implications of general system theories of communication, but the core of structuralist and semiotic thinking seems to contain at least the idea of a totality reminiscent of a system, with discernible elements in it, and, most of all, discernible interrelations among the elements.

One of the central concepts originating from de Saussure's teachings and further developed especially by Jakobson aims at understanding the interrelated nature of the constituent elements of a cultural performance under examination, whether a linguistic utterance emerges in prose or in verse or in other forms of acoustic (e.g., musical), visual or kinetic performance. According to Jakobson (1960: 358), the fundamental structural-semiotic tensions in any system can be better understood through the conceptual pair of *syntagm* and *paradigm*. Syntagm can be understood as an equivalent of grammar, style or any culturally organised form of order, while paradigm represents the selection of culturally relevant elements, which are regarded as suitable for the syntagmatic ordering. Conceptualised in this way, it seems obvious that such elements always appear as structural elements that are

1 On Lévi-Strauss' (1979) definition of structure, see also Niemi, this volume.

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fundamentally interrelated in an examined whole – especially if we are examining the functioning of poetry.

For the present discussion on versification, it is relevant to keep in mind that this structuralist conceptualisation continues to have its effect in various fields of human and cultural studies. Jakobson himself has suggested that the interrelated nature of syntagmatic-paradigmatic elements of culture is also a tool of interpretation for semiotic endeavours, by presenting the conceptual interrelations of *metaphor* and *metonymy* in semiotic processes of various forms of cultural expression (Jakobson & Halle 1956: 76–82). In turn, metaphor and metonymy can be seen as conceptualisations, with which it is possible to relate the syntagmatic-paradigmatic mechanisms of selection (associated with the identity of what is selected) and order (see Fiske 1990).

Against this background of methodological orientations in the analysis of a cultural performance, it must be acknowledged that deconstructionist – or any poststructuralist orientations – bring the structuralist postulates into question as points of departure in understanding the complexities, multivocalities or fluidities of cultural processes. For the present purposes, it is perhaps enough to encourage continuation of this discussion by asking whether an inclusive view of methodological strategies could work better than an exclusive one. When versification is quite easily associated with perspectives of semiotic and structural approaches for examining the textual properties of cultural performance, it warrants remembering that textual approaches to cultural and linguistic phenomena operate in terms of the structural properties of the examined text, whereas discursive approaches operate at the levels of reading, reception and meaning-making (cf. Fornäs 1998: 186–187). Then again, as Michael Silverstein and Greg Urban (1996) reminded us, the divide between text and discourse is an intellectual construction, which does not directly correspond to any phenomenon in social reality. Silverstein and Urban aimed to clarify the complexities of expressive strategies in cultural performances by elaborating on the textual and discursive processes in culture, for example in terms of *entextualisation* as a (natural) emic strategy for establishing meanings and preferred ways of reading culture or cultural performance. Furthermore, they called the material a "product" – the concrete traces of these complex processes in the form of a *text-artefact* – to emphasise the immateriality of the mere notion of text in their conceptualisation.

The question about the textual existence of a cultural expression remains problematic in many ways. It became all the more so as the linguistic turn in Western academic thinking began to wane towards the 1980s in the wake of the discursive turn. Especially in anthropology, the latter turn was viewed more as a time for establishing new kinds of reflexivities and sensitivities regarding the relations of the representatives of academic institutions with the people who would be the subjects of their studies. The ways that researchers would become representatives of the cultures that they study came into question. In addition, the roles of researchers and their works came under scrutiny as representative with regard to those cultural forms that had no textual existence before it was carved or inscribed into the forms by the researchers. (See Clifford & Marcus 1986.) When produced in this way, the

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resulting cultural text may, after all, represent the researcher's understanding and interpretation rather than those of the culture and the people to which they are attributed (see also Anttonen 2013). Perhaps the modern technological revolution, providing easily accessible means of producing multimedia materials, along with the possibilities for disseminating them instantly around the globe, has provided some answers to the inequalities of the old world, although many of them still strongly survive.

Music and Meaning

Musical expression is very often associated with the phenomenon of versification, especially in oral cultures, but also in the modern Euro-Atlantic global media culture. Musical expression adds yet another intriguing level to the problem of meaning-making in a cultural performance, even when only the musical level of versified language is in focus. If we discuss music from the global and relativistic perspective (or that of the ethnomusicological approach, for that matter), then we should perhaps keep in mind that many of our European presumptions about music may not be universally applicable. One of the most basic definitions of music was expressed by the ethnomusicologist John Blacking (1973), who stated that only from a global perspective should music be considered merely as a culturally organised form of behaviour that is associated with making sounds. In many cultures outside the Euro-Atlantic cultural hegemony, especially those in predominantly oral societies, musical expression exists without many of the constraints typical of a Western cultural heritage. For example, there may be no explicit or formal education in music, no strict borders between performer and audience or no concept of a musical "work" or "piece." Some poststructuralist, psychoanalytically oriented researchers even regard rhythm as a sublime power that should be interpreted in relation to the reader's body (Aviram 1994). These are factors in the question of how "musical meaning" should be understood. We should keep in mind that cultural expression containing both versified language and music is – at its most elementary level – a song. Even this elementary form of cultural performance can offer us more to think about concerning the production of cultural organisation, structures, interconnections and meanings than when verse is approached only as a linguistic text. At a minimum, it becomes necessary to consider the multilayered and interconnected construction of three culturally ordered fundamentals: *language*, which is embedded in a *verse form* and is further embedded in culturally organised *sound* (song, music), all in the flow of performance.

In understanding performance situations, where linguistic and musical structures are simultaneously at work, the problem of meaning becomes quite challenging. Discussing the possibilities for a linguistic understanding of music, the musicologist Richard Middleton (1990: 173) reminds us that, in contrast to the performance of a linguistic code, a musical code can contain other co-occurring parameters that also participate in creating communicative and semiotic structures, such as movement, gesture, rhetoric

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or affect. Thus, in a way, musical expression can contain the whole package of simultaneous codes for meaning-making, comparable to the paralinguistic properties of linguistic communication. Furthermore, musical expression as this kind of multiparametrical communication can include these codes in various ways: they can be mutually reinforcing, out of phase with one another or contrasting.

Middleton (1990: 177) criticises the way that musical meaning is thought of as analogical to linguistic meaning simply by virtue of its temporality. Here, despite the surface-level similarity, language and music are not always comparable. Language tends to sequence itself into invariant segments and is inclined to do so in a more or less universal way. In music, we cannot always be certain about which segments should be regarded as similarly meaningful. Some musicological approaches have tried to solve the problem of musical semantics by identifying and examining some more straightforward semantic analogies in forms of musical expression, such as associating emotion with musical substance (e.g., Tagg 1979). However, the fundamental problem in the search for musical meaning remains; musical structure does not usually offer definitive clues for its segmentation. There are no clear boundaries between distinct or indistinct units in music as there are in language. Segmental hierarchies in language have no analogies in musical expression. Musical semantic segmentation can be more complex and associated with, for example, similarities, as well as distinctions. The semiotic systemic potential of language and music can thus be deceitfully similar and extremely different at the same time.

Middleton (1990: 215) states that this tension between intuited and actual similarity is due to the fundamental differences between linguistic and musical communication. To fulfil its denotative and informative function, language aims at a maximal distinction between its units, which is a precondition for words to maintain separate denotational meanings. In contrast, music aims at maximal sameness, producing associations and connotations as they become recognisable by having been heard before in contexts or patterns of use. As opposed to linguistic distinction, music works by repetition and redundancy, through which its units become recognisable, and these units develop *indexicality* rather than denotative meanings. In the same way that smoke can be described as "indexing" fire, the meaningfulness of musical units emerges by "pointing to" earlier uses with which they are associated to give them connotative significance (e.g., Sebeok 1994: 62–79).

The anthropologist Tim Ingold (2000: 22–23) addresses the fundamental difference between linguistic and musical communication as music being created through the performance itself, thereby constructing its own, emergent arena of meaning, within which the units of music and their arrangements become interpreted in relation to one another.[2] Ingold seems to reflect on conceptions of music that are often associated with European institutions of art, with their vocal and orchestral traditions, cultural histories and canonised symbolics. However, if we give this

2 For a parallel view of text-internal referentiality in modern literature, see also Hasan 1989: ch. 4.

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thought a more ethnomusicological and relative flavour, the perspective changes. For example, we could shift our view from modern music's arts of composition to simpler and more straightforward relations of language and music, as in a tradition of oral epic performance like that of a South Slavic singer accompanying himself on his *gusli* (a stringed instrument) or the unaccompanied singing of a performer of Finno-Karelian kalevalaic poetry. Even in the latter case, the focus may narrow down to a targeted examination of *language* as voiced by the performer, embedded in the simultaneous flow of pitched and metrically patterned vocal musical sound – "music" as viewed from the researcher's etic perspective, even if not viewed as music from the performer's emic perspective. In traditions of verbal art, music develops its significance on the same basic principles of indexicality. However, rather than developing its referential patterns centrally within a particular work, meaningfulness is produced in relation to recognised practices and their conventions – including deviations from them – in what Foley (1995) discusses as *traditional referentiality* (cf. also, e.g., Agha 2007).

Indexicality of Form

The differences between the workings of meaning in language and music might appear fundamental and independent, if complementary, but this impression comes from the contrast between units of music with grammar and a lexicon. Indeed, purely linguistic approaches analyse metrical text without any reference to the possible interrelations between metrics and meaning because these are regarded as arbitrary, a view with roots in Russian formalism and structuralism. Similarly to music, however, metre or poetic form can "point" to things, for example, indexing conventional uses and contexts. For instance, in the plurality of Old Norse metres derived from Old Germanic alliterative verse, one known as *ljóðaháttr* ("song metre") is particularly associated with direct speech to the degree that when the metre is used, it carries a load of associations built up by its emblematic usage (Quinn 1992). Of course, poetic form often operates as only one feature among many that reinforce or specify what is indexed. For example, performance of a narrative in a particular form of verse with its associated register and structure will activate a local "epic" as a category of text type. Even if the story is unknown, people familiar with the particular genre will interpret the story as an epic, asserted as an epic or of epic quality, or they will interpret it in relation to an epic as a type of text, as in the case of a parody (Frog 2016a: 63). Music, melody or other modes of articulation (e.g., rapid mumbling as with some incantations) can carry the same indexical properties. In addition to becoming emblematic of certain types of verbal art, music could also include other types of information. For example, in Sámi yoik, the melody might point to the person being sung about, but the melody could also be transferred to point to another person.[3] Alternatively, a national anthem may

3 In some areal traditions, however, the melodies were not associated with people at all; see further Jouste 2006; cf. also Kallberg 2004: 39.

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be composed to the music of another nation's anthem, creating a connection between them. Literary scholars today emphasise that all metrical and sound units in poetry are important and should be understood as basic elements of representation and meaning-making (e.g., Viikari 1987; Carper & Attridge 2003). From the perspective of indexicality, verse form and music can be viewed as working in the same ways, with the potential for units of different scope, from a verse to a whole poem or song, to be simultaneously interpreted as meaningful.

Indexicality is built up through patterns of use that are perceived as associated with particular things. The more regular those associations are, the stronger or more pronounced the indexicality is in the particular environment. Such connections can extend beyond genres to social roles and situations associated with them. This is normally the case with the music of a national anthem, which is immediately recognisable to people of the country as specific to a particular, symbolic song. In contrast, Karelian lament was a form of verbal art not performed by men and thus indexed gender, and it was also linked to ritual roles in which laments were used, allowing it to index the role identity "lamenter" (Stepanova E. 2015). In the regional traditions of Finnic poetry in Kalevala-metre, the melodies were most often associated with particular contexts and purposes of use, such as wedding songs or songs in the forest, which were in turn connected with local understandings of genres (Särg 2009), while there were also types of general melodies used across genres (Huttu-Hiltunen 2008). Whereas Sámi yoik connected melody with the subject of the song, poetic form may itself identify a performer with a particular role such as "lamenter," which can be significant in constructing one's personal identity in society. The people identified with it and what they do with it then reciprocally affect evaluations of the poetic form and its significance, as well as the models of identity associated with it, from "lamenter" in a pre-modern society to "poet" or "rapper" in different social contexts today.

Just because these types of meanings are not propositional does not make them less significant. Instead, it allows the form and medium of expression to become a potential instrument in meaning-making that may be adapted to new contexts or used in innovative ways. The epic verse form by itself does not index something as epic, but verse forms become resources precisely because they are pregnant with indexical associations (see also Foley 1995; Agha 2001, 2007). For example, an epic singer improvising a few verses about having his or her photograph taken offers an indication of the significance or quality of experience that he or she confers on the event (Foley 2002: 213–215). Even without drawing on recognised forms of verse, using poetic principles to organise even a short utterance can set it apart from the preceding and following speech or writing. Of course, such devices can operate quite subtly (Du Bois 2014). However, when rhythm, parallelism or perhaps alliteration or rhyme becomes sufficiently salient to produce a breakthrough into verse, what is expressed becomes emphasised. In this case, indexicality may only be of verse in the broad sense. Alternatively, it may simply invoke a "presumption of semioticity" (Lotman Y. 1990: 128); the hearer will assume that the markedness is somehow meaningful and

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consider, if only briefly, potential associations, that is, the indexicality of the brief breakthrough into verse. A presumption of semioticity then opens to possibilities of interpretation ranging from simple emphasis to weighted meanings, an impression of having missed a literary reference or perhaps humour. Where associations of form are less regular, their indexicality becomes less regular or ambiguous without additional co-occurring indicators to guide the way.

People and Social Practices

From simple text-scripts, considerations of versification can be rapidly expanded to encompass increasing numbers of features, such as melody, gesture, genre, performance and so forth, but people are the most crucial to all of these. People versify, perceive versification and assess and interpret it. They may appreciate it, or perhaps not, but there are always people. People engage with forms of versification, take them up, use them and manipulate them. Poets thus become the centre of particular interest in considerations of versification.

Whatever their linguistic and cultural backgrounds, all poets represent certain poetic traditions, whether written or oral, and they are connected with historical, social and cultural contexts. Opinions vary regarding the extent to which an individual poet can be wholly independent from his or her cultural background and poetic tradition, but it is clear that at least the language used sets its own metrical, structural and semantic preconditions for each poet. In his or her own poetic work, a poet stands at the crossroads of personal creative input and the traditions in which sociocultural surroundings are engaged.

Conventions are always born and evolve in cultural and societal groups. Consequently, symbols, poetic forms and their connotations are shared by a certain community. Although these may be practically discussed like things that have objective existence, floating in the air, they are rooted in experience-based and discourse-based understandings of the people in that community (Foley 1995). Rather than objectively existing, they can be described as *intersubjective* – that is, people's subjective understandings include ideas and expectations of what other people will know and how they will understand things. Put in simplified terms, they may not know what other people think *per se*, but they can have at least a rough idea or have quite clear expectations, for instance, that something will be considered unmetrical or "bad" verse. It is important to recognise that cultures, as experience-based frameworks, have their own particular poetic traditions and that conventions of oral and written genres can have their local and cultural variants. The indexicality of verse can also vary by the historical situation, which may lead poets to avoid or mobilise a particular poetic form (e.g., Lotman R. 2019a, 2019b). For example, forms of verbal art may become linked to political aims or national identities, as certain genres such as ballads did during the era of National Romanticism (see also Tarkka et al. 2019; Karhu, this volume). Similarly, rap music began as a marginal genre that was widely regarded as rebellious

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or anti-societal but has now moved into mainstream popular culture, from which it is even taken up by school institutions with pedagogical aims. The sort of process in which new genres evolve from being rebellious to becoming overly institutionalised is a widespread pattern, as already described by the Russian formalists. Such genres also tend to be described in terms of social movements, yet social movements themselves are constituted of individuals and groups of individuals.

Poets drive the evolution of poetic forms and genres. Conventions in certain authors' and poets' poetic language can also be identified and analysed, often in relation to the poetic tradition to which they belong (Nollet, this volume). This type of approach is particularly common with regard to literary poets. In research on oral traditions, distinctive features of particular individuals' understanding of a tradition have historically tended to remain invisible, with a more or less exclusive focus on what can be identified as collective and normative (e.g., Harvilahti 1992: 95–96; cf. also Faulkes 2007). When particular individuals' understandings have been brought into focus in more recent decades, these are often described as "idiolects" (e.g., Foley 1990).[4] With literary poets, it is often possible to delve into much more subtle detail, for instance, in terms of rhythmic and semantic allusions to other poets, the development of poetics over time and engagements with social trends (Laamanen, this volume). This is because oral texts are by their nature transient and variable, whereas written texts become static and invariant with an objective reality in print, and others also engage with that static form as a stable point of reference. Such research can enter into discourses on authorship and poets' identities, both as constructed through their poetry and in social worlds. These discourses in which poets are embedded and in which they engage form a tradition, along with other conventions that are in continuous development, reciprocally having an impact on the individual poets.

One important role of individual poets is adapting traditions that belong to other societies and making them their own. The history of poetries and poetics is filled with outcomes of such processes, such as the spread of the ballad through medieval Europe. However, the sorts of data revealing *that* such processes occurred do not allow us to explore *how* these occurred and *what happened* in the process. Thicker data on more recent individual poets and the ability to observe trends in poetry in the environment of literature (Karhu, this volume) and in ethnographic documentation (Wilce & Fenigsen 2015; Wilce 2017) allow insights into such processes. The process commonly involves a combination of motivation and the identification of features of the poetic form as emblematic. Together, these lead to the adaptation of that view of the poetic form into a poetic ecology of a different cultural environment, a process that occurs in connection with the ideas and ideologies of the person or people involved. In cases such as the medieval spread of the ballad or the more recent spread of freestyle rap, the form of versification evolving in this process is linked to creating connections

4 Cf. also studies that focus on particular performers but may lack a detailed analysis of collective tradition (e.g., Honko 1998).

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where there is a cultural identification of sameness and an inclination to ideological alignments. The spread of these poetries is notably connected with the dissemination of practices in which the verbal art is embedded, so they have a social dimension that customarily links adaptation to immersion and reciprocal participation. In contrast, literary adaptations of the ballad during the era of Romanticism followed a different trajectory that made processes of selection and adaptation less predictable.

In the Romantic era, ballads as constituting a type of text were broadly viewed as expressions of the "spirit" of a people and belonged to an idealised cultural milieu of the past, or they were regarded as an anachronism in the present, which belonged to an idealised past. Of course, there were places where the ballad remained a living practice, but, for many, the tradition was reconstructed as a heritage, emblematic of a time and a place in which things were different. The cultural gap between the milieu of a living or a historical ballad tradition and the parlours of erudite poets could be tremendous, but that difference is construed as bridged by a shared inheritance of culture. The construction of a heritage is characterised by lifting a "thing" of culture from its context, polishing away its complexities and making it an artefact of the past relevant to the present, transforming it from what it was (e.g., Hafstein 2018). In this process, the ideological gap is washed away as the things identified as heritage become pregnant with the projection of the viewer, a resource for reflecting on and creating modern identities, providing instruments for filling current needs and accomplishing current aims. Where poets were outsiders regarding ballad traditions, they took up the features that, to them, seemed emblematic of the text type, and used and manipulated those features for their own ends. This process occurred in the poets' own poetic ecology, in which different aspects of the poetry were viewed and potentially contested. Their uses could thus easily diverge from how the features they took up had been used in the oral tradition, while other features might be completely erased. The process is the same in both oral and literary milieux, although it is often more salient in literary texts. Adaptation in an oral milieu is embedded in social practice and is normally observed only as an outcome of socially negotiated assimilation, whereas literary adaptation is often viewed through individuals' creative acts. Modernity has also valorised pre-modern traditions as heritage. This has stimulated a new type of adaptation based on private reading divorced from social practice, in which the understanding of the poetic form might be superficial or the aim might only be to index a traditional genre or poetic form as a point of reference for the contemporary literary readership.

This sort of process has been widespread, has taken different forms and continues in the present day. It is behind the production of epics around which national and ethnic identities could be built, starting from *The Poems of Ossian* (1773), which James Macpherson attributed to a great, ancient poet, although it was largely his own creation. Elias Lönnrot's *Kalevala* (1835, 1849) is a national epic constructed for Finland almost verse by verse from collected oral poetry, though creating new storylines and interpretations (Hämäläinen et al. 2019). Lönnrot's active immersion in the poetry equipped him with a fluency that made his epic more metrically regular than the

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oral poetry (Kallio et al. 2017: 143), in contrast to Friedrich Reinhold Kreutzwald's more superficial adaptation of the poetic form for his Estonian national epic *Kalevipoeg* (Sarv 2008: ch. 2; cf. also Moyne 1963: ch. 5). In any such case, the creation of an epic of Homeric proportions is not possible without a poet to take up the role of Homer. This type of process was already undertaken more than two thousand years ago when Virgil composed his literary epic *Æneid* and can be observed today in Bùi Việt Hoa's creation of a Vietnamese national epic *Con cháo mon mân* ("The Descendant of Moon Man," 2008). Whereas modern epics tend to be advanced as singular works for a particular culture, practices of verbal art may equally become adapted socially into a new environment, as in the spread of improvisational rap (cf. Sykäri 2019). Such processes remain largely opaque for traditions in the remote past, such as the ballad, but it is possible to gain nuanced perspectives where the processes are ongoing today, such as in adaptations of Karelian laments in Finland, where there are currently competing views on poetics and which features are most significant (Wilce & Fenigsen 2015; Wilce 2017). When poets build bridges across milieux, they create continuities, yet their construction of those continuities also involves transformations, making "ours" those that belonged to different social, cultural, historical and ideological environments.

Transformations and continuities are easily observed in adaptations across cultural environments, but it is also necessary to recognise the role of individual poets, who may try to influence a broader tradition with strategic aims (Nollet 2022) or may have impacts on the traditions in which they participate through the interests and aims reflected in their works (Laamanen, this volume). These phenomena also occur in oral traditions, where they can simply be more challenging to pin down. Nevertheless, it is possible to observe individuals taking stances on oral traditions to which they belong, adapting them or trying to bring them into alignment with changes in ideologies and beliefs in their societies. Because of the transience of most oral forms of verbal art, such processes most often appear as stance-taking on one aspect or another of a tradition, questioning it, or an idiolectal deviation from a social convention (Stepanova E. 2012: 268, 270). In a predominantly oral environment, the impact of one person's innovations depends on the person's authority, networks of interaction and the innovations' resonance with the people in those immediate networks. In the social tradition, such innovations and variations can be widely observed, but only a fraction of them resonates strongly enough with other people to implement change in the social tradition (Frog 2010: §17.3). More often, variations and innovations are integrated into the hazy field of social variation as the ongoing discourse of negotiating alternatives within slowly changing structures. In that context, people may do unique things, but these have to move beyond the field of the individual to affect social practice. The social establishment of such innovations can be observed in the local forms of a tradition (Stepanova E. 2012: 269), yet corpora generally do not comprise materials that allow nuanced perspectives. To triangulate this process in empirical data, variation needs to be situated in relation to three frames of reference: (*a*) the innovative features in an individual's idiolect in relation to a local tradition,

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(*b*) distinctive local developments in relation to broader regional traditions and (*c*) the relationship between an idiolectal innovation at one time and changes in local social practices at a later time. The processes can be seen as the same across both oral and literary forms of verbal art, with two central differences. First, written texts take on an enduring objectified existence with the potential to affect others across distances and over time in ways that transient oral performances cannot. Second, the objectification of written texts allows empirical analyses of possible influences at a much more fine-grained level than performances in an oral tradition, with its greater fluidity at precisely such a level of detail. Nonetheless, variation and innovation are inevitably traced back to individual poets and their engagements with collective tradition, which they participate in shaping.

Reflections

The historical origins of versification are beyond reconstruction, but they appear to lie deep alongside the roots of language. Indeed, versification may be an organic product of the emergence of human language, perhaps an unavoidable manifestation of the imagination and creativity that gave rise to the complexity of a language's system of signification. Language mirrors the world and mediates both knowledge about it and interaction with it in ways that are only possible with the abstraction, imagination and creativity that enable the relations between arbitrary signs and the world (cf. Lakoff 1986; Johnson 1987; Lakoff & Turner 1989; Sebeok 1994). Versification orders these arbitrary signs and their relations, advancing language from mere signs to material in cultural products. The evaluation of versification as meaningful or aesthetic would appear to reflect the same type of creativity and imagination that has produced arbitrary linguistic signs that mirror things in the world and are so fundamental to thinking and communicating about them. Whatever its origins, versification is a thing of culture, learned and communicated through practice. In other words, it may always come down to individuals in societies, but the individuals participate in social practices through which versification is communicated, negotiated and continuously evolves.

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From Metre to Performance II

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Performance, Music and Metre in Kalevala-Metric Oral Poetry

The metre of poetry is an abstraction of linguistic phenomena, typically analysed independently of performance practices. However, as we move to the sphere of oral poetry, things get more complicated. Typically, we have no single, permanent text to be performed in different ways but narrative structures, poetic themes, verse formulae and principles of versification to be applied by the singers in relation to a poetic tradition, individual creativity and different performance contexts. Poems occur only as performances (and versatile mental structures). Nonetheless, there is a great variation in the strategies for producing oral poetry, even within local traditions (see e.g. Lord 1960; Harvilahti 1992; Foley 1995; Reichl 2000). Thus, there is also a great variation in the relations between poetic metre and music across the traditions. This variation may be evident even within one tradition area.

In the most common cases of Finnic singing traditions relating to Kalevala-metre, the musical performance tradition is strongly synchronised with the metrical form. The basic musical pattern corresponds to one, two or sometimes four textual lines, analysed across the whole Estonian–Karelian–Ingrian–Finnish corpus by Urve Lippus (1995). Each of the eight positions of the metrical line has a regular place in the melodic structure. The knowledge of performance traditions has played a significant historical role in achieving a contemporary understanding of Kalevala-metre, but once the metre's main characteristics are understood, this knowledge is not necessary for most scholarly analyses.

Besides understanding the historical development of the analysis of the metre, the knowledge of performance traditions is useful in several cases. Different modes of performance (such as speech, recitation, different melody types and performance traditions) may produce altered versions of poetic lines. A line may take very different surface forms according to the performer and the mode of performance, with omitted or added syllables, partial repetitions and refrains (Saarinen 1988: 198–199; Harvilahti 2003: 78; Lauerma 2004: 42–60). Lauerma (2001: 55) highlights the need to analyse sound recordings in order to better understand the unanswered questions posed by the manuscripts. Although metrics proper does not deal with the ways that the poems are performed, the performative structures may sometimes add to our understanding of poetic metres. In some cases,

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analyses of performances are indispensable for accurate descriptions of metres (Niemi 1998; Särg 2001, 2004; Laitinen 2003), while in others, the metrical structures of the texts are easily depicted from the texts only (see Leino 1986, 1994; Kiparsky 2006; Sarv 2008). In both cases, the performances may provide clues to the ways that the users have interpreted the textual structures of their poems.

In this article, I focus on the relationships of metre, music and performance in Finnic oral poetry, called Kalevala-metric poetry, runosong or *regilaul*, with examples from two different local singing traditions. Focusing on Archangel Karelian and Izhorian singing cultures, I build on and resume the earlier research on Estonian, Karelian, Ingrian (including Izhorian, Ingrian-Finnish and Votic) and Finnish oral traditions. My approach is based on sound recordings from Karelia and Ingria, made during the early 20th century, and on earlier manuscript collections.[1] With these materials, I do not focus on the metrical analysis proper but on the ways that metrical structures were used and varied in historical performance traditions.

Metre and Performance

In oral tradition, no "original" text is performed in different ways, but every instance of a poem is a new link in an endless chain of reproduction, variation and re-creation (see Foley 2002). When approaching historical archival materials, the only way to comprehend how the poems' users and creators have understood the relations among different levels of poetic form is to analyse the poems and the various ways that they have been performed. With no option to ask the performers on the ways that they understood the poetics they used, the recourse is to analyse how they used the poetics in different recorded performances (Kallio 2011: 396–398; Saarinen 2013; Tarkka 2013). When analysing historical traditions, questions relating to textualisation become highly important, such as who wrote the text or made the sound recording, why, when, how and for what purposes (see Fine 1984; Honko 1998; Hämäläinen 2012, 2017). In the context of Finnic oral poetry, Kristin Kuutma (2006), Janika Oras (2008), Andreas Kalkun (2011) and Tiina Seppä (2015) have concentrated on the aims, strategies and methodologies of collecting such poetry, the ways that the performers collaborated and interpreted the recording situations and the ways that all of these affected performing and recording.

1 The analysed sound recordings from Ingria are listed by Kallio (2013: 432–443); regarding those from Archangel Karelia, the transcriptions will be published in SKVR XVI (forthcoming). These recordings are kept in the archives of the Finnish Literature Society, the Estonian Literary Museum, Folk Life Archives in the University of Tampere, Institute for the Languages of Finland and Archives of Cultural Studies in the University of Turku. I have transcribed all the analysed materials, with musical notations made on most of the materials by Ilona Korhonen, Juulia Salonen, Heidi Haapoja-Mäkelä, Pekko Käppi and myself (transcriptions kept by the Finnish Literature Society). Only some examples of these archival materials are cited directly in this chapter and mentioned in the references (SKSÄ; A-K).

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The relations among performed forms, transcriptions and abstractions of metres may be rather complex. As emphasised by Urve Lippus (1995: 39–42) and Jarkko Niemi (1998: 28, see also Niemi, this volume), the processes of producing textual and musical patterns of traditional songs are intertwined. Paul Kiparsky (2006: 7) conceptualises the phenomenon at the levels of "linguistic prominence, poetic meter, and musical rhythm" that need to be coordinated in performance, while in some cases, they may be rather independent. In English folk songs, he shows that the performances may vary in several ways, with different rhythms, melodies and refrains; nevertheless, this does not affect the patterns and the constraints of linguistic structures. Indeed, there are many analytical levels and many oral traditions where the knowledge about performance is insignificant when analysing metrics. A poem may be sung to any rhythm, and the poetic metre and the linguistic form remain the same – but there are also exceptions.

Jarkko Niemi (1998: 24–45) points out that the analysis of dictated songs suggests that there might be no regular poetic metre in Nenets songs. Nevertheless, when the actual songs are analysed, with all the additional syllables and particular ways of relating the music and the poems, it is possible to understand the regularity and the constraints of the poetic metre. Both the recorders and the local people have tended to leave these kinds of aesthetic features out of their manuscripts (Niemi 1998: 33, 38–39; Foley 2004: 149–151). Similarly, when analysing rhymed Finnish folk songs, the ethnomusicologist Heikki Laitinen (2003: 19, 205) reports that the performed forms and the relations of musical and linguistic structures are essential for finding adequate definitions and properly understanding the oral poetic metre and verse structures. Timo Leisiö (2000) notes that it is crucial to take into account pauses and empty positions when analysing poetic metre in songs.[2]

Knowledge of performance traditions has often played a significant role in the historical processes of understanding the metrical systems of oral poems. The detailed picture we have of the Finnic oral metres today has been created by analysing textual, handwritten notes of 19th-century scholars documenting singers who were often dictating their poems. However, in the pre-history of defining Kalevala-metre, as shown by Toivo Haapanen (1928), it was essential for researchers to take into account a very general idea of the regular placement of syllables in relation to musical structures. Considering the musical structures led to the understanding of the metre as trochaic, with particular constraints regarding the so-called *broken verses* (*murrelmasäe*), whereas Kalevala-metre, if treated as a purely textual phenomenon, tended to be understood as an alternation of different kinds of poetic feet. (See Ross & Lehiste 2001 on parallel processes in Estonian scholarship.)

The analysis of poetic metre is often based on the most regular materials available – the areas, singers and genres that the researchers have considered best or most representative. In the Finnic area, the first larger analyses were

2 See also Foley (2002: 33) on Serbo-Croatian epics, Jouste (2008) on Russian *bylina*, Niemi and Jouste (2002) on Nenets and Sámi songs, and Ekgren (2009) on Norwegian *stev*.

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done on the Viena Karelian epic tradition, which represents the sphere of the most regular oral Kalevala-metre (Kuusi 1949; Sadeniemi 1951). This area served as a counterpoint when analysing Ingrian (Sadeniemi 1951; Kuusi 1983) or Estonian verse (Anderson 1935). The most ambiguous and hybrid materials, such as lullabies or songs from most versatile regions, have not been used in large-scale analyses. A ground-breaking exception is Mari Sarv's (2008, 2011, 2015) comparison of metrical properties across all Estonian parishes, which makes use of a broad range of materials. This remains an exception, and besides selecting the materials at the levels of regions and singers, the scholars of Karelian and Ingrian oral metres have often completed or removed the odd verses in their data (Lauerma 2001: 45). Matti Kuusi (1983: 187) notes that based on the written manuscripts, it is often impossible to guess how the singers would have treated the verses that were shorter than normal in relation to the melodic structure. Indeed, whereas the Finnish national epic *Kalevala*, a literary creation with regularised metrics, is easy to sing, performing archival transcriptions of oral poems often poses problems concerning how a performer should sing exceptional verses, which are sometimes abundant. While unconventional verses used to be treated as mistakes or as reflecting the deterioration of the metre, contemporary research tends to view them as potentially meaningful aesthetic devices that may relate to particular modes of expression, genres, regional poetic cultures or individual preferences.

Dell Hymes (1981) and Dennis Tedlock (1983) have emphasised the analysis of the interaction among performance, language and poetic structures in an attempt to recognise and appreciate poetic features that do not build on classical western poetics. The focus has been mainly on Native American poetics and most of all, on narrative traditions. In this view, linguistic and poetic structures should be analysed on the basis of the poetic cultures and practices themselves, instead of evaluating them on the basis of researchers' own cultural backgrounds. Hymes, Tedlock and others have emphasised the meanings of performance and linguistic structures, such as exclamations or breathing pauses, in creating culturally meaningful poetic patterns (Webster 2009; on ethnopoetics of Kalevala-metric verse, see Anttonen 1994; DuBois 1994). Frog (2010) discusses the problems posed by our own pre-existing ideas of poetics and metrics when we are faced with past poetic traditions that do not necessarily follow similar patterns. John Miles Foley (1995: 23) points out how crucial it is to analyse whether structural or paralinguistic features are specific to a particular performance or individual or whether they relate to genre-specific strategies shared by the larger speech community. In cases of exceptions and irregularities, examining only the text of an oral poem may lead researchers astray. When embedded in a musical or a rhythmic structure, a shorter or a longer line may not represent an error but an intentional play with the rhythm and the metric structure. Foley points out that he himself initially tended to deem longer and shorter verses in Serbo-Croatian epics as mistakes, but his interpretation drastically changed by listening to the actual performances:

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> If understood on their own terms, these lines and others like them were neither too long nor too short. The "extra" syllables were actually sung before the usual starting-point in the vocal and instrumental melodies, outside the ten-syllable increment as defined musically and rhythmically—and not just syllabically and textually. Likewise, the "missing" syllables actually coincided with vocal rests, and those rests were full partners inside the ten-syllable increment. The *guslar* started singing the nine-syllable lines one syllable after the usual melodic starting point. From a multimedia point of view, nothing was superfluous or lacking. Music and silence weren't adjunct phenomena; they were part of the line. (Foley 2002: 33.)

Taking the performance and musical structures into account may also aid in understanding the local and performance-related aesthetics of texts that are not regular or that are hybrid forms between two metrical systems.

Kalevala-Metre and Local Singing Traditions

Kalevala-metric oral poetry covers an exceptionally large variety of genres. Not only epic but also lyric songs, charms, ritual songs, mocking songs, dancing songs, ballads, lullabies, working songs, riddles and proverbs all used a similar poetic idiom. Most of the poetry was used as songs, but some of it was also embedded in speech, and charms were often recited. Depending on the local culture, the metre, genres and performance practices took slightly varying forms (see Siikala & Vakimo 1994; Siikala 2000; Timonen 2004 Oras 2008; Tarkka 2013). The metre has several names: Kalevala-metre (mostly in Finland and Karelia), *regilaul*-metre (in Estonia), *runosong* metre and varying combinations of the terms Finnic, alliterative, trochaic and tetrameter, all bearing different historical and geographical connotations. The most common name, Kalevala-metre, is derived from the literary Finnish national epic *Kalevala*, composed by Elias Lönnrot and based on the early 19th-century folk poems.[3] Mari Sarv (2008, 2011, 2015) has conducted important analyses on the regional variations of the metre in Estonian oral poetry, interpreting these in relation to histories of languages and dialects. Pentti Leino has especially analysed alliteration (1970) and reinterpreted (1986, 1994) Matti Kuusi's (1949) and Matti Sadeniemi's (1951) earlier findings on the metre. Toivo Haapanen (1928) has analysed the 19th- and the early 20th-century understandings of the metre, and Mikko Korhonen (1994) has discussed the possible historical and linguistic origins of the Finnic metre (see also Merilai 2006; Frog 2019).

Kalevala-metre is based on both the length and the stress of syllables. Typically, a long syllable carrying the main stress should be placed in a metrically stressed poetic position, and a short syllable carrying the main stress should be placed in a weak poetic position. This leads to two main verse types: *normal trochee*, where the linguistic and the metrical stresses coincide, and the so-called *broken verse*, where the linguistically short, stressed syllables do not coincide with metrical stresses. In Finnic languages,

3 For an extensive discussion on the terms for Kalevala-metre, see Kallio et al. (2017).

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the main stress is always on the first syllable of a word or a compound.

Normal trochee:	*Va*ka | *van*ha | *Väi*nä|möinen	Steady old Väinämöinen
Broken verse:	*tie*tä|jä *i*|än *i*|kuinen	the age-old sage

The constraints are strictest towards the end of the line. Typically, one verse consists of eight to ten syllables, organised in eight poetic positions comprising four poetic feet. The first foot may contain up to four light syllables, and the rule for the placement of long and short stressed syllables does not hold in the first foot (Kuusi 1949; Sadeniemi 1951; Leino 1986). Nonetheless, there are plenty of local metrical exceptions; in some oral poems, a line may occasionally even have five to twelve syllables. Some areas show a strong tendency to allow short stressed syllables in both stressed and non-stressed poetic positions, and the proportion and the principles of broken verses vary (Sarv 2008; see also Oras & Sarv, this volume).

Alliteration is frequent but not obligatory in every verse, as most recently discussed by Frog and Eila Stepanova (2011; see also Leino 1970; Laugaste 1974). A Kalevala-metric poem is not organised in stanzas, but the verses are connected in syntactic and semantic series of various lengths. In some poems, the parallelistic structures tend to form couplets, but typically, parallelism occurs in more irregular ways. As Pentti Leino (2002 [1975]) and Jukka Saarinen (2018) have shown, the poetic idiom also demands particular syntactic structures. Janika Oras (e.g. 2010; 2013; 2019) and Taive Särg (2001; 2004; 2004; 2009) have explored the relationships of poetics and performance in Estonian and Seto tradition.

Most genres of Kalevala-metric poetry were used as songs or recitations, with narrow melodies corresponding to one or two poetic lines. The poems were sung in solo, duo and group performances.[4] In theory, any Kalevala-metric poem could be sung in any melody, but in practice, the melodies and the ways of performing the poems were connected to local genres and performing contexts. Herbert Tampere (1965) describes the system in terms of group melodies; one melody was typically used to perform a group of poems, which was characterised by the local genre, thematic similarity or the typical performance situation (see also Särg 2005, 2009). Senni Timonen (2004: 238–303) shows that Ingrian local situational genres often had some poems that constituted the core of a genre, while other poems were applicable in several local genres.

This chapter focuses on Ingrian and Archangel Karelian sound recordings, which represent two quite different regional traditions. Together with Estonian Setomaa (see Oras, this volume), Ingria has been regarded as a place of the most varying and complex Kalevala-metric melodies and song structures with both very simple one-line melodies (with plain poetic verses) and complex musical structures (with partial repetitions, additional and omitted syllables, refrains and some polyphonic elements). Ingria is known above all for female choral singing; a lead singer would sing a verse or two,

4 On musical and performance styles, see, for example, Virtanen (1968), Lippus (1995), Rüütel (1998) and Oras (2008).

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and another singer or a choir would repeat it. Despite the prominent role of group singing, it was also common to sing poems in solo performances. The area was multicultural, with Finnic (Izhorians, Votes, Ingrian-Finns and some Estonians), Russian and small Roma, Swedish and German populations (Kallio 2013).

Archangel Karelia is one of the most northern locations of Kalevala-metric poetry. The majority of the heroic and mythological Finnic epics were recorded there; for this reason, Archangel Karelia was for a long time regarded as the most important region of old Finnic oral poetry. Public singing was a male-dominated activity, although there were also good female singers and female-dominated genres (Tarkka 2013). The most typical melody was a five-beat, two-line melody, which researchers have called Kalevala-tune (Kolehmainen 1977; Huttu-Hiltunen 2008). The wedding songs were sung in female group performances with a particular one- or two-line melody (Heinonen 2009). The third common melody type was a four-beat, one- or two-line melody, used mainly in children's songs.

Singing or Dictating?

The manuscript collections in the archives have been textualised in widely varying ways. For example, when transcribing an oral performance, Elias Lönnrot often wrote down only the initial letters of the words in the line if he already knew the poem and the verse, making it impossible to guess the exact linguistic forms used by different singers (Saarinen 2013). Volmari Porkka used shorthand, adding relevant dialectal features on the basis of his own linguistic competence only when transcribing the text in normal writing (Bono 2003). Some recorders lacked linguistic skills to understand all the details of minor Finnic languages, causing evident misinterpretations, and quite many seemed to have normalised the local poetic languages into the Finnish literary language or their own dialects. Other recorders edited the metres and the contents of the oral poems that they heard to turn them into more coherent forms before submitting the transcription to the archives. Most importantly, many recorders seemed to prefer to have the singers dictate their verses, although it is rare to obtain direct information on their exact strategies (see Salminen 1934: 38–47; Kuusi 1983: 8, 147; Harvilahti 1992: 13–14; Kallio 2013: 50–82).

Nevertheless, some scholars recorded several versions in both songs and dictations. In this regard, the most notable figures were A. A. Borenius and his colleague Adolf Neovius. Petri Lauerma (2001, 2004) has analysed the linguistic and metrical details in their transcriptions of the songs performed by the most well-known Ingrian singer Larin Paraske. In song, Paraske often used archaic poetic forms that were already rare in spoken language, and she sometimes added meaningless song syllables at the ends of lines instead of archaic suffixes, added syllable boundaries to the forms of spoken language that have earlier been longer, and used light, one-syllable words to fill some empty metrical places. These features helped to make verses long enough and to set the stressed syllables in the right places in the verse, and they were

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characteristic of the versification of the songs. Dictated verses took shorter and more incomplete metrical forms. Another important notion by Lauerma is that poetic language seems to carry a memory of older word forms. For example, if some change in a dialect increased the length of a stressed syllable (from short to long), the syllable was still used and regarded as a short one in the poems (see also Oras, this volume). In Viena Karelia, Jukka Saarinen (1988: 198–199) notes that the most relevant differences between spoken and song performances recorded by Borenius were the omission of the last syllable of the verse and the use of some shorter linguistic forms in spoken versions.

A good example of variation in song and speech is provided in three versions of the long epic poem on the boat trip of the old sage Väinämöinen, performed by the female singer Anni Kiriloff from Viena Karelia. One of these versions is a sound recording, and the other two are manuscripts that seem to be written from dictation, as these include some verse forms that never appear in songs in sound recordings. The sung verses comply with regular Kalevala-metre, while the dictated verses vary more. The individual lines show both shortening and prose-like lengthening of the dictated verses:

Verse in song	**Verses in manuscript**	**Translation**
lähtöyp on hevosen etʹšoh	Läksi hevosen etsoh	Went searching for a boat
Kuuli purren itköväksi	kuuli kun pursi on itkemässä,	Heard a boat crying
[—]	Mäni purren luo	Went to the boat
miep on tervoitta teloilla	mie oon nuori tervoissa teloilla/	I am (the young one) with tar ashore
	Miepot on tervattuina teloilla	I am with tar ashore
Neijon mieli mieholahe	Neijon mieli mieholah/	Maiden longs to get married/
	vet nuoren neijon mieli miehelăh	Oh the young maiden longs to get married

(SKSÄ 72/1. 1991; SKS KRA Ievala 359; Laiho, L. 5468, performed by Anni Kiriloff.)

When dictating, Kiriloff often left out the last syllable of the verse, sometimes also syllables or even short words in the middle of the verse, but added some other words (*nuori*) and some prose explanations (*Mäni purren luo*) to other verses. In songs, the verses were metrically complete and tended to have eight syllables each. In Ingrian and Viena Karelian sound recordings, metrical completenes is typical to song performances, although it is also fairly common for the dictations to observe classical Kalevala-metre, especially in Karelia.

The largest amount of the transcriptions by hand from Karelia and Ingria were done during the 19th century and the early 20th century; sound recordings have been preserved since 1905. It is known that in most places, the singing traditions were changing and falling out of use during the 19th and the 20th centuries. One might easily think that the later sound recordings would be metrically more irregular. Nevertheless, the case is almost the opposite; manuscripts represent such metrical peculiarities and irregularities that do not appear or are uncommon in sound recordings. On average (but with some exceptions), the singing performances in both Ingria and Karelia

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represent more regular versions of the metre than earlier manuscripts written from dictation. It is also worth noting that with both manuscripts and sound recordings, the recorders tried to find singers who would be able to produce the most regular versions of their poems, and they valued some genres and styles over others. Thus, the materials do not highlight the songs, genres and styles that were most popular or valued in local communities but those that the collectors considered the best.

Although the songs tend to be more regular than the dictated versions, there are peculiar exceptions in songs, relating to 1) intentionally inserting longer and shorter verses and 2) altering the regular verse in ways that are connected to particular melodic types and singing styles. Due to the character of the materials – Viena Karelian sound recordings are mostly solo; Ingrian ones are mainly choral performances and apply a wider scale of different musical structures – the first case is better represented by Karelian recordings and the second by Ingrian ones.

Singing Longer and Shorter Verses

Although the overall characteristic of the sound recordings of Finnic oral Kalevala-metre tends to be metrically rather regular, there are some exceptions. The explicit use of longer or shorter than normal verses is typical of some solo singers, but it is common enough to be understood as one poetic option in local singing traditions.

As noted, a typical Kalevala-metric verse consists of eight to ten syllables. If there are more than eight syllables, they are placed within the first poetic foot. In practice, this means they are sung within the rhythm reserved for the first poetic foot or the first two positions. If there is only one additional syllable, depending on the qualities of the syllables and individual preferences, it shares the musical space of either the first or the second metrical position. If there are two additional syllables, they share the musical space of the first and the second metrical positions. The musically condensed parts are marked in italics, for example:

Vaka | vanha | Väinä|möinen	Steady old Väinämöinen
Vaka on | vanha | Väinä|möinen	Steady is old Väinämöinen
Vaka oli | vanha | Väinä|möinen	Steady was old Väinämöinen

Additional syllables may sometimes be sung in the musical space reserved for one poetic position elsewhere in a verse, although this is rare, for example:

jo *olen* | syönyn | *tuhan*ki | miestä I have already eaten thousand men
(SKSÄ A 508/13, Riiko Tapionkaski.)

However, some singers occasionally accommodate such extra syllables by lengthening the musical phrase, as though creating an additional metrical position or two in the beginning of the verse, as in the following examples:

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pannaan | lauta alla toin'i peällä	(They will) put | one stave below, one stave above

(SKSÄ 328/009.1967, Maria Kyyrönen (Kiriloff).)

tähän ne | šaapu pohjolan pihoille	Here they | arrived at the courtyard of the North

(A-K 0697/07, Jeremias Rinnemaa.)

šiitä | kašvo saari kašvo *nur(u)*mi	Then | grew an island, grew a lawn

(A-K 0816/08, Marina Takalo.)

jošš oli | ovišeinä *ome*nalluišta	There was | door-side wall of apple-bones[5]

(A-K 0694/10, Paavo Tolkkinen.)

otti | šatašarvisen häräne	Took | a hundred-horned ox

(SKSÄ A 296/3, Siitari Karjalaini.)

ja | sinn on äijä mennäksesi	And | that is a long/hard [way] to go

(SKSÄ A 508/13, Riiko Tapionkaski.)

vain | en *ole* vielä moista syönyt	But | I have not yet eaten such [a thing]

(SKSÄ A 508/13, Riiko Tapionkaski.)

A couple of recorded singers even make the musical line longer in the middle. In this case, it is often difficult to interpret which part of the metrical template the singers have lengthened or how they have interpreted the metrical template in their performance. Linguistically as well, the resulting verse seems to contain one or two poetic positions more than an average verse. This may result in one or two additional beats in the musical line, for example:

tuop on tul(u)koh tulinen luoto	Thus, let it come, a burning islet

(SKSÄ A 296/3, Siitari Karjalainen, one additional beat.)

tuhon tuhat rautaista urosta	Destroyed a thousand iron heroes

(SKSÄ A 508/13, Riiko Tapionkaski, two additional beats.)

More common forms of these verses would be *Tulkohon tulini luoto* ("Let it come, a burning islet") and *Tuhonnut tuhat urosta* ("Destroyed a thousand heroes") or *Tuhat rautaista urosta* ("a thousand iron heroes").

Further, especially in some songs for children and in some hybrid, ballad-like songs, shorter or longer than normal verses have been either stretched or compressed into a musical structure corresponding to eight regular poetic positions. A typical example is the song of the maiden who is trying to get on a boat, here divided into four poetic feet according to the placement of the syllables in the regular four-beat melody:

ki|vellä | is|tun	I sit on a rock,
kat'šom | ylös | kat'šom | alas	looking up, looking down:
ylä|hänä | päivä | paistau	the sun is shining above,

5 Usually *osmalluista* ("of bones of wolverine").

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ala|hana | veneh | matkai	the boat is going below.
ken | tuolta | tulo|mah	Who is coming?
toatton'i | tuolta | tulo|mah	My father is coming there,
toatton'i | huoparot | huolu|simmat …	the most diligent rows of my father…
(SKSÄ L 20b, Nasti Huotarinen.)	

Here, just one syllable may be stretched to fill the melodic space of two poetic positions, but one position may also be filled with two syllables if needed (toat*ton'i*, hua*parot*). Called *Veneeseen pyrkivä neito* ("The maiden trying to get on the boat") in the indexes, this poem is often used as an example of the so-called transitional (*välimuotoiset*, *siirdevormilised*) forms between Kalevala-metre and rhymed, stanzaic metre. As shown above, the short, stressed syllables may be placed in the melodic places corresponding to stressed poetic positions or stretched over a whole poetic foot. Although these kinds of metrical flexibilities seem to occur in relation to particular poetic themes, this very same theme may also be performed with more regular versification in Kalevala-metre:

itköy neit't'šyt ulahuttau	The maiden is crying,
katajikko kajahtau[ve]	the juniper forest is echoing.
kat'šou ylös päivä paistau	Looks up, the sun is shining,
katsou alas veno sou[tau]	looks down, the boat is rowing.
kenen eteh veno soutau	Who is the boat bringing?
toaton eteh veno sou[tau]	The boat is bringing the father.
(SKSÄ 265/014.1965, Outi Karhunen.)	

Here, Outi Karhunen alters with singing or not singing the last syllable of her verse. Her melody is not a traditional Karelian runosong melody but a more rare and recent melody of a Russian lyrical song. In understanding the aesthetics and the rhythmic play taking place in these kinds of hybrid songs and understanding the sense of leaving out some last syllables, it is essential to take into account the placement of the syllables in the musical structure, as well as the genre and the style of the used melody.

Understanding not only the metrical patterns of the traditions involved but also the styles of performance is crucial, especially when analysing different kinds of hybrid forms. In western Finland, some poems make use of both the versification typical of Kalevala-metre and of a more recent rhymed folk song (e.g., SKVR XI 23). In the tradition of Russian Orthodox vernacular spiritual songs, called *stihu* in Ladoga Karelia, there seems to have been a versification practice that makes use of some constraints and melodic patterns of Kalevala-metre but builds on much looser metrical patterns (SKSÄ A 129/13–16). In lullabies and songs for children, in many places, it is common to combine metrically heterogeneous verses and even different musical patterns into one continuous, hybrid whole.[6] All these hybrid forms – their metrical patterns, relations and aesthetics – are easier to understand

6 For example, SKSÄ A 551/3; A 551/8a; A 563/4; L 433c; Heinonen (2008); see also Helgadóttir (this volume) on the structure of Icelandic post-medieval *þulur*.

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by taking into account the musical features and performance patterns of these songs and genres.

Playing with the Metre in Song

In general, every poetic position of an Ingrian, Karelian or Finnish Kalevala-metric verse has a fixed place in the structure of the musical line. If a song line contains additional syllables, omitted syllables, partial repetitions or refrains, these are usually added according to particular rules or tendencies in a regular way. In broken lines and normal trochees, the rules may slightly differ or may depend on the more subtle syllabic structure of the verse, but the basic structure under even the most complicated song forms is almost without exception a regular verse of eight metrical positions.

In Ingrian song cultures, the structures of the verse are partly connected to singing styles and melodies. Below is an example of various realisations of a traditional verse, *Ei miul laulella pit(t)ääsi* ("I should not be singing"), in the Izhorian song culture of the Soikkola district. This verse of eight syllables in classic Kalevala-metre is varied and applied to various song structures:

i ei miul laulella pitäisi	(SKSÄ A 301/11 a, Vögle Timontytär and choir.)
ei miul laulella pittäi	(SKSÄ A 301/4 b, Katoi Vydrentytär and choir.)
ehk ei laulella mium pitäisi joo	(SKSÄ A301/31 a, Palagea Jefimontytär.)
ei miul la, ei miul laulella pittää	(SKSÄ A 300/46 b, Ustenja Miikkulan tytär and choir.)
ei miul laulella haao, laulella(i) pittäähä laulella pittäähä	(SKSÄ A 300/23 b, Liisa Petrontytär and choir.)
oi ei miul laulel, laulella pittäisi, ja pittää oi ei miul laulel, laulella pittää	(SKSÄ A 300/38 b, Anna Mitrintytär and choir.)

Thus, a verse may be performed as a regular verse, the last syllable may be left out or replaced with another (additional) syllable (*-hä*), or syllables associated with a particular melody and singing style may be added (*haao*, *oi*). Some longer Russian refrains may also be used instead of the chorus repeating the verses, such as *kalena malena* ("my viburnum, my raspberry"; e.g., SKSÄ A 300/35 b, Anna Mitrintytär and choir). What is also visible above is the fairly recent linguistic change *pitää* > *pittää*. The resulting longer stressed syllable still counts as a short one.

Leaving out or altering the last syllable is a particularly interesting phenomenon. With some singing styles, the lines are sung as such, while in others, the last syllables are left out intentionally, even when the meaning of the song is corrupted. For example, the line *Hajumieletöin harakka* ("Senseless magpie-bird") was once performed as *Hajumieletöin hara* (SKSÄ A 300/22 b, Liisa Petrontytär and choir), which makes no sense in the Izhorian language (or would have a totally different meaning, *hara* meaning "rake; harrow"). Here, it is evident that the intended audience knew the verses well enough to understand the song, even when deleting the syllable made the word unrecognisable to an outsider. Indeed, in Izhorian Kalevala-metric verse, the voicing of the last syllable is fundamentally connected to different performance practices, and this connection is highly complex. Some Izhorian situational, melody-related singing practices omit or replace

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the last syllable (all the last syllables or just particular ones), while others make the use of the last syllable or some substitute for it obligatory.

Thus, whereas Karelian singing often consolidates the verse into the regular form of eight poetic positions, in Ingria, this depends on the situation. In some singing styles, the last syllable is never voiced; in others, it is always voiced, and still in others, it is voiced irregularly. This also means that the shortened words at the ends of the lines in Ingrian manuscripts may signal not only dictation but also singing with a particular melody, whereas shortened words in the middle of the verse stand clearly for the dictation. Nonetheless, with some hybrid or improvised songs, shorter than normal verses, as shown above, are allowed. This means that there are often no simple or unequivocal ways of judging whether a manuscript is based on a sung or a dictated performance; one needs to take into account the complex matrix of possible local singing styles.

Another kind of rhythmic play takes place with epenthetic syllables. These are vowels that may be inserted in the middle of a word between two consonants, such as *kolmantena* > *kol(o)mantena* ("third"):

jo päivänä kol(o)mantena	then on the third day
(SKSÄ A 296/1, Siitari Karjalainen.)	
emp om pir(i)tiv val(a)kevutta	nor the brightness of the room
(A-K 0823/06, Marina Takalo.)	

This phenomenon is common in some Finnic dialects, but in the songs, the variation seems to be connected primarily to the singing style, the local genre or the singer's individual preference. It appears occasionally in both Archangel Karelian and Ingrian songs. Moreover, words that usually do not receive epenthetic syllables in spoken language may gain one in a song. Thus, a word such as *varsi* ("stalk") may be expanded to *var(a)si* or *karpalo* ("cranberry") to *kar(a)palo*:

meijän vaate meijän var(a)si	our garment, our stalk
(SKSÄ A 300/20b, Liisa Petrontytär.)	
kaitoi rintoi kar(a)palolla	a cranberry [the maiden] has a narrow chest
(SKSÄ A 300/19a, Okkuliina Ivanantytär.)	

I indicate the epenthetic vowels with parentheses, as the resulting syllables are often lighter than the normal light syllables of the verse and seem only to give an additional rhythmic element to the verse. I would not tend to take these as metrical elements but as something connected to the style of the performance. Similar rhythmic phenomena may also occur at the end of a word:

viijen (i) vellon (i) vieryvessä, vieryvessä	alongside five brothers
viijen vellon(e) vieryessä, vieryessä	
kuuven (i) vellon(o) kukkaisenna, kukkaisenna	as a flower of six brothers
kuuven vellon kukkaisenna, kukkaisena	
(SKSÄ L 95c, Valpuri Vohta and a choir.)	

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Here, the lead singer Valpuri Vohta uses epenthetic syllables more often than the choir. She does so after the final consonants, a place where no epenthetic syllables occur in spoken language. The vowel *i* may also have been understood as the separate light word "and", a loan from the Russian language. In Ingria, the rhythmic use of epenthetic syllables is most prominent in wedding songs and some other festive songs, especially in some quick dancing songs.

In Viena Karelia, some singers create additional syllables with "h" and a vowel. This seems to be more common with the wedding melody but also occurs with other melodies.

miero vuotti uutta(ha) kuuta	the folk was waiting for the new moon
(SKSÄ A 507/4, Martiino Parassie, wedding melody.)	
sa(ha)ta syltä makkaroa	hundred fathoms of sausage
(SKSÄ L 428 b, Anni Tenisova, five-beat "Kalevala-melody".)	

These additional syllables are associated with embellishing melodic movements or melismas, and in weddings songs, some singers produce similar effects with glottal stops in the middle of a lengthened vowel (e.g., SKSÄ A 130/25c), a style corresponding to the singing styles of Karelian yoiks. The term *joiku* ("yoik") was used by the locals to denote songs that combined unmeasured versification with lines of various lengths, organised with strong alliteration,[7] particularly vocal stylistics, and lyrical themes, particularly on young people's love and marriage. Various kinds of additional syllables, glottal stops and the so-called vocal breaks were typical of this singing style. The genre differed from the more well-known Sámi yoiks but was probably influenced by them. (See Kallberg 2004.)

It seems to have been possible to sing some wedding poems in a yoik-like vocal style. The following song was recorded in 1921, but in the archives, it was not classified as a Kalevala-metric poem because of its surface structure:

jo on helma hee(hehe)mo(ho)te(he)ttu	One hem has already been prepared
toista vasta hiemo(ho)te(he)taah	another one is being prepared
toista va(ha)sta hiemo(ho)te(he)taah	another one is being prepared
ei ole va(ha)lmis va(ha)l(a)vat'mt'ime(s)	the one you are waiting for is not ready
ei ole val(a)mis va(ha)lva(ha)t't'i(hi)me(he)(s)	the one you are waiting for is not ready
valmis val(a)vateltavase	[not] ready the one you are waiting for
valmis val(a)va(ha)telta(ha)va(ha)se(he)	[not] ready the one you are waiting for
jo(ho) jal(a)ka ke(hehe)nkite(hehe)tty	one foot has been shoed
toista va(ha)sta(ha) kenki(hi)tetää...	another one is being shoed...
(SKSÄ 71/6. 1991, H. Kiviniemi.)	

However, if the additional syllables are stripped out, the verses are just plain conventional ones of wedding songs in Kalevala-metre:

7 In Finnic poetics, strong alliteration involves both the onset consonant of the stressed syllable and the following vowel; weak alliteration involves the onset consonant without the vowel.

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jo on helma hee(hehe)mo(ho)te(he)ttu > Jo on helma hiemotettu
toista vasta hiemo(ho)te(he)taah > toista vasta hiemotetah
toista va(ha)sta hiemo(ho)te(he)taah > toista vasta hiemotetah
ei ole va(ha)lmis va(ha)l(a)vat't'ime(s) > ei ole valmis valvattimes
ei ole val(a)mis va(ha)lva(ha)t't'i(hi)me(he)(s) > ei ole valmis valvattimes
valmis val(a)vateltavase > valmis valvateltavase
valmis val(a)va(ha)telta(ha)va(ha)se(he) > valmis valvateltavase
jo(ho) jal(a)ka ke(hehe)nkite(hehe)tty > jo on jalka kenkitetty
toista va(ha)sta(ha) kenki(hi)tetää... > toista vasta kenkitetäh...

Thus, additional syllables may either serve to make otherwise short verses metrically complete when archaic longer word forms have been replaced with the shorter ones, or they may offer possibilities for various kinds of plays with the rhythm above the metrical level.

Conclusions

As shown in the examples of Finnic poetry in Kalevala-metre, the varying practices of versification and text-music relations are connected with local speech communities, characterised by languages, dialects and local and even idiosyncratic linguistic, poetic and performative features. The characteristics and the connections between poetic metre, melodies and performance practices vary across local speech communities and according to local systems of genres. Certain singing styles entailing particular metrical derivations are associated with particular local genres.

Although a poem may, in theory, be performed with nearly any kind of musical structure, a speech community tends to prefer certain kinds of relations between musical and textual forms, whose spectrum depends on particular traditions. These preferences and the limits of acceptable or enjoyable performances are also subject to historical changes, variation and improvisation. In Kalevala-metric poetry, the musical and rhythmic form has apparently maintained the structure of the metre. Spoken forms of the songs tend to exhibit more metrical variation and prose-like features than the sung ones, and some spoken genres, such as charms and proverbs, may deviate quite far from regular Kalevala-metre. Still, many singers have been able to speak or dictate verses of their songs with no metrical differences compared with the use of the metre in musical performances. In contrast, certain singing styles, genres and melodic types encompass particular declinations from the most regular forms of the metre: longer or shorter verses, additional, altered or deleted syllables, and various kinds of partial repetitions and refrains. Both singing and speaking the verses offer space for particular kinds of variations from the most regular verse forms. Nonetheless, most of the variations in songs are based on regular Kalevala-metre. Each local singing style just adds a set of possible variations and ways to treat different types of Kalevala-metric verses in songs. In my interpretation, two interconnected systems operate here: the structure of the poetic metre and the way that it is handled within the structure of a particular singing style.

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A singer may vary the metrical details according to genre-related conventions and performance practices. The performer may present several versions of one verse, even in one thematic and metrical context. Sometimes, the performance tradition may be the only way to understand some ambiguous, hybrid practices of versification. It has even been claimed that in the case of some metrical traditions, knowledge of the scale of possible performance practices is indispensable in order to validly interpret the more abstract levels of the poetic system in question. Nonetheless, it should be noted that in some oral traditions, the relation between text and performance has absolutely no impact on metrical interpretations. Thus, the importance of musical and performative structures in metrical analyses highly depends on the tradition in question.

In aiming to understand historical oral poetry, it is essential to know how the linguistic forms in oral cultures may vary according to performance practices or melodic types, and most of all, how different recording practices have affected the textualised representations of oral poetry.

Indeed, understanding metrical variations, local interpretations of deviant metrical patterns, hybrid forms, historical developments of oral poetry or just the details of the irregular poems in the manuscripts and sound recordings in the archives often calls for analysing the relations of metre, music and performance.

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Styles of Northern Uralic Sung Metres in Comparison

In this chapter, I discuss some of the major results of my recent ethnomusicological research project (Academy of Finland, 2009–2014),[1] in which I studied musical traditions of indigenous ethnic groups living in western Siberia and northwestern Russia and who are speakers of Samoyedic and Ob-Ugrian languages. My research task was to produce a comprehensive account of musical and metrical modalities, especially of the *sung expression* of these ethnic groups and their local traditions. While the properties of sung expression in each of these traditions are closely related to properties of language, linguistic affiliation seemed to provide a logical boundary for the research area. These ethnic groups are also related by their traditional subsistence systems, based on hunting and fishing, especially in the taiga zone, and on the semi-nomadic reindeer economy in northern tundras.

My research aim was to understand *structures and sonic orders* of sung expression. As the musical traditions in question are predominantly vocal, unaccompanied and performed solo, and as the song forms predominantly contain full linguistic song texts, the most crucial structural level in sung expression is *language*. Therefore, an understanding of sung expression must begin from an understanding of the main prosodic and metrical structural principles of the *languages*, in which the songs are performed and which are transformed in performance into metrical and musical forms.

Accordingly, in the project, I set out to develop a *structural understanding of sung verse-form expression*, an aim involving both musicological and linguistic aspects. This aim was accomplished through an analysis of recurring and metrically organised musical motif paradigms, aided with linguistically informed metrical analysis. A basic premise of this investigation is the importance of understanding the integrated workings of sung expression at various metrical or structural levels *simultaneously*, acknowledging its wide array of possible relations, ranging from plain conformity to complex "contrapuntal" interlocking structures.

1 Studies in musical ethnography of the Uralic indigenous peoples of northern Eurasia: a comparative structural analysis of the musical styles – a project of the academy research fellow (131029), Academy of Finland, 2009–2014.

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In this discussion, I focus on new ways to describe and interpret the structural elements and their relations to the cultural history of these indigenous oral traditions, as well as to present these analytical experiences in a broader multidisciplinary discussion of versification. The descriptions of some local traditions of sung verse remain at the pioneering stage, where the whole picture is still in the process of coming into focus due to the limitations of the primary data and the corresponding lack of analytical and comparative understanding of the associated verse forms. This problem is exemplified by the strong inclination to *variation* in the verse forms of local styles of the eastern Khanty and the Selkup singing, which contrasts to the remarkable *uniformity* of versification, especially of the verse forms in the northern Samoyedic song traditions.

The Song Traditions as the Object of Study

All the ethnic groups in this research area are *related linguistically*; their languages belong to the Uralic language family. Stylistically, first, all their musical traditions consist of *singing*, that is, of using the human voice. Second, and of relevance here, these vocal traditions comprise singing with language, that is, the songs are full of words. This kind of lexicality of a vocal musical tradition is not a self-evident universal of performance traditions in the world although a widespread one.

The third stylistic determinant, which has a dominant character in the vocal traditions in this area, is the solo song performance. This means that in practically all traditions considered, only one person performs at a time. These language groups lack traditions of group performances, where the parts performed by the participants are somehow coordinated by the traditions, for example, in the traditions including vocal polyphony or simultaneously sounding parts for human voices and musical instruments.

My research concerned the song traditions of the *Nenets*, the *Enets* and the *Nganasan* ethnolinguistic groups, who are representatives of the northern Samoyedic branch of the Uralic language family; the various *Selkup* groups, who are representatives of the southern branch of the Samoyedic languages; and the various *Khanty* and the *Mansi* ethnolinguistic groups, who are representatives of the Ob-Ugrian branch of the Uralic language family. The traditional subsistence economies of these indigenous ethnic groups of the western Siberian lowlands have been based on hunting and fishing, practised in different areas with varying degrees of combination with economy herding of semi-domestic reindeer as a nomadic or a semi-nomadic lifestyle. Their traditional lifestyles face remarkable and irreversible social and cultural changes as the areas suitable for hunting, fishing and herding are dramatically diminished due to the oil and gas industry. The gradual loss of traditional lands forces many of the local indigenous groups to move into villages, which are overwhelmingly multiethnic, with Russian as the primary language of communication. This is a large-scale tragedy for the variety of traditional indigenous lifestyles, while being an apparently inevitable social process – a process that is still far from being thoroughly discussed and for

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which an appropriate resolution has yet to be found (see Wiget & Balalaeva 2011; see also, e.g., Anderson 2002; Jordan 2003).

This cultural change has direct consequences for the examination of song traditions; perhaps the most obvious is the dramatic loss of language abilities. During the present, long-term work with the representatives of these ethnic groups (beginning with some of the indigenous colleagues from the end of the 1980s), I have repeatedly noticed that the overall view seems to be the weak local command of the traditional oral forms, although drastically varying according to the ethnic and the dialectal areas. The idea of having a strong command of an oral tradition includes not only perfect linguistic command but also an understanding of the connotations and the play produced by language, as well as of its connectedness, that is, how the contents produced in oral, traditional performance are articulated in the local society and culture. In my experience, after working with representatives of various local indigenous groups, in many places, the last age group with such full command of culture was born in the 1930s. In some places there may be younger performers who are mastering their language and culture, but they seem to be the exception.

Earlier Research

There are relatively few studies on the local oral traditions of the northern indigenous peoples of Siberia. The pioneering studies of Finnish, Hungarian and Russian linguists, beginning from the middle of the 19th century, have in many ways also laid the foundations for studies on these cultures, especially on the local oral traditions, although the information about oral traditions presented in these earlier studies has been mostly of secondary importance for the linguist-researchers. This circumstance is exemplified by the extensive fieldwork projects of the Finnish linguists Kai Donner (1913–1918, 1915), K. F. Karjalainen (1948), Artturi Kannisto (1951) and Toivo Lehtisalo (1956). These researchers were all equipped with the then-new recording devices, the parlograph and later the phonograph, and they made extraordinarily valuable sound recordings on wax cylinders right at the turn of the 20th century. Although they also made especially interesting recordings of the local musical traditions, these recordings were usually given the status of mere samples of local traditions. Thus, for the most part, the researchers did not consider it important to supplement these recordings with exact and detailed contextual information about the recorded performances, not to mention to transcribe and translate the song texts together with the performers.[2] Earlier, the Finnish musicologist A. O. Väisänen (1929, 1930, 1937, 1939, 1965) had conducted musicological studies based on these materials, but he also realised the futility of making only musicological interpretations about the song materials, without supporting information about the language used in the songs. Towards the end of the 20th century

2 On the difficulties of working on these historical song materials, see, for example, Niemi's works (1994, 1998, 2004).

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and at the turn of the 21st century, Russian ethnomusicologists (especially those originating from the Novosibirsk Conservatory) have actively published studies based on their fieldwork materials about various western Siberian indigenous musical cultures (e.g., Mazepus 1998; Dobzhanskaya 2002; Sheykin 2002; Niemi 2009a, in parallel with my own work on both archival sources (Niemi 1994, 1998, 2004) and more recent field recordings (Niemi 2009b, 2013, 2014, 2015).

Examining the present state of research in particular indicates that perhaps, the research on the song cultures of the Nenets has been conducted furthest (see Niemi 1998; Niemi & Lapsui 2004). Moreover, the first extensive song corpus recorded from Forest Nenets of the Pur region is in preparation for publication (see fragmentary studies in Niemi 2001a, 2009b). These works have benefited substantially from the linguistic research on the Nenets language, especially phonology (see Janhunen 1986; Helimski 1989; Salminen 1997). Fewer ethnomusicologists actively worked on the Nenets song culture in the past (e.g., Gomon 1990; Skvortsova 2001); unfortunately, their ranks have not increased much today.

The last Enets, living in villages at the Yenisey Gulf, have mostly been left unstudied from an ethnomusicological perspective. The Enets culture has been studied from the ethnographic point of view (see, e.g., Dolgikh 1970), but a description of their song culture needs more work. There are some publications of Enets songs (Labanauskas 1992, 2002) and unique sound recordings in the field collection of the Russian ethnomusicologist Igor' Bogdanov (Moscow). Otherwise, information and interpretations about the Enets song tradition are limited to studies of mostly *single* song recordings (e.g., Niemi 2010). The ethnomusicological study on the song culture of the Nganasan has one active researcher, the aforementioned Dobzhanskaya, who has specialised in the generic and structural analysis of the Nganasan songs (Dobzhanskaya & Kosterkina 1995; Dobzhanskaya 2002; 2014; on the few prior pioneering works, see Helimski 1988; Ojamaa 2000).

Only over the past couple of decades has it become possible to gain new insights on the singing styles of the Selkup (see Niemi 1994, 2001c). Gathering information and drawing conclusions on the musical cultures of the various Selkup ethnolinguistic groups perhaps remain the most demanding tasks in western Siberian indigenous communities because of the regrettable decline of the local cultures. There are very few previous articles on Selkup music (see Ayzenshtadt 1982; Dorozhkova 1997). As with the other ethnic groups, there are ethnographic and linguistic works on Selkups (e.g., Pelikh 1981; Kuznetsova et al. 1993, 2002), which provide background support for the research, but information about the performance practices of local cultures is still scant (however, see Kazakevich 2018 as an example of recent exciting progress in linguistic research on folklore). However, unique sound recordings in the personal archives of Russian ethnomusicologists have yet to be analysed.

The musical traditions of the Ob-Ugrian Khanty and Mansi have been subjects of significantly more research, even from the perspective of ethnomusicology. In addition to the aforementioned historical studies, at the end of the 20th century, Hungarian researchers were the most active

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in research on Ob-Ugrian local cultures (see Csepregi 1998; Lázár 1998). However, their research concentrated mainly on the culture of eastern Khanty. The Hungarian linguist Éva Schmidt was perhaps the most legendary researcher who worked among the Ob-Ugrians. In the last years of her life, she moved to the village of Beloyarsk, where she initiated the local folkways archives with audio and video documents. She made valuable contributions to understanding the metrical variation in Ob-Ugrian traditional singing (see, e.g., Schmidt 1995). Of the Novosibirsk school, only two researchers have concentrated on studying Ob-Ugrian music (see Mazur & Soldatova 1997 Soldatova 2004).

For the most part, focused studies on Mansi musical culture have been carried out less actively. Soldatova (e.g., 2004) is practically the only ethnomusicologist with a long-term expertise in the study of Mansi musical traditions. Inevitably, one of the reasons is the critical condition of the Mansi language and culture; the only autonomously active local culture is the northern Mansi (Ob', Sos'va, Upper Loz'va). Other Mansi groups have been assimilated to their neighbours. I have published an analytical reevaluation of A. Kannisto's collection of parlographic sound recordings of Mansi song materials from the beginning of the 20th century (Niemi 2004). Unfortunately, the results have been quite limited because of the lack of song text transcriptions. As mentioned, the linguists of that time were not yet accustomed to utilising recorded song performances as resources to transcribe the language forms heard in the recordings. This is also the case with Kannisto's exceptionally rich Mansi folklore collections; they are mostly transcribed with pen and paper in a discussion with the informant. If there are transcribed song texts, they are usually written when the informant has given later a speech-form rendering of the language content of the song performance. As a result, they are not identical to what is heard in the sound recording, and they are of little use in the analysis of performed song verse forms. Thus, for the sake of this discussion, we have to limit ourselves focusing on Ob-Ugrian versification represented only by the Khanty song materials. It has to be emphasised that a continuation of this discussion is certainly forthcoming. The general analysis of the various Ob-Ugrian local musical styles (Niemi 2001b, 2004) holds a key position in sketching the style areas of the western Siberian indigenous musical cultures and their historical interpretation, and it is by no means exhausted with the following Khanty example.

Methodological Considerations

In my earlier work (Niemi 1998, 2004, 2009b), I have proposed an analytical understanding of the verse structure of the Nenets traditional song as operating as a system parallel to the linguistic song text with which it interacts, a parallel system embedded in patterns of culturally organised sound, that is, musical form. This work has been based on some postulates of earlier linguistic studies on the Nenets traditional forms of versification, particularly presented in the works of John Lotz (1954), Péter Hajdú (1978) and Eugen

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Helimski (1988, 1989). However, in these pioneering studies, the analysis of the level of the song melody was not addressed. The pioneering short study on examining the structural basics of the Nenets sung versification (based on the few examples of epic songs, mainly from the Malaya Zemlya Nenets) was undertaken by the Russian musicologist Boris Dobrovolski (1965). In his study of six songs, he had all the song texts available; thus he could make a compelling yet concise presentation on the regularities of syllable-level phenomena of the verse-form texts, each embedded in the melodic motif structures of their musical realisations (see the revaluation of Dobrovolski's analysis in Niemi 1998).

A methodological credo in favour of structures would be quite difficult to open up thoroughly in a discussion of the present scope. As a guideline for considering "structure," a definition can be introduced from the classic work of Claude Lévi-Strauss. Discussing *social* structures specifically, Lévi-Strauss states that first, structure "exhibits the characteristics of a system." According to him, systemic quality reflects the thoroughly interrelated nature of elements and relations constituting the structure. Second, understanding a structure as a kind of model, he concludes that it should be reasonable to think that transformations of the models (structures) are possible and they should produce models of similar type. Finally, in Lévi-Strauss' view, these principles of interrelatedness and transformability result in an understanding of a structure as something whose modification should be predictable due to the inherent interrelatedness of its elements and their relations that enables its transformability in conjunction with social and historical continuity. (Lévi-Strauss 1979: 279.)

Although more a speculation or contemplation, Lévi-Strauss' view about the *organic* nature of his concept of structure resonates quite well with the principles of organisation of the traditional performances of oral culture. An oral tradition *is produced anew in each performance*, and the integrity of the characteristics of *interrelatedness* and *transformability* do not seem constants of nature (or rather, culture) but empirically observable tendencies, which, of course, merge with various other factors, such as the inertia of general cultural change or a performer's individual competence. The organic view of structure also resonates with the idea of the performance of culture, not as something merely learned and cognised (not to mention verbalised), but as something bodily and material that is lived, worked and enacted. This certainly does not continue the traditional structural vein in this discussion; it rather presents the issue of cultural performance from a phenomenologically oriented perspective, with emphasis on becoming, perceiving and carrying on. Tim Ingold's (2000: 290) view on skill evokes, in my mind, new ways of understanding the principle of organism or cultural patterning. Paraphrasing Ingold, a cultural performance reveals cultural competence or skill *in the process of performance*, such as that of a basket weaver, to whom the exact shape of the product is revealed only through the process. According to this idea, the very process is the place where culture is reproduced by the performer, not only a (preceding) mental cognitive calculation. Thus, the weaver's process proceeds by means of culturally organised patterns that are (re)created through the working process. Overall, it is probably not necessary

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to pursue a perfectly applicable definition of structure here but to have these preliminaries as constituting a broad conceptual and methodological context for our understanding of structure for the purposes of this discussion.

The analysis of sound patterns or musical structures in this work is based on an approach through paradigms and paradigmatic equivalence, which has its roots in structural linguistics, with its reflections also in early semiotic approaches. The concept of paradigms evolved in the structural linguistics and formulations of Ferdinand de Saussure (1978 [1959)], Claude Lévi-Strauss (1979), Vladimir Propp (1994 [1928]) and other pioneers of structuralism in the beginning of the 20th century, perhaps best known in its articulation by Jakobson (see his classic example about studying aphasia, 1971). In brief, a paradigmatic analysis is based on the method where the flow of the sound of song performance is segmented according to the boundaries, which the analyst recognises in the sound material, on the basis of both lexical (the segmentation of linguistic morphologic and phonologic elements into a verse-form flow of the performed time) and paralinguistic, prosodic (accent, amplitude change, fading, duration and pitch) phenomena. Principally, this is reminiscent of the classic stance of data triangulation (Denzin 1978) for the assessment of the interaction of both linguistic and sound data. The success of this stance depends on both understanding the structural logic of the northern Uralic languages studied here and the emerging, culture-sensitive, ethnomusicological understanding about the systems of music as "humanly organised sound" (see Blacking 1973, 23–26) in these cultures. Thus, as there are substantially more studies on these languages than the corresponding musical traditions, we should at least be able to describe what happens in the language when it is transformed into a musical *parole* during a particular performance.

Several important elements of this data-sensitive and data-triangulating analytical orientation are the perception, identification and interpretation of *recurrences* in the sound flow of the performance. It is inherent in any metrical or verse-form expression of culture, whether performed song, poem, music or dance, that the expression is based on recurring patterns, which are recognisable for the culturally informed audience. The phenomenon of recurrence itself is also invaluable for an outsider or a student of culture because this principle offers repeating possibilities for recognition of these performed patterns.

In sum, this research project has largely comprised interpretational analytical work based on sound recordings. On one hand, I have not had many possibilities to conduct long-term fieldwork among the representatives of the many local cultures, addressed in the way that it is customarily done in traditional ethnography. On the other hand, I am a representative of that generation of ethnographers to whom the era of traditional ethnography seemed to have already passed, especially after the so-called reflexive turn (originating in American anthropology in the 1980s). At that time, the general constructionist epistemological intellectual environment became increasingly concerned with the asymmetricalities in research, including the reification of the "other" that was studied by anthropologists, or the issues of appropriation of culture in the name of western science, or the ways that an

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outsider-anthropologist carves or inscribes hitherto unprecedented outsider formulations about a culture onto the research object (see, e.g., Clifford & Marcus 1986; Marcus & Fischer 1986; Clifford 1988).

However, much of the research data during this project (or before it) was acquired through a fieldwork experience although the fieldwork periods were shorter. The experience was extended in another way. During the research period, I was able to organise, in a way, working periods of "inverted" fieldwork by inviting the specialists of the local cultures to work on a "laboratory" with me in Finland. These work periods consisted of the method of commenting on and analytic listening to the fieldwork recordings in the best possible technical circumstances. These periods comprised several weeks of working with headphones, making detailed transcriptions of the linguistic texts of the performed songs, as well as writing all possible comments and interpretations illuminating the ethnographic, generic and stylistic background of the recorded performance. Although in many ways a risky approach, we obtained quite interesting results in the working periods, for example, with Lyudmila Kayukova, a representative of the Yugan (eastern) Khanty, because of her high language competence and knowledge of the peculiarities of both her native Yugan local traditions and the more northern Tromyugan ones. This working period may result in groundbreaking insights into the eastern Khanty versification, thus far only superficially documented and understood.

Western Siberian Indigenous Song Structures

In this section, my purpose is to present examples from the larger corpora of the research data. With these examples, I intend to provide an overall idea about some typical structural characteristics of the song data, whereby it is probably more convenient to understand the final comparative results of the analysis of the western Siberian indigenous local song cultures. With this choice favouring a general presentation of the studied musical styles, it is not possible to provide details about the analysed materials. Moreover, some portions of this project are still in progress. While the Tundra Nenets song materials are perhaps most thoroughly analysed, there are still regional corpora whose analysis is unfinished. These include the corpora from the most western Nenets (Kanin and Malaya Zemlya), the Forest Nenets (Pur), eastern Khanty (Tromyugan and Yugan) and the Selkup (Taz). Because of this present "bias" in the studies of ethnic (rather, linguistic) indigenous musical styles, an emphasis favours the northern Samoyedic ubiquitous isometric verse-form examples in this section. Alternatively, presenting a more encompassing selection of the wide range of heterometric Ob-Ugrian or Selkup verse forms would require much more pages, and this is done in separate, forthcoming publications (on Selkup regional styles, see Niemi, in press). Therefore, in the Ob-Ugrian section, the single example of an eastern Khanty bear feast song is selected to give an idea about one manifestation of the intriguing and rich structural complexities of Ob-Ugrian musical expression.

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The choice of the symbolic code for transcribing indigenous auditory performance into a visual, graphic form is not an obvious or unproblematic one. Omitting a more extensive description about the present choice, I briefly introduce it to make it more accessible for the evaluation of broad readership. First, the selected symbolic code is the conventional (European) notational system. This system has its cultural history connected with European musical practices, and it was not planned as universally applicable. It has gradually become a universal code, but the reason is more associated with the overall Euro-Atlantic cultural hegemony than the real applicability of this code for describing other musical styles. The conventional European notational system is also closely associated with the literacy-based cultural environment. In this regard, the notational systems not only transcribe the phenomena of other sensory domains but simultaneously become normative for them. The social and cultural environment of this notational system has been that of high culture, art music, institutional learning and cultural canonisation. With a little exaggeration, it could be maintained that the note symbols of this system have become one with the very idea of music for the musician who perceives and produces it mostly by reading notes.

This notational system is peculiarly an almost impossible idealisation of musical phenomena but at the same time, a system of vague, rough symbols. On one hand, its hyperrealistic ideal nature is revealed when the symbols of such notation are given to a machine to be performed; the symbols refer to the inhuman, mathematical exactitude of pitches and durations. Thus, a musician always interprets these symbols while playing music. On the other hand, the notational symbols are too rough to describe the intonational fluctuation of voice – or indigenous, free musical expression – with these symbols; awkward, additional symbols are usually needed when trying to depict other forms of music with this notation. Decades ago, the American musicologist Charles Seeger (1977) described the dual nature of this kind of transformational symbolic system with the concepts of *descriptive* versus *prescriptive* notation. In his formulation, in a descriptive notation, the analyst tries to give as detailed and accurate presentation of music as possible (with all the imaginable additional symbols) – as an equivalent of the phonetic transcription of language. On the contrary, a prescriptive notation is written in with the (rough or ideal) basic symbols, but the reader has to know how to read and play it right – an equivalent of the orthographic symbols of language.

In the following song examples, I shall introduce the music transcriptions with prescriptive reading in mind: I shall present possibly complex, unstable and fluctuating musical forms as if they were "cleaner." This is done not only for the sake of easy reading; the fundamental motivation behind this principle of presentation of music as transcribed in the conventional notational system is to provide easy reading of the *recurring elements* in the graphic representation of the flow of the song performance. Furthermore, the alignment of the verse-level musical phenomena with the song text is designed not only as a "report" of the song example but also as a way to see how the analysis (identification and interpretation) of the sound elements was done. Finally, the layout of the recurring elements, represented with the

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notation, shows (where possible) the paradigmatic organisation of a song (or its fragment). Therefore, the (non-musicologist) reader is encouraged not to pass by the musical transcriptions but to look at their overall organisation – the aligned layout of the notational symbols, together with the syllables of the song texts – to have an idea of *what is interpreted about the performed verse form* in each song.

Northern Samoyedic Hexasyllabism

A peculiar universal in the northern Samoyedic area's traditional singing style is the *isometric three-stress code* (for various definitions, see Hajdú 1978; Helimski 1989; Niemi 1998). This code (or tendency) seems to rule Nenets songs from White Sea shores in the Archangel region to the Siberian taiga, and it is also present in Enets and Nganasan songs. This three-stress code tends to result in *hexasyllabic* verse lines, although usually, the syllables of the verse are embedded in the musical metre with additional sung syllables. These additional syllables exist in the song text only at the time of the performance, and their amount and internal consistent position in the verse form create a character for each particular song.[3]

However, substantial evidence in the research literature (Helimski 1989) and in the research data suggests a *different code* of versification in many songs that are connected with shamanistic *ritual*. This code organises syllables in groups of four, often yielding an octosyllabic verse, in many cases also equipped with a complex internal and sometimes overlapping organisation of additional syllables, sometimes even including regroupings of the syllable groups. Additionally, the syllabic organisation of the verse is unique to a particular song and consistent in it throughout that song. The examination of this proposed octosyllabic "shamanistic" verse in the northern Samoyedic ritual song, alongside its encompassing and ubiquitous *coexistence* with the – also ubiquitous – hexasyllabic verse, is another side of the enigma of the northern Samoyedic versification. Unfortunately, remarkably few audio recordings are available that would enable the development of an analytical understanding of the northern Samoyedic shamanistic-ritual verse-form tradition. Some basic observations about the octosyllabic verse form in Nenets song traditions have been made, however (see Helimski 1989; Niemi 1998: 72–77; 2001a; Niemi & Lapsui 2004: 27–28). So far, the analysis of the meagre materials provides the grounds to assume (among others) that the verse traditions in both Tundra and Forest Nenets are divided into hexasyllabic and octosyllabic sections in a similar way.

Encrypted Hexasyllabism: The Nganasan Keyngeyrsya Case

The first example of the northern Samoyedic hexasyllabism also illuminates the peculiar "encryptional" property of the art of the Nganasan allegorical individual song form *keyngeyrsya*. As mentioned above, the tradition of

3 On a comparable phenomenon in Finno-Karelian verses in Kalevala, elaborated with supplementary syllables when performed in the mode of Karelian yoik, see Kallio, this volume.

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Figure 1. A Nganasan allegorical keyngeyrsya, *performed by T. D. Kostërkin in the village of Ust'Avam, recorded by Yu. I. Sheykin and E. A. Helimski, 1986. Transcription and translation of the text by E. A. Helimski, transcription of music by J. Niemi.*

encrypting the text line of a song by reorganising and repeating some text syllables within the verse, sometimes also mixed further with the placement of the supplementary song syllables, is characteristic of the octosyllabic shamanic ritual songs, but a similar technique of producing the verse form exists in Nganasan (non-ritual and non-shamanistic) *keyngeyrsya*. The performance may sound "minimalistic" to the European ear, but it conceals a complex whole of language abilities, performance skills and improvisation. This example and the accompanying cultural information, also with a more detailed description of the semantic subtleties of this form of tradition, come from the existing printed sources (Helimski 1988; Dobzhanskaya & Kostërkina 1995: 35–37), as the last masters of this form of oral tradition passed away before the turn of the millennium.

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The basic text and translation of this *keyngeyrsya* can be written in the following way (after Helimski 1988). It is easy to notice that this text is hexasyllabic, and in an isosyllabic form, in that the text line has no alterations, each line is predictably constructed based on the organisation of six syllables, as illustrated in the following presentation of this text, showing the hexasyllabic organisation in more detail.

1.	Haŋgəbtüe n´əmɨ,	Khanggabtyuo's mother,
2.	abaʔamə muntu:	my elder sister, says:
3.	t´ühəiʔ d´alɨtini	– During the present days
4.	d´üntuə id´aʔanə	my middle father (= middle brother)
5.	m´albəriəd´əə	-made-by-
6.	kuəðə kəntənə	spruce sledge
7.	t´alɨ lubəbt´arə.	holes accurately accessed (while working with the sledge).
8.	t´ühəiʔ d´alɨtini	During the present days
9.	hal´üründüʔ ŋojbaʔ	to stony peaks
10.	n´isɨ t´irbiðid´əʔ,	without leaning to,
11.	mamu kojbuhuəjʔ	the sturdy places of the earth
12.	kut´əs´anɨkəndɨm!	I use as support!

The basic (hexasyllabic) text is organised in columns:

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
1.	Haŋ -	gəb -	tü –	e	n´ə -	mɨ,
2.	a -	ba -	ʔa –	mə	mun -	tu:
3.	t´ü -	həiʔ	d´a –	lɨ -	ti -	ni
4.	d´ün -	tuə	i –	d´a -	ʔa -	nə
5.	m´al -	bə -	ri –	ə -	d´ə -	ə
6.	ku -	ə -	ðə	kən -	tə -	nə
7.	t´a -	lɨ	lu –	bəb -	t´a -	rə.
8.	t´ü -	həiʔ	d´a –	lɨ -	ti -	ni
9.	ha -	l´ü -	rün –	düʔ	ŋoj -	baʔ
10.	n´i -	sɨ	t´ir –	bi –	ði -	d´əʔ,
11.	ma -	mu	koj -	bu -	hu -	əjʔ
12.	ku -	t´ə -	s´a -	nɨ -	kən -	dɨm!

The next presentation shows the reorganisation of this basic text (which exists only as the analytical or theoretical representation of the analyst) in T. D. Kostërkin's performance. This presentation also refers to the possibilities of the parallel analysis of language text and oral performance time. The peculiar organisation of the text line in this song was mentioned and thoroughly described by Helimski (1988), but the overall paradigmatic layout of the musical phenomena (mainly the recurring pitch fluctuations and the grouping of musical time into patterns of rhythm) can reveal even more about the consistency of the recurring metrical structure. For example, the sound and syllable elements shown in parentheses result from my analysis of the audio recording, and this micro level also seems to show tendencies of predictable grouping.

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Table 1. The order of the transformed text lines in the recorded performance; (S) stands for a supplementary syllable, and ordinal numbers 1–6 indicate the original order of the reorganised text syllables.

(S)	(S)	(S)	(S)	(S)	3.	4.	5.	6.	1.	2.	3.	(S)	4.	5.
mu - n(o)	hon -		tu -	(ŋuo)	(-)tü -	e - (nə)	n´ə -	mɨ - (hə)	Haŋ -	gəb -	tü -	(wə) - -	ə -	n´əm
m	ə -	wə -	mə -	jə	(-)a -	mə	mun -	tu	a -	ba -	ʔa -	(wə) -	mə	mun -
m	ə -	wə(n -	tu -	ŋa)					t´ü -	həiʔ	d´a -	(ŋo) -	lɨ -	tej -
m	ə -	jə -	nə -	jə	i -	d´a -	ʔa -	nə - (hə)	d´ün -	tu -	(ŋ)ə -	(je)	d´a -	ʔa(ŋ)
m	ə -	wə -	nə -	wə	-ri -	ə -	d´ə -	(d´)ə	m´al -	bə-(rə) -	ri -	(jə) -	ə -	də(ŋ)
m	ə -	wə -	(h)ə -	wə	kən -	tə -	nə -	(ə - hə)	ku -	ə - (ðə)	ðə -	(wəŋ)	kən -	tən
m	ə -	wə -	nə -	wə	lu -	bəb -	t´a -	rə - (də)	t´a -	lɨ	lu -	(wə) -	bəb -	t´ar
m	ə -	wə -	rə -	wə	d´a -	lɨ(n) -	ti -	ni	t´ü -	həiʔ - (da)	d´a -	(ŋo)	lɨ -	ti(j) -
m	ə -	jə -	nə -	jə			ŋoj -	baʔ	ha -	l´ü -	rü -	(wə)n -	düʔ	ŋoj -
m	ə -	wə -	bə -	wə	t´ir -	bi -	ði -	d´ə - (jə)ʔ	n´i -	sɨ	t´i -	(jə)r -	bi -	ði(j) -
m	ə -	(j)ə -	də -	wə	koj -	bu -	hu -	ə - j(ə)ʔ	ma -	mu	ko -	(wə)j -	bu -	hu(ŋ) -
m	ə -	wə - (wə)	hə -	jə - (hə)	-s´a -	nɨ(ŋ) -	kən -	dɨm	ku -	t´ə -	s´a -	(wə)	nɨ -	kən -

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Northern Samoyedic Isometricity: The Nenets Verse Form

The following two examples serve to illuminate the wide variety of possibilities for constructing realisations of the northern Samoyedic, hexasyllabic verse form. These two examples are chosen for two reasons, first, to represent both the Tundra and the Forest Nenets song styles, although the variation of the realisations of the hexasyllabic verse is not associated with Tundra or Forest Nenets regional styles in any predictable way. Second, the Tundra Nenets song represents an example from the more basic realisations of the hexasyllabic verse, that is, a realisation closer to the (theoretical) basic text form of a song, whereas the Forest Nenets example represents the more complex and internally varying hexasyllabism. Thus, these two examples represent more or less opposite sides of the continuum of complexity of the performed Nenets verse forms.

The first example is performed by a representative of the Yenisey Gulf Tundra Nenets. Here, the hexasyllabic verse is interpreted as embedded in a four-beat musical line (each beat consisting of a ternary pulse, shown in the symbols of the music transcription as 3 + 3 + 3 + 3 / 8); at the same time, it is quite an elementary and straightforward structure but also a contrapuntal one because of the distribution of the syllables of the text line in this musical metre. This interpretation is made primarily on the grounds of being well-formed; the structure of the whole song can be explained by this metrical format of the musical time. However, it is just an interpretation; an equally plausible solution would be a text-line-oriented interpretation, which would yield an asymmetrical metrical grouping of the melodic line as 3 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 (slightly approximating the exact durations written in the music transcription).

Other typically Nenets phenomena can be observed in this song, such as the division of the rhythmical manifestation of the text line types according to the emphasis on either two-or three-syllable words in the text line, as well as the rhythmical variation of these basically stable structures of metrical

Figure 2. An eastern Nenets individual sho (syo)*, performed by A. Kh. Wenggo. Recording from the archives of the Taimyr Nenets regional radio by M. Ya. Barmich, Dudinka, the 1980s. Transcription and translation of the text by E. T. Pushkarëva and L. P. Nenyang-Komarova, transcription of music by J. Niemi.*[4] *(In the transcription is presented the first eight lines out of the total of 51 of the recorded performance.)*

4 The present paradigmatic layout of these music transcriptions has another unconventional characteristic – broken lines in the transcription. This is because the performances in these free musical styles abound with inhalation breaks, as the performer takes a breath whenever there is a need for it. This causes a break in the performance, but usually, it does not, so to speak, disrupt the performance. Therefore, after the break, the performance continues from that metrical position where it left off (sometimes also repeating a syllable from before the break). These breaks and continuations in the performance are shown in these transcriptions as fitted in their metrical positions by cutting the five-line staff of the notation and continuing from the same paradigmatic position on the row below.

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units according to the syllable quantities in a metrical element of a line (for a more detailed description of the parallel metrical organisation of text and melody lines in a Nenets song, see Niemi 1998: 30–45; Niemi & Lapsui 2004).

Hidden Hexasyllabism: The Forest Nenets Case

The second Nenets example represents the singing styles of the Forest Nenets, although (as also implied above) there are hardly any clear-cut stylistic characteristics typical of either Tundra or Forest Nenets songs. This observation is probably worthwhile when attempting to understand the historical divergence of Tundra and Forest Nenets languages; there seems to be more stylistic differences between the songs of the western (Kanin Peninsula, Malaya Zemlya) and the eastern (Siberian) Tundra Nenets than between the songs of the (Siberian) Tundra Nenets and the (Siberian) Forest Nenets. All this is just a suggestion because no encompassing regional data are at hand (a pessimistic guess is that these will never be available).

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In contrast to the preceding example, this one has an extraordinarily complex and varying inner structure. It seems that the Forest Nenets elder Sh. W. Pankhi Pyak sang Kh. Ngakhanyi Ngaiwashata's individual song, *kinawsh*, within some kind of range of structural variability; in this performance, he mixed elementary, almost recited short hexasyllabic lines with long, sung and stretched melismatic lines.

Figure 3. A Forest Nenets individual kinawsh, *performed by Sh. W. Pankhi Pyak. Recorded by P. G. Turutina, Tarko-Sale, in the 1990s. Transcription and translation of the text by P. G. Turutina, transcription of music by J. Niemi. (In the transcription is presented the first nine lines out of the total of 15 of the recorded performance.)*

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The author of the song praises his son, whose wealth of reindeer seems to be an outcome of (besides hard work) aid described as “supernatural.” Whatever the case, this song combines long melismatic melodic lines (following the transcription: lines 1, 3, 7 and 9), shorter melodic lines (lines 5 and 6) and elementary, recited lines (lines 2, 4 and 8). It should be noted that the reading of the music transcription is complicated by the frequent breathing breaks (lines 5 and 9), which I have shown in the layout of the paradigmatic music transcription as broken lines but retaining the paradigmatic alignment of the events. The paradigmatic, columnised presentation of the text lines below is, in turn, blurred by the above-mentioned fact that in Nenets versification, the alternation of paired and unpaired numbers of syllables in a line frequently has an effect on the placement of the supplementary syllables in a line. In this example, this division also has an impact on the placement of the medial supplementary syllable (*ngey*); (full) lines that include the unpaired word element seem to place the supplementary (*ngey*) after five syllables (seen only in line 1 of the example here), whereas (full) lines with word elements of paired numbers of syllables (lines 3 and 9) appear to do so after four syllables. Therefore, it is hardly possible to present the syllabic paradigms of the columnised text line in a clearer way. However, the principle is the same and observable in its many variations in all Nenets regional traditions of sung versification.

Below is the (preliminary, unchecked) transcription and translation of the basic text of the song (in collaboration with P. G. Turutina and Tapani Salminen):

1.	Mal´tung dyu” kolhadyi –	Maltu’s ten reindeer bull-castrates –
2.	kut tyiwumäy,	who invented them,
3.	kapt” ngäp”nantung,	from where did they appear,
4.	nyemyasyata” kapt”,	motherless bulls (wild ones),
5.	dyongkutung syemolhma”,	(with)circumferences of their throats,
6.	käywyitun dyatalhma”?	(with their) smooth flanks?
7.	Mal´tung dyu” kolhadyi,	Maltu’s ten reindeer bull-castrates,
8.	pyinlhyung malhsyakhana	during the mosquito time
9.	dyát”makhanantung,	when they jumped around,
10.	Päydya”ayng wingkna,	on the Stony tundra,
11.	khelhyanglhi” wi”lami”,	digging the ground till the frozen chunks,
12.	dyát”makhanantung,	when they jumped around,
13.	khelhyanglhi” wi”lami”,	digging the ground till the frozen chunks,
14.	Mal´tung dyu” kolhadyi,	Maltu’s ten reindeer bull-castrates,
15.	dyát”makhanantung.	when they jumped around.

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Below is the transcription and hexasyllabic columnisation of the text lines:

1.	Mal´	tung	dyu”		ko -		λow -	(ngey)	dyi	(ngey	ngey),
2.	ku	t(en)	ti	wu -	mäy,						
3.	kap	t(i)	nge(y) -				p(ey) -	(ngey)	nan -	towng-	ng(ey),
4.	nye	mya -	sha -	ta	kap -	t(i),					
5.	dyong -	ku -	tung		shye -		mowλ -		mow”,		
6.	kay	wyi -	tun		dya -		taλ -		mow”.		
7.	Mal´	tung	dyu”		ko -		λow -		dyi	(ngey	ngey),
8.	pyin -	λyung	maλ	sha -	kha -	na					
9.	dya	t(e) -	ma -				khow	(ngey)	- nan -	towng-	ng(ey),
10.	Päy -	(a) -	dya”ayng		wing -		k(i) -		now	(ngey),	
11.	khe -	λyang -	λi		wi” -		la -		mey,		
12.	dya -	t(e) -	ma -				kho -	(ngey)	-nan -	tow -	ng(e),
13.	khe -	λyang	λi		wi” -		low -		mey,		
14.	Mal´ -	tung	dyu”	ko -	λa -	dyi(n),					
15.	dya -	t(e) -	ma -				kho -	(ngey)	-nan -	tow -	ng(ey)…

Regional Variety: The Selkup Case

As mentioned above, the understanding of the local musical traditions of the various Selkup ethnolinguistic groups is still modest. The problems of regional characteristics and their varying interconnections parallel the problems of the contact histories of the individual Selkup ethnolinguistic groups themselves, all of which remain largely unsolved. Nevertheless, it is possible to make a rough division of northern and southern Selkup regional traditions. Southern Selkup musical traditions (the tributaries of the Middle Ob', especially Tym and Ket') were already in decline in the beginning of the 20th century, and the fieldwork expeditions of the Finnish linguist-ethnographer Kai Donner (see Niemi 1994) produced the last examples of the southern Selkup song traditions. The northern Selkup groups can be roughly divided into those inhabiting the Taz river system and those inhabiting the tributaries of Yenisey.[5] For the sake of this discussion about the Selkup musical styles in the totality of the western Siberian indigenous musical cultures, only one example is presented, and it represents the musical style of the individual song form *koymy* of the Taz Selkups, about which there are now at least some possibilities to obtain additional, ethnographically based information.

Although linguistically Samoyedic languages, Selkup “isosyllabism” or “hexasyllabism” has not been assumed for the analysis. On one hand, some evidence of Selkup hexasyllabicism is found in M. A. Castrén's (1940) text transcriptions of songs from the 1840s, recorded in various Selkup regions. On the other hand, a prominent part of the materials from the 20th century seems to point in the direction of varying, heterosyllabic and non-hexasyllabic metres. There is evidence of hexasyllabism in the versification of the now-extinct Kamas Samoyed (Lotz 1954), but the Kamas verse-form

5 For an overview of the regional characteristics of the musical traditions of Selkup groups, see Niemi (in press).

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materials (which, in practical terms, represent only a single song) are difficult to associate with any other Selkup traditions.

Owing to the dynamic history of contacts between these groups, I compared the compelling evidence of Selkup "non-hexasyllabism" with the Ob-Ugrian versatility of metrical structures, as Wolfgang Steinitz (1976 [1941]) and Éva Schmidt (1995; see Niemi 2011) described and theorised with materials from northern Khanty. This view was corroborated by some new findings from eastern Khanty repertoires of ritual song (Niemi 2013); it seems that no generalisations can be automatically made about the *eastern* Khanty verse structures on the basis of findings about the *northern* Khanty ones. The Selkup forms of versification, as currently understood, also seem to be of varying types, but the available materials show no similarities with the Khanty verse forms. The following example serves to illuminate this characteristic of heterosyllabicity or heterometricity, which seems to be frequent in the available Taz Selkup song materials.

Figure 4. A Selkup individual koymy, *performed by K. S. Chekurmin, Lozyl'-To. Recorded by V. V. Rudolf in the 1980s. Preliminary transcription and translation of the text by S. I. Irikov (in Yunkerov 1999) and O. A. Kazakevich; transcription of music by J. Niemi.*

Below is the beginning of the song (the extent of the music transcription); there are altogether almost 40 text lines in this song.

1. il´čalyn ken ńɛnnä (mompa) (ney ya),	Grandfather, as if,
2. Pońa ay apa(t) ken myta (na) kirɛjɔ̄ (al),	or (Ponya's) father it was
3. kəntypyl´ ken ńɛnnä (mompa)	told,
4. koymyl´ čary kuttar (mompa) kirɛ(ya)l'ak(o al):	or their song resounds:
5. – qäntyng(y) (mompa) (ɣ)ilɛntɔ̄myn	– How we are going to live,
6. qäntyŋ(y) (mompa) mərkɛntɔ̄myn kirɛyɔ̄ (al)?	how we are going to raise up?

This song, of which there are more examples in the repertoire of K. S. Chekurmin and his kinsmen, refers to a totally different architecture of verse form than in the previous Nganasan and Nenets examples. Of course, it is possible that this is, at least partially, due to some processes of modernisation of the Selkup singing styles on the Taz river. However, K. S. Chekurmin

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was known in his area as a thorough specialist of his local culture, and the fragments of his worldview and of his song repertoire[6] point to a rootedness in tradition.

In contrast to the iterative, isosyllabic and isometric versification of the Nenets and Nganasan, these examples from the Taz Selkup singers represent a complex organisation of melodic lines, which are embedded in the richly varying units of text lines. The music transcription above illuminates this complexity. The capital letters in the transcription refer to the organisation built on a number of melodic motifs, which tend to repeat themselves in a fixed order throughout the song (in the beginning, shown by the transcription ABCD ABBCD EBBD). Although containing much variation, the succession of melodic motifs tends to repeat in this song. This structure offers possibilities for heterometricity; the motifs correspond to text groupings that can be viewed as lines, albeit in highly varying combinations.

Regarding the characteristics of the text, some typical supplementary verbal elements in the Taz Selkup song style are also repeated in this song (*mompa*, *ney*, *al*, here also: *kireyo*, shown in brackets). Examined with these elements excluded, the remaining word formations could reflect a hexasyllabic background of the text line but not in any way comparable to the northern Samoyedic, iterative hexasyllabism and isometricity, with its relation to the iteration of the melodic line in those traditions.

Abundant Local Styles or an Ob-Ugrian Heritage of Heterometricity? The Eastern Khanty Case

Referring to “Ob-Ugrian versification” is not very informative since it covers two linguistic groups, Khanty and Mansi, each with a great deal of variation in its ethnolinguistic histories and regional contact networks. Furthermore, neither of these major Ob-Ugrian languages is internally homogeneous; each exhibits various local cultures and a diversity of language forms that are not all mutually unintelligible, so it becomes possible to talk about Khanty *languages* (plural form), as well as Mansi *languages*.

When focusing only on the phenomena associated with various forms of the Khanty song, it is reasonable to be selective regarding the examples in the present discussion. There are long histories of linguistic and musicological studies on the northern Khanty oral traditions, while eastern Khanty traditions have received somewhat less attention (however, see Csepregi 1998; Lázár 1998; Niemi 2001b; Niemi & Jouste 2013). The eastern Khanty song materials examined thus far point to quite varying forms of versification in performed songs. At the same time, researchers lack sufficient information to reach even preliminary conclusions about the factor of knowledge of traditions and performance skills among the local performers of Ob-Ugrian regional traditions. This also concerns the following example, illustrating the problem of complex forms in eastern Khanty versification. There is evidence based on other Khanty materials (e.g., Schmidt 1995; Niemi 2001b) that two

6 Relevant materials are found in the collection of the Belorussian collector of Selkup folklore, V. V. Rudolf, and have yet to be analysed.

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of the characteristics of Ob-Ugrian versification are its heterometricity and versatility; there seems to be a boundless variety of verse forms, which can be linked together only with a highly abstract typology (e.g., Schmidt 1995).

The following example presents a seemingly stable verse form in a mythic song, also embedded in a stable metrical form of the performed musical time. According to the available information, the performer, N. G. Tsyngánin, belonged to the generation of the old masters of folklore and was already an experienced performer in the Yugan Khanty Bear feast rituals when this recording was made. However, the surface "simplicity" of this example represents another level of Ob-Ugrian versification, especially of ritual songs – that is, the complex linguistic structures embedded in a comparatively simple time of musical metre.

Figure 5. The mythical song λăŋəλtəp *of the Yugan Khanty bear feast ritual, performed by N. G. Tsyngánin at the Lesser Yugan river in the 1980s. Recorded by R. I. Ermakova, Ugut; transliterated and translated by L. N. Kayukova; transcription of music by J. Niemi.*

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Below is the beginning of this *λăŋəλtəp*, part of which is shown in the music transcription. The text transcription in this example is written in its preliminary version, and it is due to some reinterpretations according to the word forms and their semantics. However, the idea of the verse form does not change. (The entire song consists of 356 text lines.)

1.	ta (γ)ej γå jəγ γəj ((γ)owa),	ta (γ)ej γå jəγ γəj ((γ)owa) (≈ Look),
2.	(γ)åjə məntə ((γ)owa),	the well walking beast,
3.	tem nomәʌta wăti- (owa),	with this sky-wind-
4.	ʌәγәʌʌi pә ((γ)owa),	blowing,
5.	ənəʌ Tŏrəm qo ((γ)owa),	with the great Torum-man,
6.	jäŋkkəŋ jəγəmnə ((γ)owa),	icy-snowy father,
7.	tem... ma (γ)əj γå jəγ γəj ((γ)owa),	this one,
8.	(γ)åjə məntə ((γ)owa), (t'u),	well-walking beast,
9.	(a), pəγtə ńŏwəs (owa),	with the black sable (fur),
10.	årttə qånγə ((γ)owa),	dealt by the Lord,
11.	pəγtə woqi (owa),	with the black fox (fur)
12.	årttə qånγə ((γ)owa),	dealt by the Lord,
13.	qănγə ńăγpi- ((γ)owa),	- by the Lord laughed-
14.	ʌəmam əntə ((γ)owa).	at I was not (= I surely was).

This *λăŋəλtəp*, a concluding mythical song of the eastern Khanty bear feast (when the bear is symbolically returned with farewells back to the taiga, with wishes that it may not disturb people), performed by N. G. Tsyngánin, appears to be rendered with quite a basic and fixed-form structure. Both the text and the melodic lines are performed in the framework of an elementary form of binary grouping so that the musical transcription could be given a normative time measure of 4/4. However, within this structural framework, only half of the text lines occupy the full musical four-beat slot (divided by bar lines in the music transcription). This relation is a structural fundamental that governs this long performance from the beginning to the end. At the musical level, these four-beat units contain four different formations of melodic motifs (presented in the music transcription with symbols A, B, C and D). In brief, the slight but consistent differences among these melodic motifs are primarily based on their occupation of different pitch areas. Furthermore, there is an order in the appearance of these melodic lines. Throughout the song performance, the melodic lines tend to be grouped into a repeating order of "AB AB CD."

The music transcription presents the beginning of this song performance. Notwithstanding the principal basic form at the levels of both the text and the melodic lines, the music transcription is also designed to give an impression of the actual execution of the performance, whose reality – with its frequent breaks for inhaling, occasional additional, seemingly anacrustic line-initial syllables, and the overall flexibility of the pitch levels – blurs the ideal representation of the notational symbolism These initial lines of the performance also represent one of the most intriguing stylistic characteristics of the Ob-Ugrian ritual song, namely the complexity of the linguistic organisation of text lines in a song in terms of syntax (cf. Frog,

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this volume). This can be regarded as a macro-level feature, which can be realised more or less consistently in a song, despite the rich possibilities for embedding it into various metrical forms.

In the Ob-Ugrian traditions of versification and particularly in the larger forms of the ritual or mythical songs, the text lines of a song belong (in terms of sentence categories) to two types, which can be called "nominal lines" and "verbal lines" (see Austerlitz 1958: 21–25; Steinitz 1976 [1941]). From the perspective of sentence parsing, nominal lines include mostly nominal or attributive word elements, such as the depiction of the object of the narration, together with its characteristics, as well as the description of the dimensions of space and time in the narration. A unit of narration can have a significant number of nominal lines, which carry the progression of narration and are then brought together by the semantics of the verb in the concluding line. A verbal line then concludes this section of the narration. As there may be a long, list-like continuation of the nominal lines, the audience understands the final and contextualised meaning of the mentioned details only when hearing the verbal line and by means of this, understanding where the things listed in the nominal lines point at as action.

Another typical and linguistically complex characteristic of Ob-Ugrian ritual songs is sometimes the verbal form itself, as it is often constructed with complex passive forms and sometimes with agentive structures. This aesthetic of form makes the transliteration (not to mention translation) often quite difficult, although the work was done by a fully competent speaker of the language. In the following example, lines 1–12 form a lengthy succession of nominal lines, whose meaning and narrative context become clear only after the verbal lines (13–14). The passage that follows this again comprises a group of nominal lines, concluded by a verbal line (not shown in the example).

I have consciously presented the lines in the half-line manner that emphasises the metre, as shown in the music transcription, because (also in L. N. Kayukova's opinion) this presentational form is logical. The verses could also be presented as emphasising the linguistic meaning, uniting the half-line pairs. The present metrical presentation highlights the metrical unit, concluded by the (half-)line-final euphonic elements (*owa*). The location of these elements is fully predictable throughout the song and fully corresponds to the structure of the musical motif. However, by reading the linguistically semantic content of the half-line forms, it becomes clear that the indivisible unit of meaning in several lines is located, in the scale of this line presentation, in the area of *two* (half-)lines. Its clearest indication is that the (half-)line-final euphonic element (*owa*) can be located, if necessary, even in the *middle* of a word (see, e.g., lines 3–4, 13–14).

Regarding the identification of lines versus half-lines in the research on Ob-Ugrian versification, it is interesting to note that earlier researchers (see, e.g., Steinitz 1976 [1941]: 4; Schmidt 1995: 126) also tended to analytically discern whole and half-lines, but they mostly seemed not to refer to half-lines as pervasive phenomena at the level of a whole song, as described here, but to exceptional line additions, usually appearing in cases of complex line forms.

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There is hardly any point in proposing a "correct" interpretation of the presentation of line boundaries in cases such as this. It is more interesting to realise the functions of the euphonic metrical elements in the performed song structures. With these elements, it seems that the locations of line boundaries and emphases can be identified in unanimous ways, or rather, the audience or the reader is informed about different ways of making meaning of the performance – emphasising either its metricality or linguisticality. The performance text can thus be perceived in various ways, and this redundancy may be one of its strengths.

Stylistic Zones of the Verse Form Constitution in Indigenous Western Siberia

Northern Samoyedic Isometricity

The examples shown here of Nganasan, Tundra and Forest Nenets and Taz Selkup songs sketch some varying forms of *isometrical* versification although presented only in hexasyllabic examples in this paper. The idea of the isometrical norm in the northern Samoyedic versification was largely inspired by the few but groundbreaking linguistic studies of Péter Hajdú (1978) and Eugen Helimski (1988, 1989; see also Helimski's impact in Niemi 2010), as well as Dobrovolski's (1965) early musicological analysis on Nenets song forms. In the present study, it has become clear that the Tundra and the Forest Nenets (and most probably, also the Enets[7]) versification is distributed in a surprisingly uniform way, encompassing all the territories of these ethnic groups. The Nganasan versification shows some distinctive characteristics (such as the minimal use of supplementary syllables and the complex style of the encrypted verse) but all based on the hexasyllabic isometric verse form. The octosyllabic (ritual) verse is also present in these traditions (although no materials are available concerning the Enets traditions).

An additional intriguing point concerns the syllabic verse forms, which are (at least) preliminarily identified in Selkup songs – the possibility of octosyllabism. While the unfortunate rarity of the audio recording data of Selkup singing seems to be an insurmountable predicament for the (structural) understanding of Selkup song versification in performance, the situation of Selkup *shamanistic* songs is worse; altogether, there are only a few known audio recordings (accompanied with reliable text transcriptions) of them. However, preliminary analyses of some of these few examples of Selkup singing with a possible shamanistic background (see Niemi 2001c) could open up an exciting addition for the historical interpretation of the forms of Samoyedic versification, namely the issue of the areal distribution of this (allegedly) shamanistic octosyllabic verse. Specifically, the analyses of these examples point in the direction of the possible presence of octosyllabic forms in Selkup shamanistic versification as well. This finding could be interesting in many ways. If it was possible to obtain a picture of the whole

7 For a discussion of Forest Enets versification, see Niemi (2010).

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Samoyedic versification – to which our present knowledge only refers – first, we could wonder about the ubiquitous *presence* of the hexasyllabic (non-ritual) versification in the northern Samoyedic traditions, as well as about its *absence* in the southern Samoyedic traditions. Second, we could wonder about the *presence* of the (ritual) octosyllabic verse forms in *both* northern and southern Samoyedic traditions. This could mean that the northern Samoyeds have developed or adopted something that the southern Samoyeds seem not to have done (i.e., the hexasyllabic versification), while both have preserved the (ritual) octosyllabic versification.

The grounds for drawing historical conclusions about these forms of Samoyedic versification have some basic issues to be solved, in my opinion. First, the existence of the northern Samoyedic hexasyllabic versification can be regarded as a *unique phenomenon* from a global perspective. Thus far, nothing reminiscent of it is available in any of the neighbouring northern indigenous traditions (e.g., Sami, Ket or Yukaghir local traditions). Second, in contrast, the existence of octosyllabic versification seems to be more of a *universal principle* of versification in a global context. Various forms of tetrametric (usually strongly inclining to octosyllabic) versification abound in most of the local traditions of the Turkic-speaking areas of southern Siberia. It is particularly this universality of octosyllabic versification that makes me cautious to draw any conclusions about it because the identification of the verse forms by merely counting syllables will very likely end up only with some incidental typological identification, instead of identifying genetic or historical relations. In the context of Samoyedic versification, for example, the phenomenon of the encrypted versification (as in Nganasan *kengeyrsya* or in Nenets shamanistic songs) is a far more prominent characteristic of a verse style than the syllable count, in my opinion.

Ob-Ugrian Heterometricity

As mentioned above, it seems that no universal principle of versification could be said to apply to all Ob-Ugrian (or Selkup Samoyedic) local traditions, as is the case with the northern Samoyedic versification. This observation has already been made in some of the most prominent earlier studies on Ob-Ugrian versification (Austerlitz 1958; Steinitz 1976 [1941]; Schmidt 1995): Ob-Ugrian verse is generally characterised by its *variation*, as these researchers discuss the various combinations of whole lines, half-lines or line extensions in the (mainly northern Khanty) materials that they have analysed. Concerning the analysis of the recorded examples of performed verse in the eastern Khanty songs (Niemi 2001b, 2013; Niemi & Jouste 2013), what has been a revelation for me is that whatever the architectural choice of the performed verse is in a song, the performer presents it in the beginning of the song with supplementary syllables, as if providing a key for the audience to become oriented to the particular verse form being used. At this point, it seems that this kind of introduction with the verse key is typical, especially for the eastern Khanty performances. As such, the eastern Khanty example above (Figure 5) is not the most complex illustration of the diversity of the verse forms, as it concentrates on another complex dimension of Ob-Ugrian versification, namely the embedding of complex *sentence forms* (nominal

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and verbal lines) into a relatively simple verse form. For the purposes of this presentation, it is perhaps appropriate to only mention that the discussion on the Ob-Ugrian diversity of versification will be continued in my forthcoming publications, in which I will discuss the eastern Khanty (mainly Tromagan and Yugan) materials at length.

An open question is whether the *existence of musical instrumental traditions* in a culture will also be somehow reflected in its practices of *song traditions*. Various technological solutions for instruments and associated instrumental practices may motivate musicians to do more or less fixed tunings and consequently, experience fixed pitches. There are practically no studies about the relation between sound devices and vocal practices – whether or to what degree such fixed-tuning conventions may extend into singing in a culture. This question is particularly intriguing concerning the Selkup song traditions, which have examples of a seemingly more "exact" musical expression than in the northern Samoyedic traditions, for instance, in terms of the tonal or rhythmical elements used. These musical stylistic characteristics could be suggested as carrying traces of already forgotten musical instrumental traditions, perhaps similar to those among Ob-Ugrian ones. Unfortunately, the data remain too thin for an empirically grounded opinion on this question.

Forthcoming research will probably also illuminate the status of the Selkup Samoyedic versification in this proposed general categorisation of western Siberian indigenous versification. At this point, the overwhelming majority of the Selkup audio examples (regrettably rare as they are) seems to point to something other than clear Samoyedic isometricity. There are many examples in both northern (Taz) and southern (Tym, Ket') Selkup singing styles, with greatly varying verses embedded in a complex organisation of musical structures.

Sketching the Western Siberian Indigenous Cultural History of Versification

The problem of historical interpretation is commonly encountered in research on these waning traditions, and many questions may never be resolved. Evidence of many local traditions can no longer be gathered because of their discontinuation, while the recordings that have been made of them remain few. The emerging picture of the native western Siberian musical traditions seems to refer to various common principles and phenomena in their cultural history; at the same time, they exhibit various local stylistic solutions in their performance traditions. The variance and the autonomy of the local traditions seem to be directly comparable to the abundance of dialectal areas within the larger native language groups.

Some relevant areas for multidisciplinary understanding could also provide a context for interpretations of the unwritten indigenous cultural histories. First, in the linguistic discourse, many relevant propositions and revisions have been made concerning the possible histories of dispersals of language forms in the Uralic group. The history of the Uralic language family and its spread present a chronology that has long been viewed as beginning from the (East European / West Siberian) Neolithic Period (ca. 4000 BC) (for

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one of the recent revisions of the linguistic chronology, see, e.g., Kallio 2006). For example, the linguistic argumentation for suggesting historical phases of the dispersal processes of the languages of the Uralic group obviously provides an indispensable background for sketching the areal developments of indigenous versification in western Siberia.

The archaeological discourse provides a second disciplinary perspective. Archaeology offers quite another kind of argumentation for propositions concerning the dispersal of western Siberian indigenous cultures during the times covered in historical records and considerably beyond those. In this connection, the question of associating the western Siberian archaeological cultures with the historical cultures or with western Siberian indigenous linguistic boundaries may turn out to be relevant for the discussion on the historical interpretation of indigenous versification. This possibility is highlighted by the present short examination, which shows that some principles of versification that are common in indigenous western Siberia seem to predate later processes of linguistic dispersal (e.g., the common basis of versification of the Tundra and the Forest Nenets).

Molodin (2005: 51–56) summarises the Russian discussion about the archaeological cultural groupings in western Siberia. In his view, the identification of the continuation of Ob-Ugrian- and Selkup-speaking groups with (certain) archaeological cultures of the Iron Age and subsequent eras seems more grounded than the attempts to identify similar continuities with the ethnic formation of the northern Samoyedic groups. In this connection, it is quite interesting to learn what kind of (yet unknown) ethnic prehistory could produce the unified basic architecture for the singing styles of the northern Samoyedic groups, when compared with the Ob-Ugrians or the southern Samoyedic groups and with the notable versatility and variability of their versification. In their singing styles, the northern Samoyeds possibly preserved the characteristics of an ancient indigenous style of an unknown Arctic pre-Samoyedic population. This proposal of the "unknown Arctic" element in the cultural historical composition of the Nenets, for example, could be interpreted in various ways, depending on whether the discussion is about processes of ethnicities, material cultures, languages or language shifts. This could also sound like a somewhat unorthodox suggestion, as expressed by the Russian anthropologist Andrey Golovnëv (2005: 398–400), who discussed the possibility of the northern historical origin of the (northern) Samoyeds, especially the Nenets. As such, it is an interesting suggestion because there seems to be a lack of "southern" references in the Nenets narrative or mythical folklore, for example. Golovnëv suggests the areas of the northern Urals as some kind of a centre for the expansion of the Nenets culture in t western Siberia.

Many perspectives may still be developed through additional comparative research. The connections of the Samoyedic and the Ob-Ugrian ethnolinguistic groups and the correspondences of their local singing styles to those of the Turkic groups of the southern parts of western Siberia raise a distinct and almost unstudied question. We can only wait for findings of direct or indirect evidence of south Siberian Turkic parallels or traces of the northern Samoyedic, overwhelmingly ubiquitous trimetric (hexasyllabic)

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verse principle. Questions of historical comparison with phenomena of oral traditions are more demanding because it is quite difficult for us even to suggest how to read potential historical traces built into these oral cultures. For example, it is not even clear whether we should understand the northern Samoyedic unified versification as *ancient* or *recent*, that is, a phenomenon spanning millennia or centuries. The sorts of consequences entailed in possible findings of southern Siberian stylistic traces also remain an open question. These and many related topics await detailed investigations.

The western Siberian indigenous style areas sketched in this article are suggestions that are based on an actual analysis of sound recording corpora. This analysis combines an interpretation of the sound structures of the oral performances with an understanding of the verse formation of the language. The syllabic level of language is brought into focus because syllables constitute the level at which the phenomena of performed and culturally organised sounds have a directly observable connection, since all the languages examined here are inclined to rely on the syllabic timing of utterances, instead of relying on stress. Perhaps the forthcoming research and results of the analyses that examine eastern Khanty and Selkup singing styles that cover a broader scope will help sharpen the understanding about these western Siberian indigenous stylistic areas of oral culture. Together with the findings from new, multidisciplinary insights in linguistics and archaeology (see, e.g., Kosarev 1991; Parpola 2012), it will probably become possible to arrive at more compelling conclusions about the cultural histories of the indigenous Uralic populations of western Siberia.

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Towards a Generative Model of Ottoman *Aruz* to *Usul* Textsetting

This paper explores the question of textsetting in the Ottoman era. "Textsetting" here refers to the interaction of language, poetic metre, and musical metre in the composition of a song. In short, it refers to the practice of creating songs out of poetic texts.

In what follows, "Ottoman textsetting" will therefore refer to the interaction between the poetic metre system *Aruz* and the musical metre *Usul* in the Ottoman composers' practice of creating songs. I will also briefly touch on the topic of the Ottoman musical modal system, the *Makam*, which plays a crucial role in the composition of songs (and in instrumental pieces of the Ottoman repertoire as well). I use the term "Ottoman" as a generic adjective referring to anything related to the Ottoman Empire (14th–20th century), even when the origin of the practice is not Ottoman *per se.* These three systems (*Aruz*, *Usul,* and *Makam*) were borrowed from the previous Islamic empires, and their practice was highly influenced by the art of the neighbouring Persian Empire. However, their use was developed into new conventions such that an Ottoman style proper, with its own characteristics, took shape over time.

In using the term *generative*, I want to emphasise that my aim is to find the rules or constraints that permit the description of existing textsettings (i.e. songs) and that also and, more importantly, permit the creation of new ones. I am, of course, aware of the complexity involved in finding rules when it comes to a creative endeavour, as when a composer chooses a poem and decides to make a song out of it while respecting the formal/aesthetic constraints of the genre. For this reason, I tend to give my results in terms of *constraints*, as I feel that this notion leaves much more room for creativity than the notion of *rule*. In my view, rules, in a sense, refer to the totality of the instructions relative to *what should be done*. Constraints, on the other hand, are only about *some impossibilities*: in that sense, constraints leave to creators some control over what they want to try, minus what these constraints prohibit. However, these rules/constraints are nowhere explicitly formulated and therefore must be *discovered* by the creators inductively through their own experience with the already existing repertoire. In that sense, this knowledge is of a holistic nature. It therefore correlates with *a*) the number of songs the creator has been exposed to; *b*) the frequency of performances

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of some songs compared to others, e.g. songs that are played more often will tend to become, with time and continuous exposure, prototypical in terms of the style, form, emotions that are carried, and so on; and *c*) the (implicit) heuristics that the creator used to infer a theory from the encountered inputs, and so on.

The poetics and music that are under scrutiny here were the domain of a multilingual elite that was well versed in different art forms. The Ottoman language used in the poems was, in a sense, only a literary language (but it had, of course, profound repercussions on the language spoken by its users); for example, poets could basically use any synonym found in Persian or in Arabic if they wanted and/or needed a specific number of syllables or type of syllable for a given line. For all these reasons, this paper is about something that could be called *court art,* a tradition that had been almost completely interrupted by the end of the Empire and the creation of the Turkish Republic. One of the main reasons is that the Ottoman language had disappeared, and with it, the associated poetry based on *Aruz*. Nevertheless, the *Usul* and *Makam* systems still survive and are used in the creation of new songs, and they are therefore part of any practicing musician's or composer's knowledge. The Ottoman language and *Aruz*, on the other hand, are now the domains of only a few specialists. New songs respecting the Ottoman conventions are generally written using modern Turkish or, less often, using old Ottoman poems. In the latter case, the composers know that the vast majority of their listeners will not be able to understand the poem without constant recourse to a dictionary.

The purpose of this study is of a programmatic nature, as the topic is vast and has not received the attention it deserves. The attempt at finding some rules to describe the *Aruz* to *Usul* relationships is not new (for recent accounts, see e.g. Tanrıkorur 1990; Bektaş 2005; Harmancı 2011). However, I know no other precedent when it comes to a generative model of textsetting. One of the reasons that such a study has remained lacking is that the focus in research on this type of poetry is generally on finding the correlations between a certain type of poetic template and a certain type of rhythmical template through the analysis of a certain portion of the repertoire. In doing so, accounts of the relationship are invariably statistical, and thus the account always suffers from a number of exceptions. In a way, this method only ends up giving a normative account of the compositional process, that is, it shows tendencies that composers seem always happy to break or ignore. (Here, I leave aside the problem of selecting only a portion of the repertoire to prove a point and the bias that can exist in not selecting a different portion of it.) The main problem that scholars face is the fact that, in analysing the repertoire, nothing predisposes a particular poetic template to be associated with a certain rhythmical template. Finding correlations only proves the weight that precedents had on composers; it proves their conformism and nothing else.

For these reasons, this study leaves behind the existing literature. There is no relevance in arguing with its authors on specific points because the theoretical point of departure is so removed from theirs and because my goals are also different, directed towards *constitutive* rules/constraints instead

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of *normative* ones. In what follows, I only set up a framework to discuss the topic: I describe the different systems that are involved; roughly describe how they interact with each other, giving some tentative constraints found through the analysis of (some) existing songs; and provide a simulation of a textsetting following the preliminary model developed here.

The research presented here has been developed through a methodology based on learning a performance tradition and based on a reflexive exploration of its operation in relation to an objective corpus. The paper is organised in four sections. The first section describes the three systems (*Aruz*, *Usul,* and *Makam*) that are needed for the creation of songs and how these work independently. The second section is a summary of the steps involved in the composition of a song, that is, the question of how these systems are hierarchically ordered. The third section gives examples of some rules/constraints inferred from the analysis of existing songs and attempts to uncover how the three systems interact. The last section illustrates the way the inferred constraints work together through a simulation of the process of writing a song, following the generative model that this paper aims to develop.

The Component Systems

The three systems needed for composing a song – *Aruz*, *Usul,* and *Makam* – can each function independently. In other words, we can write a poem using only a metre (*Aruz*), play a rhythm (musical metre or *Usul*) on a drum, or improvise a non-metred melody on a melodic instrument (called a *taksim* in this tradition). In this section, I briefly outline how these systems work. Note that the description is only intended to provide the reader sufficient information to be able to follow the remaining discussion; many more details would, of course, be needed to cope with the more subtle intricacies that one finds in the actual data. My description of these three systems is given in terms of generative rules, which only means that once these rules have been understood, it is possible to create an infinite number of new templates (in the case of *Aruz* and *Usul*) and new modes (*Makam*s), because of the highly recursive nature of these rules. Note that the term "rule" will work in the present context since the nature of these systems is purely formal; on the other hand, when I talk about textsetting, I talk about constraints, for the reasons given above: the notion of rules, in my view, will not work at that level of analysis.

Aruz

Aruz is the metrical system that was used to write poems in the Ottoman Empire. It consists of a repertoire of different metrical templates. These templates constrain the number of syllables and the syllabic structure of words to be used in a line. The number of templates may be expanded, recursively, but generally is not, with poets preferring to work with what was given in the tradition. *Aruz* is totally independent of the two other systems, i.e. poems can be written without being put onto musical structures.

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Songs were generally written according to a given poem, making the direction of the composition process: poem ⇒ textsetting ⇒ song. Rarely was a melody invented to serve as the canvas onto which words should be put. I have heard masters say that building a song beginning from a melody (melody ⇒ textsetting ⇒ song) is a new way of doing things, but that songs written this way are generally not as good as songs written the traditional way.

The *Aruz* system is an ensemble of templates (*buḥūr*) that command the type and number of syllables that are to be used in the specific template a poet decides to use. Two types of slots exist in these templates: short and long, based on a contrast between open/light syllables versus closed/heavy syllables. Short positions are to be filled by a short or light syllable, that is, a syllable consisting of a single vowel (e.g. *i*, *u*, *ü*) or with a syllable ending with a vowel (e.g. *ki*, *ku*, *kü*). Long positions are to be filled with a long or heavy syllable, which is a closed syllable, i.e. any syllable ending with a consonant (e.g. *ip*, *up*, *üp*) or consonant cluster (e.g. *genç* [phonetically *gentʃ* "young"], *kalp* ["heart"]) or an open syllable ending with a long vowel. Some rules of syllabification that differ from those in speech apply as well. The final consonant of a closed syllable can operate as the onset of the next word if that word starts with a vowel. In normal spoken language, for example, the expression *ded-im on-a* ("I said to her") would syllabify *de-dim o-na* or L-H L-L (light-heavy light-light), but the poetic form allows the final /m/ of *dedim* to be transferred to the following word, with a syllabification as *de-di-mo-na*, or L-L-L-L.

The main sub-units (*taf'ila*s) that serve to create the *Aruz* templates are presented in (1):

(1)		
	1. Fa'ûlün (. _ _)	5. Müstef'ilün (_ _ . _)
	2. Fâ'ilün, fâ'ilât (_ . _)	6. Mef'ûlâtü (_ _ _.)
	3. Mefâ'ilün (. _ ._)	7. Müfâ'aletün (. _ . . _)
	4. Fâ'ilâtün (_ . _ _)	8. Mütefâ'ilün (. . _ . _)

Note: . = a short position (or L); _ = a long position (or H); ' is an adaptation of the Arabic ع.

These *taf'ila*s are combined to create larger templates. The larger templates are of two types: (a) repeating templates and (b) mixed templates. Repeating templates are composed of at least two *taf'ila*s of the same type, e.g. *Mefâ'ilün / Mefâ'ilün / Mefâ'ilün / Mefâ'ilün* (. _ . _ / . _ . _ / . _ . _ / . _ . _). Mixed templates are composed of different *taf'ila*s, e.g. *Mefâ'ilün / Mefâ'ilün / Fa'ûlün* (. _ . _ / . _ . _ / . _ _). The recursive nature of the rules for creating large templates logically permits the creation of an infinite number of them.

In (2), I give as an example two lines of a poem written on the mixed template *Fâ'ilâtün / Fâ'ilâtün / Fâ'ilâtün / Fâ'ilün* (_ . _ _ / _ . _ _ / _ . _ _ / _ . _) (given in Bektaş 2005) (Note: I have added spaces between the syllables to make the metre more salient):

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(2) Mey ve sî her / şî ve nin lut / fıy le bus tâ /nın da dır
Fit ne sî â / hir za mâ nın / çeş mi fet tâ /nın da dır

Meyvesî her şîvenin lutfıyle bustânındadır
Fitnesî âhir zamânın çeşmi fettânındadır

The fruit of every blandishment is, with its benevolence, in thy garden
The seductions of the end of time are in thy beguiling eye

As can be observed, the template already offers a "rhythm" (_ . _ _ / _ . _ _ / _ . _ _ / _ . _) that could be used in the creation of songs. The problem is that if it were to be used as straightforwardly as that, we would end up with uninteresting songs and, more importantly, songs that would be very similar to each other. Note that putting words to an *Aruz* template is already a form of textsetting, since a metrical template is chosen, and words have to be accommodated to the constraints given by that specific template. For example, words will often not fit the template symmetrically: a word can be spread over two templates if it takes place at their boundary, e.g. the first half of a word on the last slot of the first template, and the other half on the first slot of the second one. It is in these kinds of details that the talent of the poet is to be found.

Usul

Usul was the metrical/rhythmical system used in the Ottoman musical tradition. *Usul* offers different templates that constrain the number and type of units that can be used until a cycle is repeated. The number of templates could logically be expanded, recursively, but was generally not, as composers preferred to work with what was provided by the tradition. Occasionally, the *Usul* might change within a piece but only for a given full section, not for a part of a section. *Usul* is an independent system but very rarely is it performed independently (e.g. a percussion performance would be an example of this). *Usul* is comprised of rhythmical templates that are composed according to two types of subdivisions: binary or ternary. These subdivisions are traditionally marked with strong or soft hits on the *kudüm*, a percussion instrument composed of two little drums, one for the down beats and one for the up beats. Onomatopoeically, the sound *Düm* is used for a strong beat and the sound *Tek* for a weak one (other sounds exist as well, but they are not important for the present discussion).

Some examples of *Usul* are given in (3). ('X' indicates each available slot; '_' and '.' indicates the length of the slots; Note: in a ternary subdivision, the first beat is the strongest (*TEK*), and the third one is stronger than the second one (*Tek*)):

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(3)														
2+3 (= 5):	X x +	X x	X x				or	_ +	–	.			
	Düm	TEK	Düm					Düm	TEK	Düm			
	1–2	3	4–5					1–2	3	4–5			
3+2 (= 5):	X x	(X) +	X x					–	. +	_			
	Düm	Tek	Düm				or	Düm	Tek	Düm			
	1–2	3	4–5					1–2	3	4–5			
3+2+2+3 (= 10):	X x	(X) +	X x	X x +	X x	(X)	or	–	. +	_ +	_ +	–	.
	Düm	Tek	Düm	Düm	TEK	Tek		Düm	Tek	Düm	Düm	TEK	Tek
	1–2	3	4–5	6–7	8–9	10		1–2	3	4–5	6–7	8–9	10

Etc.

Cycles of up to 40 beats exist, and these 40 beats cycles can themselves be used as parts of even longer cycles (templates consisting of up to 120 beats exist). In this sense, the *Usul* system's composition rules work in very similar ways to those of the *Aruz* system, i.e. simple templates, repetitive templates, and mixed templates exist here as well. In that sense, as in the case of *Aruz*, one can also create recursively as many *Usul* templates as one wants.

Makam

The *Makam system* is the modal system responsible for melodies. It can be used without metre (rhythm) or words, which means that it is totally independent from the other two systems. It is an abstract theoretical system and was the main element of Ottoman music. The aim of composers in their work was primarily to correctly exemplify the mode (*Makam*) they chose, which was done on the basis of their knowledge of the repertoire and the characteristics of the modes they inferred from the repertoire.

*Makam*s are built on the combinations of three to six notes long "scales", the *cin*s ("tetrachords" in Western musicology). Because of the availability of microtones (often wrongly referred to as "quarter tones"), many *cin*s are possible.

Some of the most important *cin*s are presented in (4); "etc." is added as a reminder that we can easily add to this list (some other *cin*s in fact do exist and others could be created):

(4)				
	1. c-d-e-f-(g)	(*Çargah*)	5) d-e^{b}-f-g-(a)	(*Kürdi*)
	2. c-d-e^{d}-f-(g)	(*Rast*)	6) d-e^{b}-$f^{\#}$-g-(a)	(*Hicaz*)
	3. c-d-e^{b}-f-(g)	(*Buselik*)	7) d-e^{d}-f-g-(a-(b^{b}))	(*Uşşak*)
	4. c-d-e^{b}-$f^{\#}$-g	(*Nikriz*)	8) e^{d}-f-g	(*Segah*)
	Etc.			

Notes: 1. c has been chosen as the reference pitch as a matter of convenience; 2. ^{d} = an ensemble of microtones that do not exist in the Western system; its value depends on the mode in which it appears (other symbols do exist but are not relevant for the present discussion).

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This is how we combine *cin*s to form simple *Makam*s, and each simple *Makam* is composed of two *cin*s. The first one starts on the fundamental pitch, and the second one starts on the third, fourth or fifth. For example, the *Makam Rast* is a combination of the *cin*s *Rast* on c (c-d-e^d-f-g) and the *cin*s *Rast* on its fifth, g (g-a-b^d-c); the *Makam Karciğar* is a combination of the *cin*s *Uşşak* on d (d-e^d-f-g) and the *cin*s *Hicaz* on its fourth, g (g-a^b-b-c-d); and so on.

Two *Makams* can share the same intervals but differ according to their "strong" (*güçlu*) interval (or dominant pitch), the pitch that separates the two *cin*s composing the *Makam*. For example, the *Makam Beyati* is the combination (d-e^d-f-g) + (g-a-b^d-c-d), while the *Makam Hüseyni* is the combination (d-e^d-f-g-a) + (a-b^d-c-d). The only difference is that the strong note is the fourth (g) in the case of *Beyati* and the fifth (a) in the case of *Hüseyni*.

Two *Makam*s can share the same *cin*s and their strong note as well but differ according to their directions. There are three types of *Makam*s: 1) ascending, 2) descending, and 3) ascending-descending. For example, the *Makam Hüseyni* is the combination (d-e^d-f-g-a) + (a-b^d-c-d), and it starts on the "strong" note (a), which makes it an ascending-descending *Makam*. The *Makam Muhayyer* is the combination of the same *cin*s (d-e^d-f-g-a) + (a-b^d-c-d^2), but it starts at the high octave (d^2), which makes it a descending *Makam*, and so on.

*Makam*s also group into another set of three categories: 1) simple, 2) "composed", and 3) "transposed". Composed *Makam*s are combinations of two or more *Makam*s, e.g. a *Makam* is explored in its entirety, but the resolution is on another *Makam*, which makes the first *Makam* appear as a component of a larger entity. Transposed *Makam*s are *Makam*s, simple or composed, that are played with a different pitch. The term "transposed" is not accurate, and instead reflects the influence that Western musical theory has had on theorists. In fact, the intonational system of Ottoman music was not tempered equally. As a consequence, a difference in the fundamental pitch of a *Makam* results in slight changes in the relation of intervals to one another in comparison to their relation in the original pitch.

Composing a Song

Now that the three systems have been (roughly) described, we can come back to the question of composition. Any composer needs to go through four steps in order to compose a song:

Step 1: Choose/compose the poem.

Composition necessarily entails an *Aruz* template that serves to write it.

Step 2: Choose an *Usul* and its tempo.

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In this tradition, the ethos of the poem will influence the choice of tempo. For example, the tempo of the song and the length of the template will be important in carrying this ethos; e.g. a fast song will be more cheerful, a slower one more “deep”. A longer template will take time before it is repeated, while a short one will not; a pattern that repeats fast will easily produce a feeling of groove, while a long pattern creates a feeling of being carried in the melodic flow for a while. And so on. But inside these (aesthetic) limits, it seems that the *Usul* can be chosen freely, i.e. the *Aruz* template of the chosen poem has no influence on the choice of the musical one. The numbers of repetitions of an *Usul* are even.

Step 3: Choose a *Makam*.

This choice is correlated with the ethos traditionally associated with the different *Makam*s. Composers will therefore choose a mode they feel corresponds to the ethos of the poem.

Step 4: With all these ingredients, try to end up with something that makes sense aesthetically.

This involves a song that respects the grammar of textsetting and therefore ultimately involves the question of the possibility of being accepted as well formed under some competent (notwithstanding the problem of defining “competent”) master’s “grammaticality judgment”. Note that the issue of the *quality* of the textsetting is different from the issue of its well formedness: the textsetting could be well formed while being “dull” or not beautiful, according to some master; it could also be ill formed while still being interesting.

Some conventions found in the tradition:

1. A song is generally written according to an ABCB’ pattern. Each section has a specific metrical/rhythmical/melodic formula that is repeated as much as needed to fit the length of the line. For every *Usul*, a division of the poem is created, and this division is used again until the next section is reached.
2. The chorus, which is the section that gets repeated, is often composed on the second and last verse of the paragraphs of the poem. This generally means that, if the poem has four lines, A is the first line, B the second (the chorus), C the third, and B’ the fourth.
3. As for the melodic aspect: A is often based on the first section of the *Makam*, B on the second, and C is the modulation part of the song; B’ permits returning to the main *Makam* and concluding.
4. Each section generally corresponds to one line of the poem. Between lines, an instrumental filling can be (and generally is) added to mark the section change while, at the same time, bring the melodic material to another section of the *Makam*, e.g. an ascending *Makam* has the following development: emphasis on the lower *cin*s; then on the second one; return to the first *cin*s; then modulate, often on the high octave;

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modulate back to the main *Makam;* and end up on its fundamental pitch.

5. *Melismas* are one of the important features of Ottoman songs. The term refers to a syllable that is stretched and that receives a sophisticated melodic treatment. Composers are often praised relative to their mastery in the complexity of their *melismas*. Singers can then ornament over these *melismas*.
6. As we saw, the Ottoman lexicon was a mixture of Turkic, Arabic, and Persian, and poets could always decide to choose a word in its different translations depending on the type of syllables they needed at a specific place. Long vowels originally did not exist in Turkish. This is why the majority of *melismas* are to be found on the long vowels of "borrowed" words.

A Tentative Proposal

The mapping *Aruz* ⇔ *Usul* is rarely symmetrical: they may be two relatively similar systems, but, generally speaking, they are not symmetrical although they run in parallel. Adaptations are therefore necessary. A hypothetical example of an asymmetry is given in (5) (Note: A = *Aruz*; U = *Usul*):

(5) A: Xx xX xX xx xX xx x (=_ . . _ . _ . . . _ . . .)
U: Xx Xx Xx Xx Xx Xx (= _ . _ . _ . _ . _ . _ .)

If the mapping *Aruz* to *Usul* were symmetrical, we would end up with *Aruz* and *Usul* running in parallel: one syllable for one beat, one long/heavy syllable for a long beat, a short/light syllable for a short beat, and so on, something that would look like what is presented in (6):

(6) A: Xx Xx Xx Xx
U: Xx Xx Xx Xx

The aim of this paper is to uncover some general principles that are in action in the process of adaptation when the poem and the rhythm are not symmetrically aligned and to uncover the role *Makam* plays in the whole process. In this section, I offer some of the results of my analyses of the existing repertoire as a tentative direction for further research. These are some constraints I tentatively propose:

Constraint 1: *One cannot change the musical metre even if that could facilitate textsetting!*

The musical/metrical structure cannot change, since this is the only real constant of a song – at least, until we come out with a melodic formula. This first decision on metre will thus have an influence on the rest of the textsetting process since a new constant appears at that time. Even if the poem and, more importantly, the metrical constraints of the template that was used for writing it are the basis of the textsetting, once the musical metre

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is chosen, we cannot "stop" it: it will structure all the following adaptations that are needed. The fact that the number of repetitions of the *Usul* is even implies that the number of slots that will be available to place syllables will also be even, even if the chosen *Aruz* is not: multiply anything by 2, 4, 6, etc., and you will get an even number. This is one example of what I refer to as "asymmetries" that need to be resolved in the textsetting process. Many options exist to reconcile this situation. The remaining slots may be filled with instrumental material, or filled with vocables or expletive words, such as *ey*, *aman*, etc. The performer may also use a formula that is repeated with one variation that is not symmetrical to the others, and so on.

> Constraint 2: *Once one has found a formula (which is a melodic element, and therefore a rhythmical one as well), one should not change it until the next section (if one decides to change it at all)!*

Formulas are an important part of compositions: we choose how to map the organisation of the syllables given in the poem to the chosen *Usul*, and we then maintain the chosen formula, at least for a section of the song. The formula may only last a couple of bars and be repeated, or it can be turned into a different formula. This complex formula will then be repeated, but a formula can also last a full cycle, in which case the formula is a phrase lasting for the full rhythmical cycle to the end.

Note that the first two constraints are, in fact, really about being *consistent* in decisions throughout the textsetting.

> Constraint 3: *Each section of the song is devoted to one line of the poem at the minimum: one cannot start a verse until the last rhythmical cycle of a section is over (a line cannot be spread over two sections)!*

In that sense, *Usul* is constraining the textsetting process very strongly.

> Constraint 4: *If one chooses a fast tempo for the textsetting, one should not stretch syllables over sequences of beats! (For fast songs, one should try to find a formula that holds a one-to-one relationship between the syllables of the poem and the slots given in the Usul template one chose.)*

For an *Usul* in which the time-signature is based on eighth notes (e.g. 3/8, 6/8, 9/8, etc.), slots are of two types, i.e. the quarter note or the dotted quarter; for an *Usul* in which the reference duration is the quarter note, slots correspond to a beat, a strong beat or, in some cases, an appoggiatura on the first syllable of the poetic line.

> Constraint 5: *One should not stretch short vowels (if one has long ones at his/her disposal)!*

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Melismas are generally found on the long vowels of "borrowed" words since only these have long vowels. However, if the melodic formula necessitates a *melisma* on a short vowel for reasons of symmetries with the other sections, it is correct to use one. For these reasons, we find many short vowel *melismas* not at the beginning of a song but later on. This is because the composer found the formulas in a chronological series, starting with the first line or even with the first words of the poem.

Constraint 6: *One has to choose between the semantic and the formal aspects of the poem in some cases! (The constraints the poet was dealing with are not the same as the composer's: one has the right to be influenced more by the semantic aspect than by the formal aspect of the poem.)*

As we saw, *Aruz* is already an adaptation, and words will often not fit the template symmetrically: a word can be spread over two templates if it takes place at their boundary, e.g. the first half of a word on the last slot of the first template and the other half on the first slot of the second one. In the textsetting process, composers can ignore the details concerning the way words are put to the metrical template and treat words for themselves, since for them, it is the full line that is important. This means that somehow, *Aruz* constrains the type and number of syllables for the poet, but then, for the composer, the semantics become more important than the poetic rules in the parsing.

Constraint 7: *One should not map the important pitches of the Makam one chose onto the weak beats of the melody and should not stretch less important pitches!*

Strong beats and important pitches (according to the modal system, *Makam*) are the crucial determinants of the text ⇒ melody/rhythm mapping. Important pitches therefore tend to be mapped onto strong beats. If the formula includes some long pitches, they will tend to consist of important pitches, according to the chosen *Makam*. Therefore, syllables falling on important pitches will often end up being longer than syllables falling on passing tones if there is a decision to have some longer syllables. This also means that, according to Constraint 5, the long vowels of the poems will often be found on the important pitches.

Constraint 8: *Music should stand on its own (one should not feel too much constrained by the poem if the music needs more material)!*

Often, words are added to some verses to fill positions that are rhythmically needed. These words generally function as propositional attitude markers at the level of the entire discourse that constitutes the poem, or at the level of

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specific phrases: words like *vay*, *aman*, *ey*, etc., fill positions that are available, especially if the rhythmic cycle is long.

A Simulation

Step 1: Choosing the Poem
For reasons of space, only two lines of a poem have been chosen:

(7) Mey ve sî her / şî ve nin lut / fıy le bus tâ / nın da dır
Fit ne sî â / hir za mâ nın / çeş mi fet tâ / nın da dır

Meyvesî her şîvenin lutfıyle bustânındadır
Fitnesî âhir zamânın çeşmi fettânındadır

The fruit of every blandishment is, with its benevolence, in thy garden
The seductions of the end of time are in thy beguiling eye

A: (*Fâ' i lâ tün* / *Fâ' i lâ tün* / *Fâ' i lâ tün* / *Fâ' i lün*
(_ . _ _/_ . _ _/_ . _ _/_ . _)

Step 2: Choosing an *Usul*
Let's set this poem on an *Usul* called *Ağir Aksak*, which goes as follows:

(8) U: _ . _ _ _ . or Xx(X) Xx Xx Xx(X)

This gives ten available slots (one for each beat) or six available slots: X(x) X X(x) X(x) X(x)X (if we take strong beats only including the third beats of ternary subdivisions); or four available slots X(xX) X(x) X(x) X(xX) (one for each downbeat); and so on for smaller subdivisions, or if we stretch the melody. *Ağir Aksak* is played with a relatively slow tempo that, in my view, fits the seriousness of the poem.

Step 3: Choose a *Makam*
I chose the *Makam Beyati*, which has seriousness and melancholy to it (that seems to reflect the general tone of the poem), while still being "bright", mainly for the reason that it is ascending-descending (compared, e.g. with *Uşşak,* which has the same tetrachords, but is darker).

Step 4: Putting the Pieces Together
Facing Constraint 1, I decided to map the poem on a cycle of four *Usul* repeats for each section. This gives 40, 24, or 16 slots (four times _ . _ _ _ .), depending on whether we want to use beats, strong beats, or downbeats as the reference slot, respectively (Xx(X) Xx Xx Xx(X)). This represents a line of 15 syllables (_ . _ _ / _ . _ _ / _ . _ _ / _ . _), since I decided to map one line of the poem on one section of the song (see Constraint 3).

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This is the simplest way to map the poetic template onto the rhythmical one: it is a rhythmical formula (see Constraint 2) that maps, roughly, one syllable for each downbeat + small adaptations, in this case, with the addition of an instrumental part on the last subdivision (Instr.):

(9) U: _. _ _ _. / _. _ _ _. / _. _ _ _. / _. _ _ _.
A: Fâ' i lâ tün / Fâ' i lâ tün / Fâ' i lâ tün / Fâ' i lün [Instr.−−]

This would give, between many other possible options, a textsetting that is "grammatical" (many songs in fact exist that exploit this type of mapping). The problem is that we do not have much space to stretch syllables and add *melisma*. The only way to enhance this mapping would be to find a melody that would make this song stand out as a masterpiece (of course, we could always use the other two parsings I gave above: 40 beats and 24 strong beats). A related problem is that songs in this *Usul* tend to be played slowly, and songs that are slow generally stretch syllables and are therefore full of *melisma*. I will therefore add two extra measures so that I can get a bit more freedom of movement inside the given constraints. This is where the Constraints 4 and 5 concerning syllables enter the picture: since we map 15 syllables over many more slots, we will have to stretch syllables (Constraint 4). The situation can be represented thus:

(10) _. _ _ _. / _. _ _ _. / _. _ _ _. / _. _ _ _. / _. _ _ _. / _. _ _ _.
Me ve sî−−−− he şî−−−−−− ve ni lut fıy le bus tâ−−−−−− nın da dır
y − r n −
Fit ne sî−−−− â za mâ−−−− ni çeş mi−−−− fet tâ−−−−−− nın da dır
− hir n −

According to Constraint 5, we should try to stretch long vowels over short ones and long syllables over short ones. Our poem contains such syllables, and I will therefore only stretch these ones.

As we see, the poem is not symmetrical when it comes to where the long vowels and long syllables take place. This is reflected in the textsetting I chose: I decided to map the identical parts of the poem onto the same rhythmical slots (*tâ* and *nın da dır*) to keep a feeling of symmetry. Now we have to decide what to do with the extra measure that is left at the end of each line. This is where Constraint 8 has a role. I will add an emotional word, *ey*, at the beginning of each line and an instrumental part at the end of each one to fill the empty slots:

(11) _. _ _ _. / _. _ _ _. / _. _ _ _. / _. _ _ _. / _. _ _ _. / _. _ _ _.
Ey−−− Me ve sî−−−− her şî−−− v ni lut fıy le bus tâ−−− nın nın da dır [Instr.−−]
y − e n −
Ey−−− Fit ne sî−− â hir za mâ− nın çeş mi−− fet tâ−−− nın da dı [Instr.−−]
− − r

Now we also have a mapping that is "grammatical" in that it respects Constraints 1–5. The advice contained in Constraint 6 is followed on the fourth measure: the beginning of a word is mapped onto the beginning of a measure, in this way keeping up with a "semantic" parsing of the poem.

Then we come to the melodic constraints, and the order of exposition of the *Makam* needs to be respected. As we saw, each part of a song needs to

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address a part of the *Makam*. *Beyati* is an ascending-descending *Makam*. The first part should therefore address the second *cin*s, g. Since this is the first part of the song (A), the melodic material will be organised around g and then slowly move towards d, the fundamental pitch. The second section (B), which is also the chorus, will therefore have its melodic material organised around d. The fourth line of the poem will also be mapped onto the same melodic/rhythmic formula found for B (since the form is ABCB'). For the present discussion, I will only give a melodic skeleton[1]: all the fillings that occur between important pitches are in a sense "ornamental" or *melismatic* relative to the skeleton. This is why, since Ottoman music is essentially orally transmitted, these fillings will often vary from musician to musician, while the skeleton will be quite consistent from one version to the next (and even from one transcription to the next, when they have been transcribed). Here is the final textsetting:

```
(12)  _.   _   _    _. / _.  _ _   _. / _.  _   _   _. / _.  _   _   _. / _.  _   _   _. / _.   _   _    _.
      g   b^b  g    f    g  f  e^d g     a  b^b a   g     f   g   a   c     b^b a   g   g     f    g   gf   e^ddc
      Ey---  Mey ve      sî----- her     şî--- ve nin     lut fıy le  bus   tâ----- nın       nın da  dır  [Instr.--
                                                                                                             ]

      _.   _   _    _. / _.  _ _   _. / _.  _   _   _. / _.  _   _   _. / _.  _   _   _. / _.   _   _    _.
       d  c   b^dc  d    d  g  f   e^d   d  d   ef  g     b^b     f   g     fe^d d  d  g      f    e^d d
                                                             ag
      Ey---  Fit  ne     sî--  â          za mâ-- nın     çeş mi-- fet      tâ----- nın       da  dır [Instr.--]
```

Conclusion

This paper had four interrelated aims: first, to describe the different systems that are involved in Ottoman texsetting; second, to describe roughly how they interact with each other; third, to give some tentative constraints I found through the analysis of (some) existing songs; and fourth, to give a simulation of a textsetting following the tentative model this paper developed. As the last section of the paper shows, we can actually generate a song using the principles discussed. However, as I said, my purpose should be considered as of a programmatic nature only. I hope this paper will push others to refine the set of constraints I proposed. Or even, if some of what I said does not hold true, to falsify my claims and propose other constraints and/or principles. I also hope that this paper might offer ideas to scholars working on different musical traditions in which textsetting plays an important part. The model I developed here would then have the advantage of providing a tool for comparative research.

1 I have developed elsewhere a theory of heterophony in which heterophony is seen as the background for learning the characteristics of a given *Makam* and, therefore, as a methodological tool to go from the given (what the musician knows in terms of melodies) to the creative part, whether it be a composition or improvisation; see Royer-Artuso 2015, 2017, and 2019 for further discussions and Royer-Artuso 2012 for the initial work on which it is based. You can also find in Abou Mrad 2016 an interesting model for the analysis of modal music that is, in some sense of the term, *generative*.

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"Not Singing, Not Saying"

Performance Flexibility of Norwegian *Stev* and Re-performance of Accentual Poetry, such as Old English and Old Norse Poetry

There is no living oral tradition for Old Norse or Old English poetry, such as *Beowulf*. The manuscripts give few clues as to performance; we do not even know if they were recited or sung. On the other hand, the Norwegian song genre called *stev* has a living oral tradition going back centuries. Old Norse and Old English poems are long and solemn, in contrast to the majority of *stev*, which often tell a minimalistic everyday story within one stanza of four lines. Yet the transcriptions of *stev*, Old Norse and Old English, share the common metrical features of two stresses in a half-line, also called a "dipod" or "two-pulse" (Ekgren 2009: 208; 2011: 280).

Old English	S S - - *þeod - cyninga,*	S - S - *þrym gefrunon*	and the kings who ruled them, had courage and greatness.
Old Norse	S S *Deyr fé,*	S - S *deyia frændr*	Cattle die, kinfolk die
Norwegian *stev*	- S - S *Det lyfter hågt*	- - S - S - *i den unge guten*	Uplifted high, in the young lad

Table 1. The pair of stresses[1] in a half-line is a predominant feature in manuscripts of Old Norse and Old English as well as in performance transcriptions of Norwegian *stev* (Ekgren 2009: 208). The irregular number of syllables per line is also a common feature. Sources for examples are given in complete quote below. "S" = stressed syllable, "-" = unstressed syllable.

These common metrical features have sparked experimental re-performance of Old Norse poetry using *stev* melodies and *stev* performance as a model (Storm-Mathisen 2002, 2015). *Stev* performance, *kveding*, has no steady beat, but can be described as "accentual poetry with a melody." The melody adapts to the text, allowing the performer great rhythmic flexibility, close to a free rhythm of speech, described by *stev* performers as "not singing" and "not saying." The focus on storytelling and the lack of steady rhythm in *stev* make it a challenge to transcribe using standard musical notation.

1 Elsewhere in this chapter, stresses are only underlined.

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We have quantified this performance flexibility by measuring syllable durations using audio analysis software to analyse a recorded performance and found interesting patterns of syllable durations and stresses. The great performance flexibility of Norwegian *stev* may have promoted the survival of this oral tradition through the centuries, and maybe even back to the Vikings. In the light of *stev* performance, some features of Skaldic and Icelandic poetry may be of interest to inspire reinvention of the performance of poetry lacking an oral tradition, especially if such poetry has a pattern of two stresses in a half-line.

Most Germanic accentual verse, such as Old Norse poetry and Old English poetry, lacks a living oral tradition, but is understood as a type of accentual verse (i.e. based on stresses, while the number of syllables may vary) built on a framework of two stresses in a half-line (or hemistich), with half-lines linked across a caesura by alliteration. Discussions of the performance of these types of poetry have generally focused exclusively on the poetic traditions and associated evidence connected with these Old Germanic languages. However, the poetic form did not disappear uniformly from all regions and languages. In Iceland, the epic metre evolved with changes in language and continued to be used for the narrative poems called *sagnakvæði* ("folktale poems"): with continuities observable even in the formulaic language, although the performance tradition of this poetry disappeared before the manner of performance could be documented (Þorgeirsson 2013: 182).

In Norway, on the other hand, the poetry called *stev* seems to exhibit a corresponding evolution from the Old Norse poetic forms (Storm-Mathisen 2007; 2015: 130), and it continues to be performed in the present day. Whether the probable historical continuity is brought into focus or the formal correspondence of verse forms is treated only as forming an analogy, *stev* performance holds the potential to offer insight into how Old Germanic poetry may have been performed.

Traditional performance of Norwegian *stev* seems to revel in a highly irregular rhythm; with a story in mind, the performer gives each syllable the time it needs within an intuited framework of stresses. This flexibility has puzzled scholars and been difficult to analyse (see below), primarily because *stev* melodies have no steady beat; instead, the syllables and melody seem to adapt to an underlying pattern of paired stresses emerging in performance. This highly flexible pattern allows the performer remarkable liberty to tell a concise story expressively within a stanza of only four lines.

The traditional performance style is called *kveding*, which can be described as "sung-recited" (Bø 1957: 9). Aslak Brekke, a *kvedar* (stev performer) describes *kveding* as differing from "singing" (discussed below). Similarly, a *kvædemand*, an Icelandic performer akin to the Norwegian *kvedar*, formulated the difference between Icelandic kvædning and song as two ways of using the singing voice: "Når jeg synger bliver mit hjerte glad, når jeg kvæder er det historien det kommer an på" (Nielsen 1972: 39) ("When I sing, my heart is joyful; when I *kvæder*, it is about the story"). A similar distinction is found in Old English. The Anglo-Saxon community (speakers of the language) used the term *cweðende* for poetry performed

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in-between song and speech; performance by a *scop* (poet) was something intermediate between "singing" and "saying" (Opland 1980: 254).[2]

We propose that the pattern of stresses reflected in *stev* performance and in Old Norse and Old English poetic texts can be viewed as a type of formula, not a formula of words, but a formula for the arrangement of words.[3] We further suggest that the way this formula operates in *stev* performance can be applied as a model for understanding the equivalent compositional formula in Old English and Old Norse poetries, in which the poetry is preserved in text-scripts from which the rhythms of performance are only inferred or extrapolated. This chapter explores this approach and its implications for understanding the performance of Old Germanic poetries.

Common Germanic Roots

Poetry, as documented in the Germanic languages Old English, Old High German, Old Norse, and Old Saxon, reflects oral traditions that have evolved in their respective languages from a common verse form based on an accentual rhythm, with two stresses in each half-line and the half-lines linked across a caesura (or pause) by alliteration (Lehmann 1956). Whether this poetic form traces from a common inheritance of the Proto-Germanic language or was spread between them at a later time, it is found already in the Gallehus horn runic inscription from around 400 AD (Krause 1971: 148; cf. Aðalsteinsson 2014: 19), while later evidence suggests that it was a dominant poetic form, used across a variety of genres, that was superseded with the medieval spread of rhyme as a primary principle in cultural poetics. Of this common Germanic poetic form, Winfred P. Lehmann writes:

> [V]erses were welded together by means of alliteration (likeness of sound in initial elements of important words of a verse). This likeness was coupled with and strengthened by stress; those segments that were alike were also recited with greatest emphasis. Accordingly, all the elements that unify a line were packed into the same segments. The result was a solemn, slow-moving line of great force. (Lehmann 1956: 3)

The focus here is particularly on the Germanic poetries of Scandinavia and the British Isles, so we discuss Old Norse and Old English poetries and

2 Similarly, the name of the Old Norse verse form *ljóðaháttr* (discussed below) is a compound of *ljóð*, which can mean both "poetry" or "song", while *háttr* has a much broader sense than poetic metre (Árnason 2016: 195). The name of the verse form called *fornyrðislag* means "the way of putting old stories". These can be compared to *stev* as neither singing nor speaking, but in between.

3 This use of "formula" seems to have similarity with what Foley describes as common between *guslar* poetic language and Homeric poetry: "The most important of these common metrical characteristics is colonic structure, that is, regular, constituent subunits within the line. This phenomenon leads in both cases to an encapsulated phraseology, a diction consisting of verbatim and substitutable phrases that Parry called 'formulaic'," (Foley 1996: 14). Earlier, Russo pointed out that "'formulaic verse'... demands certain established rhythmical patterns" (Russo 1963: 247).

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leave aside Germanic poetries on the continent, which were not nearly as extensively recorded in writing (see Fig. 1). In terms of language history, Proto-Germanic separated into

(1) North Germanic, which evolved into Old Norse, from which the Scandinavian languages derive,
(2) West Germanic, which evolved into Old English, from which English derived, as well as Old High German and Old Saxon, and gave rise to all of the Germanic languages surviving on the continent, and
(3) East Germanic, which evolved into Gothic but eventually went extinct. The languages and associated cultures of the Old Norse and Old English branches in focus here culturally influenced each other for centuries during the Viking Age (793–1066) (Hellem 2014: 3–8). Nevertheless, the poetic forms developed in distinctly different directions.

Old English, like its Old High German and Old Saxon counterparts, maintained a stichic (i.e. lines not organised into couplets or stanzas) long epic form (cf. *Beowulf*), with an idiom consistent with the "composition in performance" practices described through Oral-Formulaic Theory (Lord 1997 [1960]: ch. 10). The poetic form with the "Germanic irregular rhythm" (Lehmann 1956: 97) can be illustrated by an example from Old English in the verses quoted from *Beowulf,* ca. 8th century[4] (stresses underlined):

Hwæt!
wē Gār-Dena   in geār-dagum
þēod-cyninga   þrym gefrūnon,
hū þā æþelingas   ellen fremedon.
Oft Scyld Scēfing   sceaþena þrēatum,
monegum mægþum.   meodo-setla oftēah.

So!
the Spear-Danes   in days gone by
and the kings who ruled them   had courage and greatness,
we have heard of those princes'   heroic campaigns.
There was Shield Sheafson,   scourge of many tribes,
a wrecker of mead-benches   rampaging among foes.
(Heaney 2001: 2–3.)

Old Norse poetries, however, reflect a short poetic form more comparable with ballads, and although the metrical structure of individual verses remained based on the same principles, these had developed towards organisation into quatrain stanzas (Árnason 2006) i.e. four-line stanzas. The common Germanic verse form became what is called *fornyrðislag* in Old Norse, with a distinctive variation called *ljóðaháttr*. In *ljóðaháttr*, each line of four stresses (two half-lines, with two stresses each) is followed by a so-called "full line", with three stresses and containing alliteration without clear caesura (Sievers 1893; Árnason 1991: ch. 2), as illustrated in the following verse from *Hávamál* (ca. 10th century; stresses underlined):

4 On Old English metre, see also Foley 1976: 208; 1993 [1990]: ch. 6; Steele 1999: 247.

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Deyr fé, deyia frændr,	Cattle die, kinfolk die
deyr siálfr it sama;	oneself dies likewise;
ek veit einn at aldri deyr:	one thing I know that never dies,
dómr um dauðan hvern.	judgement passed on mortals.

(Helgason 1971: 26, #77; JPE translation based on Holm-Olsen 1985 [1975]: 42.)

Norwegian *stev* performance is a living oral tradition based on the same accentual verse structure organised in quatrains, in two formal types described as *nystev* ("new *stev*") and *gamalstev* ("old *stev*"). Thousands of examples of *stev* poetry have been documented.

Gamalstev may have end rhyme or only assonance (i.e. only the vowels rhyme; cf. Old Norse poetry's form of rhyme on stem syllables irrespective of their endings: Árnason 1991). This poetry is documented already in ca. 1250, roughly synchronous with the documentation of eddic poetry in Iceland and supporting the probability of historical continuity from *ljóðaháttr* or an equivalent metre in Norway, rather than being adapted from a foreign model. (Although the rhythm of three-stress lines in *ljóðaháttr* is unknown, these may equal the 1+2 or 2+1 patterns in *gamalstev*.) *Gamalstev* stanzas consist of four lines with a stress pattern of 4-3-4-3, which may be subdivided into half-lines with a stress pattern of 2+2, 1+2 , 2+2, 1+2 (Ekgren 2005: 156–157) as illustrated below (stresses underlined):

Hurdi nurkar i kallom jønne	The doors creak in cold iron
og joklane heng ikring;	and icicles hang around;
eg totte lenger den vetrenotti	I thought: longer is the winter night
hell halve alderen min.	than half my age.

(Handagard 1944: 51; translation JPE.)

Nystev all have the same 2+2 stress pattern in each of the four lines in a stanza. Alliteration appears to have been replaced by end rhyme as a primary principle for organising verse in Norwegian, as in other Germanic languages (although it has remained significant in Iceland up to the present day). The pattern of stresses of *nystev* thus corresponds to that of *fornyrðislag*, although organised with end rhyme rather than alliteration. Although *nystev* had earlier been considered a more recent poetic form, it is now considered to have emerged in the Middle Ages (see below, section *Stev*).

Det lyfter hågt i den unge guten,	Uplifted high, in the young lad,
han sto og hjala på Svorvarnuten,	he stood and called out on the Svorvar-peak
han sto og såg ut i verdi vi,	he stood and gazed into the wide world,
og ba om vengji for åndi si.	and asked for wings for his spirit.

(Ekgren Film 1976: #2 GHB; translation JPE.)

Recordings and observations of performance made it apparent that verses are not expressed with a regular rhythm (for empirical analysis of rhythms in performance, see Ekgren 1975, 1983a, 1983b, 2001: 164–65; 2002: 98–99; 2004 II: App. B: B1–B6; 2009: 212–214). With our recent refinement of syllable duration measurements with audio analysis software, we propose

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that the traditional performance of Norwegian *stev* has a flexible performance formula with:

(1) a predominant pattern of two stresses in a half-line (Ekgren 1975);
(2) stressed syllables marking the onsets of important words (Myhren 1980: 166); and
(3) stressed syllables not necessarily being the longest (Myhren 1980: 166; Ekgren 2004 I: 181–182) or the loudest syllables.

The performer (*kvedar*) can give each syllable the time it needs; thus syllables vary greatly in duration, and unstressed syllables can have long durations, allowing the *kvedar* "great liberty in performance" (Ekgren 1983b: 15, 19).

Though Norwegian *stev*, with their one-stanza form, lack the epic format of Old Norse poetry and Old English, the performance formula brought into focus for comparison is at the level of the structuring and articulation of the individual verse line. The proposed performance formula for Norwegian *stev* has proven useful in re-performing Old Norse *Hávamál* (Storm-Mathisen 2002, 2007, 2015: 129–145). This might also provide fresh insights for the analysis and re-performance of other old Germanic accentual verse, such as Old English with its stichic structure (i.e. many lines as opposed to the four-line one-stanza of *stev*), verses composed in two half-lines, with two stresses each, separated by a caesura and an irregular number of syllables per verse. This chapter considers how performance and the proposed *stev* performance formula can be relevant for revitalising oral poetry lacking a living oral tradition.

Figure 1. The western expansion of Old Norse during the Viking Age, thus meeting Old English. In this way these cultures with common Germanic roots influenced each other after centuries of separation.

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A Framework of Stresses as a Stev Performance Formula

In poetry, whether textual or oral, a "formula" can be an organising principle for both the poet and performer, that is, a set of features which may be intuited or consciously adhered to. In the 1920s, Milman Parry researched the poetry of Homer, specifically its "stock epithets", short phrases linked to names and nouns, such as "swift-footed Achilles" or "wine-dark sea", referred to at that time by other words, such as "recurring", "stereotypes", "clichés", and "repetitive" (Parry 1930: 80; see also Lord 1997 [1960]: 30n.1, 281n.1). To replace these vague locutions, Parry introduced the term "formula" as *"a group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea"* (Parry 1930: 80). Parry also proposed a link between formulaic language and oral composition in performance, a concept that Lord and Parry developed into "Oral-Formulaic Theory" (esp. Lord 1997 [1960]), later also called "Oral Theory" (Foley 1995: 2, 4). The spread of Oral-Formulaic Theory resulted in a "boom" of explorations of formula research, which included extending the concept from Parry's fixed recurrent phrases to a broader range of recurrent patterns connected to language (Foley 1988). The concept can encompass the spectrum uses of words and phraseology from invariable phrases to words paired for alliteration or rhyme (Reichl 1989; Tyler 2006: 116*n*69), and also from recurrent words and phrases to recurrent patterns in which different words are arranged, such as a *structural formula* as a recurrent rhythm of words within a classical or syllabic metre (Russo 1963). The spectrum includes what one might call a *syllabic formula*, as the specific number and arrangement of syllables and rhymes, such as in the haiku or limerick (Wilson 2005; cf. Imaoka, n.d.), and a *metrical formula*, as a recurrent rhythm within an accentual metre with a varying number of unstressed syllables, as in Old English (Foley 1976), or its correspondence of rhythmical stress patterns in prose (Orchard 1993; 1997: 109; Foley & Ramey 2016: 81). In this chapter, we follow the syllabic/metrical line of formula research. This approach can be considered to have an emic basis in the Scandinavian tradition. Whereas John Miles Foley (1996) shows that oral poets discuss formulas as "words", Old Norse used *visuorð*, literally "word of verse", for the "short line of verse", as they understood it *(Norrøn ordbok*: *s.v.* "*visuorð*"): people thought in terms of these units, conceived in a way broader than "metre" (which "measures") and rather as units of utterance in the form of verbal art (cf. Árnason 2016: 195).

We use the term "performance formula" as an organising principle of a varying number of syllables within a framework of stresses, in which each syllable, stressed or not, gets the time the performer feels is right. Metre can be rule-based, as in verse, or intuited and "loosely regulated", as in speech (Rodríguez-Vásquez 2010: 115, 379). Metrical form, in discussions of poetry, customarily refers only to the principles of the formal arrangement of language to form a verse, irrespective of how that verse is articulated. Our concept of performance formula extends beyond the concept of metrics to the arrangement of language, rhythms, and melody in performance. The performance formula is thus not simply a metrical template in relation to which the syllables of a verse are organised and adapted to the steady

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beat of a melody. Rather, the syllables and melody seem to adapt to the underlying pattern of stresses, and it is this whole system described here as a performance formula.

Corpus and Methods

The research in this chapter is based on archived sound recordings, fieldwork with a focus on emic points of view (i.e. how the tradition is perceived from within the community and by performers themselves), including interviews and recording performances in different contexts, as well as learning *stev* performance (for sources, see also Greni 1962; Ekgren 1975, 1976; Sandvik 1999 [1952]). To confirm quantitatively the irregular pattern of *stev* performance, we measured syllable durations in an audio recording of a *stev* performance using the audio analysis software Audacity (freeware MacOs, Windows, Linux) to time the onset of every syllable (Fig. 2). The times were collected in a spreadsheet, in which the syllable durations were calculated. The stressed syllables were mapped using a study of *stev* film-frame counts of filmed performance (Ekgren 1976; 2004 II, App. B; 2009: 212–214). The onset of a stressed syllable is often foot-tapped in performance (Ekgren 1975). Durations between the onset (“foot-tap”) of stressed syllables were calculated. Data from the audio analysis combined with a review of selected literature were used to propose a *stev* performance formula. *Stev* and the *stev* performance formula were compared to the descriptions, examples, and performances (or reinvented performances) of Icelandic, Old Norse, and Old English poetry, due to their geographical and historical language relations.

Figure 2a. Audiowave of the recording, total time 35.13 seconds, with syllable onsets marked in separate audio track with vertical lines.

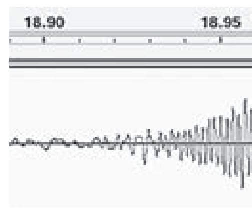

Figure 2b. The 70 millisecond audio wave excerpt shows the onset of a syllable.

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Stev

This article focuses on two types of *stev*,[5] *gamalstev* and *nystev*, each of which is a four-line stanza, sung-recited by a *kvedar*, a traditional *stev* performer. *Gamalstev* was thought to be from ca. 1250 (Alver 1978: 60) and older than the Norwegian ballads (Middle Ages). It is also the oldest known poetry with end rhyme in Norway and the Nordic countries (Bø 1957: 9; Myhren 1980:166). *Nystev* were previously considered to be from the 17th century (Eggen 1939: 67) but may have existed as early as 1223 (Mortensen-Egnund 1914: 63). It is thought that Setesdal and Telemark have been the cradle of *stev* (Myhren 1980: 166). It is unknown how widespread the *stev* have been in Norway, but, in 1891, Steffen found them not only in Telemark and Setesdal but also in Hardangar, Rogaland, Hallingdal, Sogn, and Voss (Steffen 1899b) (see Fig. 3).

Figure 3. The cradle and stronghold of stev are the valleys of Telemark and Setesdal in Southern Norway.

5 Other forms of stev are outside the scope of this chapter: *slåttestev* (dance-song *stev*), *kløyvastev innestev, etterstev* (types of refrains for stanzaic songs, such as the *folkeviser*, the old ballads), *hermestev* (parody-*stev*), *vuggestev* (lullaby-*stev*), *gaatestev* (riddle-*stev*), *kjempevise-stev* (heroic-song-*stev*) (Handagard 1944: 8, 45–60; Myhren 1980: 166), *soingstev* (herding-*stev*), *dansestev*, *kjøvvel-stev* (baking-*stev*) (Vegusdal 1979: 13, 17).

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The *stev* tradition is characterised by thousands of texts performed to a handful of melodies, which illustrates that text is more important than melody. Traditional performance lacks a steady beat, but the irregular rhythm has a predictable pattern of stresses. *Nystev* have two pairs of two stresses in each of its four stanzaic lines. *Nystev,* and its "two-stress verse", is thus similar to "the *fornyrðislag* ('the metre of the old sayings') traditionally seen as having eight short lines" (Árnason 2006: 151). *Gamalstev* are found to be similar to *ljóðaháttr* (Eggen 1910: 3; 1930: 1; Ekgren 2002: 111; Storm-Mathisen 2002, 2015: 129–145), which traditionally had "six lines of varying length" (Árnason 2006: 151). The four lines in a *gamalstev* stanza have a stress pattern of 2+2, 3, 2+2, 3, in which the lines with three stresses tend to fall into 2+1 or 1+2 (Ekgren 2005).

The rhyme schemes of *nystev* and *gamalstev* differ. The end-rhyme is in couplets for *nystev* in an aaBB scheme: the first couplet has a feminine rhyme (two syllables), and the second pair has a masculine rhyme (one syllable). *Gamalstev* have end-rhyme or assonance in the second and fourth lines only. *Gamalstev* has some alliteration, but it is not regular, and there is less alliteration in *nystev*. According to Austad, 25,000 *stev* texts have been collected, primarily *nystev* (Austad 1985: 7). *Stev* texts can be performed interchangeably to different *stev* melodies: 20,000 *nystev* texts to some 40 melodies (43 in Sandvik 1999 [1952]) and 5,000 *gamalstev* texts to their three melodies (Sandvik 1999 [1952]). The melodies of performance are traditional, but performers sometimes describe *kveding* as between song and speech. From a linguistic point of view, *stev* performance is organised by stresses and has a richer prosody (language melody and pitch variability) than speech. For this reason, *stev* can be described as sung-recited accentual poetry.

The occasions for *stev* performance include situations of everyday life on the farm, such as milking, herding, or evening gatherings (*kveldssæta*), especially in the long winter nights. The subject matter of *stev* spans a full range of emotions, from words of wisdom to love, jesting, insinuating, and even insulting (Landstad 1968 [1853]: 365–425).[6] Two or more individuals could compete in *stev*-duels (like modern freestyle rap battles), in which the one left speechless loses.[7] Similar verbal contests, *mannjafnaðr* ("boasting contest", literally "man-measuring"), are found in Old Norse (Ekgren 1999; Storm-Mathisen 2002, 2007, 2015: 129–131).

6 Finnish couplets sound reminiscent of nystev: couplets and varied subject matter; see Hanna Karhu, in this volume.

7 "Play" is a central concept, not only to *stev*, but also to other performance traditions as seen in this volume:
- "creative play with rhythm" in Seto verse and runosongs (Oras & Sarv, this volume).
- "playing with meter in song", by adding or deleting syllables in some Finnic song traditions (Kallio, this volume).
- "playing with rhymes" (Karhu, this volume).
- "*þulur*", playing in rigmaroles and game songs (Yelena Sesselja Helgesdóttir, this volume).
- "play" in language and the dramatic loss of language among ethnic groups (Niemi, this volume, also 2004: 2).

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Challenges of Musical Notation

The irregular rhythm in *stev* was effortless for performers, but puzzling for researchers. Sometimes it was described as "rhythmically free" (Myhren 1980: 166–167, *s.v.* "*stev*"; New Grove 1995 [1980] XIII: 324, *s.v.* "Norway") and later as "flexible meter" (Kvifte 2005: 205). The paradox is that *stev* have a distinct and predictable formula for performance, but the irregular rhythm of stresses does not fit common musical notation (Ekgren 2009: 212). Attempts at the musical notation of *stev* may have contributed to speculative theories on the origin of *stev*.

A widely held belief in the 1800s contended that all folk poetry originated with dance. The Swede Richard Steffen wrote in his doctorate about *stev* in 1898 that he had never seen a *nystev* danced in Norway, and yet he was convinced that *nystev* must have originated as a dance (Steffen 1899a: 11). This led to the popular hypothesis in the early 1900s that *nystev* originally were danced, with varying origins being suggested: *mazurka* (Steffen 1899a: 11); Norwegian *springar* (Eggen 1939: 67); *springar* and *mazurka* (Lie 1967: 18, §9; 495, §1649). However, no one had ever actually observed *ny-* or *gamalstev* being danced. As Brynjulf Alver observes, *nystev* were not from dance, but they could be thrust into a dance rhythm (Bjørndal & Alver 1966: 114). Others observed that *nystev* were not danced and asserted that most likely they never had been (Sandvik 1952: 23; Groven 1971: 93–94). An analysis of film-frame counts did not lend support to the idea that *stev* originated from dance (Ekgren 2001: 158–184).

The theory of dance-origin led to the expectation that *nystev* should have a steady beat and a consistent metrical form (Lie 1967: 24, §28). The highly irregular rhythm in *stev* performance was a strong argument against dance-origin, and also proved to be a problem to notate. Attempts at transcribing *stev* were challenged by the seemingly free rhythm and great variability, even among different performances of the same *stev* by the same *kvedar*. The problems of transcribing performances probably favoured a text-based analysis of *stev* and neglected the performance aspect. Such a bias towards text-analysis is well documented (Amodio 2004: 2).[8] This may be a factor in the attempts to "shoehorn" performance into notation with a 4/4 time signature. In transcribing other traditions, some researchers fill out three-accent lines by adding a rest and calling it an "empty beat", "empty foot", or "virtual foot", or using an "O" with a slash through it (see Kiparsky 2006: 9). This has also been the practice when converting *stev* to songs with a steady beat. In the case of *stev*, adaptation to a steady beat may keep stress on the same syllables, but the distinctive style and flexibility of the *stev* performance formula is lost (see Fig. 4).

8 The notational challenge of transcribing live performances is not unique to *stev* and is well known, such as in jazz performance, in which the transcriber cannot convey a swing-feel in the notation and must resort to writing "swing" above the staff. The term "groove" is equally elusive. The performance thus seems to hold essential information for understanding the music.

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Figure 4. This gamalstev text is "shoehorned" into modern music notation. Every measure is a half-line, and every beat a stress, except in the 4th and 8th measures, in which a second beat is added as a pause, modifying the gamalstev stress pattern of 4-3-4-3 to fit a steady beat.[9]

Analysis

When analysing *stev* performance, instead of texts, one removes the constraint of presuming a steady beat. *Stev* performance practice is usually transferred in an oral tradition, in which the stress pattern is intuited rather than consciously acquired. This is evident from fieldwork and studying the *stev* performer, Aslak Brekke. "This style is different from singing," he emphasised: "in 'singing' you have to keep the beat or you will be singing wrong" (Ekgren 1983b: 15). Brekke performed *stev*, as well as dance-songs (*slåttestev*), and songs with many stanzas (*viser*), all without any musical or written notes (Ekgren 1975 interview). His performance of dance-songs had the recognisable dance rhythms, repeated measure after measure, whereas the majority of his other songs had the characteristic *kveding* pattern of stresses, for which normal music notation was inadequate. Nevertheless, the "flexible metre" (Kvifte 2005: 199) seems remarkably consistent, even with 30 years between recordings (Ekgren 1975: 1), despite Aslak Brekke's maintaining that he always performed each song differently every time (Storm-Mathisen 2015: 142; Ekgren/Myhren 1983b: 12).

Foot-Tapping

Film recordings of *stev* performers documented foot-tapping, described as a pair of foot-taps, with a short duration between the foot-taps in a pair, followed by a long duration to the next pair of foot-taps. The foot-taps marked stressed syllables. This pattern was described using a customised notational system (Ekgren 1975; 1983b: 17–20) (see Fig. 5).

9 Image reproduced from abcnotation.com, public domain. Available at: http://abcnotation.com/tunePage?a=trillian.mit.edu/~jc/music/abc/mirror/musicaviva.com/norway/hanen-stend-c/hanen-stend-c-voca4/0000 (accessed June 2, 2018).

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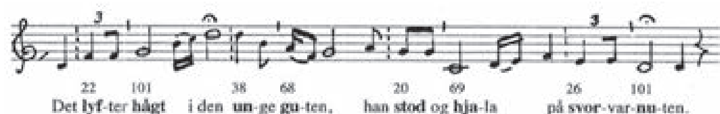

Figure 5. Two lines of nystev, (four half-lines) (Ekgren 1976: #2). The customised notational system shows stressed syllables (bold) marked by foot-taps. Dotted bar lines mark a foot-tap of the first stressed syllable (S1), and a comma marks a foot-tap of the second stressed syllable (S2). The number above the stressed syllables is the film frame count (24 frames/second) from the onset of the stress to the next stress. Transcription of performance by Gro Heddi Brokke (Ekgren 1976: # 2 GHB; Ekgren 2009: 208–214).

We examined a traditional *nystev* performance by Gro Heddi Brokke and determined syllable duration, using the audio analysis method described above in the section *Corpus and Methods*. Marking the stressed syllables illustrates that the stressed syllables occur in pairs, S1 and S2, in every half-line (see Fig. 6).

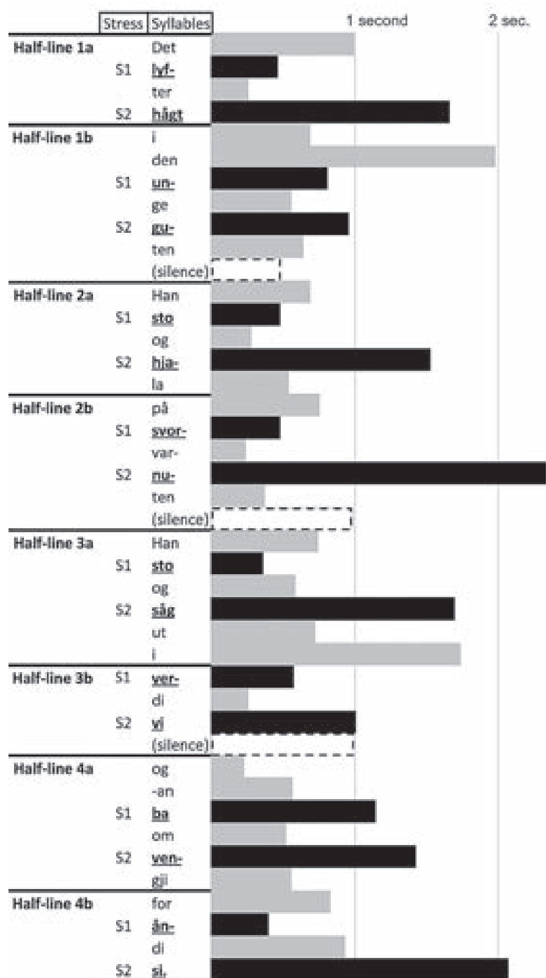

Figure 6a. In a nystev performance, syllable duration varies significantly. Every half-line has two stressed syllables (black) in which the first stress (S1) is followed by a longer second stress (S2). "Det lyfter hågt" *by Gro Heddi Brokke (Ekgren 1976: #2; 2004 App. B).*

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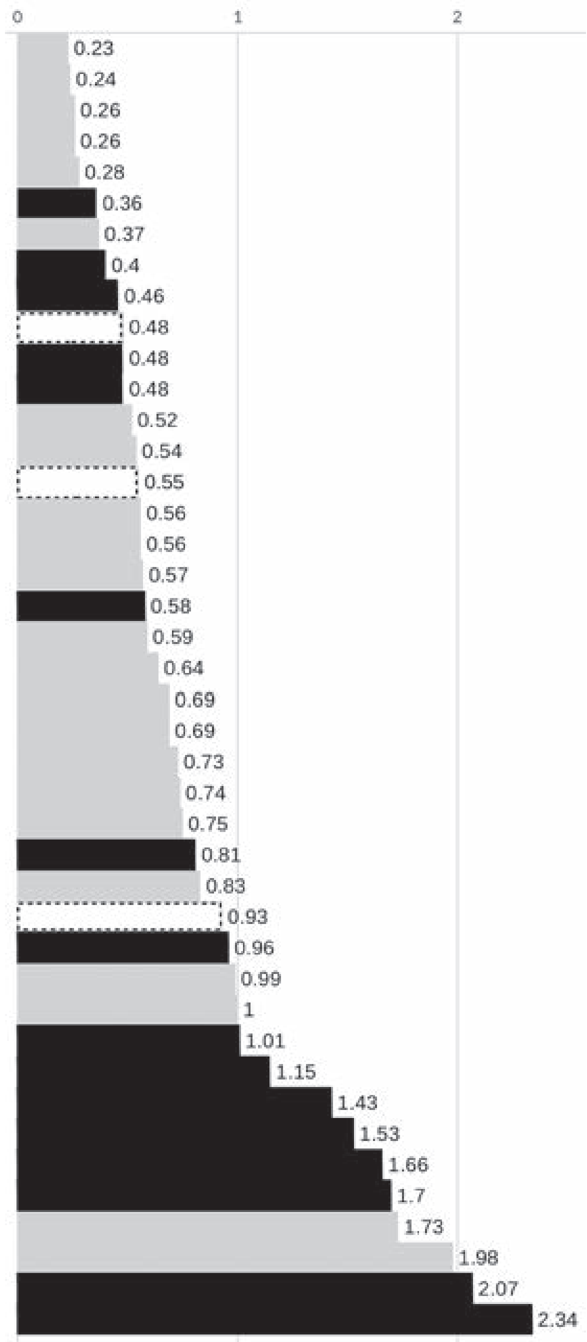

Figure 6b. Syllables sorted by duration. An unstressed syllable (grey) can be longer than a stressed syllable (black), indicating that syllable duration is not an accurate predictor of stress. Empty bars indicate indicate silence.

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The onset of a stressed syllable is often foot-tapped in performance (Ekgren 1975). We measured the durations between "foot-taps", i.e. the onsets of stressed syllables. One sees that S1 and S2 are paired, close in time, with a longer duration to the onset of the next S1 (see Fig. 7). The seemingly "free rhythm" has a pattern of paired stresses.

Figure 7. Arrows mark the onset of stressed syllables. Stressed syllables appear in pairs, S1 (grey arrow) and S2 (black arrow). Onsets may be foot-tapped in performance (Ekgren 1975). The bars show the durations between "foot-taps", i.e. the onsets of stressed syllables, not syllable durations, as in Fig. 6. Note the short duration within the paired stresses (between onsets S1–S2), as well as the long duration between paired stresses (between onset S2 and the next onset S1). For clarity, half-lines are not marked. In a steady beat, as shown in Fig. 4, all onsets would be evenly spaced. The example shown is the nystev "Det lyfter hågt", *performed by Gro Heddi Brokke.*

Before foot-tapping in *stev* was analysed, researchers did not know where the music "beats" or "anchors" were and reasoned that musical tones held longer must surely have stress. However, when using foot-taps to mark stressed syllables, it was apparent that syllable duration was not an accurate predictor of stress, which also is seen in published transcriptions of melodies and texts (Sandvik 1999 [1952]: 39–54; Ekgren 2009: 212–214) and demonstrated with audio analysis (Fig. 6).

The *kvedarar* who were listening to an unfamiliar *stev* performance could, with remarkable ease, foot-tap the stresses in synchrony, although the rhythm was irregular. Thus, the pattern of stresses is predictable, at least to the performers and those who know the tradition. Ornaments and approach to tones may give subtle cues, yet we do not really know how the performers do it, any more than we understand how jazz performers feel a "groove". Interviewing performers who foot-tap reveals that they seem, as a rule, to be unaware that they are foot-tapping.

Stev performance Formula and Flexibility

In Norwegian *stev,* "constraints" may be better termed "features" because the *kveding* style allows for stylistic and individual freedom rather than limitations:

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Flexibility of performance

- The performer gives every syllable the time it needs, thus the highly variable duration of syllables, drawing out tones to emphasise meaning
- No steady beat, thus no syncopation
- *Stev* melodies may be stretched to fit the text, thus easily accommodating the irregular number of syllables of accentual verse
- Unstressed syllables can have a long duration
- Considerable performance variability between performances by same performer
- Diverse subject matter, from trivial to wisdom of life
- 25,000 texts, fewer than 50 melodies
- *Stev* melodies are interchangeable for 25,000 *stev* texts (20,000 *nystev* texts to some 43 melodies (Sandvik 1999 [1952]) and 5,000 *gamalstev* texts to their three melodies (Sandvik 1999 [1952]).

Constraints of performance

- Foot-taps, when present, are on stressed syllables
- Stresses are often in pairs, close together and with a longer duration of the 2nd stressed syllable
- Stresses are always on the two "important" words of the half-line, not on unimportant words, such as articles and prepositions
- Stress on root syllable of word, first syllable of rural Norwegian, which carries the meaning of the word
- Stresses match tonal centres (Ekgren 1981)
- No words split between half-lines
- No promoting an unstressed syllable to a stressed syllable (no mismatched or wrenched accents).

Previously, there was no consensus on the origin for *nystev*, and there seemed to be no connection between *nystev* and *gamalstev*. The pattern of two stresses in a half-line seems to be a common denominator for *nystev* and *gamalstev*, possibly connecting them historically (Ekgren 1981:12; 1983b; 2009: 218), as well as connecting *nystev* to Old Norse poetry via *gamalstev*.

Stev *and Old Germanic Poetry Performance*

Old Norse poetry is thought to be an oral tradition with solo performers and is considered to consist of two contrasting forms of poetry: skaldic and eddic. In many poems, eddic stanzas were organised in four long lines (Árnason 2006), as in *stev*. The stresses were emphasised by alliteration, which had the function of connecting two-stress half-lines with each other (Aðalsteinsson 2014: 30–31). Alliteration, systematic in Old Norse and Old English, indicates specific words in a written text that often would bear poetic stress.

The *Poetic Edda* is a collection of eddic poems written in the 1200s in Iceland. The poetry is thought to have been in the tradition a long time, including some poems being carried by settlers who came from Norway to Iceland already in the 800s (Storm-Mathisen 2015: 129). Eddic poetry

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is described as anonymous, traditional, and timeless (Harris 2000: 228), ranging in subject matter from didactic to dramatic, yet easy to understand (Larrington 1999 [1996]: x), with a word-based rhythm (Árnason 2009: 41).

Skaldic poems are viewed today as (mainly) composed in half-stanzas of four lines each, making eight lines per stanza, but, like half-lines, those lines are paired into couplets by alliteration into long lines of *fornyrðislag*, and thus they can also be seen as having a base four-line structure (see e.g. Fabb 2009). Skaldic poetry rhythm is based on the syllable, whereas the rhythm of eddic poetry is word-based (Árnason 2009: 41), like *stev*. Skaldic poetry was performed by (court) poets called *skald*s, and the common metre of this poetry (*dróttkvætt*) is considered a "court metre" (Russom 2017: 129). It was composed notably as royal praise poems by named poets serving their lords and kings (Harris 2000: 228). The form is complex, with elevated, enigmatic diction that is difficult to understand (Faulkes 1995 [1987]: xiv), rhyming of the stressed syllables irrespective of their endings, and internal rhyme (Lie 1967: 108, §134). The word *stef* is Old Norse for "refrain" in Old Norse skaldic poetry, but the connection or relevance to its apparent cognate in Norwegian *stev* is unknown.

The majority of the settlers in Iceland came from Norway during the Viking Age, and evidence of runic inscriptions shows that the poetic forms of eddic poetry recorded in Iceland reflect a continuity of the poetry tradition.[10] As mentioned, the *gamalstev* metrical pattern corresponds to that of Old Norse *ljóðaháttr* (Eggen 1910: 3; 1930: 1; Storm-Mathisen 2002, 2007, 2015: 129–145), and *gamalstev* is basically the same as the more recent Icelandic poetry called *viðlög* (Bø 1957: 15–16, 227n.17, Landstad 1853: 378).[11] *Stev* texts have plausible connections to the Old Norse poetic idiom, witnessed by Landstad's numerous annotations of words in *stev* and other Norwegian folk songs (Landstad 1968 [1853]). We know that Old Norse poetry was an oral tradition, largely undocumented before the 1200s, but we do not know if it was sung-recited. It has been deemed not possible to sing Skaldic poetry (Harris 2000: 228). Specifically, the old stave-rhyme (*stavrim*), systematic alliterative verse was considered not possible to sing; the variable number of unstressed syllables per line would disrupt a steady beat, which was considered to be a mandatory unifying element for song at that time (Lie 1967: 32, §28). *Stev* performance offers a model for considering how Old Norse poetries may have been performed.

Although the manuscripts of poetry in Old English were many, there is no continuity of oral poetry from that time. Much has been written and

10 See e.g. the corpus of poetic runic inscriptions in the Scaldic Project Database: https://skaldic.abdn.ac.uk/db.php?if=default&table=verses&view=runic (accessed June 2, 2018).

11 In the Icelandic metre, one distinguishes between successive stresses, the first being the high stress (*hákvæða*) and the next being the low stress (*lágkvæða*).The pattern continues, like the crest and valley of waves. The stresses are in twos, with the poetry undulating wavelike (Aðalsteinsson 2014: 46). This pattern seems to be quite a subtle phenomenon, for outsiders, but clearly heard by natives having the "poetic ear" (Aðalsteinsson 2014: 15). Performance of Old Icelandic poetry today seems to favour a steady beat (Aðalsteinsson: personal communication).

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debated about Old English verse and the long epic *Beowulf*, including when it was written, its alliteration, and its possible melody. Thomas Cable postulates a melodic formula as a metrical basis for Old English poetry (1974: 91) and later proposes a framework of four stresses, or "positions" (Cable 1991b in Baltzer, Cable, & Wimsatt 1991: 62–63; Cable 1991a: 31). Old English poetry was deemed to be isochronous, but without a living oral tradition or a steady-beat re-performance, the hypothesis of a steady beat is hard to confirm. The probable relationship between Norwegian *stev* and Old Norse poetry (or at least its analogical relevance) connects with the historical relationship between Old Norse and Old English poetry to make the *stev* performance formula potentially relevant to the performance traditions behind poems such as *Beowulf* as well.

The idea that Old Norse poetry may have been sung-recited is not new. This idea has been put forth, for example, by Joseph Harris (in Reichl 2000: 225–232; see also Harris & Reichl 2016: 155–157, 163–164). Performances of eddic poetry have been recreated. For example, Erik Eggen (1910) adapted Old Norse poetry, translated into Norwegian by Mortensson-Egnund (Eggen 1910: 3), for use as "*stevleik*" ("*stev* play") described as *syngespel* ("light opera") to be performed. His purpose was to provide cultural material for festive occasions and amateur performances by local youth groups[12] (Eggen 1910: 4). The stanzas were performed to *gamalstev* melodies. Similarly, Benjamin Bagby used Icelandic *rimur* and similar folk songs in manuscript or live tradition for recreating the performance of eddic poems (Bagby1999: 12). Also, Jon Storm-Mathisen re-performs eddic verse, *Hávamál* stanzas, using the *stev* performance formula of two stresses in a half-line, along with foot-tapping on the stresses (published electronically: see Storm-Mathisen 2002, 2015: 129–137). Such considerations have not been limited to Old Norse verse. Bagby also brings to life a manuscript, which is thought to be more than a millennium old, through his sung-recited performances of *Beowulf* (Bagby 2003, 2005–2006); Foley in Schulman and Szarmach 2014: 235). Though this re-performance is not directly connected to the *stev* performance formula as far as we know, Bagby pointed out that singing the text was quite different from speaking it; for example, a syllable that is short in spoken Old English might be long when performed, and a long syllable might become short (Bagby 2003). He also takes time with upbeats when the text and drama call for it, deliberately elongating the tones in order to create a suspenseful delay before the coming stressed word. Bagby's observations are remarkably like the observations in traditional *stev* performance, for instance, as shown in the *nystev* transcription *Det lyfter hågt.*

Although the *stev* performance formula would not be identical to a performance formula behind Old Norse or Old English poetries any more than their metres are identical, they could belong to a common performance formula family paralleling the family of metres that have evolved in different ways. Even if the relationship between *stev* and Old Germanic metres is

12 So-called *ungdomslag*, youth groups, organised nationally, that were carriers of Norwegian local traditions.

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considered only analogical, the meeting in live performance of performer, manuscript, and audience may promote important scientific conversation on accentual poetry lacking a living oral tradition.

Conclusion

The metre and style of *stev* performance appears similar to what has been described as "Germanic irregular rhythm" for old Germanic poetry (Lehmann 1956: 161, 169). Based on selected literature and data from the sound analysis of a traditional *stev* performance, we propose that the traditional performance of Norwegian *stev* has a flexible performance formula with a predominant pattern of two stresses in a half-line and stressed syllables marking the onsets of important words. However, stressed syllables are not necessarily the longest syllables, as demonstrated using audio analysis software (Audacity) to determine syllable duration. Without the constraints of a steady beat, the *stev*-performer may give each syllable the time it needs. Since both stressed and unstressed syllables can have a long duration, this allows great liberty in performance. The *stev* performance formula shows how flexibly accentual verse may be performed. It is impossible to determine whether this performance formula has continuity from Old Norse, let alone from a common Germanic heritage of versification, yet the flexible formula has proven useful in the study and experimental reconstruction of performance of Old Norse eddic poetry, and it might be useful for re-performing other old accentual verse featuring the pattern of two stresses in a half-line, such as Old English poetry.

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Poetic Language and Music of the *hudhud ni nosi*, a Yattuka Funeral Chant, the Philippines

The *hudhud* oral tradition is specific to a part of the Ifugao province centred around the Kiangan municipality in the northern part of the island of Luzon in the Philippines. This epic chant is sung by a lead singer who narrates the events of the story and the chorus – of two or more people – who finish the line with formulae presenting the characters' names (Stanyukovich 2017a), place names, e.g. names of villages (Stanyukovich 2015; Stanyukovich & Kozintsev 2016), time, e.g. morning, realia, e.g. beads, musical instruments (Stanyukovich 2012a), and end with rhythmic fillers (Klimenko 2017a; Klimenko in press). It is a female tradition, although men occasionally join the chorus and can even be soloists. The chant is performed in parts that normally do not exceed 90 minutes, with intermissions in between (as well as after the end of the whole chant) called *holdak,* with short jocular songs unrelated to the content of *hudhud,* sung for entertainment. *Hudhud* is mostly known as a tradition sung in Tuwali Ifugao (Lambrecht 1957, 1960, 1961, 1967; Hohulin & Hohulin 2014; Klimenko 2012) and Amganad Ifugao (Madrid 1980; Sawyer 1975; West 1973), the Central Cordilleran languages of the Northern Luzon branch of the Philippine group. However, it is also performed in another language (Stanyukovich 1997), which is Yattuka (Klimenko 2017b), a Southern Cordilleran language of Northern Luzon, most closely related to Keley-i (Hohulin & Kenstowicz 1979; L. Hohulin & Hale 1977; R. Hohulin & Hale 1977) and Kalanguya (Santiago & Tadena 2013; Santiago 2015). It is spoken only in two *barangays*[1] – Amduntog and Nungawa, Asipulo municipality, Ifugao province, with a total population of about 2,700 people (National Statistics Office 2010). There are also traces of hudhud performances in Itkak, isolect of Kalanguya (Klimenko 2020). Both the Ifugao and the Yattuka are former headhunters, who were never subdued to the Spanish rule.[2] The two groups are very similar to each other in terms

1 Barangay is the smallest administrative unit in the Philippines, in a rural setting equal to a village, together with the surrounding hamlets.

2 Notably, *hudhud* is an absolutely unique sample of peacemaking ideology expressed in a violent genre of heroic epic (Stanyukovich 2000).

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of their culture, which revolves around rice cultivation in the mountainous landscape of the province (on Ifugao rice terraces, cf. Acabado & Martin 2015; Acabado, Martin, & Lauer 2014).

Hudhud is the first ever epic tradition proclaimed as an Intangible Heritage of Mankind by UNESCO in 2001 (UNESCO 2014). The popular views on *hudhud* are based on research of the Belgian missionary Fr. Lambrecht in the 1960s–1970s, who regarded the tradition as "pure entertainment" (Lambrecht 1960: 2; Lambrecht 1967: 268). This view also migrated into many other scholarly publications (Dulawan 2000: 249; Dulawan 2005: 3; Acabado 2010: 132; Blench & Campos 2010: 57). However, the research conducted by the second author of this paper since the late 1970s established that the *hudhud* epics are characterised by strong ritual implications (Stanyukovich 1981, 1982, 2003, 2013).

Photo. 1. The late Appin Gumangan, the hudhud *soloist who performed most of the Yattuka-language* hudhuds *recorded in the past years, including the chant discussed in the present paper. (Lidi, Amduntog, Asipulo, Ifugao. 28 February 2012. Photo by Maria V. Stanyukovich.)*

Hudhud

Hudhud is a highly archaic combination of heroic epic, shamanistic narrative, and work song. The *hudhud* characters are regarded as ancestors. At the same time, they are considered to belong to a group of *halupe ma'ule*, benevolent deities (Stanyukovich 2001, 2007, 2013). By use, or by function, all *hudhud* performances are ritualistic.

They were traditionally sung as part of the agricultural ritual cycle and human lifecycle (passage rites). In the last decades, rapid Christianisation has hindered the ritual use of *hudhud*, and the fame brought by the UNESCO nomination supports the educational, nationalistic, and commercial aspects of *hudhud* performing. However, there is also the opposite process going on, as we witness the unexpected revival of some ritual subgenres, such as *hudhud ni kolot* ("hudhud of the haircut") (Stanyukovich 2012b).

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The tradition includes a variety of independent subgenres, with certain discrepancies in the varieties between the Tuwali and Yattuka variants, which indicate the supreme importance of the Yattuka language and culture for it (Afable 2004, 2005; Stanyukovich 1997, 2003, 2013), in spite of the fact that it is often regarded by the Tuwali Ifugaos as "low" compared to their own.[3]

The Yattuka tradition also outnumbers the Ifugao one with respect to subgenres: i.e. *hudhud ni kolot* is specific to Asipulo and sung only in Yattuka. By content, all *hudhud* texts can be divided into three main groups: martial, novelistic, and proper ritualistic (Stanyukovich 2013). All the *hudhud* epics recorded previously by Fr. Lambrecht (1957, 1960, 1961, 1967), A. Daguio (1983), and L. Dulawan and N. Revel (1993, 1997a, 1997b) were sung in Tuwali Ifugao and represent either the martial or novelistic type. The Yattuka, in addition to these two types, also have several varieties of ritualistic *hudhud*-shaped songs – *hudhud ni nosi* ("hudhud of the dead") and *hudhud ni bogwa* ("hudhud of the second burial") performed at the bones exhumation rite.

The death ritual performed by the Ifugao and the Yattuka is similar: the body of the deceased is transferred at daytime, while at night *hudhud* of the dead is sung.

Photo. 2. Traditionally, the corpse of the deceased was carried on shoulders from one village to the next and placed in a "death chair", a frame construction made of areca palm wood. Old people still have affectionate reminiscences of their participation in transferring the body of a deceased relative that way (cf. the account in Kasatkina 2015: 273). It is believed that having contact with the dead body has a positive effect also on the household that hosts the vigil. (Photo by R.F. Barton, 1911, MAE I-1124-52, MAE RAS collection.)

3 The Yattuka and Keley-i of Asipulo are frequently undifferentiated by the Ifugao of Kiangan and lumped together with the Kalanguya under the name of the latter group or, less often, under the name of Hanglulo, which is a distorted version of another endonym of the Yattuka – Hanglulaw. Note that "Kalanguya" is also sometimes used as an umbrella term for all isolects of the Yattuka-Keley-i-Kalanguya cluster of the Southern Cordilleran sub-branch (Himes 1998). However, there are numerous differences between the three on all levels, as well as a great cultural difference between the Kalanguya, on the one hand, and the Keley-i and Yattuka, on the other hand, since the latter two groups consider themselves as Ifugaos culturally (Klimenko & Stanyukovich 2015).

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Among the Ifugao, what is called *hudhud* of the dead (*hudhud di nate* in Tuwali Ifugao) turns out to be a martial or novelistic epic, similar to the other varieties. The Yattuka, on the other hand, sing the *hudhud*-shaped ritualistic song instead: the protagonist of the epic is the deceased person, whose soul is taken around first in real, then in mythological geography, and finally "pushed" to the abode of the dead by the means of an epic song (Stanyukovich 1998, 2013).

Photo. 3. Today, the areca palm chair is replaced either by a non-traditional armchair made of plywood, or, more often, by a coffin. Transferring the corpse in an arm chair. (Anao, Hingyon, Ifugao. February 1995. Photo by Maria V. Stanyukovich.)

At present, there are only three fully or partially transcribed recordings of funeral chants in Yattuka: (i) *hudhud ni nosi* for Lucbut (Lucia Tumitit Dawi), recorded in *sitio*[4] *Boco, barangay* Nungawa, Asipulo municipality in February 2012; (ii) *hudhud ni bogwa* for Ason (Corazon Ayadawan Dincog), recorded in *sitio* Pal-iyon, *barangay* Duit, Kiangan municipality in March 2012; and (iii) *hudhud ni nosi* for Panching Polpog, recorded in *sitio* Pico, *barangay* Tuplac, Kiangan municipality in January 2013.

The Yattuka funeral epic-shaped chant *hudhud ni nosi* demonstrates a general unity in melody, poetic structure, and shared poetic system with the Ifugao epics. However, drastic differences in content between the proper epic songs and the Yattuka *hudhud*-shaped funeral chants heavily affect the wording, the choice of formulas, and the interaction between the soloist and the chorus.

The present paper focuses on the rhythmic and musical properties and their interaction with the poetic language of the first of the existing fully

4 *Sitio* is a typically rural territorial enclave forming a part of a barangay.

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transcribed and translated recordings of the Yattuka funeral chants, the one performed for Lucbut (Stanyukovich 2017b, source Stanyukovich 2012a). The performance was short, taking five hours, including proper *hudhud* singing and the *holdak* songs. The singers had to fulfil the most serious purpose (bringing the soul of the deceased to the abode of the dead) within a limited time that was given to them in the midst of the Christian services prioritised by the family of the deceased. The soul is driven downstream by means of the wording, leading it from place to place, by the sound of the chant and 'by dancing'.

Photo 4. The vigil for Lucbut. Notice the picture of the deceased on the wall of the of the house, which is surrounded by the lists of her descendants, and the combination of traditional and non-traditional objects on the coffin: a Bible, a funeral blanket (shroud), a framed picture of Lucbut dancing in a sitting position, a stick with plastic bags (a modern replacement of the traditional branch used to munwahiwa *(TIf),* manwahewa *(Keley-i) to drive flies away from the corpse). (Boco, 23 February 2012. Photo by Maria V. Stanyukovich.)*

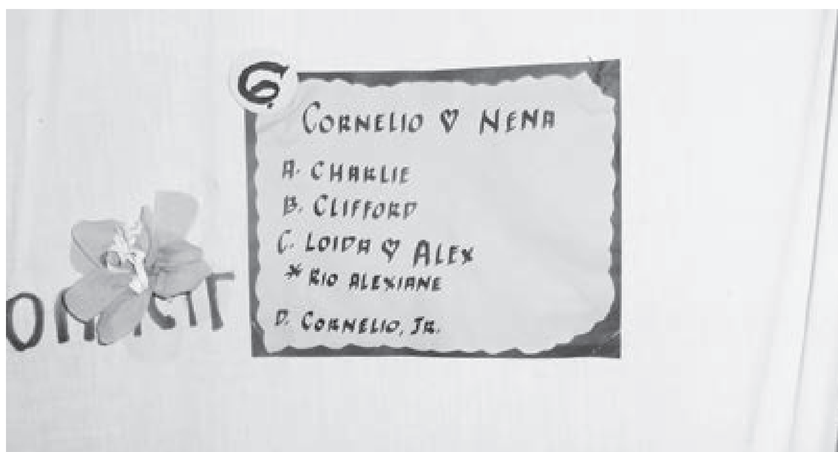

Photo 5. Cornelio's line in the genealogy chart. (Boco, 23.02. 2012. Photo by Maria V. Stanyukovich.)

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Photo. 6. Picture placed on the coffin. Notice the upper image, depicting Lucbut dancing in a sitting position – the scene that can often be seen in situations when "real dancing" is not possible for the lack of space or other reasons (cf. Photo 4). The picture is of supreme importance, as, according to the singers (cf. Ngayaw interview, Stanyukovich 1995e) the soul of the dead is being driven to the underworld "by dancing" (cf. also IV. Huhud ni nosi *in the text synopsis below). (Boco, 23.02.2012. Photo by Maria V. Stanyukovich.)*

Photo 7. Carmen Accatan dancing in a sitting position during the holdak *(interval) in* hudhud *performance. (Pal-iyon, Duit, Kiangan, Ifugao. 16.03.2012. Photo by Maria V. Stanyukovich.)*

Composition

The chant is performed in four parts of different lengths: (I) 41:43, (II) 23:25, (III) 7:14, and (IV) 38:09. Parts I, II, and IV are closed with brief codas (0:47, 1:04, 0:39) of the *holdak* songs, based on several melodic models with different metric patterns.

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The body of the epic (parts I–IV) consists of 337 vocal-chorus tirades, which are the main compositional units. Tirades vary in length and in the number of syllables, but always follow the same ternary pattern: A B C, in which A is a beginning, performed by the soloist; B is a continuation, performed by the soloist and the chorus in unison with elements of heterophony; and C is a formulaic (in this instance, the term "formulaic" is used in a metrical sense to refer to the fact that the final segment of the tirade is based on a particular metrical pattern) conclusion, performed by the soloist and the chorus. The following is an example of this structure in one tirade:

(1) A[Inggibbuh'tu'n nambi'n ihu-bit'tu ambayung'tu'd'du pa]
B[madingan ni bale'yu gawa'na'ynoyi] C[a'hi'd Nobayung].

She finished preparing her betelnut chew and tucking her hipbag in by the doorpost of your house in the middle of Nobayung.

As seen from (1), the chorus sometimes joins in in the middle of a word (*pamadingan* 'doorpost' in this case).

As the leader of the whole performance, the soloist conducts the ritual and sings the main part of the text. Her part is freer and more improvised compared to the chorus part, which is more regular, based on the formulaic metrical and melodic patterns.

A rather significant feature of the epic performance is that the beginning of the subsequent tirade (also performed by the soloist) normally starts when the chorus pulls the last syllable. The joints between the sections A, B, and C are veiled because the solo and chorus parties superimpose on one another (Figures 1 and 2). Therefore, the continuity of the singing part of the text is of great importance for the participants. Actually, this is not an absolute rule; sometimes the chorus does not pull the last syllable for its whole length, but it happens only when the monotonous rhythm of the narrative is already stabilised, narration proceeds smoothly, and the singers let themselves omit some details.

Rhythmic Structure

The syllabic structure of the text seems to be rather free; although the tirades are more or less equal in length, they consist of a different number of lines and syllables. The segment A performed by the soloist varies significantly, between 6 and 27 syllables; group segment B varies less; and segment C is almost identical. As in many oral traditions, the metrics are regulated by singing.

The segment A is metrically contrasted with the segments B and C. The main metric unit here is a short syllable (S) equal to an eighth note. The main metric unit in the segments B and C is equal to a quarter note (we may call it normal, or N). As mentioned, the segment A performed by the soloist varies in the number of syllables, which are organised by different simple

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patterns, mainly based on eighth notes and sometimes quarter notes. The group segment B uses similar patterns, but it uses normal and long (L) notes also. The latter varies between half notes and whole notes. There is a strong tendency for grouping segments by four-syllable patterns (N N N N and N N N L). The final segment C is regulated mostly by the pattern N N N N L.

If we do not take into account all the possible variants of metric patterns, we can represent the whole metrical structure of the tirade as the following scheme (Fig. 1; signs ||: and :|| show repetitions):

Soloist ||: (A) S n + N + S S N x n + L + N x 4 + S:||
Chorus ||: (B) N n + L+(C) N 4 + L :||

In order to illustrate the above, let us see how tirades 29 and 30 from the first part of the text are organised. Figure 1 shows the notation of the tirades in question. Table 1 shows the syllabic structure of the text with the syllable lengths. Table 2 presents the same tirades with the musical rhythmic symbols.

Figure 1. Notation of tirade 29.[5]

5 Notation by G. Sychenko, computer sheet music by E. Tiron.

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Table 1. Syllabic scheme of the tirades 29 and 30; short syllables are marked with *italics*, long syllables are underlined, and normal syllables are unmarked.

	Tirade 29	Tirade 30
A	*Hi Luk_bu_ta mam_bab*_bal’	*A an ha_ppit* i*_da’n_’na*
B	*ko’n_’no u_mu*_la_hun’ *ka’d_’da* o_la_dan’ da ga_wa *ay_ya* ga_wa’_na’y_noyi	o_a_mmod am bu_la_la*_kki’n_ni*_eyi
C	a’_hi’d No_ba_yung	a’_hi’d No_ba_yung

Translation:

29. Lucbut is slowly coming down to their yard in the centre of Nobayung
30. Oh the speech of the warriors[6] of Nobayung

Table 2. Rhythmic scheme of the tirades 29 and 30.

	Tirade 29	Tirade 30
A	♪♪♪♪♪♪♩	♪♪♪♪♩ ♪♪
B	♪♪♪♪♩ ♩ ♪♪♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♪♪♩ ♩ ♩ 𝅝	♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ ♪♪𝅗𝅥
C	♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ 𝅗𝅥	♩ ♩ ♩ ♩ 𝅗𝅥

As we see, the singing metric has a strong tendency to arrange the text by periodical pulsation. The basic rhythmic structure of the epic is based on the ternary metrical opposition of short (S, eighth) and normal (N, quarter) notes, on the one hand (the soloist segment A), and normal and long (L, from half to whole) notes, on the other hand (the chorus segments B and C). Segment A, performed by the soloist, is based mainly on the eighth (short) note, whereas segments B and C are based on the quarter (normal) note. Segments B and C usually end with a long note, the duration of which is somewhat elastic.

The text tends to be grouped into four (three, five) syllabic groups; such a group corresponds to the four-time rhythmic periods. A variety of rhythmic patterns is determined mainly by the principles of division and

6 The hudhud formula translated here as “warriors” consists of two components. The second one is derived from the root laki, meaning “male”. The root of the first one, “*ammod*”, means “ancestor” in the modern language. According to the singers, in hudhud, “*ammod*” designates married adult males from wealthy families, whose houses surround the home of the hero/heroine placed in the very middle (*gawa*) of the village.

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summation, and the performers of the epic prefer the simplest patterns. The composite-metric structure of *hudhud* is organised as an opposition between two parties – that of the soloist and the chorus – who interact, reinforcing each other. The metric and rhythmic liveliness of the soloist's party becomes well-balanced in the middle section and ends with a formula. The continuity of the flow of sound during a performance seems to be of great importance to the tradition. Two parties are superimposed on each other, and the edges between the sections are blurred.

Synopsis and Boundary Markers

One of the potential tools of organisation of the Yattuka *hudhud* texts is the rhythmic filler *ehmmm*, which occurs at the end of some tirades, accompanied by some other protracted non-epenthetic fillers earlier in the line (e.g. *adeeehoooy aahay*, *danooo ohoooy ahih*, etc.). Non-epenthetic rhythmic fillers are non-lexical units (i.e. units that do not exist as independent lexemes or morphemes in the language) that constitute sequences of meaningless syllables following some lexemes in a *hudhud* tirade. Such units are juxtaposed with epenthetic non-lexical fillers (i.e. separate syllables with no meaning inserted into a morpheme, between morphemes, or at the beginning or the end of a lexeme) and with interjections and "adverbial" enclitics. Such interjections and enclitics exist in the language as independent lexemes; however, they seem to be used in the *hudhud* epics only for the sake of rhythm, rather than having any apparent connection to the content of the described events (Klimenko 2017a). An example of a tirade containing *ehmmm* and some accompanying fillers is given below. The non-epenthetic rhythmic fillers are highlighted in italics:

(2)	Ta	gammalan=mu	indaʔden	di	pammadingan	ni	bale=yu
	then	will_eat_with_hand=you	rice	OBL	doorpost	GEN	house=your

gawwa=na	dahnooo	ohoooy	aehegi=d	Amduntug	neman	ehmmm
middle=its	RF	RF	RF=OBL	Amduntog[7]	RF	RF

(Source: Stanyukovich 2012a.)

Then you will eat rice by the doorpost of your house in the middle of Amduntog.

In Yattuka *hudhud* epics, lines with *ehmmm* are not evenly distributed across the whole *hudhud*. In the *hudhud ni nosi* under study here, which comprises a total of 337 tirades, *ehmmm* is used in tirades 4, 15, 31, 65, 70, 117, 145, 160, 185, and 221.

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Part I
Tirades 1–4: Lucbut (the main character – the dead woman for whom the *hudhud* was performed) is very young. (*ehmmm*)
Tirades 5–15: Her family moves from Polwitan to Nobayung. Lucbut plays with other children. Many years pass. (*ehmmm*)
Tirades 16–31: Lucbut's grandchildren are big now. She and her fellow villagers get ready for a trip to a feast in another village. (*ehmmm*)
Tirades 32–65: They travel to Amduntog, drink rice wine, and dance at the feast. Lucbut's companions leave, but she decides to stay for the night. (*ehmmm*)
Tirades 66–70: Lucbut refuses to eat rice and only drinks rice wine. Then it is the next morning. (*ehmmm*)
Tirades 71–117: Lucbut only drinks rice wine instead of breakfast. They chew betel nut. They travel to Hinlalangit for another feast, drink rice wine, and dance. Lucbut says: "I have no place to return to." It is next morning. (*ehmmm*)
Tirades 118–127: They get ready to travel to Monitsigging.

Part II
Tirades 128–145: They travel to Uldidittan[7] for another feast. (*ehmmm*)
Tirades 146–160: Lucbut only drinks rice wine. It is the next morning. They get ready for another trip. (*ehmmm*)
Tirades 161–185: They travel to Hinyuma-dan for another feast. It is the next morning. (*ehmmm*)
Tirades 186–199: They travel to Hinalyapen.

Part III
Tirades 200–221: Another feast. They meet Dumya and Baggayon (mythological figures, the conductors of souls of the deceased to the underworld), who tell Lucbut to stand on a rock in the river to wait for her children, because it is not a feast trip but the end of her life. (*ehmmm*)

Part IV
Tirades 222–337: One of Lucbut's children, Kunelyuh (Cornelio), goes to find their mother, passing by all the places she visited. He finds her on the rock and leads her home together with the souls of all the slaughtered pigs and chickens she had been given in the feasts. He must not lose any of them along the way. They get back to Nobayung.

7 Part I ends with a tirade in which Lucbut reaches a river at the edge of Monitsigging; however, Part II starts with tirades in which she is walking along rice field dikes in Uldidittan.

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Photo 8. The hudhud *singer Ruben Gumangan in front of the destination of our trip – "the lake downstream" – the confluence of rivers where the soul of the deceased meets with the conductors of souls. The point is situated on the border of three municipalities of the Ifugao province – Asipulo, Kiangan, and Lamut (16 41.376 N, 121 8.624 E). (31.07.2012. Photo by Maria Stanyukovich.)*

Photo 9. Lucbut's death path chart. Upper left: the soul of the deceased is in her house. Lower left: her living son Cornelio begins his journey in search of his mother. The horizontal line depicts the river: the souls of the deceased and her living son proceed downstream to the abode of the dead; dots alongside the river show that they cross it several times along the way. Lower right: the soul of the deceased. Upper right: the circle represents "the lake downstream", where the soul of the deceased meets with the conductors of souls, Dumya and Baggayon (the two figures at the top of the circle). (Picture drawn by Ester Tayaban according to the instructions of the leading singer Appin Gumangan, who performed the chant. July 2015. Photo by Maria Stanyukovich.)

This uneven distribution in the Yattuka *hudhud* is in stark contrast with the distribution of similar tirades in the Tuwali *hudhud* epics, in which such units are normally used in every second tirade. The following example shows a line from a *hudhud* published by Lambrecht, in which the counterpart of the Yattuka *ehmmm* is presented as *eeehem*, accompanied by *eeeeeeya eee*:

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(3)	Motmotwaona	pakaang-angona=h	Bugan	an	hi	Bugan=ana
	looks.he	stares.he=PRS.NOM	Bugan	LK	PRS. NOM	Bugan=RF

eeeeeeya	*eee*	an	panguluwana	*eeehem*
RF	RF	LK	elder_sibling. his	RF

(Source: Lambrecht 1967: 366.)

He looks he stares at Bugan, Bugan, his elder sister.

In Dulawan and Revel's *hudhud* records, the corresponding sequence is *o… ya… nema o…e*.

This difference in the distribution raises the following question: What is the function of such tirades in the Yattuka *hudhud* epics? One guess here might be that they are boundary markers of, so to say, chapters, indicating the transition between different scenes or sets of scenes considered as separate episodes of the narrative (cf. Lamb 2015: 236–237). Thus, the *hudhud ni nosi* under scrutiny here is segmented with such tirades into 13 episodes. There are only 11 occurrences of *ehmmm* in the text. In Parts I and II, *ehmmm* is used in the last tirade of each episode of the epic, except for the last one. It therefore seems to operate as a boundary marker for the episodes of these parts, and then the deviation from this pattern, that of not using *ehmmm* in the final episode, marks the end of the part by its absence. In Part III, *ehmmm* is used in concluding the part, while it is absent from Part IV. These parts do not subdivide into episodes, making it appear that the same pattern of use observed in Parts I and II begin functioning at the higher level of structure, marking the end of the penultimate part of the epic, but not its final part.

Photo 10. Singing hudhud ni bogwa. *The bundle on the left contains the exhumed bones of Ason, the late mother of Ester Tayaban, sitting next to it. (Pal-iyon, Duit, Kiangan, Ifugao. 16.03.2012. Photo by Maria Stanyukovich.)*

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To give a comparison, in another *hudhud* record, *hudhud ni bogwa* (comprising a total of 532 tirades in five singing parts) (source Stanyukovich & Klimenko 2012), which is the same in its form and content to the *hudhud ni nosi*, sung by the same soloist, *ehmmm* occurs 21 times: in tirades 5, 94, 100, 180, 236, 252, 253, 259, 266, 274, 290, 294, 297, 306, 312, 340, 346, 358, 378, 406, and 532. The text can then be split into 25 episodes:

Part I
Tirades 1–5: Indangunay is at their house in Bangngawan. (*ehmmm*)
Tirades 6–83: Indangunay decides to go to a feast. She gets ready and arrives at Nungawa. Feast at Nungawa. Indangunay refuses to go home. They hold a vigil for her. She refuses to eat rice and only drinks rice wine. It is the next morning. They go to Polwittan.

Part II
Tirades 84–94: They arrive at Polwittan. She dances beautifully at a feast in Polwittan. (*ehmmm*)
Tirades 95–100: She is tired from dancing. People are serving rice wine. They hold a vigil for her. The next morning. (*ehmmm*)
Tirades 101–180: Morning at Polwittan. They go to Momukpukdit/Duit. They go to Nobayung. (*ehmmm*)
Tirades 181–233: Dancing at Nobayung. The next morning. They go to Amduntog. Dancing at Amduntog. The next morning.

Part III
Tirades 234–236: There is a feast at Ollulug. (*ehmmm*)
Tirades 237–252: They go to Ollulug. There is gong beating. (*ehmmm*)
Tirade 253: Indangunay will dance. (*ehmmm*)
Tirades 254–259: She dances and gets drunk. (*ehmmm*)
Tirades 260–266: They hold a vigil for her. It is the next morning. (*ehmmm*)
Tirades 267–274: They chew betel nut. Indangunay feeds the pigs and chickens. She refuses to eat rice and only drinks rice wine. (*ehmmm*)
Tirades 275–290: They go to Binilihan. People are serving rice wine. (*ehmmm*)
Tirades 291–294: People beat gongs and dance. (*ehmmm*)
Tirades 295–297: Indangunay is tired from dancing and drinks more rice wine. (*ehmmm*)
Tirades 298–306: They hold a vigil for her. The next morning. They chew betel nut. (*ehmmm*)
Tirades 307–312: People have breakfast, but Indangunay refuses to eat. (*ehmmm*)
Tirades 313–340: They go to Ginulunan. Rice wine serving and dancing. Indangunay says: “There is no place for me to go back.” (*ehmmm*)
Tirades 341–346: They hold a vigil for her. (*ehmmm*)
Tirades 347–358: The next morning. Indangunay refuses to eat breakfast. (*ehmmm*)
Tirade 359: They decide to go to another feast.

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Part IV
Tirades 360–378: They go to Hinalyapen. She meets Dumya and Baggayon in Koyungngahen, who tell her to stop at the bank of the river, since it is not a feast trip but the end of her life. (*ehmmm*)
Tirade 379: She is told that one of her children will follow her.

Part V
Tirades 380–406: At Bangngawan, Indangunay cradles her children. She takes her children and goes to Pal-iyon. Now her children are grown up. So the mother can go to feasts. (*ehmmm*)
Tirades 407–532: Indangunay chews betel nut. Her daughter Ester follows Indangunay, passing by all the places she visited. They come home together. (*ehmmm*)

At present, it is not clear whether *ehmmm* indeed marks the boundaries of different scenes in *hudhud* or is used only to break the monotony of singing. The latter might be suggested by the fact that, in some instances, *ehmmm* occurs in two consecutive tirades (portions 21 and 23 in the *hudhud ni bogwa* above), while nothing particularly remarkable seems to be contained in such one-tirade episodes regarding the development of the narrative.

Melodic Shifts

Parts I–IV are based on the main melodic pattern, which is represented in two main modal versions[8]: *e-g-a-c*^{1} in parts I and IV, and *f-g-a-cis*^{1} in parts II and III. It seems that there is no direct connection between such a change and the content of the text. The melodic shift almost always occurs only when a new singing part starts. In *hudhud ni nosi* (source Stanyukovich 2012a), for instance, the second version is presented in parts II and III (episodes 8–12 above), while in part IV it is shifted back to the first version. *Hudhud ni bogwa* (Stanyukovich & Klimenko 2012) is the only available record in which a shift does not occur strictly with the beginning of a new singing part. The second version is presented only in part III, but instead of the beginning of the part, tirade 234, the shift starts in tirades 241 and 242, in which the soloist shifted to the second version, while part of the choir still followed the initial version. Starting from tirade 243, the shift occurred completely. The confusion in the choir suggests that such melodic shifts are not supposed to happen in the middle of a singing part, and this particular occurrence is probably due to the soloist's mistake.

It can be seen from the above that in *hudhud ni nosi,* the second modal version covers the second half of the main character's itinerary, which culminates in the encounter with Dumya and Baggayon, who tell her that

8 Pitch and melodic contour continuously vary in a course of the performance, the so-called "pitch drift" is quite noticeable. We do not discuss melodic and modal structure of the epic in detail here, as the present article concentrates on the metrical aspect of the text.

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she is dead. This is, however, not the case in *hudhud ni bogwa*, in which the second version also covers the second half of the main character's itinerary; however, the encounter with Dumya and Baggayon is sung using the first version. Interestingly, in two recordings of the *hudhud ni kolot* ("hudhud of the haircut rite") sung by the same soloist, the distribution of the melodic versions is very different. In one of them (source Stanyukovich 2012b), comprising a total of 744 tirades in eight singing parts, the shift occurs only once – from the first version to the second one – in tirade 531 and covers the last two singing parts. In the other one (source Stanyukovich 2012d), the singing starts with the second modal version and later on shifts to the first one. The melodic shift also occurs in the *hudhud ni pagi* ("hudhud of rice") sung by a different soloist (Klimenko 2016b), in which it follows the pattern instantiated in *hudhud ni nosi* (source Stanyukovich 2012a) and *hudhud ni bogwa* (source Stanyukovich & Klimenko 2012), that is, the melody shifts to the second version in the middle, and later on, it shifts back to the first one.

The only available *hudhud* in Yattuka that does not contain any melodic shifts was sung interchangeably by two significantly less proficient soloists, for both of whom it was the first time to perform that *hudhud* variety (*hudhud ni kolot*) (Klimenko 2016a). Note that it is very often suggested that the *hudhud* melody is the same throughout the whole performance (Lambrecht 1967: 291–293; Revel 2006: 16–17; Revel & Tourny 2007: 4; Stanyukovich 2012a: 78). In fact, this is true only regarding the Tuwali *hudhud* epics. The Tuwali *hudhud* records from the Ateneo Epic Archive (Dulawan & Revel 1993, 1997a, 1997b) employ a melody that significantly differs from that of the Yattuka *hudhuds*. Also, they do not manifest a melodic shift. Thus, we can suggest that such shifts are a property of the Yattuka tradition only. Interestingly, the recording of the Tuwali *hudhud* of the haircut rite (Stanyukovich 1995a) sung by Domingo "Ngayaw" Dulnuan – a singer about whom we know for sure was, to a certain degree, competent in Yattuka, as his wife comes from the Yattuka-speaking region – employs the first melodic pattern of the Yattuka *hudhud* epics. However, similar to other Tuwali *hudhud* records, it has no melodic shift.

Speaking of the ratios of the two modal versions within a single *hudhud*, in *hudhud ni nosi,* the first occurrence of the first version covers 37.7% of the tirades, the second version covers 27.9%, and the second occurrence of the first version covers 34.4%. As for *hudhud ni bogwa*, the ratio is comparable. The first occurrence of the first version covers 45.1%, the second version covers 22.3%, and the second occurrence of the first version covers 32.5%. Such data is also available for one of the *hudhud ni kolot* records sung by the same soloist, in which the first version covers 71.2%, while the second one covers 28.8%.

Conclusions

In *hudhud ni nosi*, the interaction between the soloist and the chorus is defined by the extreme importance of the place names that end most of chorus parts. A mistake in the place names would result in "losing the track"

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and thus destroy the main purpose of the performance – transporting the soul of the deceased to the abode of the dead. Therefore, the soloist strictly controls the chorus and never leaves it alone. This drastically increases the pressure on the soloist, who cannot, unlike in the Tuwali Ifugao *hudhuds*, have a rest and time to compose the next tirade while the chorus sings long sequences of formulas and rhythmic fillers. The soloist "drops" the chorus only a few moments before it ends pulling the last syllable, not to rest, but to start a new tirade.

The chant, performed in four parts of varying lengths, comprises 337 tirades of varying duration and number of syllables with the same pattern: the beginning performed by the soloist, the continuation, and the ending with a particular metrical pattern. The two latter portions are performed both by the soloist and the choir.

The soloist begins chanting the next tirade before the choir finishes the ending of the preceding one, i.e. the solo and chorus parties superimpose on one another and thus ensure the continuity of the sound. This manner of musical performance, probably, regularises the text, which contains tirades of a varying number of syllables, creating a pattern for text organisation. The two parties are simultaneously contrastive and mutually complementary as they create the musical plane of the ritual.

The Tuwali and Yattuka *hudhud* chants employ the same or very similar rhythmic fillers, which, however, have very different functions, as, in the former, they are apparently used strictly for the sake of rhythm in every second tirade, while, in the latter, they are unevenly scattered across the text of the *hudhud*. This points to the possibility of their acting as boundary markers, separating the episodes of the narrative.

The melodic pattern of the Yattuka *hudhud* is performed in two modal versions, which distinguishes it from the Tuwali tradition, in which only one modal version of a melody is in use throughout the performance. The shift between the two versions in the Yattuka *hudhud* occurs in performances of the different *hudhud* subgenres and by different singers, and it does not seem to be associated in any meaningful way with the narrative. The soloist normally shifts to the other melodic version when starting a new part of *hudhud* after a *holdak* break.

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Abbreviations

GEN – genitive
LK – linker
OBL – oblique
PRS – personal
RF – rhythmic filler
MAE – Peter the Great Museum of anthropology and ethnography (St. Petersburg, Russia)
RAS – Russian Academy of Sciences

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Poets and Metres over Time III

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"Do Not Think Whether This Is Poetry or Prose"

Metre and Poetics in the Works of Lauri Viita

In this article, I discuss metre from the point of view of a poet's theories and notions of poetry, that is, through the poetics that underlie a poet's verse craft and its characteristics.1 The term poetics can simply be defined as a systematic theory of poetry (see Brogan 1993a: 930). Following Alfred Weber's definition, I will, however, add two features that I find useful in this case. Firstly, I understand poetics as "developed out of, and along with [a poet's] poetic practice." Thus, poetics refers to a poet's theory of his or her own medium. Secondly, poetics is "related to the demands and conventions of [a poet's] time." A poet's personal views are, in other words, intertwined, either consciously and/or unconsciously, with the general poetic principles of the time and place in question (Weber 1997: 10–11). According to this more exclusive definition of poetics, verse craft itself plays an important role when examining a poet's notions on metre. The definition also demands that weight be added to the cultural context in which the poems in question were written and the notions took shape.

The poetry by the Finnish author Lauri Viita (1916–1965) provides an interesting case study because Viita's explicit comments on metre and the actual form of his poems seem, at first glance, to be in conflict with each other. He wrote his oeuvre between 1947 and 1965,2 a period roughly corresponding to the "second wave" of Finnish modernism, also known as "the modernism of the 1950s". When Viita published his first book of poetry, Betonimylläri ("Concrete Mixer") in 1947, metrical poetry and free rhythmic

1 As T. V. F. Brogan claims, versification, defined as "the art and craft of writing verse," is inseparable from the theories of verse structure: "Poetic praxis always entails theory, even if unconsciously, for performance in a skilled craft implies competence, and competence implies an internalised system of procedures which govern the making and which result in demonstrable regularities of structure in the text" (Brogan 1993b: 1353).

2 Viita wrote four books of poetry: *Betonimylläri* (1947) ("Concrete Mixer"), *Kukunor* (1949), *Käppyräinen* (1954), and *Suutarikin, suuri viisas* (1961) ("And the Cobbler, Great Wise Man"), and two novels, *Moreeni* (1950) ("Moraine") and *Entäs sitten, Leevi* (1965) ("What Next, Leevi"). The titles have been translated by Hildi Hawkins (http://www.booksfromfinland.fi/1988/12/builder-of-words/). The title *Kukunor*, not translated by Hawkins, refers to the main character of the story, the goblin named Kukunor. The word *käppyräinen* is an adjective that refers to a curved shape.

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poetry coexisted, even though metrical poetry still was in the majority. Free rhythm became part of the metrical repertoire of Finnish poetry via the avant-garde group, the Tulenkantajat ("Torch bearers"), which was active in the 1920s, but it was not until the 1950s that the final breakthrough in free rhythm occurred. Viita concentrated on metrical poetry and rapidly became known for his elaborate use of metre and skilful and inventive rhyme schemes. On the other hand, his experiments in free rhythm in his third book of poetry, Käppyräinen (1954), did not have an enthusiastic reception (see Varpio 1973: 205–206, 208–201); in fact, literary criticism has largely ignored his innovations. Nevertheless, Viita's negative stance towards the dogmatic modernist poetics has gained much attention. Viita was an antimodernist in the sense that he openly resisted some aspects of the modernist program; the best example of this is his freest collection of poetry, the same Käppyräinen. The fact that Viita employed metre in the first place has led to the conclusion that he was oriented towards tradition, which is correct in itself (see e.g. Katajamäki 2004: 137; 2016: 13; Kunnas 1981: 46–71). However, that discussion has been too straightforward. What exactly was Viita's relationship with traditional metre? My aim in this article is to answer this question through an examination of Viita's metrical development during the various stages of 1950s' modernism, as well as his notions on metre.

In addition to the term poetics, the concepts *implicit poetics* and *metalyric* are helpful in distinguishing the different ways in which the notions on metre can emerge. By implicit poetics, I understand the principles that influence a poet's verse but do not manifest themselves as an extrinsic theory (Brogan 1993a: 929). Metalyric, on the other hand, can be defined as poetry that deals with the questions of lyric genre, itself inclusive as a necessary consequence (see Müller-Zettelmann 2000: 170; 2003: 124, 138, 191–192; 2005: 126, 132; Oja 2004: 8–9; 2008: 138–140; 2012: 20–21).[3] Metalyric can also be divided into explicit and implicit forms. While *explicit metalyric* can be defined as poetry that has the lyric genre as its theme, *implicitly metalyric* poems reveal their artificial nature by highlighting their formal features, such as the visual and auditory aspects of language and its structural characteristics. Explicit and implicit metalyric usually work together, forming different combinations (Müller-Zettelmann 2003: 146–147, 159–165). The title of this paper, "Do not think whether this is poetry or prose", is the title of the first poem of Viita's last book of poetry, *Suutarikin, suuri viisas* ("And the Cobbler, Great Wise Man") (1961). Given the poem's position before the sections proper, the line directs attention not only to the poem's own rhythm but also to the other prose rhythmic poems of the collection. In other words, the prosaic features are given attention for their own sake.

3 In different language areas, there are different terms for the same phenomenon. In the Anglo-American tradition, the word for metalyric is "self-reflexive poetry" (see e.g., Baker (Ed.) 1997). In the German tradition, the terms *Metalyrik* (Müller-Zettelmann 2000, 2003, 2005) or *poetologische Lyrik* (Weber 1971) are more common. In Finnish literary criticism, the word *metalyriikka* has become established (see Hollsten 2004: 22–24; Kajannes 1998; Oja 2004, 2012).

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The Metrical Development of Viita's Poetry: A Brief Overview

In Finnish literary research, metrical poetry is usually treated as a continuum; at one end there is *regular verse*, while at the other is *free verse*. As an intermediary form between the two extremes, I have also distinguished *loosely metrical verse*. Regular verse refers to poetry that displays regularity in terms of stanza structure, or, in the case of non-strophic poetry, in terms of couplet or line structure. The term loosely metrical, on the other hand, defines poems that follow an identifiable metre, but do so irregularly and unpredictably. Free verse also belongs to metrical poetry, meaning that it displays some regularity in the phonological level of language. In contrast, *free rhythm* stands out qualitatively from metrical poetry, lacking any regularity on the phonological level (see Sadeniemi 1949: 14–15; Leino 1982: 290; Laitinen 1984 [1978]: 289; Viikari 1987: 11–12; Lankinen 2001: 31).

I have defined the precise criteria for the above-mentioned categories with Viita's poetry in mind. First, I have split the category of regular verse into *strictly metrical* and *metrical*, as this distinction proves useful when illustrating the characteristics of Viita's verse craft. Strictly metrical poems are restricted by four features: 1) stanza structure, 2) line structure, 3) syllable structure, and 4) rhyme scheme. By regular stanza structure, I mean the metrical isomorphism of stanzas, or, in the case of one-stanza-poems, conventional stanza schemes like four-line or six-line stanzas. Line structure refers to the number and order of metrical positions per line,[4] while syllable structure refers to the number of syllables in a given metrical position. Regular rhyme schemes are described by rhyme rules, such as *aabb* or *abab*. As mentioned, to be strictly metrical, a poem must be regular with respect to all four constraints. As for metrical poems, on the contrary, it is enough that their lines are fixed with respect to line structure and syllable structure *or* that they have a fixed stanza structure.

Viita's loosely metrical poems do not necessarily follow regularly any of the four constraints, but they do have what I call the "basic line". The basic line can be defined as a type of verse line (for example, trochaic tetrameter) that the poem in question follows frequently enough for the line to create a specific rhythm for the poem. For example, the basic line of *Betonimylläri*'s poem "Alfhild" is dactylic tetrameter (*+ oo + oo + oo + o*):[5]

Äidit vain nuo toivossa väkevät	a	+ o + o + oo + o +
Jumalan näkevät.	a	+ oo + o +
Heille on annettu voima ja valta	b	+ oo + oo + oo + o
kohota unessa pilvien alta	b	+ oo + oo + oo + o
ja katsella korkeammalta.	b	o + oo + oo + o
(BE, 7.)		

4 Regular line structure necessarily follows from regular stanza structure. A poem can, however, have regular line structure without having a stanza structure.

5 The symbol + marks syllables situated in the rising or prominent position; the symbol *o* designates syllables situated in the falling or non-prominent position (Leino 1982: 16).

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Mothers alone, endowed
with hope, see God.
They're given strength and given will,
to climb in dream from under the cloud,
and look from a higher hill
(Viita 1988, transl. Herbert Lomas.)

As in "Alfhild", Viita's loosely metrical poems are also usually rhymed. They are not, however, restricted by rhyme rules.

Viita's free verse consists mostly of non-rhymed accentual metres.[6] A typical case of Viita's free verse is "*Pappi ja pakana*" ("The priest and the heathen") from *Käppyräinen*:

Se on **ro**vasti-**vai**naan **neu**vo,
jota **Erk**kilän **i**säntä **nou**dattaa,
ikä**mies** jo **muut**en **hän**kin.

Tosin **ro**vasti, **täy**sin**pal**vel**lee**na,
ei **pu**hunut **e**nää **pit**kään,
ja **kir**kossa **tus**kin **ol**lenkaan,
vaan **naut**ti **vain** sitä **e**lä**ket**tään
ja **kat**soi ja **y**ritti **ym**märtää,
mitä **toi**set **tar**koit**ti**vat.
(KÄ, 81.)

It's the late dean's word
that farmer Erkkilä listens to,
though time has passed and he's aged too.

The truth is this: old and retired,
the dean wasn't given to speak at length,
and scarce a word in church was heard;
mostly he just preserved his strength
to enjoy his pension and try to read
what it was that others said.
(Viita 1988, transl. Herbert Lomas.)

Accentual metres can be defined as structures, in which "the number of stressed syllables (accents) in each line remains relatively constant" (Grünthal 2012: 203). In accentual metres, the syllable stresses are determined by the same rules as in natural language. In the Finnish language, the primary stress is on the first syllable of a word, and, with words that have more than three syllables, the secondary stress is on the odd-numbered syllables. In "*Pappi ja pakana*", each line has three to four stressed syllables (in bold), which

6 There are, of course, also other types of free verse (see Lilja 2006: 267–268; 2008: 95–105).

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characterises Viita's free verse in general.[7] In addition, (almost) every line of the poem begins with a non-prominent word, which in the Finnish language is a one-syllable word and a grammatical word, creating a phenomenon similar to that of rising metres.

Finally, Viita's free rhythmic poems resemble prose that has been divided into lines. While the basic rhythmical unit of metrical poetry is (a metrical) line, in Viita's free rhythm, it is a sentence. In this connection, I would like to quote the beginning of the poem "*Mitä varten kirjoitan*" ("Why do I write") from Viita's fourth and last book of poetry, *Suutarikin, suuri viisas* (1961):

> Hyvät ihmiset!
> Älkää miettikö, onko tämä runoa vai proosaa.
> Älkää kysykö, vihaanko tyhjää tilaa.
> Älkää ajatelko mitään, ennen kuin olette nähneet
> painokoneen.
> (SU, 5.)

> Dear people!
> Do not think, whether this poetry or prose.
> Do not ask, if I hate blank space.
> Do not think anything before you have seen
> a printing press
> (Transl. EL).

Each sentence of the poem is situated on its own typographical line, and many of Viita's free rhythmic poems follow this principle.[8] The poem persuades the reader to pay attention to its prosaic rhythm and non-metrical formation conversely by saying not to think about it: "Do not think, whether this is poetry or prose."

Viita makes use of the entire scale of metrical and non-metrical verse; he also has poems from two metrical systems: the dynamic system and the Kalevala system.[9] As a whole, Viita's metrical repertoire looks like what is shown in Table 1.[10]

7 The distinction between free verse and free rhythm can also be vague. Accentual metres with lines of three and/or four stresses are more rhythmic than lines with less than three stresses, or with more than four stresses, which begin to resemble prose rhythm.

8 If a sentence is too long, it may continue to the next row, as does the fourth sentence of the quotation.

9 In the dynamic system, the syllables are strong or weak according to their prominence, that is, their relative stress. In the Kalevala system, on the other hand, the syllables are strong or weak according to their length and position in a word (Leino 1982: 20, 46–48). Free rhythm could also be regarded as its own system.

10 The table is necessarily approximate. It is impossible to divide a phenomenon, such as poetry, neatly into clear-cut categories. The table does not show borderline cases or variation within the categories. Its function is to offer a general view of Viita's metrical repertoire.

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Table 1. Viita's metrical repertoire.

		Betonimylläri (1947)	*Kukunor* (1949)	*Käppyräinen* (1954)	*Suutarikin, suuri visas* (1961)
1a. Strictly metrical:	Dynamic system	troche 17 iamb 8 iamb-anapest 3 dactyl 2 anapest 2 troche-dactyl 1 iamb + troche 1 TOTAL: 34		troche 3 iamb 1 TOTAL: 4	iamb 8 troche 3 iamb-anapest 3 troche-dactyl 3 TOTAL: 17
1b. Metrical:	Dynamic system	troche 4 dactyl 1 iamb-anapest 1 iamb + troche 1 TOTAL: 6		troche-dactyl 2 troche 1 troche + iamb 1 TOTAL: 4	iambic-anapest 4 troche-dactylic 1 TOTAL: 5
	Kalevala system (Kalevala metre)			TOTAL: 3	TOTAL: 19
2. Loosely metrical	Dynamic system	TOTAL: 6	x (trochaic tetrameter)	TOTAL: 13	
3. Free verse	Dynamic system			TOTAL: 8	TOTAL: 6
4. Free rhythmic				TOTAL: 4	TOTAL: 4
		Total poems: 46		Total poems: 36	Total poems: 51

I will now focus on the first category, that is, the strictly metrical poems. Thus, the emphasis is on Viita's first book of poetry, *Betonimylläri.* Within the limits of this article, the other categories and works need to be dealt with in a more cursory manner.

Betonimylläri *and the Problem of the 1940s*

The nature of Finnish literature in the second half of the 1940s has been difficult to define, as the period does not provide any clearly identifiable framework with which to examine a poet's work. The decade splits into the years of war and those of reconstruction, which, in the literature, manifested in various ways (Viikari 1998: 205). At the end of the 1940s, not least because T. S. Eliot had won the Nobel Prize in 1948, modernism became a burning issue in the literary field. Questions of metre, including the juxtaposition of "free verse" and conventional metres, became a major concern.[11] Nevertheless, the years right after the war and before the rise, or the renaissance, of modernism remain problematic, also with regard to metre. I will now consider this short period through some metrical aspects of Viita's *Betonimylläri*.

11 At the beginning of the 1950s, a new kind of poetry began to emerge among such young poets as Paavo Haavikko (1951) and Anhava (1953). During this decade, Finnish poetry experienced a radical aesthetic reform, the result of which was that metrical poetry became the minority in relation to free rhythm, and finally vanished almost completely.

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Betonimylläri was published in 1947, but written during the 1930s and 1940s. Viita wrote the oldest of its poems as a school boy, although they took their final shape nearer the date of publication. *Betonimylläri* is largely what I have called strictly metrical. Rather unexpectedly, then, we find this piece of text in Viita's letter to his wife, dating back to April 1939:

> En tiedä, mahtuvatko minun tunteeni ja mielialani ahtaisiin, sidottuihin riimeihin, mutta minä en siitä välitä, vaan tarpeen vaatiessa olen valmis hylkäämään kaikki runousopin kultaiset säännöt ja ohjeet, joita koulussa kunnianarvoiset herrat lehtorit kaikessa viisaudessaan päähäni pänttäsivät. Ne opetukset eivät ole unohtuneet, ne ovat vain alistuneet mahtavampainsa, taipumattomuuden, nopeuden ja intohimon edessä. Itsehän kerran sanoit juuri mainitsemiani ominaisuuksia luonteeni peruspiirteiksi. (Viita 2017: 68.)
>
> I do not know if my feelings and moods fit into tight and strict rhyme schemes, but I do not care: if necessary, I am ready to abandon all the golden rules and instructions of the poetic diction that the honourable teachers at school stuffed into my head. The teachings have not been forgotten, but they have submitted to their greater, which are, obduracy, fastness and passion. You yourself once said these qualities to be characteristic of my nature. (Transl. EL.)

At first sight, Viita's (explicit) poetics and implicit poetics seem to be in conflict with each other: in *Betonimylläri*, Viita did not throw away the rules of the poetic diction he had learned at school, but rather refined them to their full potential. What is of interest in the strictly metrical category of *Betonimylläri* – in addition to their large number, which is 34 of altogether 46 poems – is the variation that occurs within the framework of structural constraints. With the exception of two poems, "Yhteistoiminta" ("Cooperation") and "Moraali" ("Morality"), which have an identical metrical structure, all the strictly metrical poems are different with respect to their *basic metrical schema* and rhyme rules. Basic metrical schema, a concept used by the Finnish pioneer of metrics, Pentti Leino, is defined as: i) the number of stanzas per poem, ii) the number of lines per stanza, and iii) the number and ordering of rising and falling positions per line (Leino 1982: 58–62). Rhyme schemes are also an important structural feature, and they are described by iv) rhyme rules. The basic metrical schema, plus the rhyme rule of "Yhteistoiminta" and "Moraali", are the following:

Yhteistoiminta	Moraali		
Akka kylän laskit kantoi,	"Siisti täytyy aina olla!"	a	+ – + – + – + –
joka murun läävään antoi.	sanoi kissa hietikolla –	a	+ – + – + – + –
Sika lihoi, akka laihtui. –	raapi päälle tarpeenteon	b	+ – + – + – + –
Joulun alla vuoro vaihtui.	pienen, sievän santakeon.	b	+ – + – + – + –
(BE, 48.)	(BE, 52.)		

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The hag carried the lard of the village,	"It is important always to be clean!"
tossed every piece to the piggery.	the cat said in the litter box –
The pig got fat, the hag got thin. –	and after relieving itself
At Christmas their turns were traded	made a pretty little pile of sand.
(Transl. EL.)	(Transl. EL.)

The poems each consist of one stanza, which, in turn, consists of four lines with four rising positions (+) and four falling positions (–).[12] In Derek Attridge's terms, they follow what he calls four-by-four formation, that is, a "pattern of sixteen beats in four groups", which according to Attridge, is the most common rhythmic pattern, not only of the English language, but also of other European and non-European languages (Attridge 1995, 53–54). The rhyme rule of "Yhteistoiminta" and "Moraali" is *aabb*. In short, the poem's metrical structure can be described as follows:

i.	poem	→	1 stanza
ii.	stanza	→	4 lines
iii.	line	→	$(R+F)^4$
iv.	rhyme rule	→	aabb

As said, apart from "Yhteistoiminta" and "Moraali", *Betonimylläri's* strictly metrical poems differ from each other in terms of at least one of the four metrical characteristics (i–iv). What the metrical rules do not tell is the number of syllables in a given metrical position, which would define the type of metre in question. The metre type is yet another distinctive characteristic within the strictly metrical category.[13] Viita has clearly aimed at rhythmical variation already on the structural level. The variation is realised within the framework of metrical rules, which highlights artistry and craft skills, but also appears as an experimentation of what can be done with the dynamic metrical system that had dominated Finnish poetry from the middle of the 19th century onwards (see Grünthal 2012: 194).

Even though it is difficult to define the period that immediately followed the war with a label such as "modernism", the revaluation of the previous epoch's ideology and aesthetics has been considered as one of its characteristics (Hökkä 1999: 68; Viikari 1998: 208–210). Viita built his poetry upon the works of his predecessors, such as Juhani Siljo, Otto Manninen, and Kaarlo Sarkia, which he did self-assertively by means of allusions, parody, and rhythmic citations (see e.g. Laamanen 2018: 48–69).[14]

12 Both the rising position and the syllable that occupies it are marked by the sign +. However, the falling position and the syllables occupying it are marked by different signs, the former by the sign –, the latter by the sign o. This is because in the Finnish language, there can only be one syllable in the rising position, but up to three syllables in the falling position.

13 In "*Yhteistoiminta*" and "*Moraali*", the type of metre is also the same: in their case, there is only one syllable in a falling position; hence, their type of metre is troche, or more specifically, trochaic tetrameter (+ *o* + *o* + *o* + *o*).

14 In addition to the styles of other individual poets, Viita uses metrical schemes originally from folklore and the hymn book.

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Viita's self-assertive attitude also has a critical aspect in that Viita rejects the features of the previous poetry that he finds bad and adopts the ones that he finds good. Even though Viita openly throws into relief his literary sources, already *Betonimylläri* shows a step away from the aesthetics of the earlier epoch. This applies also to metre, which in *Betonimylläri* is no longer a poetic convention, but material Viita self-consciously worked for his use. The letter quoted earlier bears evidence of the change of attitude towards metre. For Viita, metre was by no means an obvious choice; as part of the poetic diction of the school teachers, it even had negative connotations. Free rhythm could have provided him the means for breaking through conventional poetic language, but the breakthrough had already been made by the *Tulenkantajat*. That Viita chose – and, indeed, for his generation it was a matter of choice – to work in verse design, and the way he did it, imply that, in the 1940s, metre could provide ways for poets in their attempt to renew poetic idiom.[15] Viita continued on that path throughout his career.

Expanding Metrical Repertoire

Viita's second book of poetry *Kukunor* (1949) was published two years after *Betonimylläri*. The book tells a tale of two goblins named Kukunor and Kalahari. Metrically, it falls into the category of loosely metrical verse, following largely the line of *Betonimylläri*'s loosely metrical poems. *Kukunor*'s basic line is trochaic tetrameter, which bears a resemblance to Kalevala-metre.[16] Because of the limited number of one-syllable words in the Finnish language, trochees are more suitable for spoken Finnish than rising metres, such as iambs. That *Kukunor* consists, for the most part, of dialogue that emphasises the importance of fluent usage. Emphasis is also laid on the playful aspect of language. In a metalyric passage, Kukunor the goblin draws attention to the brilliant rhyme she has just invented: "Did I not come up with an excellent rhyme!" (KU, 85).[17] Rhymes in the book may even turn the story in a new direction in that they participate in creating the story. This "generative" nature of metre and rhymes is well analysed in the previous studies of *Kukunor* (Hollsten 1995: 144–149; Katajamäki 2016: 326–341).

15 The reviewers of *Betonimylläri* also paid attention to Viita's verse craft, finding it fresh and elaborate. The word "masterful" occurs frequently in the reviews (see e.g. H. L. 1947: 159; Suomi 1947: 275; Vuorela 1947: 346). The reviewers also considered *Betonimylläri* to be a highly masculine book. V. A. Koskenniemi, for instance, contrasted Viita's tight form with the free rhythm of the (female) descendants, the "epigones" of Edith Södergran (Koskenniemi 1947: 126). The new poetry written by women received attention more generally in the 1940s, and Viita's masculine and strictly metrical diction was often compared to it. It is also possible that Viita did not use free rhythm because of its close association with female poets.

16 Pasi Lankinen has suggested that Viita's trochaic tetrameter eventually developed into the Kalevala-metre that Viita began to employ in his next book of poetry, *Käppyräinen* (Lankinen 2001: 116).

17 *Enkös, enkös keksinytkin / eri hyvän loppusoinnun!* (translated by Erika Laamanen).

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In *Käppyräinen* (1954), Viita's metrical repertoire expanded. Altogether three new metrical categories emerge: Kalevala-metric poetry, free verse, and free rhythm. *Käppyräinen* is the freest of Viita's four books of poetry. The category of loosely metrical poems grows significantly compared to that of *Betonimylläri*, in addition to which the new categories of free verse and free rhythm are relatively large in number. In contrast, there are few strictly metrical poems: there are only four four-line poems in it, and two of the poems have deviations.[18] In *Käppyräinen,* Viita's interest lies elsewhere, namely in experimenting with free verse and free rhythm, which, at the beginning of the 1950s, was paramount. As in the case of metrical poetry, in the freer forms of poetry, Viita self-consciously parodies the new forms of his contemporaries and emphasises the modes of the modernist idiom, such as colloquial speech (Laamanen 2018: 78–82). His own free verse can be seen as an attempt to provide an alternative to the poetic form of the modernists.

Similar to *Betonimylläri*, Viita's last book of poetry *Suutarikin*, *suuri viisas* (1961) is, for the most part, metrical. However, the categories of strictly metrical and metrical poems of *Betonimylläri* and those of *Suutarikin, suuri viisas* differ significantly from each other. While in the former, Viita aimed at variation within the strictly metrical category, in the latter, almost half (8) of the strictly metrical poems (17) have an identical metrical and syllabic structure:

Kun aina saman haistoit	a	o + o + o + o
ja näit, kuulit, maistoit,[19]	a	o + o + o + o
kai itseäsi paistoit.	a	o + o + o + o
(SU, 17.)		

When you only smelled the same,
and saw the same, and heard, and tasted,
you were probably cooking yourself
(Transl. EL.)

As in the stanza here beginning *Kun aina saman haistoit* ("When you only smelled the same"), the basic metrical schema of the eight poems sharing the same structure can be described in the following way:[20]

18 Both the poems "*L'art pour l'art*" and "*Apuviivasto*" lack the last foot (+ o). In *Betonimylläri,* only one of the 34 strictly metrical poems has a deviation: in the four-line poem "*Eläinnäyttelyssä*", there is a dactylic foot where there should be a trochaic one.

19 I have interpreted "*näit*" as a two-syllable word instead of one-syllable word; the latter is the grammatically correct version. In Finnish poetry, it is possible by convention to separate the vowels of the diphthong in order to fit the word into the metrical pattern (Leino 1982: 120–123).

20 The poems are "*Hän tietää vain, ei luule,*" "*Ei helmetöntä vikaa,*" "*Kun aina saman haistoit,*" "*Jos kaiken tietää tahdoit,*" "*Ei julki kuollut nero,*" "*Niin pienenpienet navat,*" "*Miks kirota ja soutaa,*" and "*Ei kohtaan eikä kahteen.*" The titles are always the first line of the poem.

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i.	poem	→	1 stanza
ii.	stanza	→	3 lines
iii.	line	→	$(F+R)^3 + F$
iv.	rhyme rule	→	aaa

The eight poems are also similar with respect to their aphoristic nature: they all crystallise a thought or saying, the compactness of which becomes further emphasised by the tight metrical structure. Thus, this specific stanza form has come to serve a particular function in the collection.

Another interesting feature in the category of strictly metrical poems is that they have a more refined syllable structure than in the previous books of poetry. This applies to iambic-anapestic and trochaic-dactylic poems, a concise example of which is the two-line poem "Rajoitus" ("Limitation"):

Nehän luonnonlakeja kumoaisivat,	a	oo + o + oo + o + o +
jotka lauluin lieroja lumoaisivat.	a	oo + o + oo + o + o +
(SU, 9.)		

But they would turn the laws of nature upside down,
if they were able to charm worms with songs
(Transl. EL.)

In iambic-anapestic and troche-dactylic metres, there can be one or two syllables in a falling position. In *Betonimylläri,* the number of syllables in a falling position is not often fixed. In *Suutarikin, suuri viisas*, on the other hand, the falling position syllables are regulated. Thus, Viita continues to experiment with the possibilities of strictly metrical verse.

Most importantly, in *Suutarikin, suuri viisas,* the role of Kalevala-metre grows fundamentally. Altogether 19 poems of Viita's last book of poetry are written in this old Finnic metre, which Viita modernises for his use. To make the metre more suitable for modern Finnish and his personal poetics, Viita made his Kalevala-metre deviate to some extent from the rules of the classical Kalevala-metre.[21] The most obvious departure is the lack of

21 The so-called classical Kalevala-metre became formalised following the publication of Elias Lönnrot's epic *Kalevala* in 1835, which was developed on the basis of traditional oral poetry. The poetic form can be described as follows: the fundamental element of the metre is that of a trochaic tetrameter, whereby a line is usually composed of eight syllables that are posited in successive stressed and unstressed positions, each of which is occupied by one syllable, as is the nature of troche. Another characteristic of the Kalevala-metre is the rule concerning the first syllable of a word. According to this rule, the word-initial syllable must be long if it is to occupy a rise, but short if it is to occupy a fall. The rule produces two kinds of lines: trochaic and the so-called "broken line", the variation of which creates a rhythm that is typical of Kalevala-metric poetry. In Finnic languages, the main stress of a word is always on the first syllable. In the broken line, at least a one word-initial syllable appears in an unstressed position, which, in turn, creates tension between the metre and the natural rhythm of language. Modern readers, since they are not singing the lines, read the broken lines as if they were troche-dactylic. In addition, parallelism and alliteration are stylistic features, if not proper metrical rules, of

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parallelism: repetition in general is an aesthetic feature most frequently criticised by Viita, and Kalevala-metre is no exception (Laamanen 2018: 154–155). Viita also often departs from the rules concerning the first syllable of a word, which allows him to use the vocabulary of modern Finnish more widely. However, the alternation of trochaic lines and broken lines essential for the rhythm of Kalevala-metre is preserved. Before the rules of Kalevala-metre became formalised, that is, before the publication of *The Kalevala* in 1835, the metre had actually developed along with the Finnish language (see Grünthal 2012: 193 and the contributions by Kallio and Oras elsewhere in this volume). Therefore, Viita is following the lead of the runo-singers of the oral tradition in developing the metre together with language.

In an aphorism of *Suutarikin*, *suuri visas*, Viita writes: "All work is intellectual, either creative, experimental or analytic. Only thinking is creative; writing is experimental, and reading analytic."[22] The words are a good description of Viita's poetry, from *Betonimylläri* to *Suutarikin, suuri viisas*. Even the nature of Viita's metrical poems is more experimental than conventional, more innovative than conventional; a careful analysis of *Betonimylläri*'s verse craft reveals the experimental, implicit poetics in the background. Viita's free verse and free rhythm are also of their own kind, laying emphasis on the stresses of natural language and sentence structures. Viita did not, however, abandon tradition. On the contrary, experimenting was perhaps necessary in order to keep the tradition alive. In 1965, the same year he died, Viita gave a speech at a literary event, in which he argued against the idea that the Kalevala-metre should remain unchanged forever:

> Kun joku Eino Leino sanoo: »Kannusti oritta. Liekit/löi yli kultaisen kypärän», kansanrunouden professori leimaa sen virheeksi. Arkistosta ei löydy esikuvaa. Koko kansanrunoudessamme ei kuulemma ole ainoatakaan säkeenylitystä. Älköön olko. Saa kai perinnettä jatkaa ja kehittää. Kalevalainen runomitta sopii mainiosti suomenkieleen. Sitä tulee siis viljellä edelleen. Perinteen jäädyttäminen ei ole kulttuuria, vaan itsemurhaa. (Viita 1965.)
>
> When someone like Eino Leino says: "*Kannusti oritta. Liekit/löi yli kultaisen kypärän*", a Professor of Folkore says there must be a mistake. There is nothing like it in the archives. There is not a single enjambment in our folklore. So what? We should be allowed to develop tradition. Kalevala-metre suits the Finnish language well. It should be cultivated further. Freezing tradition is not cultivating culture; it is suicide. (Trans. EL.)

The principle of keeping tradition alive manifests itself in a variety of ways in Viita's poetry, not least in metre.

Kalevala-metre. (See also the contributions by Kallio and Oras elsewhere in this volume.)

22 "Kaikki työ on henkistä, joko luovaa, kokeellista tai erittelevää. Ainoastaan ajattelu on luovaa työtä; kirjoittaminen on kokeellista, lukeminen erittelevää" (translated by Erika Laamanen).

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Abbreviations

BE – Viita Lauri 1947: *Betonimylläri*. Porvoo: WSOY.
KÄ – Viita Lauri 1954: *Käppyräinen*. Porvoo: WSOY.
KU – Viita Lauri 1963 [1949]. *Kukunor*. Porvoo: WSOY.
SU – Viita Lauri 1961: *Suutarikin suuri viisas*. Porvoo: WSOY.

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A Case Study

The Dactylic Hexameter in Justus Lipsius' Poetry

> Non satis est pulchra esse poemata; dulcia sunto
> et quocumque volent animum auditoris agunto.
> Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 99–100.
>
> Not enough is it for poems to have beauty: they must have charm,
> and lead the hearer's soul where they will.[1]

The purpose of this paper is to describe the characteristics of the dactylic hexameter in the poems of Justus Lipsius (1547–1606), and to point out recurring features and trends in its use. Since classical Latin poetry is a normative system, based on a set of rules, it is possible to describe the most distinctive stylistic elements of a Latin author, and compare them with the output of other Latin poets. Comparative research undisputedly proved Virgil to be the reference in composing dactylic hexameters, whom we therefore adopt as the benchmark:

> Vergil has been praised for his perfect control of the dactylic hexameter. [...] I shall, therefore, use the *Aeneid* of Vergil as the norm, as a standard by which to compare and contrast the other Latin hexameter poets. [...] Vergil's innovations were accepted and imitated by many poets, both pagan and Christian, during the course of the Roman Empire. (Duckworth 1969: 6–7.)

We realize, of course, that statistical analysis will not display the full picture of a poet's stylistic skills, but this procedure will nevertheless provide an interesting glimpse on the versification praxis, and seems all the more justified, since classical Latin (and Neo-Latin) is very sensitive to rhythm and euphony.[2] I will reveal the patterns of spondees and dactyls, the favourite line endings and the insertion of the caesural pauses, in an attempt to identify Lipsius' metrical fingerprint. During this process, I compare my findings with statistical material gathered by earlier research on classical and humanist authors.[3]

1 All texts and translations of classical authors are quoted from the *Loeb Classical Library,* unless differently stated; Horace ed. and transl. by H. R. Fairclough.
2 Cf. IJsewijn & Sacré 1998: 379: "The harmony of sounds can be a more decisive factor than strict grammar."
3 For the authors of the classical and late antiquity, I largely depend on Ceccarelli 2008, occasionally on Duckworth 1969; cf. Charlet 2014.

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Lipsius' poetical output represents but 1.2% of his *Opera omnia,* and includes about 3,000 lines.[4] A small wedge of the poetic corpus (1/5) is meant to function within the specific context of a literary work; the great bulk concerns occasional poetry, such as liminary poems, epitaphs, academic trifles, etc. The texts are composed in more than 15 metrical schemes, of which 4 distinctly prevail: phalaecian hendecasyllable, iambic senarius (each 25%), elegiac couplets and dactylic hexameter (each 15%). Lipsius composed 15 dactylic poems, altogether 463 lines. He reserved this meter for serious or important occasions: laudatory poems for the promotion of a student, wedding poetry, epicedia, or a prayer for recovery from disease.

During his lifetime, Justus Lipsius was hailed as one of the triumvirs of the Republic of Letters; the other members were Josephus Scaliger (1540–1609) and Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614). Lipsius' fame was rightfully based on his philosophical and historical writings (*Neo-Stoa* and *Roman History*), and his philological work: his editions and annotations of Latin prose authors (Tacitus, 1574; Velleius Paterculus, 1591; Seneca, 1605) are landmarks in the Renaissance history of philology. He also published his extensive correspondence, carefully selected and arranged in bundles of 100 letters (*Centuriae*), in order to keep in touch with scholars all over Europe, but also as a means of self-representation. Lipsius is not often associated with Latin poetry, not because he did not write any – *every* humanist did – but because he deliberately chose not to edit his collected poems, since he did not consider it a priority. Lipsius' command of the Latin language was paramount and caused quite a stir, since he unconventionally wrote a non-Ciceronian prose style, based on examples of the Early Empire (e.g. Tacitus) (cf. Deneire 2012). Hence, an interesting point is raised: how do we qualify the Latin poems of a scholar whose knowledge of Latin prose stands beyond any doubt, but who operates at the same time a very peculiar, not to say idiosyncratic *stilus Lipsianus*?

Spondees and Dactyls

Metrical variation can be achieved only in the first four feet of the dactylic hexameter. The author should therefore display the mastery of his poetic genius in the balanced use of spondaic and dactylic feet.[5] When I look into Lipsius' distribution of spondees and dactyls (Table 1), I notice that in the first four feet the percentage of dactyls amounts to 47.35%, which is more than Lucretius, Virgil's *Aeneid* and the *Ciris*-poem from the *Appendix Vergiliana,* a little less than the *Eclogues* and Statius Papinius' *Silvae*. Lipsius'

4 Cf. Nollet 2015: 101–102. For biographical and introductory information about Justus Lipsius in English, cf. Waszink 2004: 3–221. The quotation of Lipsius' poems follows the numeration as edited in Nollet 2015; all numbers are preceded by the abbreviation ILC = *Iusti Lipsi Carmina*.

5 Cf. Raven 1965: §60: "The exceptional charm of Virgil's hexameter (never matched even by his most strenuous imitators) lies largely [...] in his judicious interplay of dactyls and spondees, and in his cumulative use of one foot or the other for special effect"; Duckworth 1969: 3–11; Nougaret 1948: §§59–62.

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percentage comes close to Ceccarelli's benchmark, calculated for hexameter poetry from Lucretius (ca. 99–55 B.C.) until Juvenal (late first and early second century A.D.). Extreme values can be found in Catullus (36.15%) who notably favours spondees, and Ovid who is the master of dactyls (54.58%) (cf. Ceccarelli 2008 II: Tab. 1, 3, 30, 32).

Table 1. Percentage of dactyls.

	Foot 1	Foot 2	Foot 3	Foot 4	Total	Ratio foot 1 : foot 4
Ovid, *Metamorphoses*	81,57 %	51,65 %	40,80 %	44,28 %	**54,58 %**	1,84
Ausonius	63,36 %	46,20 %	48,85 %	43,35 %	**50,44 %**	1,46
Statius, *Silvae*	70,33 %	46,42 %	51,30 %	33,56 %	**50,40 %**	2,10
Virgil, *Eclogues*	65,54 %	52,29 %	40,24 %	38,67 %	**49,19 %**	1,69
Lipsius	**68,25 %**	**47,52 %**	**41,68 %**	**33,36 %**	**47,68 %**	**2,05**
Benchmark [*Ceccarelli*]	66,02 %	46,73 %	41,67 %	31,14 %	**46,39 %**	2,12
Lucretius	70,82 %	47,59 %	33,30 %	25,21 %	**44,23 %**	2,81
Appendix Vergil., *Ciris*	66,79 %	47,71 %	34,73 %	25,95 %	**43,80 %**	2,57
Virgil, *Aeneid*	60,22 %	46,61 %	39,93 %	27,32 %	**43,52 %**	2,20
Catullus	64,46 %	38,24 %	23,28 %	18,63 %	**36,15 %**	3,46

As a general rule, the distribution of dactyls decreases from the first to the fourth foot. In the first foot, Lipsius' percentage is higher than in Virgil's *Aeneid* (60.22%), but much lower than Ovid's, whose *Metamorphoses* consist of more than 80% dactyls. The third foot indicates whether the author favours the trochaic caesura, which I will deal with further on. The proportional decrease in dactyls between the first and the fourth foot in Lipsius' poetry (2.05) amounts to the same ratio as the *Aeneid* (2.20), Statius' *Silvae* (2.10), or Ceccarelli's benchmark (2.12) (Cf. Ceccarelli 2008 I: 37–39 (Grafico 1)).

Most Frequent Patterns

Obviously, Lipsius uses dactyls more frequently than the Virgilian standard suggests. This is particularly visible in the fourth foot, where Virgil's most frequent patterns do not show any dactyls (cf. Ceccarelli 2008 II: Tab. 13a–c; Duckworth 1969: 1–8, 46–62). The following chart (Table 2) highlights some of Lipsius' metrical idiosyncrasies: the first three patterns are the same as in Virgil's *Aeneid*: DSSS, DDSS and DSDS. Two patterns which contain a dactyl in the fourth foot, have gained considerable popularity: DSSD takes the 4th, DDSD the 6th position. On the other hand, three patterns with a majority of spondees, drop out of the top ranking: SDSS (from 4th to 7th place), SSDS (from 7th to 10th place), and particularly the holospondaic scheme SSSS, that plummets from the 5th to the 11th position.

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Table 2. Most frequent patterns.

Virgil, *Aeneid*					Lipsius			
Position	Pattern	Amount	%		Position	Pattern	Amount	%
1	DSSS	1412	14,4%	1 =	1	DSSS	63	13,6%
2	DDSS	1159	11,8%	2 =	2	DDSS	61	13,2%
3	DSDS	1097	11,2%	3 =	3	DSDS	60	13,0%
4	SDSS	938	9,5%	9 →	4	DSSD	41	8,9%
5	SSSS	697	7,1%	6 →	5	DDDS	31	6,7%
6	DDDS	669	6,8%	10 →	6	DDSD	29	6,3%
7	SSDS	592	6,0%	4 →	7	SDSS	29	6,3%
8	SDDS	580	5,9%	8 =	8	SDDS	26	5,6%
9	DSSD	565	5,7%	11 →	9	SDSD	25	5,4%
10	DDSD	454	4,6%	7 →	10	SSDS	20	4,3%
11	SDSD	376	3,8%	5 →	11	SSSS	19	4,1%
12	DSDD	352	3,6%	12 =	12	DSDD	17	3,7%
13	SSSD	304	3,1%	15 →	13	DDDD	14	3,0%
14	SSDD	229	2,3%	14 =	14	SSDD	14	3,0%
15	DDDD	212	2,2%	13 →	15	SSSD	9	1,9%
16	SDDD	194	2,0%	16 =	16	SDDD	5	1,1%
Total		**9830**	**100,0%**		**Total**		**463**	**100,0%**

When I zoom in on the top segment of the ranking (Table 3), I notice that Lipsius' eight most frequent patterns are fully identical with the first eight patterns of the *Eclogues,* the only difference being a slight variation in ranking. It also bears no small resemblance to the most popular schemes of Statius' *Silvae,* Ausonius and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, where the top ranking contains six of Lipsius' preferred patterns. In Lipsius' eight most frequent patterns, I find an equal number of spondees and dactyls, i.e. almost the same ratio as in Virgil's *Eclogues,* Statius' *Silvae* and Ausonius (cf. Ceccarelli 2008 II: Tab. 13a–c, 33a–c; Duckworth 1969: Tab. I).

Table 3. Top segment of the most frequent patterns.

Lipsius		Virgil, *Eclogues*		Statius, *Silvae*		Ausonius		Ovid, *Metam.*	
1	DSSS	1	DDSS	1	DSDS	1	DSDS	1	DDSS
2	DDSS	2	DSSS	2	DSSS	2	DSSD	2	DSSS
3	DSDS	3	DSDS	3	DDSS	3	DDSS	3	DSSD
4	DSSD	4	DDSD	4	DDDS	4	DSSS	4	DDSD
5	DDDS	5	DSSD	5	DDSD	5	SSDS	5	DSDS
6	DDSD	6	SDSS	6	DSSD	6	DDSD	6	DDDS
7	SDSS	7	DDDS	7	DSDD	7	DSDD	7	DSDD
8	SDDS	8 {	SDDS DSDD	8	SSDS	8	DDDS	8	DDDD
Ratio S:D =									
16:16		**16:16**		**15:17**		**15:17**		**12:20**	

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The patterns DSSS, DDSS and DSDS hold first position in his youth, and they will keep it throughout Lipsius' life. DSSD will remain popular, as we observe in Virgil's *Eclogues*, Statius' *Silvae*, and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, where this scheme even holds third position. The holospondaic and the holodactylic schemes SSSS and DDDD have never been popular in Lipsius' production of hexameters, and occupy the 11th, resp. 13th position.

Pauses in the Centre of the Line

With Ceccarelli I consider the caesura or pause in the Latin dactylic hexameter to be first and foremost a purely rhythmic element (*un fatto puramente ritmico*), that serves no syntactic purpose (cf. Ceccarelli 2008 I: 103n.138; Raven 1965: §18, §§65–68; Nougaret 1948: §§25–28). The elegant flow of hexameter verse greatly depends on the use of pauses within lines.[6] The poet needs to provide a respiratory pause in the centre of the line: this is either (*a*) the penthemimeral caesura or *semiquinaria* (after the first syllable of the third foot), which is the dominant central caesura in Latin,[7] or (*b*) the trochaic caesura third foot. The latter proved to be extremely popular in Greek poetry,[8] and has been developed – since Virgil's efforts – into the delicate architecture of the so-called *caesura triple a*, frequently used by poets of the late antiquity, such as Statius and Ausonius.[9]

The next chart (Table 4) displays the frequency of the very common penthemimeral caesura and the – less common but still canonical – trochaic third foot caesura (each usually amounting to around resp. 80% and 15%), opposed to the remaining types, whose percentage normally would not exceed 5%.

Lipsius' use of the central pauses largely diverges from this classical canon: in almost 15% he neither uses penthemimeral nor trochaic caesurae. This phenomenon, which might imperil the smoothness and the easy flow of the dactylic verse, is caused by the presence of polysyllabic words or elisions in the centre of the line, thus shifting the rhythmic break to the beginning or to the end. A good example of Lipsius' *ars versificandi* are the opening lines of his hymn to the vital force of nature, where we find these uncommon caesurae in the first and the fourth lines. This might be surprising, since he closely follows the classically composed *Invocation of Venus* by Lucretius:

6 Cf. Raven 1965: §77: "A great part of the charm of developed hexameter verse lies in its easy flow from line to line, and in the judicious use of pauses within lines."

7 Cf. Raven 1965: §66; Nougaret 1948: §63; Dangel 1999: 71: "Car le partage colométrique majeur est celui que dessine la penthémimère. D'une manière générale, notons que cette césure caractérise l'hexamètre latin."

8 Cf. Raven 1965: §66; Nougaret 1948: §71: "La coupe la plus fréquente chez Homère (56 %)."

9 Cf. Ceccarelli 2008: II, Tab. 38; Nougaret 1948: §79: "Le vers, dans son ensemble, est à la fois d'une architecture très délicate et d'une ampleur magnifique: c'est une des réussites les plus parfaites du génie latin."

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Table 4. Penthemimeral and trochaic 3rd foot caesura vs. other types.

	Total	Penthemimeral Caesura = *semiquinaria*	Trochaic 3rd Foot Caesura Total	Trochaic 3rd Foot Caesura *% of all Dactyls in 3rd Foot*	Other Types Total
Ovid, *Metamorphoses*	**99,94 %**	89,16 %	10,78 %	26,42 %	**0,06 %**
Statius, *Silvae*	**99,19 %**	79,10 %	20,09 %	39,21 %	**0,81 %**
Appendix Vergil., *Ciris*	**98,88 %**	89,72 %	9,16 %	26,34 %	**1,12 %**
Catullus	**98,78 %**	90,96 %	7,82 %	33,33 %	**1,22 %**
Virgil, *Eclogues*	**98,55 %**	85,66 %	12,89 %	32,04 %	**1,45 %**
Ausonius	**98,38 %**	83,15 %	15,23 %	31,10 %	**1,62 %**
Benchmark [*Ceccarelli*]	**98,25 %**	83,29 %	14,96 %	34,75 %	**1,75 %**
Juvenal	**96,39 %**	89,18 %	7,21 %	18,95 %	**3,61 %**
Virgil, *Aeneid*	**96,21 %**	84,50 %	11,71 %	29,35 %	**3,79 %**
Lucretius	**94,47 %**	88,26 %	6,21 %	18,63 %	**5,53 %**
Lipsius	**85,31 %**	**74,51 %**	**10,80 %**	**25,91 %**	**14,69 %**

> Alma Venus, quae caelorum colis ardua templa,
> quae maria ac terras vitali semine comples,
> qua sine nec flores hortos, nec gramina campos
> vestierint, neque frugiferas animalia terras (ILC22, 1–4)
>
> Nurturing Venus, who live in the sky's lofty temples,
> who fill the seas and the earth with your vitality,
> without whom neither flowers would be an ornament in the gardens, nor grass
> in the fields, nor animals on the earth that bears the crops

Lucretius' well-known opening lines read:

> Aeneadum genetrix, hominum divomque voluptas,
> alma Venus, caeli subter labentia signa
> quae mare navigerum, quae terras frugiferentis
> concelebras,
>
> Mother of Aeneas and his race, darling of men and gods,
> nurturing Venus, who beneath the smooth-moving heavenly signs
> fill with yourself the sea fullladen with ships, the earth that bears
> the crops, (Lucretius, *On the Nature of Things,* 1, 1–4.)

We notice that Lipsius has moved Lucretius' *caeli* more towards the centre of the first line, modifying it into the plural *caelorum*, and thus making any regular caesura impossible; in line 4 he imitates Lucretius' *frugiferentis*, but moves it to the centre, unlike Lucretius, who safely keeps the pentasyllabic word at the end, since it nicely fills the fifth and sixth feet of the hexameter.

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Line Endings

The line ending (i.e. the fifth and the sixth feet) of the Latin dactylic hexameter not only obeys a fixed metrical scheme (sc. a dactyl and a spondee/trochee), but also requires (as a general rule) the coincidence of word accent and metrical beat. This means that the natural word accent should coincide with the ictus of the fifth and the sixth feet; the line ending is then called homodyne. This is opposed to the first four feet, where we often have a conflict between word accent and metrical ictus (which causes a foot to be heterodyne).[10]

This explains why only a restricted number of line endings (*clausulae*) are considered canonic, as shown in Table 5: (a) the type *condere gentem* (CG), a combination of a trisyllabic and a disyllabic word (3+2), (b) *conde sepulcro* (CS) a disyllabic followed by a trisyllabic word (2+3), and (c) *gente tot annos* (GA), 2+1+2. This triad holds an absolute majority, with a benchmark of 95%, reaching 97% in Virgil's *Aeneid* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and over 99% in Statius' *Silvae*, thus reducing the remaining types (spondaic line endings, polysyllabic and monosyllabic words) to the very minimum (cf. Ceccarelli 2008 I: 87–101 and 87n. 95); 2008 II: Tab. 36a–b, 37; Raven 1965: §§70–74; Nougaret 1948: §§99–118).

Table 5. Line endings.

	Regular Line Endings				(d) Other Types				
	Total	(a) 3+2 CG *condere gentem*	(b) 2+3 CS *conde sepulcro*	(c) 2+1+2 GA *gente tot annos*	Total	Spondaic Line Ending	SB *si bona norint*	Polysyllabic	Monosyllabic
Statius, *Silvae*	**99,13**	50,53	43,29	5,31	**0,87**	0,03	0,69	0	0,15
Ovid, *Metamorphoses*	**98,71**	51,09	39,91	7,71	**1,28**	0,30	0,33	0,08	0,56
Virgil, *Aeneid*	**97,62**	48,14	42,69	6,79	**2,38**	0,22	0,90	0,65	0,61
Benchmark [*Ceccarelli*]	**95,90**	49,94	39,35	6,61	**4,11**	0,24	1,25	1,12	1,50
Virgil, *Eclogues*	**94,10**	51,93	37,83	4,34	**5,90**	0,36	3,37	1,33	0,84
Catullus	**90,19**	57,84	30,88	1,47	**9,80**	7,35	0,49	1,72	0,25
Juvenal	**87,03**	43,17	39,67	4,19	**12,98**	0,86	2,30	2,35	7,46
Lucretius	**86,29**	39,48	40,57	6,24	**13,71**	0,42	2,19	6,91	4,18
Lipsius	**86,82**	**48,38**	**32,61**	**5,83**	**13,18**	**3,24**	**4,54**	**2,81**	**2,59**
Horace, *Satires*	**75,70**	31,41	37,75	6,54	**24,30**	0	7,63	5,78	10,90

However, this is not the case in Lipsius' dactylic poetry, where more than 13% has non-canonic line endings: heterodyne *clausulae* which consist of

10 The interplay between homodyne and heterodyne texture of the dactylic feet imparts great charm to the Latin hexameter; this has some interesting consequences especially for the nature of the fourth foot, which tends to be more heterodyne (since Virgil). The issue, however, cannot be treated within the confines of this paper. Cf. Cushman & Greene 2012: 639; Duckworth 1969: 19–24; Raven 1965: §63, §69; Nougaret 1948: §§119–121; Knight 1931.

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a polysyllabic word (in emulation of Lucretius), or which contain various combinations of monosyllabics, as in Roman satire (Juvenal's and Horace's *Satires* have resp. 7.46% and 10.90% monosyllabic line endings). The high percentage of spondaic line endings is exceeded only by Catullus, who is influenced by Hellenistic models (cf. Raven 1965: §61, §74; Nougaret 1948: §§114–115). I list Lipsius' spondaic lines and – as far as can be retraced – their corresponding references in Table 6.

Table 6. Spondaic line endings.

ILC4,	2	quaerite, Belgarum iam finibus *interdictae*	*Intertextual Reference*	**Virgil, *Aeneid,* 5, 320:** proximus huic, longo sed proximus intervallo
ILC4,	6	Non est magna manus. Si laurige*rum Parnassi*	*Proper Name*	
ILC4,	12	Non usquam studiis ultra locus *aut Virtuti*	*Intertextual Reference*	**Seneca, *Medea,* 160-161 (iambic senarius):** N.: Tunc est probanda, si locum virtus habet. M.: Numquam potest non esse virtuti locus.
ILC8,	41	te vidit gelidis in montibus *Appenninus*	*Intertextual Reference*	**Ovid, *Metam.* 2, 226:** aeriaeque Alpes et nubifer Appenninus
ILC19,	6	Iam bona nox oritur, iam Vesperus *adfulgebit [adfulgescit]*		
ILC19,	35	festis motibus et gannitibus *alternantes*		
ILC22,	11	ne noceat Aquilo, neu grando, *neu robigo*	*Intertextual Reference*	**Ennius, *Ann.,* XVII, 432-434:** Concurrunt veluti venti, quom spiritus Austri imbricitor Aquiloque suo cum flamine contra indu mari magno fluctus extollere certant. **Lucretius, 5, 1192:** nubila sol imbres nix venti fulmina grando
ILC26,	42	Nec falsis te laudo bonis. Tibi *Collatini*	*Proper Name*	
ILC31,	7	Annue ne pariter cum corpore mens *brutescat*	*Intertextual Reference*	**Lucretius, 3, 545:** an contracta suis e partibus obbrutescat.
ILC31,	14	Quando voles, mea parca, sequar. Non *hic terrenis*		
ILC56,	32	cura quibus lites exscindere, non *ut nostris*		
ILC69,	20	nascenti, crescenti, ad culmina *conscendenti*		
ILC70,	7	Hic mihi det carmen: tu carminis *argumentum*	*Intertextual Reference*	**Virgil, *Eclogues*, 4, 49:** cara deum suboles, magnum Iovis incrementum.
ILC70,	16	in studiis virtutis et in studiis *Musarum*	*Proper Name*	
ILC137,	3	Est Numen, quod cuncta oculis haec *arbitratur*		

I single out one example, from the hymn to Venus (quoted above), where Lipsius imitates Ennius' early Latin vocabulary:

> Pelle malum virus a floribus, imbricitorque
> ne noceat Aquilo, neu grando, neu robigo,
> effice, diva, potes. (ILC 22, 10–12.)
>
> Ward the flowers from malice, let no North Wind,
> which brings the rain, let no hail nor blight do any damage,
> make sure this happens, Divine Lady, it is in your power.
>
> Ennius reads:
> Concurrunt veluti venti, quom spiritus Austri
> imbricitor Aquiloque suo cum flamine contra
> indu mari magno fluctus extollere certant.

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They run into each other like winds, as when the Wind of the South,
which brings the rain, and the Wind of the North with its breeze are crashing into each other,
competing to lift up billows on the mighty sea.
(Ennius, *Annales,* XVII, 432–434, pp. 109, 594–595.)

Ennius' passage is righteously famous: in fact, Ennius imitates Homer (*Iliad*, 9, 4), and has been imitated on his turn by Virgil (*Aeneid*, 2, 416; 10, 356). Macrobius, a Roman grammarian and scholar from late antiquity, comments on the imagery of this passage in his *Saturnalia* (6, 2, 28–31). All these sources were well-known to Lipsius, who wishes here, as a *poeta doctus*, to display his erudition: he contrives to forge uncommon but powerful dactylic lines, with a pentasyllabic (*imbricitorque*) and a spondaic line ending (*neu robigo*), and a threefold end rhyme on *-o* (*Aquilo, neu grando, neu robigo*); he thus creates a solemn tone, well adapted to the sublime subject matter of the hymn.

Conclusion

To conclude, I briefly summarize by comparing Lipsius' metrical findings with one of his contemporaries. The Dutchman Dominicus Baudius (1561–1613) was a student, later professor at the university of Leiden, and gained wide recognition as a Latinist and poet.[11] As a sample I scanned two of his dactylic poems, together amounting to 300 lines: (1) a poetic epistle, where Baudius exhorts the States-General of the Dutch Republic to continue the fight against the Spanish Catholic repression (134 lines),[12] and (2) a laudatory poem (166 lines) for Josephus Scaliger (1540–1609), who succeeded Lipsius at the university of Leiden.[13] In the following bar graphs I offer a comprehensive overview of the comparative observations for Lipsius and Baudius against the benchmark.

Lipsius' use of dactyls (Table 7) comes close to the benchmark, Baudius exceeds it. Baudius has more than 50% dactyls in the 2nd foot, not unlike Virgil's *Eclogues* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses.* Both humanists have a high degree of dactyls in the 3rd foot, which indicates the potential presence of a trochaic caesura (Tr3).

11 Cf. Isaac Casaubon's judgement (quoted in Grootens 1942: 97): *eruditissimus et utrique nostrum amicissimus Baudius; [...] locupletissimus ille idem, quem diximus, μουσικώτατος Baudius* ("the most erudite Baudius, a very dear friend to both of us; [...] the very eloquent Baudius, most blessed by the Muses"). On Baudius' poetic genius, see further Ellinger 1933: 157–170.

12 The poem is entitled *Illustribus et amplissimis Ordinibus Confoederatarum Belgii Provinciarum,* cf. Baudius 1640: *Pars II, Heroicorum liber, Epos 1,* pp. 537–541.

13 The poem is entitled *Illustri viro Iosepho Scaligero Iulii Caes[aris] a Burden F[ilio],* cf. Baudius 1640: *Pars I, Heroicorum liber, Epos 1,* pp. 406–411. For further information about Scaliger, cf. Grafton 1983, Grafton 1993.

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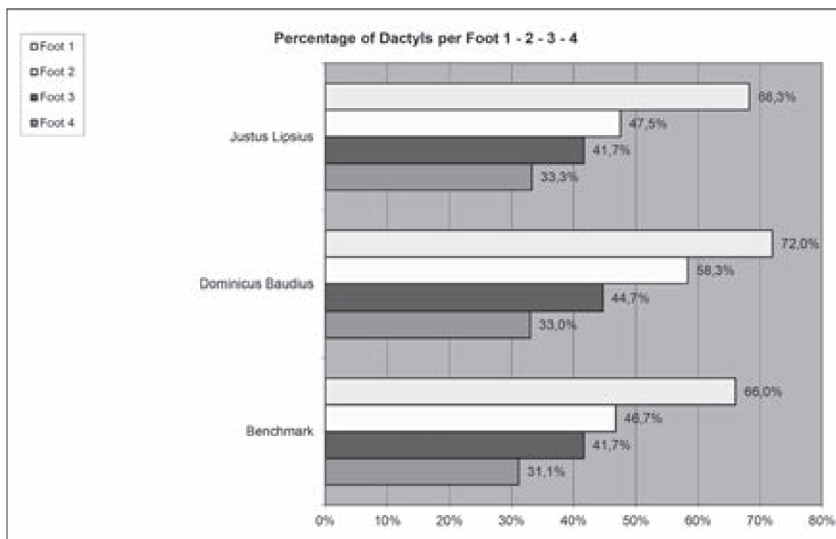
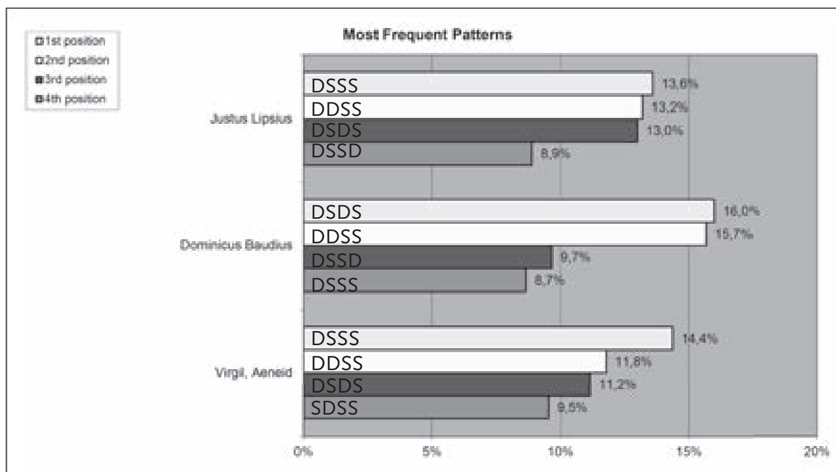
Table 7. Percentage of dactyls per foot.



As for the most frequent patterns (Table 8), we notice that the pattern DDSS (ranked first in Virgil's *Eclogues* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*) is omnipresent, and that Baudius has a marked Top 2 ranking (both DSDS and DDSS over 15%). In the top 4 Lipsius has DSSD, whereas Baudius favours a more dactylic pattern (DDSD), and Virgil the more spondaic SDSS.

Table 8. Most frequent patterns.



The percentage of the penthemimeral caesura is supposed to come close to the 80% level, which is not the case for Lipsius (Table 9). Uncommon caesurae (other than P or Tr3) should be limited to a threshold of about 5%, as we observe in Baudius' dactylic lines.

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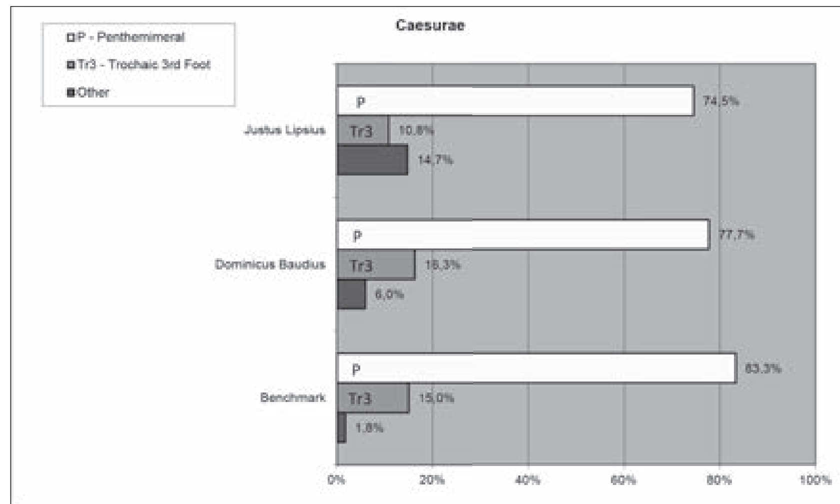
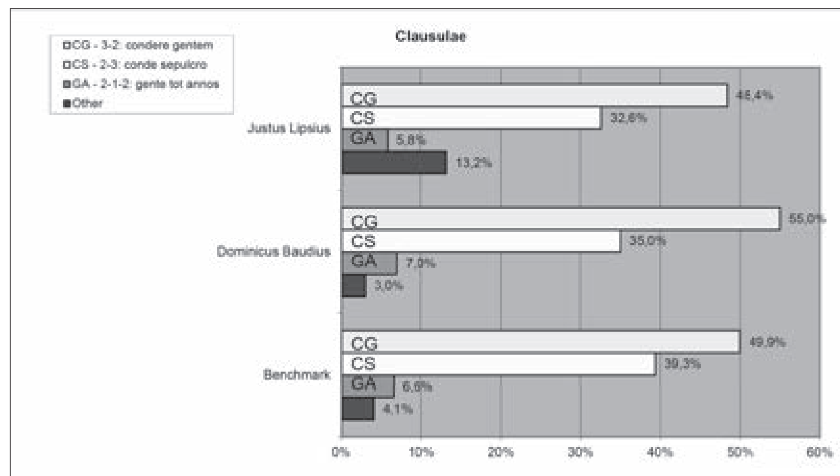
Table 9. Caesurae.



The sum of uncommon line endings (other than CG, CS or GA) should not exceed the 5% threshold (Table 10). Lipsius, unlike Baudius, exceeds it by far (13.2%), due to his frequent use of polysyllabic line endings and spondaic lines.

Table 10. Line endings (clausulae).



In sum, Lipsius' use of spondees and dactyls borrows from Virgil's *Eclogues*, Statius' *Silvae*, and partially from Ovid's *Metamorphoses.* Not surprisingly, it concerns authors – especially Virgil and Ovid – whose poems were widely used by humanists as models to teach Latin versification, and who are still part of the usual curriculum in present-day colleges, albeit mainly for reading rather than for writing purposes.

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Lipsius' predilection for archaic and polysyllabic words stems from Ennius and Lucretius. His dactylic lines are technically flawless, but the rhythmic fluency might be hampered by polysyllabic line endings, spondaic lines and uncommon caesurae.

It seems the humanist may be more at ease when writing other than dactylic lines, i.e. when using metrical schemes (*a*) where he does not need to bring much variation in the prosodic pattern, which is the case for phalaecian hendecasyllables, making it easier to bear "the tyranny of the rhythm" (cf. Marouzeau 1970: 312); (*b*) where colloquial language and old-fashioned words are integrated more easily into metrical patterns, which is the case for the iambic senarius.[14]

Despite some metrical idiosyncrasies one cannot deny that Lipsius shows – besides thorough scholarship and a profound acquaintance with antiquity – a genuine literary taste and a sane judgement. In a reply to a German friend he explains for instance that archaic words need to be chosen judiciously and used with parsimony: "Go away, those Modernists who misuse the name of antiquity, and cram their language with archaisms and pride themselves on it, as if they were appropriate without any further colour or embellishment. How vehemently I am opposed to this practice, my friends or my students know."[15]

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Abbreviations

ILC = *Iusti Lipsi Carmina*.

ILE VIII = De Landtsheer, J. (ed.) 2004. *Iusti Lipsi Epistolae, pars VIII: 1595.* Brussel: Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie van België voor Wetenschappen en Schone Kunsten.

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14 Lipsius wrote 738 phalaecian hendecasyllable lines (51 poems), a metrical scheme which he often used in liminary poems. He composed 734 lines in iambic senarius (38 poems); the latter scheme he favoured for the composition of narrative poems, as for instance in his Marian treatises, when accounting the miracles of the Holy Virgin, cf. Nollet 2015: 123–127.

15 In a letter to Salomon Frencelius de Fridenthal, dated 13 September 1595, cf. ILE VIII, 95 09 13 F (p. 543): *Apage Novatores istos titulo vetustatis: qui corrogant et consarciunt antiquantia aliquot verba et iis se iactant, non alio colore aut ornatu boni. Nos quam damnemus, sciunt amici aut discipuli nostri.*

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Many Ways to Use and Play with Rhymes

The Poet Otto Manninen and the Rhymes in Finnish Rhymed Couplets

As John Hollander writes in his *Rhyme's Reason*, "the ghost of oral poetry never vanishes" from written poetry (Hollander 2000 [1981]: 4). The importance of the relationship between oral and written poetry is crucial when we look at the history and formation processes of Finnish poetry in the 19th century. In this article, I will discuss this complex question by focusing on the end rhymes of Finnish folksongs (Finnish rhymed couplets) and written poetry, more precisely in the folksong-like poems of Otto Manninen (1872–1950), a poet well acknowledged for his skilful use of rhymes.

Finland was first part of Sweden and then became part of Russia in 1809.[1] For a long time, the supposedly "coarse" Finnish language was not seen as a language of the muses, and therefore the first classics written in Finnish were not published until the second half of the 19th century. There was much debate as to what kind of principles, including metrical principles, Finnish literature should be based on. The classical metres were mostly those used in poetry, even if the most acknowledged Finnish poem collection of the National-Romantic era, *The Whitsun Hymns* (Helkavirsiä 1903), by Eino Leino, was written in the Kalevala metre, which is an old, oral trochaic tetrameter (see further Kallio in this volume). In Finland, the National-Romantic period in arts, music, and literature created a vast number of works influenced by vernacular culture and, above all, the *Kalevala* (1835, 2nd edition 1849), a vernacular epic compiled by Elias Lönnrot.

Apart from the Kalevala metre, there was another rhythmical pattern in Finnish vernacular expression, the Finnish couplet metre. There are numerous kinds of folksongs, with many different styles, sung with the Finnish rhymed-couplet metre, which was a poetic and metrical language that people with poetic competence used to express a variety of matters and sentiments (Asplund 1997). The songs were mainly sung by young people, and they were mostly about love and longing and conflicts between the young and the old, sometimes in a melancholic tone and sometimes in a humoristic and satirical one. As the newer folksongs became popular during the 19th century, the old Kalevala-metre folklore began to vanish. Therefore, when the folklore was collected in the 19th century, the interest

1 Finland gained independence in 1917.

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was mainly in the old, Kalevala-metre folklore and not so much in the new folksongs, even if the newer songs were also gathered along with the old, respected folklore. (Asplund 2006: 148, 152–156.) Most of the elite despised the rhymed couplets for several reasons. Firstly, they felt the couplets did not conform to the right kind of poetic expression. Rhymed couplets were criticised by Professor H. G. Porthan, the first person to study Finnish vernacular poetry in the 18th century, and also by Elias Lönnrot. In fact, end rhyme was seen as a degenerative element in vernacular expression (Asplund 2006: 145, 148; Launonen 1984: 20–21) because Kalevala-metre poetry used alliteration without end rhymes.[2] Secondly, some of the songs, at least at the end of the 19th century, contained very vulgar language.[3]

Nevertheless, Finnish rhymed couplets were the dominant genre in oral folklore in Finland at the end of the 19th century. People loved them, and the songs became an extremely popular way to express feelings about a changing world, with different kinds of new questions, from romantic love to the changing nature of communities (Asplund 2006: 152–156). Moreover, many Finnish poets, influenced by the ethos of National Romanticism, became interested in Finnish rhymed couplets in the 1890s.[4] The songs offered much material to work with, but what is most interesting from the perspective of this article is that they offered a familiar and easy model for the development of musical and song-like features which were different from the dominant literary modes (Lyly 1983: 113).[5]

The Finnish poet Otto Manninen (1872–1950) was a metrical virtuoso. He translated many of the world's classics, from Homer to Heine, into Finnish for the first time, and he also wrote four collections of his own poems (1905, 1910, 1925, and 1938). Manninen is best known for his symbolist poems. When his first two poetry collections were published, they were criticised as being inaccessible, lacking in sentiment, and too attached to matters of form. Nowadays, Manninen's works are included in the canon of Finnish literature, and both his translations and his poetry have been very influential in the formation of Finnish literary expression.

2 Rhyme was not considered a pleasing feature in folksongs during the first half of the 19th century. Rather, it was seen as a foreign feature, and Finnish rhymed couplets were considered inferior to the old Kalevala-metric poetry (Asplund 2006, 144–149).

3 Finnish rhymed couplets were oral folklore, but they were also published as broadsides. Some of the songs were published in song books and by Elias Lönnrot as examples of the new kind of folklore.

4 The role of the Finnish rhymed couplet in Finnish written poetry has not yet been properly studied, although, in 1983, Pentti Lyly pointed out in his article on Otto Manninen's "The Harvest of Flax" that the rhymed couplets were significant for the whole new generation of poets in the National Romantic era, who became the leading poets in the so-called Golden Era of Finnish poetry. See, however, Hämäläinen & Karhu 2019; Karhu 2019a.

5 Eino Leino wrote positively about Finnish rhymed couplets in his article on Finnish poetic language in 1896 and recommended that Finnish writers should introduce peon feet, commonly used in Finnish rhymed couplets, in their poems (Leino 1896). Some of the poets used peon feet in their poems, such as Otto Manninen in "The Harvest of Flax" (1897/1905).

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Manninen wrote some poems using a vernacular Finnish rhymed couplet metre, but only published one of them in his collections of poems.[6] This poem, "Pellavan kitkijä" ("The Harvest of Flax"), published in his first collection of poems *Verses* (1905), is folksong-like and has been much praised. The Manninen archive reveals interesting experiments with metre when Manninen composed poems. There are also some transcriptions of original folksongs sung with the Finnish rhymed-couplet metre in his archive, with Manninen's alterations on them.[7] With this material, it is possible to observe how the Finnish rhymed-couplet metre manifests itself both in the original folksongs and in written poetry that imitates vernacular expression.

In this article, I will focus on the question of end rhymes, for two reasons. Firstly, Manninen is well known for his brilliant way of creating and using end rhymes, and secondly, because end rhymes were a dominant characteristic of Finnish rhymed couplets. Even if, as Heikki Laitinen has argued, end rhyme was not an obligatory element of the songs (Laitinen 2003: 284), and many imperfect rhymes occur in the material I have studied, there is nevertheless a considerable amount rhymed in them. Rhymes give structure to the songs and produce interesting and humorous meanings. It is also said that, by the end of the 19th century, rhymes had become such a crucial part of Finnish rhymed couplets that the creation of rhymes became more important than the content of the songs (Asplund 1997: 265).

Finnish rhymed couplets have been studied in Finland from a metrical point of view by folklorist Anneli Asplund and ethnomusicologist Heikki Laitinen. However, because I am a literary scholar specialised in the study of the writing processes of Otto Manninen, my approach differs from theirs. My concern in this article is on the forming of rhymes in Manninen's writing process. Does Manninen use end rhymes in his rewritings of folksongs, his poem drafts, and his published poems in the same way they were used in the original folksongs that were sung? What happens to the end rhymes when they are transformed from a feature of a song into a feature of written literature, as is the case in Otto Manninen's manuscripts and published poems? Also, what kinds of end rhymes did Manninen create, and why?

My corpus consists of both unpublished and published material. The unpublished material consists firstly of transcriptions of folksongs collected from Sippola, a commune situated in the southeastern part of Finland. The transcriptions were found in Manninen's notebook. The second type of unpublished material is Manninen's unpublished drafts of poetry. The published material consists of two poems, which are among the first that

6 Manninen, however, did publish in journals some poems which adopted the metre of the Finnish rhymed couplet.

7 Finnish rhymed couplets played a significant role in the birth of Manninen's poetry as a whole. It is also evident that many of Manninen's published poems have interesting intertextual connections with Finnish rhymed couplets, even though they are not written in Finnish rhymed-couplet metre. According to the interviews with Manninen's friends conducted by the late Manninen scholar Pentti Lyly, Manninen also sang folksongs himself, and a couple of the songs that were said to be sung by him are preserved in the Archives of the Finnish Literature Society (Pentty Lyly's archive, box 29, SKS/KIA).

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Manninen published. The first is "Kosken ruusu" ("The Rose of the Rapids"), published in the journal *Koitar* (1897), and the other is the already mentioned "Pellavan kitkijä" ("The Harvest of Flax"), which was first published in the same journal. All these songs and poems are written with the Finnish rhymed-couplet metre.

End rhyme means that there is an identity of sound in the last syllables at the end of a verse line (Kupiainen 1972: 32; Vilèn 1997: 6).[8] It is important to note that end rhymes are actually composed of rhymed syllables, not rhymed words (Vilèn 1997: 6; Leech 1969: 92). The length of the rhymed sound(s) differs according to the number of syllables. End rhyme can therefore consist of almost a whole word or, in other cases, only of the last syllable of the word from the final vowel. End rhyme can also be composed of separate words (Vilèn 1997: 7). The first part of the rhyme pair determines the nature of the rhyme, as it sets up a reader's or listener's expectations for the accompanying rhyme (Vilèn 1997: 7; Davies 1989: 178, 189). Concerning these expectations, Reuven Tsur writes that when a rhyme pair is formed, it confirms with the reader's expectations and creates a feeling of stability (Tsur 1992: 115). John Hollander points out that rhyme itself is not a sign of poetic expression and that rhymes can appear in different kinds of texts (Hollander 2000 [1981]: 4; see also Frog in this volume).[9] It is also important to note that even if the rhyme is defined as parallelism, i.e. as a regular repetition of equivalent phonemes, it is also a semantic relationship (Launonen 1984: 30; on phonic parallelism, see also Frog with Tarkka 2017: 215–217).[10] Moreover, an important point in my article is that rhyme should not be defined according to how a word is written but rather to how it is pronounced (Vilèn 1997: 8; Davies 1989: 178).[11]

What must always be borne in mind are the different contexts in which end rhyme is used in my material. I have studied the written transcriptions of folksongs, but these songs were, for the most part, intended to be sung. The tune to which the words were sung (unfortunately not marked in Manninen's archive's transcriptions) also had a crucial role in the understanding of the Finnish rhymed couplets and their rhymes (Laitinen 2003: 205–208). As for Otto Manninen's rhymes, they operated within the principles and rules of written poetry.

8 Venla Sykäri (2017: 123–124) defines end rhymes thus: "End rhyme is a poetic device that ties verses together with parallel sound patterns situated at the ends of the lines. Although Richard Bauman (1977: 18–19) specifically states that 'the structural principles underlying the parallel constructions may serve as mnemonic aids to the performer of a fixed traditional text, or enhance the fluency of the improvisational or spontaneous performance,' the role of rhyme is often acknowledged only as a mnemotechnic device that is utilised to help the memory in the performance of an existing, pre-composed text."

9 For rhymes in the Finnish context, see also Launonen 1984; Leino 1982: 110–117, & Sykäri 2001.

10 This is definitely the case with written literature. For Finnish rhymed couplets, see Asplund 1997.

11 In Finnish, words are normally pronounced exactly as they are written. In my material, there are a couple of exceptions, which I discuss.

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Finnish Rhymed Couplets

(1) Ens oli vettä sit oli mettä sit oli kuohuva koski,
Kuohuvan kos[k]en rannalla asui riiari punaposki. (SKS/KIA, A1908)

First there was water then there was forest and then there was a bubbling rapid,
Along the shores of the rapids there lived a suitor with red cheeks.

The stanza of Finnish rhymed-couplet metre consists of four verses with two, often rhymed, verse pairs. The most common type of end rhyme was *baca*, but the types of end rhymes may differ (for example, *aaba* was also possible), as in other international folksongs that consist of only one stanza (Laurila 1956: 70). Although, as Heikki Laitinen (2003: 284) pointed out, end rhymes were not obligatory in songs,[12] nevertheless end rhymes were an interesting feature of many songs and marked a difference from the old Finnish Kalevala-metric song tradition, which did not use end rhymes. The stanzas of Finnish rhymed couplets could also be written in two lines, as is the case in the markings of Manninen's folksong notebook in the archives.

The metre of Finnish rhymed couplets was initially trochaic, but later it was common to use dactylic or even iambic feet (Asplund 2006, 146). Peonic feet were also a typical feature of Finnish rhymed couplets.[13] Both verse pairs in a Finnish rhymed couplet consist of seven feet. Finnish rhymed couplets were originally organised into only one stanza, but this could expand into a song with many stanzas (Laurila 1956: 80–85), as was often the case in published broadsides. Active variation was an important aspect of the actual singing of these songs.

It is often said that the first verse pair is a kind of introduction, typically using imagery derived from nature, and that the second verse pair concentrates more on the idea and message of the song (Saarimaa 1923: 170; Laurila 1956: 60; Aplund 2006: 146). Vihtori Laurila argues, however, that there was a lot of variation in this formula (Laurila 1956: 60–62). The well-known Finnish author and journalist Juhani Aho expressed his opinion in a newspaper article in 1892, in which he wrote that the image and idea expressed in songs have to do with the mysterious relation that singers have with nature when a song is born (Aho 1892: 178). In my opinion, this relationship varies according to the heterogeneous materials that nature provides.

Otto Manninen and Finnish Rhymed Couplets

Otto Manninen was born in 1872 in Kangasniemi, in rural Finland. Even though it has often been pointed out that the idioms of his home province affected his poetic expression (Lyly 1967), Manninen's poetry has also been

12 Because of this, Heikki Laitinen uses the term "new (secular) folk song" with Finnish rhymed songs (Laitinen 2003: 214).

13 A peon is a dactyl with three unstressed syllables; see Hormia 1960.

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seen as somewhat elitist. Manninen is well known for his exceptional and skilful use of rhymes (Launonen 1984; Koskenniemi 1951: 47; Hollo 1953: 268). He used very rare words or formulations in his rhymes, or formed long rhyme series made by substantives or verbs. It is also said that his rhymes were a mix of linguistic analysis, linguistic inventions, and remarks on the history of language (Launonen 1984: 53, 61–62).

The archival examples of my article are from a folksong notebook to be found in Manninen's large archive in the Archives of the Finnish Literature Society (SKS/KIA, 1908). The notebook dates from the 1890s and consists of Manninen's friend Antti Rytkönen's transcriptions of original folksongs, some alterations of the songs made by Manninen, and a couple of Manninen's own drafts of poems.[14] With this material, it is possible to study the differences in the use of end rhymes in the original folksongs (or, to be more precise, in the transcriptions of the songs), and also in Manninen's own poems, at a stage when they were not yet finished and were still in draft form. Genetic analysis, a type of comparative analysis of historical relations based on the non-finished material of a literary work, offers tools to investigate the forming process of poetics, in this case the formation of Manninen's mode of rhyming.[15]

Manninen acquired the song notebook from a university friend, the writer and translator Antti Rytkönen, who had collected the folksongs in Sippola.[16] Antti Rytkönen's first collection of poems, *Lauluja* ("*Songs*") (1900), includes many poems that resemble Finnish rhymed couplets, and many of the poems are influenced by the folksongs found in Otto Manninen's archive notebook (Lyly 1983: 115).[17]

The songs were written in two lines in the notebook, which highlights the two rhyme pairs of the stanza. End rhymes are found in the first and second line (the rhymes are marked in the examples in italic). In this first example, the rhymed words consist of four syllables, and the rhyme is formed of all syllables:

(2) Ei meitä surulla ruokita, se on ilo joka *elättelee*
Eikä se heilini minua heitä, vaikka se p*elättelee*. (SKS/KIA, A1908)

We are not fed with sorrow, it is joy which keeps us alive.
And my sweetheart is not leaving me, even if he threatens to leave me.

14 The notebook has black covers, and measures 21 x 18 cm. It contains 72 pages, and in addition to Finnish rhymed couplets, it contains folksongs that were sung when dancing (rinkilaulu), Manninen's university notes in shorthand, and a couple of drafts of Manninen's poems. The Finnish rhymed couplets cover the first 27 pages of the notebook, a total of 192 stanzas. The transcriptions were written in Rytkönen's hand and the alterations in Manninen's hand.
15 For genetic criticism, see Grésillon 1994 and Deppman, Ferrer, & Groden 2004.
16 Many young university students collected folklore in Finland in the 1890s.
17 In this article, I study only the transcriptions of the notebook. Rytkönen had sent some of the songs found in the notebook to the Archive of the Finnish Literature Society, and there are some differences between the transcriptions of the notebook and the transcriptions sent to the Archive (Karhu 2019b).

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In the second example, the rhymed words also consist of four syllables, but the rhyme is formed of only the last two:

(3) Heilini on niin ylähäistä sukuu ja itte olen alah*aista*
Miks eikäs se Luoja ole luonnu heiliä samall*aista*. (SKS/KIA, A1908)

My sweetheart is from a fine family and I'm from below
Why didn't God create sweethearts more alike.

In the third example, the rhymed words consist of two syllables, and the rhyme is again formed of all syllables:

(4) Ei minun heilan herra ol, vaikka herrallen se n*äyttää*,
Kun se osaa ittensä niin herrallisest k*äyttää*. (SKS/KIA, A1908)

My sweetheart is not a gentleman even if he looks like one,
But he can behave well like one.

End Rhymes in Song Transcriptions and in Manninen's Poems and Drafts

In Finnish rhymed couplets, imperfect rhymes were common. An imperfect rhyme means a rhyme that does not fulfil the rules of the full rhyme, as, for example, in assonance:[18] *kullan – tulla* ("my sweetheart – come").[19] In Manninen's published poems, the rhymes are always full rhymes. Manninen was very strict with the normative forms of poetry, even if he was familiar with the different kinds of metrical norms and freedom with which they were handled in folksongs. He did not wish to experiment with any form of free verse, which, for example, his contemporary Eino Leino tried (Viikari 1987: 120–162).

I will now examine some types of end rhymes found in the folksongs of the notebook. I use in my examination some of the rhyme types Inka Vilèn introduces in her study (1997).[20]

Firstly, the verses can end with a same word (homonym rhyme):

18 A rhyme that does not end in the same letter.
19 Heikki Laitinen and Venla Sykäri have argued that the notion of imperfect rhyme does not work well when talking about rhymes in oral culture. The role of rhyme, and the purpose of the verse as a whole, is different in oral culture than in written and published poetry. They argue that the whole concept of full rhyme and its superiority over imperfect rhymes is based upon the aesthetics and values of published poetry and is therefore inappropriate for the study of rhyme in oral folksongs (conversation with Laitinen and Sykäri).
20 As Vilèn writes, there are no general studies on the use of rhymes in the Finnish language (Vilèn 1997: 1). In her study, she formulates the theory and terminology of rhymes with Finnish popular and rock songs.

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(5) *puita – puita* trees – trees

There are also full rhymes in the songs:

(6) *nätti – jätti* beautiful – left
elättelee – pelättelee keeps alive – frightens
naurahteli – peli laughed – instrument
santaa – antaa sand – gives
alla – vierahalla below – in foreign
aitaa – taitaa fence – it looks like
leppä – seppä alder – blacksmith

Etc.

There are also different kinds of imperfect rhymes. The first category consists of the same end vowel, although in one the vowel is long, and in the other it is short:

(7) *luistaa – muista* slides – remember
loistaa – toista shines – other

An interesting example in this category is the rhyme pair *leposijaa – painavia*" ("resting place – heavy"), in which the second word could also have been pronounced *painavija* when sung. As stated earlier, the rhyme is not linked to the way a word is written but to the way it is pronounced (Vilèn 1997: 8; Davies 1989: 178). If the word is pronounced *painavija*", it forms a better rhyme with the word *leposijaa*, even if there is a different number of vowels at the end of the words.

Then there are cases in which the last consonant of the rhyme differs, as in the case of *pieni – mieli* ("small – mind"), in which, apart from the different consonant, the rhyme would have been a full rhyme of two syllables. There are also cases in which, in addition to the case just presented, one verse ends with a vowel and the other with a consonant, as in *elää – perään* ("lives – after") and *poika – koitan* ("boy – I try").

As stated earlier, however, all Manninen's end rhymes are full rhymes. In Manninen's poems, which resemble Finnish rhymed couplets, the rhymes are also mostly linked more to the world of literature than the rhymes of the folksongs, as the following examples demonstrate. The poem "The Rose of the Rapids" reuses the motifs and themes of ballads and Finnish rhymed couplets. A boy is river rafting with his boat, and a beautiful rose which grows on the river bank falls in love with him. The boat sinks, and with it the boy. The rose looks longingly after him.

Here you can see all the end rhymes of the poem:

(8) *koski – purppuraposki* rapids– rosy cheeks
juotti – vuotti drink – wait
koski – poski rapids – cheek
kohti – hohti towards – shines

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rukka – *kukka*	poor – flower
purren – *surren*	bark's – mourns
mursi – *pursi*	broke – bark

If we look at these end rhymes, some rhymed words seem more folksong-like than others. The poem actually starts with a rewritten folksong stanza from the notebook, and therefore the rhyme pair *koski* – *poski* ("torrent – cheek") is taken straight from the folksong. The rhyme pairs *juotti* – *vuotti* ("drink – wait") and *rukka* – *kukka* ("poor – flower") could also be taken from original folksongs. It is also worth noting that the form of the word *vuotti* ("wait") is vernacular and dialectical. It immediately introduces a clearly vernacular tone to the beginning of the poem. The three remaining rhyme pairs *kohti* – *hohti* ("towards – shines"), *purren* – *surren* ("bark's – mourns") and *mursi* – *pursi* ("broke – bark") differ from the others because they consist of words that are more literate or elevated. These more literate words are *hohti* ("shines"), *mursi* ("broke"), and two forms of the words "bark" (*pursi* and *purren*). In a rhymed folksong, a bark would most likely just be called a boat. The word "bark" carries literary connotations and also refers to *Kalevala* (10: 344), harkening back to a highly esteemed oral tradition in which it was also used. The rhyme pair *mursi* – *pursi* (broke – bark) appears in the last stanza, which contains more elaborate vocabulary (the poem gets more literary towards the end), and which also has another rhyme pattern than the preceding stanzas of the poem. The preceding stanzas obey the most common pattern of the rhymed couplets (*baca*), but this stanza has a more classical pattern (*abab*).

Another noteworthy observation is that several of the rhyme pairs are formed from words that are from different word classes. The first three rhyme pairs, which closely or exactly resemble the rhyme pairs of the original songs, are all formed from words that are from the same word class: two nouns in the first rhyme pair, two verbs in the second, and two substantives in the third. The rhyme pair *rukka* – *kukka* ("poor – flower") also contain nouns. Interestingly, the three rhyme pairs that are formed from literary words also consist of words from different word classes. The rhyme pair *kohti* – *hohti* ("towards – shines") is formed from a preposition and a verb, the rhyme pair *purren* – *surren* ("bark's – mourns") is formed from a noun and a verb, and the third rhyme pair *mursi* – *pursi* ("broke – bark") is formed from a verb and a noun. It is obvious that even if these three rhyme pairs share equivalent phonemes, they offer the reader a more complex semantic play than the simple rhyme pairs found at the beginning of the poem. This is exactly the way the poets were expected to use rhymes (Launonen 1984: 26–27).[21] It is interesting, though, that even if the use of words from different word classes was a common feature in the original folksongs (see example (6) above), in this poem, the end rhymes of the stanzas that resemble the original song most are the most conventional rhymes.

21 On poetic expectations concerning end rhymes (in the 19th century), see further Cohen 1966: 82–83.

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Manninen's melodic poem "The Harvest of Flax" (1905) depicts the melancholic feelings of a person who is harvesting flax, a plant which was difficult to harvest (Lyly 1983: 114), but which was very useful because it was possible to make fabric from it.[22] Suitable to the neo-romantic mood of the 1890s, the harvest flower was blue. Here are the end rhymes of this three-stanza poem:

(9)	*kitken* – *itken*	I root up – I cry
	rusko – *usko*	the red of the dawn – believe
	ruskotelkoot – *uskotelkoot*	lay in the red of the down – make believe

The first two rhyme pairs are formed from words of two syllables, and the last one from a word of four syllables. The rhyme pairs show Manninen's high standards concerning the metrics and the form of the poems. The rhymes consist of sounds that are almost completely the same. Only one letter distinguishes the rhymed words from each other (*kitken – itken; rusko – usko; ruskotelkoot – uskotelkoot*). This was also the case in "The Rose of the Rapids", but the rhymed words are now more sophisticated as they bring a more profound level to the poem when linking the features of nature (the evening sunset and its colours) to the inner feelings of the speaker. The rhyme pairs are obviously constructed by someone exceptionally talented in rhyming. However, it is left open if this talented master of words is Manninen or an anonymous singer of Finnish rhymed couplets, as for example the last rhyme pair can be found in at least one folksong transcription of the Archives of the Finnish Literature Society (SKS).[23]

As stated earlier, Manninen made some alterations to the original folksongs in the notebook and also started to write poetic drafts using rewritten folksong stanzas. Manninen made some pencil alterations to some of the songs written in pen. It seems that in this rewriting process, Manninen changed the half rhymes of the original songs into full rhymes, as in following example. The original song stanza was written:

(10) En mie sen vuoks laulele että heliä on ä*äni*
Laulelen huvitukseksen, tuli heiliä ikäv*äni*. (SKS/KIA, A1908)

I don't sing because my voice is so pretty
I sing to entertain myself, because I miss my sweetheart.[24]

22 The poem was composed as a song shortly before it was published by Erkki Melartin, and it became very popular.

23 "Koska lännestä ruskottellee", SKS/KRA. Humppila. Hilda Sillanpää KRK 65:171. 1935.

24 In his article on rhymed folksongs, E. A. Saarimaa (1923: 190) takes this same rhyme pair as an example of the "poetical freedom" that can go very far when searching for rhymes that are suitable.

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Even though the word *ikäväni*, which is the rhymed word here, has been written with a short vowel, it can be pronounced as if it were a long vowel when sung. There is also word play in this part of the song. The grammatically correct form would be: *heiliäni ikävä* ("I miss my sweetheart"). In the song, the syllable *-ni*, an ending which indicates ownership, signifying that the sweetheart in question is the singer's sweetheart, has been moved and added to the word "missing" (*ikävä-ni*: "my missing"). These verses also contain internal rhymes: *<u>heliä</u> on ääni – <u>heiliä</u> ikäväni*.

When Manninen altered the verse, he changed the second verse to *Laululla mina laimentelen ainaista ikäv<u>ääni</u>* ("With the song, I try to weaken my everlasting longing"). Manninen has now written the word *ikävääni*, the word of the end rhyme, with a long /ä/ written out so that the visual form of the word changes into a full rhyme and goes perfectly together with the first rhymed word *ääni*. The words *ikäväni* ("missing") and *ikävääni* ("longing") also have other meanings in the two variants. The first is a sentiment that is more attached to an actual person and a certain moment. The second is more of a sentiment or abstract feeling that is not necessarily attached to a person, but is more an epithet of a melancholic way of seeing life that can be linked to *fin-de-siècle* melancholy and is synonymous with the *ennui* of late 19th-century literature.[25]

Another example of Manninen's elastic use of language is a draft of an unpublished poem in the notebook. One stanza of this poem draft of four verses has been crossed out:

(11) Kultani kasvot kuin päivän paiste
Ja ääni se soi kuin peli
Seitsemän impeä ihastui
Kun kultani hymyeli. (SKS/KIA, A1908)

The face of my sweetheart is like the sunshine
And his voice rings like an instrument
Seven maidens fell for him
When my love smiled.

Here the rhyme pair is formed with the words (*<u>peli</u> – hymy<u>eli</u>*) ("instrument – smiled"). As in the previous example, the use of the second rhyming word is peculiar: the correct form would be *hymyili*.

First the Rhyme, Then the Rest

Even though Otto Manninen has often been accused of elitist forms and obscure meanings, it is obvious that the play with words, rhythms, and rhymes was a source of joy and inspiration for him. Manuscripts of his poems in the collection *Verses* (1905) and *Verses: Second Series* (1910) show

25 On the melancholy in Manninen's poetry, see Karhu 2012: 168–201.

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that Manninen often first wrote down lists of rhyming words, and only after that started to write verses around these rhymes (Karhu 2012: 74–75).

This is also the way that singers are often said to compose their songs (Sykäri 2011, 2017; Asplund 2007: 265).[26] First come the rhymes and after that the rest. A playful attitude towards language was also common among the people who sang the Finnish rhymed couplets. Heikki Laitinen writes about "aesthetic play" (Laitinen 2003: 211). Examples can be found in which the singer has made a great effort to create a full rhyme. Here it has been constructed from the words *kuusi* ("six") and *rakkaus* ("love"):

(12) Vanha heila se heila on vaikk' uusia olis k*uusi*
Ja aina se muistuu mielehen se vanha rakka*uusi*. (SKS/KIA, A1908)

My old sweetheart stays always a sweetheart even if there were six new ones
And always my old sweetheart is on my mind.

The correct form of the word *rakkauusi* ("love") would be *rakkaus*. The singer has, however, formed a personal variant on the word. There can, of course, be several reasons for this elastic use of language. Firstly, there is both the phonetic motivation of the rhyme and the melodic motivation. If there is a place in the melody for a word to be prolonged, it is natural to extend the word. Here, the word *rakkaus* ("love") has been given a new form and now becomes a full rhyme with the word *kuusi* ("six").

Such elastic use of language, especially when forming end rhymes, is a highly valued trademark of Otto Manninen. Even though he did not approve of half rhymes in his poems, he was clearly a soulmate with the playful singers of Finnish rhymed couplets who reformed words, sometimes quite freely, to form expressions that best suited their purposes.

The examples above show, however, that the use of rhyme in Finnish rhymed couplets is different in the oral context from that in Manninen's written poems or drafts. In Manninen's material, it is clear that he aimed to write full rhymes from the start. In the late 19th-century in Finland, metrical and rhymed poetry was virtually the only option for writers, but over and above that, it was also for Manninen a question of personal aesthetics. Manninen tended to write poetry that was rhythmically and melodically pleasing, and full rhymes offered him this kind of aesthetic pleasure.[27]

26 In her studies on oral singers in Crete and on Finnish freestyle rappers, Venla Sykäri has shown that rhyme is a key feature to singers who sing improvised songs (Sykäri 2011; 2017).

27 Even though there was a tendency to look down on rhymes in poetry in the second half of the 20th century, a new interest in rhymes and their intriguing features came about, partly because of the rise of rap music. On this new interest in the possibilities of rhyme, see David Caplan (ed.), *On Rhyme* (2017).

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Language and Poetic Form IV

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Metrics of Runosongs of the Border Area

Quantity and Broken Lines in Seto Songs

Like languages, folk metres develop through communication, and, dependent on the language used, they evolve hand in hand with changes in that language. Only rarely can we gain clear insights into these processes, since we usually lack samples of oral poetry from its different stages of development. Nevertheless, regional variation of metres draws a picture of the outcome of historical processes, and an analytical approach to this variation can give us, on the one hand, an idea of the reasons and triggers behind the metrical changes, and, on the other, can explain the peculiarities of metrical dialects. The current article explores these questions in the runosong tradition, the common Finnic singing culture, focusing on the role of quantity in the metre of the Seto runosong tradition of the southeast region of Estonia. Lying in a runosong border area, the Seto tradition deviates from the traditions of other regions in some aspects, most notably in its musical features.

The main characteristics of the Finnic runosong are its stichic form (with neither stanzas nor rhymes), metrically unregulated alliteration, parallelism, and a distinct syllabic metre with a trochaic core, with four stresses per line (Sarv 2015; Kallio et al. 2017). In general, researchers agree that the poetic form of the runosong emerged less than 2,000 years ago, before or in the process of the divergence of Proto-Finnic into separate languages (Rüütel 1995; Korhonen 1994; Frog 2019; etc). The theoretical model that is considered the main metrical form of the runosong is often called Kalevala metre (as it is used in the epic *Kalevala,* compiled and composed by Elias Lönnrot[1]). Broadly speaking, this model can be considered as an original form that precedes the subsequent regional variants. In this model of Kalevala metre, the position of stressed syllables in a verse is regulated according to their quantity: in a trochaic rhythmic pattern "long lexically stressed syllables align with metrical stress, while short stressed syllables contrast with it" (Frog & Sverdlov 2016: 8–9). The metre varies within the boundaries of the runosong tradition, due to changes in the language along with the contact-based influences of other cultures (Sarv 2008a, 2011a; Kallio 2017; Kallio et al. 2017).

1 In Estonian literary tradition, poems written in the runosong form have mostly followed the contemporary theoretical ideas of the runosong metre (Sarv 2008b).

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Setomaa, the territory of the Seto region, is divided between the southeastern part of Estonia and the Pskov District of Russia. Linguistically, the Seto language is very close to the Võru dialect of Southeast Estonia, and is has derived from the earliest branching of Proto-Finnic among the surviving Finnic languages (Kallio 2014). The Seto region is a historically Orthodox area that is culturally considerably different from the rest of the Catholic, and later Lutheran, parts of Estonia. Up to today, the runosong has been continuously sung in Setomaa, and in 2009, the Seto *leelo*, or the Seto polyphonic singing culture, was included in the UNESCO Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. The song tradition has been documented extensively since the end of the 19th century. It is possible to do sound and video recordings even today, which is exceptional in the context of the runosong tradition. The larger part of the recordings are held in the Estonian Folklore Archives of the Estonian Literary Museum.

The divergence of the Seto singing culture from the rest of the Finnic singing tradition mostly has to do with the musical aspects of the songs. Unlike the majority of Finnic song areas, Seto singing is polyphonic and employs, in its older musical layer, a special scale which differs from that in all the surrounding areas, including the eastern ones.[2] According to the ethnomusicologist Žanna Pärtlas, this special scale and the type of Seto multipart singing have certain parallels in the South Russian and Mordvinian traditions, which could be due to the close contact of the Setos with the kindred peoples in the East before the Viking–Slavic expansion (Pärtlas 2005, 2006: 242–245, see also Rüütel 1990).

Seto verse is an intriguing example of the reinterpretation of the historical or "original" metrical structure of the tradition, a reinterpretation which probably has been caused by changes in language and in the usage of melodies with particular structures. A typical runosong melody consists of eight notes, while the melodies characteristic of the Seto tradition are often longer, a phenomenon in which ethnomusicologist Ingrid Rüütel has detected a "certain foreign, non-Finnic origin" (1990: 105). Still, the long verses are based on an octosyllabic basic line, which has been, to quote Rüütel, "disfigured beyond recognition with abundant additional syllables, expletives, repetitions and syllables, divided into two positions" (1990: 106).[3]

2 The scale consists of one- and three-semitone intervals only. Its intervallic structure can be expressed by the succession of the numbers 1–3–1–3–1, where the numbers designate the size of the intervals in semitones. In music transcriptions, this scale can be written conditionally with the notes D–E♭–F♯–G–A♯–B (Sarv, J. 1980; Pärtlas 2006, 2010).

3 Rüütel has pointed out that, despite the additional syllables and repetitions of some verse parts, the songs also contain so-called "broken lines", i.e. structures in which one or more lexical stresses fall between metrically stressed positions. It should be added that a clear quantity opposition between short and long syllables, which in the runosong usually requires broken lines, does not manifest itself in the metre of Seto songs. Broken lines are essential to Kalevala metre, as these are the lines in which the quantity opposition of the metrical system comes to light. In Estonian runosongs, the quantity opposition has weakened gradually from the northeast towards the southern and western parts of the country, and, in some regions, the

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Lying on the border area of both the runosong tradition and the Finnic language area, the metrical form of Seto songs can also be influenced by contacts with, or as a substrate of, another unknown poetic tradition that could be related to the archaic and unique melodic tradition. The linguistic innovations in the South Estonian runosongs (and probably also in colloquial language) seem to have started from this contact area (Sarv 2011a). In other features, the poetic text of Seto songs follows the principles of runosong, with all of its formulaic language and the co-dependence of alliteration and parallelism (see Sarv 2017). Compared to other Estonian songs, Seto songs are remarkably long, containing more narrative and developed plots, some of them unique to Seto runosongs.

Mainly owing to its complex rhythmic structures, the metrics of Seto runosongs have not been described in further detail thus far (e.g. Sarv 2008a: 16). Here, we will attempt to give a closer description of the form that the features of Finnic runosong have acquired in the Seto singing culture. The study focuses on the verses with broken structure to determine whether they contain any traces of the quantitative regulation characteristic of the Finnic runosong metre, and, if so, to uncover the principles for creating such verses in the Seto tradition.

Research Material

In Estonian runosongs, the most notable level of metrical variation is geographical. While there are remarkable differences between the regions, the variation across genres, song types, and individuals is very modest within a region (Sarv 2011b: 335–336; cf. Bailey 1995). In Seto songs, in which the verse structures are influenced by options of the alternative rhythms of genre-specific melodies, the metre varies not only in repetitions and additional syllables but also in the number of possible metrical positions and main verse structures. For this study, the groups of songs, in which broken verse structures are regularly used, were chosen. These songs belong to an older layer of the singing tradition: they are in the one-three-semitone scale, and each verse position, mostly filled with one syllable, corresponds to a note of the same length in the melody – the syllabic verse rhythm is related exactly to the isochronous melody rhythm (see Pärtlas 2001: 136–139).

In the following, two groups of Seto songs are discussed. One is comprised of songs with a refrain that have relatively similar tunes and metres: harvest songs with the *lelo-lelo-lelo* refrain (*lelotamine*), weddings songs with the *kaske-kanke* refrain (*kaaskõlõmine*), and game songs with the *heiko-leiko*

long stressed syllables quite often occur in weak verse positions (e.g. Oras 2001: 170–171; Ross & Lehiste 2001: 60; Särg 2005: 232–233, 242, 251; Sarv 2008a: 37, 100). Therefore, the meaning of the term “broken line/verse” also varies in the Estonian research tradition, denoting either 1) lines in which the lexical stresses occur in weak positions or 2) more strictly, as in descriptions of the Kalevala-metre, lines in which short stressed syllables occur in weak positions (next to long stressed syllables in strong positions). The current article focuses on the lines that belong to the first group.

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refrain (*leigotamine* ["The Horse Game"]). Every verse in these songs is sung twice, first by the lead singer and then by the choir. The structure of the lead singer's part is more varied. The analysis here is based mainly on the rhythmically stable choral part. The choral melodies in the wedding and game songs are of "normal runosong length", normally consisting of eight notes (1a). The melody of the harvest songs has two versions, of nine or eleven notes, respectively; the basic verse is octosyllabic, and one or three syllables are added to the beginning part of the line (1b). In these refrain songs, characteristically, the length of the line varies: it does not always have eight, but sometimes has only seven isochronic notes preceding the refrain (see (2), the first row).

The second analysed song group includes refrainless songs without variation in the number of notes. They are lyric and epic songs, sung with a common melody also known as a "feast melody" (*praasnikaviis*). Here, the choral part consists of 11 notes: two initial syllables of the octosyllabic basic verse are repeated, forming an initial three-note group, with the help of an additional syllable or by lengthening the first syllable (1c).[4]

(1) Examples of different melody types of the analysed Seto songs. The octosyllabic basic verse of the choral part is in bold, and the repeated and additional syllables are in normal font.

(1a) Wedding song with an eight-note melody, performed by Anne Vabarna and choir in 1936 (ERA, Pl. 25 A1 (ERmA no. 50)).

Ve - l´e'ks - nu - ke - ne noo - rõ - kõ - nõ, kas´- ke, kan´- ke,

ve - l´e - ke - ne noo - rõ - kõ - nõ, kas´- ke, kan´- ke!

Dear brother, dear young man, *kaske-kanke*,
dear brother, dear young man, *kaske-kanke*!

4 The first group of songs contains seven recordings of the harvest song with the shorter melody (128 verses), 18 recordings of the harvest song with the longer melody (291 verses), 26 recordings of the wedding song (282 verses), 11 recordings of the game song (449 verses) – 1,150 verses in total. The second group includes ten recordings (577 verses) of the songs with the feast melody (without a refrain). Sixty-nine recordings belong to the collection of sound recordings of the Estonian Folklore Archives of Estonian Literary Museum, and three recordings belong to the collection of sound recordings of the Finnish Literature Society.

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(1b) Longer version of the harvest song with an 11-note melody, performed by Anne Vabarna and choir in 1936 (ERA, Pl. 23 A3 (ERmA no. 10)).

Küm-me pa-nõ'ks mi sõr-mõ sõu-dõ-ma-he, l'e-lo, l'e-lo, l'e-lo,

küm-me **pa-nõ** mi **sõr-mõ sõu-dõ-ma-he,** l'e-lo, l'e-lo, l'e-lo...

We put our ten fingers a-swaying, *lelo-lelo*,
we put our ten fingers a-swaying, *lelo-lelo*...

(1c) Feast melody, performed by Maria Tõnisson and choir in 1972. (RKM, Mgn. II 2295 a).

Min-no kut-si tä kuu-si-ko-he, **min-no** jo min-no **kut-si kuu-si-ko-he...**

Me he asked to the fir-forest, me *jo* me asked to the fir-forest...

Methodological Premises and the Principles of Analysis

Poetic Metre and Singing Performances

In oral traditions, it is often necessary to consider singing performances to determine the main principles of the rhythmic organisation of verses (e.g. Frog & Sverdlov 2016). Runosong features a syllabic verse in which the textual and musical rhythm are closely interdependent: the repeated rhythmic formula of the melody consists of eight units which correspond to eight verse positions, each filled, in most cases, by one syllable (Leino 1986: 27–30; Sarv 2015: 10). In cases of more or less than eight syllables in a line, specific regulations apply for how these are divided into the verse positions. These regulations (which vary regionally) can be detected with the help of the performance tradition, i.e. looking at how the syllables have been matched with the eight melodic units. At the level of the deep structure, the eight verse positions equate to the eight melodic units, although both have space for variation in how they are filled by syllables or notes, respectively (Sarv 2008a: 20–21).

In the case of the Seto songs, exactly how syllables of a different quality are placed in certain verse positions has never been subjected to a focused analysis. However, it is evident that their placement can be quite flexible, at least in some songs. The same linguistic structure can have many alternative

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sung interpretations. A good example here is the verse *tuulõ anni nuu ande* ("To that one I gave all these gifts") in the refrain songs, as shown in (2).[5]

(2) Ambivalent verse structures in Seto refrain songs. The positioning of syllables of overlong quantity (Q3 below) *nuu*, *an-* in versions of the song *The Horse Game* has varied, resulting in three different structures. The syllables spanning two positions are shadowed, and the stressed syllables of polysyllabic words are underlined. (RKM, Mgn. II 2426 g; 1858 a; 2086 a.)

Positions/notes – metrical units of equal length, followed by the refrain

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	
tuu-	lõ	an-	ni	nuu	an-	dõ	heiko-leiko	
tuu-	lõ	an-	ni	nuu	a(a)n-		dõ	*heiko-leiko*
tuu-	lõ	an-	ni	nuu		an-	dõ	*heiko-leiko*

Considering the above, we believe that a sufficient corpus of different musical performances – which are metrical interpretations of verses by their (re)creators – compared with the linguistic structures of these verses, offers the most reliable means of revealing the "rules which are applied to align metrical entities with linguistic entities" (Küper 2011: 14).[6]

Changed Quantity Relations of Estonian Language and the Poetic Metre of Estonian Runosongs

In the model of Kalevala metre and the regional traditions closest to it (Karelian runosongs), the strong positions of the trochaic pattern are filled by long stressed syllables, i.e. long initial syllables of polysyllabic words. In the Estonian runosong, especially in the western and southeastern regions, the strong positions can be filled by syllables of any quantity. In such lines, "the quantitative essence of Kalevala-metre is lost and the lines follow the

5 The context of these alternative interpretations will be discussed in further detail below. In Seto songs, as well as in the songs of Southeast Estonia in general (see Sarv 2008a: 33–35, 46; 2015: 14), a Q3 syllable can be placed in one position or divided between two positions. In Seto songs with a refrain, such as the example given here, the verse may extend to the length of eight or seven positions – the refrain is preceded by seven or eight notes (corresponding to metrical units of equal length) in the melody.

6 In most areas of the runosong tradition, the equivalence of verse positions and melody units is usually straightforward. Verse lines written down without musical notation can easily be divided into verse positions that match the melodic units (e.g. Anderson 1935; Sadeniemi 1951; Sarv 2008a, 2015: 11). Seto song texts transcribed during fieldwork often do not correspond to the performed texts in detail. In fieldwork notations, the number of syllables varies considerably (sometimes the additional syllables are left out, but sometimes some of them are written down because they are meaningful and help to understand the verse); the actual placement of syllables in the sung line remains unclear. To access the actual performed text and to understand its metrical structure as manifested in musical performance, it is necessary to turn to sound recordings.

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general principles of a syllabic-accentual system (stressed syllables are placed in strong positions)" (Sarv 2015: 8). The main reason can be assumed to be the radical changes in the Estonian language during the 13th–17th centuries when words became shorter, losing sounds and syllables through syncope and apocope. During these changes, instead of the former system of two syllabic quantities, short and long, a system of three quantity degrees emerged: short (Q1), long (Q2), and overlong (Q3). Within this process, the prominence of the word's initial, stressed syllable, along with the word stress, increased. It is logical to assume that the loss of a clear quantity opposition, and the increase in the prominence of the stressed syllable in spoken language reduced the importance of syllabic quantity and increased the importance of stress in the poetic metre, causing the poetic system to gradually become more accentual and less quantitative (Sarv 2011a: 215–217).

Traditionally, in the analyses of the Estonian runosong, the three quantity degrees are reasonably reduced to two (historical) syllable lengths: syllables of the short quantity degree (Q1) are treated as short syllables, and syllables of the long (Q2) and overlong (Q3) quantity degrees are treated as long syllables in runosong. Such a reduction is justified because the runosong metre was formed before the language changes, and many old word forms have been preserved in its language (e.g. Ross & Lehiste 2001: 57–58). At the same time, in the songs of Southeast Estonia, the overlong (Q3) initial syllable has acquired a distinctive metrical quality in that Q3 initial syllables or monosyllabic words can be stretched over two metrical positions (Sarv 2015: 11, 14). The roots of this phenomenon lay in the historical shortening of the words. Several Q3 words are formed as a result of syncope following the stressed syllable, causing the consonant beginning the word's second syllable to lengthen the preceding syllable when the vowel was lost; the second syllable of such Q3 words can start a new lexical as well as a metrical foot, as in the case of *poi-si-kõ-nõ* > *pois-kõ-nõ* ("dear boy") (Sarv 2011b: 334–335; Pajusalu 2014: 582–583). It seems that, at least in the case of the Southern Estonian songs, the change in the language's quantity system resulted in a reconfiguring of the metrical structure as well.

Principles of the Current Analysis

We began this analysis by identifying the basic (mostly octosyllabic) verse lines. The repetitions and additional syllables in the beginnings of lines were left out of the observation. After that, the lines including one or more three-part musical segments next to two-part musical segments were taken into closer consideration. A musical segment starts with the stressed syllable of the polysyllabic word; the segment can start also with the secondary stressed syllable in the case of the longer words and can also include unstressed mono- or disyllabic words. Such segments, consisting correspondingly of two or three isochronic notes, will be further referred to as "stress groups". In the runosong, the lines performed with two- and three-part stress groups are mostly broken verse structures.

To answer the question of whether and how the most unique feature of Finnic runosong metre – the positioning of stressed syllables based on quantity – manifests in Seto songs, the quantity degrees of the stressed

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syllables in the lines with three-part stress groups will be identified.[7] Next, the majority of such structures performed with eight-note basic lines (corresponding to the basic verse form of eight syllables) will be described. Following that, the small group of verses performed with seven-note lines, existing only in refrain songs, will be observed.

Placement of Syllables of Different Quantity in the Analysed Songs

Eight-Note Lines

Both analysed song groups, refrain songs, and refrainless songs with the feast melody contain the 2+3+3 broken-verse structure (numbers indicate stress groups with a corresponding number of syllables). These are verses in which the final, lexically stressed syllable falls in the sixth verse position (if we consider the octosyllabic basic verse as in (3)). The share of such verse structures among songs with a refrain is 13%. Among the songs without a refrain (sung to the feast melody), the 2+3+3 structure can be found in 17% of the lines (see Table 1).

(3) The 2+3+3 structure: additional syllables are in italics, and initial syllables of polysyllabic words are underlined.

(3a) The game song (RKM, Mgn. II 2426 g).

Lead singer:
an- ti *sääl* kab- ju- lõ ka- pu- da
there, socks were given for my hooves

Choir:
an- ti kab- ju- lõ ka- pu- da
socks were given for my hooves

(3b) The longer version of the harvest song (RKM, Mgn. II 2423 d).

Lead singer:
nu- u an- na küll kär- ro mi kä- si- le
well, we will now make our hands move faster

Choir:
nu- u an- na mi kär- ro viil kä- si- le
well, we will now make our hands move faster

Table 1. The proportion of the different verse structures in each group of songs.
(* indicates exceptional structures.)

Verse structure	Refrain songs	Songs with the feast melody
2+2+2+2	954 (83.0%)	480 (83.2%)
2+3+3	146 (12.7%)	97 (16.8%)
2+3+2	35 (3.0%)	–
2+2+3	11 (1.0%)	–
3+2+3, 3+3+2*	4 (0.3%)	–
Total	1150 (100%)	577 (100%)

7 Such an analysis is complicated by the fact that the archaic, unshortened forms cannot be understood as words having a Q2 or Q3 quantity degree; they are reminiscences of the language system with an opposition of long and short syllables only. In our analysis, the archaic word forms without syncope and apocope are not counted as Q2 or Q3 forms.

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Table 2. The quantity of the initial syllables of polysyllabic words in the third and sixth verse positions of 2+3+3 verses in refrain songs and songs with feast melody.

Quantity degree	Third position		Sixth position	
	Refrain songs	Feast melody	Refrain songs	Feast melody
Q1	50 (34.2%)	35 (36.1%)	116 (79.5%)	64 (66.0%)
Q2	63 (43.2%)	41 (42.3%)	29 (19.9%)	24 (24.7%)
Q3	10 (6.9%)	6 (6.2%)	0	0
Old form	*1 (0.7%)*	*13 (13.4%)*	*1 (0.7%)*	*9 (9.3%)*
[Secondary stress]	*22 (15.1%)*	*2 (2.1%)*	*0*	*0*
Total	146 (100%)	97 (100%)	146 (100%)	97 (100%)

It is characteristic of broken verses in Seto songs that, even though quantity operates as a factor in versification, it does so differently than in Kalevala metre, in which a short stressed syllable is placed in the weak position, and a long stressed syllable is placed in the strong position. In the Estonian runosong, if the stressed syllable of a polysyllabic word is placed in the weak position of the verse, it is usually also the shortest, a Q1 syllable. The strong positions of the broken lines contain not only stressed Q2 and Q3 syllables but also Q1 syllables, at least in some areas (Oras 2001: 170; Ross & Lehiste 2001: 60). In the analysed lines with a basic form of eight notes/ verse positions, there are likewise stressed syllables of all three quantity degrees in the (strong) third position of the verse: 40% Q1, 52% Q2, and 8% Q3 syllables, respectively (Table 2). The (weak) sixth position of the verse is occupied by both Q1 and Q2 syllables (80% Q1 and 20% Q2 syllables in songs with a refrain; 75% Q1 and 25% Q2 syllables in songs without a refrain).[8] When compared to the third (strong) position, the prevalence of Q1 syllables and the absence of Q3 syllables in the sixth (weak) position attracts attention.

The principles of distribution of the syllables of different quantity in the verse positions are notably regular in the eight-position lines in both song groups (Oras & Iva 2017: 182–184). They show the similarity in the metrical quality of Q1 and Q2 syllables and their differentiation from the Q3 syllables. Two (initial) syllables of Q1 and Q2 words can be placed in one position (*i-lo-lõ* ["to joy"], *vee-re pää-le* ["onto the edge"]). Trisyllabic Q1 or Q2 words may be spread with a trochaic rhythm over four positions, extending the last syllable across two positions (e.g. *li-ni-ge(-e)* ["linen"], *ka-pu-da(-a)* ["socks"]). In contrast to the Q1 and Q2 words, the initial syllables of Q3 words or monosyllabic words can be stretched over two positions. More importantly, while monosyllabic Q3 words can be placed in either one or two positions (*must* or *mu(-u)st* ["black"]) and disyllabic Q3 words in two

8 Owing to late consonant gemination, a stressed long syllable can also be found in a weak position of the verse in Ingrian songs (Kiparsky 1968: 141–146, quoted in Sarv 2008a: 74). Although such late gemination is also characteristic of the Seto language, in the analysed Seto songs, the Q2 forms are not the result of the gemination of the consonant of the originally short syllable.

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or three positions (<u>kin</u>-*da'* or <u>ki(-i)n</u>-*da'* [“gloves”]),[9] trisyllabic Q3 words are always spread over four positions (<u>kä(-)üs</u>-*sil-dä'* [“without sleeves”], <u>ta(-a)t</u>-*ri-kah* [“on the buckwheat field”]). These patterns of metrical use seem to depend directly on the nature of historically shortened Q3 words described above.

Taking into account the principles for handling syllables of each quantity, Q3 words cannot be in the sixth position of a basic verse. (In the third position, there are also only disyllabic Q3 words, followed by a monosyllabic word. Because the Seto singing tradition maintains the feature of the poetic form that the final position of line should not be filled by a monosyllable, the use of a disyllabic Q3 word without the division of the initial syllable between two positions is impossible in the sixth position.) However, that does not explain why Q1 words are in the majority in the sixth position. The data mandates the question of whether the preference for Q1 syllables in the weak position may reflect the quantity-based principles of the runosong metre – a Q1 syllable suits this position “better” because it is the shortest one, and the placement of a Q2 syllable in this position is a secondary development.

Seven-Note Lines

Alongside ordinary lines with eight notes and verse positions, respectively, songs with a refrain also contain lines performed on seven isochronic notes, followed by the refrain. Such “shorter lines” can be found only in songs with a refrain, and perhaps the existence of the latter promotes the unstable line length. However, similar musical and verse structures can be found in Seto laments that are structurally even somewhat more complex than the refrain songs (Oras et al. 2021). It is complicated to interpret these shorter lines because they do not exist in the typical runosongs of other areas,[10] and the principles for organising words of different quantity degrees introduced in the preceding section do not apply to all these structures. It is possible to distinguish between two groups of musically shorter lines by putting forward the hypothesis of two models of shortening in the refrain songs.

Shortening the End of Eight-Position Verses in Musical Performance

In the first group, the shortening takes place in the second half of the verse. The third stress group of an ordinary 2+2+2+2 verse structure is performed like the structure ending with a trisyllabic stress group (2+2+3). There are many examples of verses in refrain songs that are performed in two versions, with 7 and 8 isochronic notes, respectively. Sometimes the lead singer sings the same verse one way and the choir, or part of the choir, the other way, choosing either the longer or shorter version (Oras 2019). The number

9 In metrical analysis, we decided to consider Q3 syllables that are divided between two positions (such as in *ki(-i)n-dit*) as two syllables, of which the first one is short. In a few cases, the second syllable is also divided: *vü(-)ül-dä(-ä)* (“without a belt”).

10 Seven-position verses can be found in the runosongs of other areas, but, in these verses, the eighth verse position is empty (so-called catalectic verses).

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of such musically shortened lines is conspicuous – 24,6% of the lines of refrain songs. There are three ways of "compressing" the end of a verse in performance:

i. Performing the first syllable of a Q3 trisyllabic word in one note instead of stretching it over two notes. In the eight-position verses sung with eight notes, the Q3 initial syllable of a trisyllabic word occupies two notes, as in the 2+2+2+2 verse *ha-mõh sä-läh kä(-)üs-sil-dä* ("the shirt [was] on without sleeves"). In the shortened version of the same line, the Q3 syllable is not extended across two notes, producing a verse-final three-note musical stress group: *ha-mõh sä-läh käüs-sil-dä*.[11]

ii. A trisyllabic instead of a tetrasyllabic word form. In an eight-note line, a word is used in its historical, tetrasyllabic, and unsyncopated form, sung on four notes, such as *nõudõmahe* in *nõs-si hii-rolt nõu-dõ-ma-he* ("I started to ask my horse"). The same word can be sung with syncope in a trisyllabic form on three notes, as in the verse *si-nult nõ-sõ nõud-ma-he* ("I start asking you").

iii. Singing a tetrasyllabic Q1 or Q2 word (or two disyllabic words) on three notes. In eight-note lines, the word is sung on four isochronic notes, like *küsümähe* or *veere* in the verses *sis ma kün-dü kü-sü-mä-he* ("then I started asking") and *lip-kas liv-va vee-re pää-le* ("butterfly onto the edge of a dish"). In a shortened seven-note version, the two (underlined) syllables are performed twice as fast: *si-nult kün-dü <u>kü-sü-</u>mä-he* – or *lip-kas liv-va <u>vee-re</u> pää-le*.

It must be added that, in the analysis, the boundary between the groups blurs because it is difficult to determine whether the line has been shortened to seven or the end of an eight-note line has simply been sung slightly faster. This boundary area and the parallel versions of particular words and verses are connected to the nature of such shortening as a (musical) surface phenomenon dependent on the particular performance.

Seven-Position Verse Structures

The second group of shorter lines consists of those following a 2+3+2 structure and those 2+2+3 verses that do not belong to the first group of verses described in the previous section. There are only a few of these in the songs, 3.0% with a 2+3+2 structure and 1.0% with a 2+2+3 structure, respectively (Table 1). It appears as though shortening has occurred here at the expense of the first stress group: expanding the first stress group of the 2+3+2 and 2+2+3 structure by one syllable would result in ordinary 3+3+2 and 3+2+3 broken verse structures.[12] This line of reasoning may seem overly

11 Shortening takes place in a similar manner in cases in which there is a Q3 monosyllabic word and a disyllabic word in the second half of the verse (*i(-)ih / ist-nu* or *iih ist-nu*).

12 The lines of the 2+3+2 structure contain a few verses which could be interpreted as parallel variants of the 2+3+2 and 2+3+3 structure, e.g. *pan-ti le-he-le li-nik* (2+3+2) and *an-ti le-he-le li-ni-ge* (2+3+3) ("the linen was given for the mane")

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bold, but the speculation is supported by a rather common difference in the structure of the lead singer's and the choir's parts: the lead singer often adds a syllable to the first stress group, but the choir always omits the additional syllable and sings a two-position stress group as seen in examples (1a) and (3a) above. It is interesting that if we examine the second and third stress groups of these structures, Q3 syllables only occur at the beginning of the last two-position stress group (e.g. the 2+3+2 verse *las-kõ kä-si-le käv-vü* ["move your hands"]; see Table 3). If the verses were to be reconstructed into hypothetical octosyllabic pre-forms – broken verse structures of runosong (2+3+2 < *3+3+2 and 2+2+3 < *3+2+3) – the stressed syllables of the second stress group would fall in the weak fourth position. This could be the reason for the avoidance of Q3 syllables in these positions.

Table 3. The quantity of the initial syllables of polysyllabic words beginning in the third and the fifth/sixth verse positions in refrain songs.

Quantity degree	2+3+2 structure		2+2+3 structure	
	Third position	Sixth position	Third position	Fifth position
Q1	16 (45.7%)	7 (20.0%)	5 (45.5%)	7 (63,6%)
Q2	17 (48.6%)	9 (25.7%)	5 (45.5%)	4 (36,4%)
Q3	0	11 (31.4%)	0	0
Old form	*0*	*3 (8.6%)*	*1 (9.1%)*	*0*
[Secondary stress]	*2 (5.7%)*	*5 (14.3%)*	*0*	*0*
Total	35 (100%)	35 (100%)	11 (100%)	11 (100%)

The approach to seven-note lines by applying the models of "shortening 8-position verse structure in musical performance from the end" and "the result of shortening the 3+... broken verses from the beginning", represents only one way of interpreting the metrical system of songs with a refrain. If the seven-note lines were observed as a homogeneous category, then the 2+2+3 structure contains stressed syllables of all three quantity degrees in each word-initial position.

Conclusion

The difference between the Seto runosong and the runosong in other areas is connected to specific melodies. At the same time, Seto verse is shaped by the changes in the Estonian language and the peculiarities of these changes in Southeast Estonia.

or *an-ti han-na-lõ ha-mõh* (2+3+2) and *an-ti han-na-lõ ha(-a)m-mõ* (2+3+3) ("the shirt was given for the tail"), but there is no apparent system for shortening/lengthening between the versions of the verse in the parts of lead singer and choir. As an exception, in four verses which begin with a trisyllabic word, the 3+3+2 or 3+2+3 structure has also been preserved in the choir part (e.g. *a-vi-da / ju-ma-la-/ kõ-nõ*, ["help us, dear God"])).

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Along with the increasing importance of the word stress in the language, the Estonian runosong has gradually moved from a quantitative verse system towards a syllabic-accentual system: especially in the west and the southeast regions of Estonia, stressed syllables of all quantity degrees are regularly placed in strong positions of the trochaic scheme, and the number of broken verses (with the short stressed syllables in the weak positions) is small (Sarv 2015). Seto songs seem to differ from the songs of neighbouring Võrumaa in their higher number of broken verses, but it must be kept in mind that these lines do not correspond exactly to the quantity principles of Kalevala-metric runosong. In addition, Seto refrain songs contain seven-note lines that are reminiscent of the broken verses of Kalevala metre in that they are performed with combinations of two- and three-part stress groups.

In the singing performances of refrain songs, lines with three-part stress group(s) contrast especially clearly with lines following the trochaic scheme of word stresses: they are mostly performed with specific melody contours that differ from the melody contours of trochaic structures and accentuate the placement of word stresses in the lines with three-part stress group(s). Such melodic variations in relation to verse structure are also characteristic of the Estonian runosong (and absent from the runosong of the northern areas), indicating the importance of word stress in the performers' perception of the verse form (e.g. Lippus 1995: 67; Särg 2004, 2005; Oras 2001, 2008).

The Seto and neighbouring Võrumaa songs resemble each other in the distinctive metrical quality of Q3 syllables: all Q3 initial syllables or monosyllabic words can be stretched over two verse positions. In the eight-position verses of the analysed Seto songs, the initial syllables of Q3 trisyllabic words are always stretched over two verse positions. The metrical opposition between the Q3 syllables and the Q1 and Q2 syllables is quite evident. Q1 and Q2 stressed syllables are used in similar ways: both can be placed in weak metrical positions, and both Q1 and Q2 stressed syllables can be accompanied by an unstressed syllable in a single verse position. The opposition of these syllable types to Q3 syllables is rooted in the historical changes of the Estonian language and the specifics of the local dialect.

Although the quantity principles in Seto songs differ from those of the Kalevala metre, they still seem to reflect the basic opposition of short and long syllables in the Finnic runosong's common quantity system: in the weak positions of the basic octosyllabic verse with a 2+3+3 structure, Q1 syllables dominate (and are accompanied by a smaller number of Q2 syllables). The seven-note lines in refrain songs can be interpreted in several ways. According to one possible interpretation, in the small group of "structurally" seven-position verses, we also can suggest the influence of the Kalevala-metric quantity system: only Q1 and Q2 syllables are placed in the positions that correspond to the weak positions of the parallel broken verse forms of runosong. The shortening of the structurally eight-position verse in musical performance – singing the Q3 syllable only with a single note – can be interpreted as the secondary nature of the principle of quantity. The quite extensive use of shortening in performance suggests that the broken structures (or, more precisely, lines with three-part stress groups)

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are perceived only as models of positioning lexical stresses by singers, at least in the rhythmically varying refrain songs.[13]

The rhythm of the Seto refrain songs of the older layer is highly flexible. The performers can vary the rhythm either by shortening the end of the verse in musical performance or by adding syllables verse-initially, or using structures of (or similar to) broken verses. In this creative play of rhythm, combining two- and three-part stress groups, the greatest freedom is enjoyed by the lead singer, although, to a certain degree, the choir may also choose between agreement and opposition when entering into dialogue with the lead singer.

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13 The same kind of development seems to be reflected in the songs of Pärnu and Viljandi County in South-Western Estonia (Sarv 2008a: 37, 100).

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Migration of Poetic Formulae

Icelandic Post-Medieval *Þulur*

Formulae are well-known poetic devices that bring closer together poetic form and language. They are widely employed – not least in oral versification practices – and much discussed, also in this volume (see Ekgren & Ekgren; Stanyukovich, Sychenko, & Klimenko; Oras; and Frog). This article is a part of an ongoing discussion on formulaic language in Old Icelandic poetry[1] and in the poetry of post-medieval Iceland, particularly in *sagnadansar* (Icelandic ballads)[2] and *sagnakvæði*, narrative poems continuing to some extent the old eddic tradition.[3] In this poetry, as in Homeric and South Slavic epic, phraseology is expected to conform to the established metrical patterns (as further exemplified in Frog, Grünthal, Kallio, & Niemi, this volume, § 4); in a way, formulae brought language closer to poetic form. In poetry with a less consequent metrical structure, the relationship of poetic form and language is apparently somewhat different, as exemplified in this article on Icelandic post-medieval *þulur* (hereafter referred to as PMÞ).

PMÞ is a folklore genre from ca. 14th–20th century, tracing back to the Old Icelandic *þulur*[4] but quite different from them, not least in its form:

1 A recent summary on formulaic language in eddic poetry is in Frog 2011; on formulae in *dróttkvætt,* cf. Frog 2017. See Ekgren & Ekgren (this volume) on the formulaic continuity in Old Norse (Icelandic) and later Norwegian poetry.

2 The Icelandic form of Scandinavian popular ballads is one of the most formulaic post-medieval Icelandic genres – albeit memorisation overweighs composition in performance in the ballads' transmission (Vésteinn Ólason 1982: 25–29). The question of formulae native to Icelandic *sagnadansar* and formulae imported from Scandinavian ballads (and possibly other European ballads) has not yet been thoroughly examined, and no clear line between these two kinds of ballad formulae can be drawn with the present state of knowledge. However, when a loan formula in PMÞ is present both in continental Scandinavian ballads and in Icelandic ballads, it certainly seems more likely that PMÞ borrowed them from the Icelandic tradition rather than immediately from continental ballads (otherwise, they would have had to overcome two barriers at the same time, rather than just one: that of the language and that of the genre).

3 The migration of formulae in post-medieval Icelandic poetry, especially *sagnakvæði*, has been discussed by Frog (2012a–b) and Haukur Þorgeirsson (2012).

4 Versified (stanzaic) catalogues of poetic terms (*heiti*), chiefly in eddic metres, in particular *fornyrðislag*; see further Gurevich 2017.

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PMÞ are versified, but not stanzaic, lists > versified – but not stanzaic – lists of names, sequences of short motifs, and/or longer narrative episodes in very free poetic form. These lists are relatively short, fragmentary, and intersecting.[5] One of the distinctive features of PMÞ is their ability to absorb both text fragments and some structural and compositional devices from other genres. Loan formulae are therefore a considerable portion of the formulae in PMÞ. Many of these formulae come from other genres of Icelandic folk poetry: chiefly from ballads (*sagnadansar*), but also from various narrative and humorous songs, game songs (*leikkvæði*), cumulative tales (*þulukvæði*), and so on. Others are borrowed from post-medieval Scandinavian poetry kindred to PMÞ and known as *rim* in the continental Scandinavian languages.[6] This article considers mainly Icelandic loan formulae in PMÞ, in particular those from ballads as opposed to those from other folk genres. Among other things, the changes that these loan formulae undergo on their way from their source genres into PMÞ are analysed, as well as their development upon migration into PMÞ.[7] Some reflections are offered on the mechanisms of formula adaptation to a new context and metrical environment, on semantically and metrically motivated variation and metrical stability, and on variation and non-variation. The definitions and premises that I have outlined in an earlier article on the formulaic language of PMÞ (YSH 2016) are also applied here. These include, in the first place, understanding *formula* as a fixed or flexible verbal unit in poetic composition that has identifiable and useful metrical features and carries distinguishable traditional meanings or associations.[8] In the second place, *metrical regularity* is understood as a systematic, *yet not rigorously uniform* application of a complex of phonological devices and strategies in poetic

5 For a more detailed description of the genre, see e.g. YSH 2014 and YSH 2016.

6 Also, *remser* in Danish and Norwegian, *ramsor* in Swedish, and *rhymes* or *rigmaroles* in English (these terms are discussed in YSH 2014 and 2016). *Rim* should not be confused with Icelandic *rímur*, long narrative poems with a highly elaborated system of rigorous stanzaic metres that are based on metrical feet, alliteration, end rhyme, and internal rhyme. See YSH 2017 and forthcoming on those formulae that were borrowed into PMÞ from the Scandinavian *rim*.

7 PMÞ and ballads (and some other Icelandic oral poetry) coexisted for ages before they were systematically collected. Therefore, it is often impossible to trace a formula's development within the genre of ballads and within the genre of PMÞ separately – or to distinguish clearly between those changes that likely occurred on a formula's way from ballads into PMÞ and those that a formula possibly experienced already in PMÞ. For the purposes of this project, the bulk of formulae in PMÞ are compared to that of formulae in ballads; the chronological aspect is considered where possible.

8 Cf. Wray's (2002, 2009) approach to the formula as a prefabricated morpheme-equivalent unit, Ford's (2002: 225) notion of metrically useful items and Foley's and Ramey's (2012: 80) definition of formula as "an integer of traditional meaning". This article is confined to the textual aspects of formulae in PMÞ (unlike a number of contributions to this volume, cf. in particular Kallio and Ekgren & Ekgren), as the genres under consideration are diverse, and only textual evidence is available on some of them. Possible musical aspects of formulaic language in PMÞ, which are sometimes performed in a humming or chanting manner in 20th-century recordings, remain a topic for further research.

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composition (rather than their uniform application to every unit, i.e. line or stanza; cf. YSH 2016). The terms *metre* and *metrical* as referring to PMÞ in this paper should be viewed in this light.

In that earlier paper, I made some preliminary findings that will be further explored and refined here. One such finding was that poetic formulae are active and viable units in post-medieval Icelandic *þulur* despite the very irregular metrical form of PMÞ, with their unequal and unlimited line length and problematic line demarcation, as well as irregular beat, alliteration, and rhyme (a form that can be regarded as loosely metrical or as multimetrical).[9] A second, unexpected finding, was that formulae function in PMÞ as metrical units, almost as if they (still) were in metrical poetry, and they thus maintain their own rhythm and enrich that of PMÞ. Formulae in PMÞ are so viable and stable, yet flexible, that they can tolerate considerable variation, both semantic and metrical, including steps away from metrical stability. These observations provide a backdrop for the following discussion on the balance of different metrical elements in the changes occurring in loan formulae, as well as the balance of semantic and metrical forces behind these changes, including questions of the relative strength of different metrical elements and contra-semantic and contra-metrical variation – matters that have not been discussed in my earlier works.

Metrical Changes in Loan Formulae

The metre of the great majority of those genres, from which formulae migrate to PMÞ (hereafter referred to as source genres), is both richer in metrical elements and more rigorous than that of PMÞ.[10] At the same time, and due to the very loosely metrical form of PMÞ, *þulur* put very few metrical demands on the formulae borrowed from other genres (as demonstrated, for example, in cases 1 and 2 in YSH 2016). The formulae from other genres could thus often enter PMÞ unchanged. Further research into Icelandic loan formulae in PMÞ confirms, nonetheless, the prediction in YSH 2016 that this possibility to borrow the formulae without metrical changes often remains unused. Most loan formulae from Icelandic folk poetic genres undergo some metrical changes on their way to PMÞ (cf. ex. 1 and 2 below); such formulae are here referred to as metrically changing.

Further research also shows that only a minority (ca. one-quarter) of metrically changing formulae become metrically poorer in PMÞ than in

9 The multimetricality of PMÞ lies in their extreme metrical (and narrative) fragmentariness: each fragment of a PMÞ text can be relatively metrical in itself (often in its own way), but this metricality does not hold for the whole text – while complete metrical irregularity in a PMÞ text is not possible either (for more details on the form of PMÞ and their (multi)metricality, see YSH 2016).

10 On the rhythm of *sagnadansar* (couplets or quatrains, with refrain), see e.g. Vésteinn Ólason 1982: 15. Folk narrative songs are often in *fornyrðislag* as applied to contemporary Icelandic, although some are in stanzaic metres with end rhyme – which are, however, far from being as complicated or as rigorous as the stanzaic metres of *rímur* (see note 6 above).

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their source genre; the downshifting is surprisingly little, observing that the formulae move into a metrically poorer context than that of their source genre. The formula *ey(jar)–mey(jar)* (“island(s)–maiden(s)”) (ex. (1)) has, for example, less alliteration in PMÞ in (1b) than in its supposed source genre, the Icelandic ballad (ex. (1a)) (alliteration is underlined):[11]

(1a) (IB)	*ÍGSVÞ III*: 334	
	suður undir ey; [...]	south by <an/the> island; […]
	við þá vænu mey	with that good maiden
(1b) (PMÞ)	JS[11]	
	fyrir utan Ejar,	outside islands,
	ad telja vorar mejar	to count our maidens

As for the majority of metrically changing formulae (ca. three-quarters), those metrical variations that impoverish the rhythm of formulae and those that enrich it balance each other out, and the formulae in question maintain a level of metricality comparable to what they had in the source genre (ex. (2)), or even higher than in the source genre (ex. (3)). This metricality is, however, not necessarily achieved through the same metrical parameters as in the formula’s source genre: they may have changed on a formula’s way into PMÞ, as in (2c–d). In example (2), a metrically balanced PMÞ formula results from two ballad formulae (2a–b); a richer and more stable alliteration[12] in the PMÞ formula in (2c–d) compensates for the occasional rhyme in (2b) (double underlined), which likely went missing on the formula’s way from ballads to PMÞ. Besides, example (2) is one of many in which the metrical feature that was lost in migration (in this case, the occasional rhyme, cf. (2b)), is replaced with a different metrical feature (here, with alliteration rather than with another rhyme):

(2a) (IB)	*ÍFkv* II: 87	
	Spennir hann að sèr beltið breitt	He tightens the broad belt
(2b) (IB)	*ÍFkv* II: 159	
	Gullbúið sax og gullbúinn hníf:	<A> gold-decorated short sword and <a> gold-decorated knife:
	það svíkur mitt únga líf	it will betray my young life
(2c) (PMÞ)	DFS 67 E, 258v	
	því hann hafði belltið breitt,	because he had the broad belt,
	búín kníf	<a> decorated knife
(2d) (PMÞ)	AM 247 8vo, 5v	
	þar sem báran bar á land,	where the wave brought ashore
	silfur belti og búinn hníf	<a> silver belt and <a> decorated knife

11 Transcription by Jón Samsonarson from Sigurður G. Thorarensen’s manuscript (private collection). Some examples of the same formula still demonstrate a level of alliteration similar to the one in its source genre, cf. “eg kom undir eina ey / undir sat þar fögr mey,” (“I arrived close to an island / there sat a beautiful maiden”) (Lbs 421 8vo, 35r).

12 The alliteration either follows the classical Icelandic 2+1 pattern (two alliterating sounds in the first line and one in the second, cf. ex. (2c)) or the pattern of internal alliteration (two alliterating sounds in the same line, cf. ex. (2d)).

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Example 3 shows a ballad formula (3a) that becomes metrically richer in PMÞ (3b–c) due to alliteration in the second line in (3b)[13] and in lines 2–3 in (3c):

(3a) (IB)	*ÍFkv* I: 39	
	“Gefðu mèr lifur og lúnga,	“Give me liver and <a> lung
	að fæða með mína únga.”	to give to my nestlings.”
(3b) (PMÞ)	Lbs 587 4to I, bls. 17	
	Lifur, lúngu, [/] tönn og túngu	Liver, lungs, [/] <a> tooth and <a/the> tongue
(3c) (PMÞ)	Lbs 587 4to III, 9v	
	bæði lifur lúngu	both liver, lungs,
	og lakastykki neðan af	and <a> piece of omasum from beneath,
	og heilan hleif af túngu	and <a> whole loaf of tongue

The formulae that become metrically richer in PMÞ than in their source genre, as in (3a–c), turn out to be even more numerous than those formulae that become metrically poorer: approximately one-third of all loan formulae that change metrically on their way from the source genre to PMÞ prove to be metrically enriched. This can appear controversial exactly because PMÞ do not put the requirements of metrical richness on the loan formulae, which suggests that some metricality level is necessary not only for PMÞ but also for the *formulae* there. Metricality is essential for formulae both structurally (to ensure that the different parts of the formula stick together) and as a formula’s marker that makes it stand out in the text, noticeable both to its performer and the audience, and that ultimately makes the formula able to fulfil its purpose. This conforms to the view that one of the features that can make formulae distinctive is some irregularity (cf. Wray 2009: 32–34, 40).[14] In the case of PMÞ, in which the metre is quite irregular, the enhanced metrical *regularity* of a formula is an indicator of its *irregularity*.

Main Elements of Metrical Changes

Metrical changes in formulae on their way from their source genre to PMÞ involve all of the most relevant elements of Icelandic metrics: beat, alliteration, and rhyme. As to which changes are common and which occur less frequently, the indications in YSH 2016 were ambivalent. Variation in the number of stressed positions in a line remained e.g. minimal in what I call the *gaman–saman* (“fun–together”) formula (case 2 in YSH 2016), even though PMÞ leave a lot of room for such variation; at the same time, an unexpected line shortening occurred in the *hest–mest* formula (“horse.ACC–most”)

13 Line demarcation in (3b) mine – *YSH*. In (3c), the second line provides the alliterating sound necessary for lines 1–2 to alliterate properly according to the traditional rules for Icelandic metrical poetry (also following the 2+1 pattern), while the third line alliterates internally.

14 To be certain, Wray mentions “irregular features of semantics or grammar” (2009: 40) since she does not discuss poetic discourse; if upgraded to suit PMÞ (and poetry in general), her view should apply to metrical features as well.

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(case 1 in YSH 2016), even where it was not predetermined by the line length of the recipient PMÞ text. The same ambivalence was present in changes in alliteration that occur in formulae on their way to PMÞ from their source genre. In some formulae, an alliteration pattern became more stable in PMÞ than in the source genre, even though such a pattern is not required in PMÞ. This is the case in the *gaman–saman* formula (in which alliteration in the former line is occasional in ballads but more systemic in PMÞ)[15] and in the modification of the *hest–mest* formula, which is referred to as reverse modification in YSH 2016 (p. 52; cf. ex. (1e–f) there and ex. (5c) here below), or as R-modification here: 'I ran the most of all men, I had no horse' (both lines alliterate). In some other formulae, however, a sudden decrease in alliteration is observed. Among these formulae is the other, more common modification of the *hest–mest* formula, here referred to as C-modification: 'I had a(n) [attribute] horse, I rode the most of all men' (cf. ex. (1d) in YSH 2016). In this case, the decrease of alliteration in the former line is not even compensated by (other) metrical means: *h̲vijtan h̲est* ("white.ACC horse.ACC") (*ÍF* I: 224) → [another attribute] *hest* ("horse.ACC"). The only unambiguous prediction that can nonetheless be inferred from cases 1 and 2 in YSH 2016 is that a formula's rhyme should not be considerably affected by the formula's migration between different poetic systems.

Further research shows that changes in alliteration are observed most frequently, or in more than two-thirds of metrically changing loan formulae. Expansion of alliteration is more common than its decrease, presumably because in Icelandic ballads – where most formulae come from – alliteration is not mandatory (cf. ex. (2)); note, however, that alliteration is not mandatory in PMÞ either. On the other hand, alliteration often decreases in those relatively few loan formulae that become metrically poorer on their way from their original genres to PMÞ; these are usually from genres other than ballads (cf. (6a–c)). Beat changes are also common, although not quite as widespread as changes in alliteration; they occur in ca. one-half of the formulae considered. Formulaic lines generally shorten, especially those from Icelandic ballads in which the lines are typically longer than in PMÞ (cf. case 1 in YSH 2016, the *hest–mest* formula). It is noteworthy, however, that line shortening sometimes occurs even in PMÞ fragments in which the neighbouring lines *are* approximately as long as in ballads, as in ex. (4) (cf. case 1 in YSH 2016).

(4a) (IB)	*ÍFkv* II: 306	
	hún Aðallist til kirkju ríðr	Aðallist, she rides to church
	með kæru móður sína.	along with her dear mother.
(4b) (PMÞ)	AM 247 8vo, 5r	
	Kona gekk í kirkju,	A woman went to chucrch,
	hafði í hendi lifrarbita	had <a> bit of liver in <her> hand

15 This formula seldom alliterates in ballads, in which alliteration is not mandatory, unlike in most other Icelandic poetry. On the other hand, the formula acquires some alliteration in PMÞ. This is likely in order to maintain the formula's own metricality, since alliteration in PMÞ in general is not mandatory either.

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Rhyme, by contrast, only changes in less than half of the formulae. The most obvious reason is that rhyme is often the backbone of a migrating formula (cf. ex. (1)). Changes in rhyme, when observed, are also most frequent in ballad formulae (rather than in formulae from other genres). Icelandic ballads are much richer in rhyme than PMÞ, and rhyme usually decreases on the formula's way to PMÞ, especially the rhyme in which not all rhyming sounds are part of the migrating formula (cf. ex. (2)).

It is apparent from the above that a good part of the changes that formulae undergo on their way from their original genre to PMÞ are due to the differences between the form of PMÞ and that of Icelandic ballads – although some other Icelandic folk genres that PMÞ borrow formulae from are also very different from PMÞ in form. Formulae from other Icelandic folk genres seem to change less on their way to PMÞ, although there are exceptions (see ex. (6) below). This may indicate that formulae in Icelandic ballads not only have more potential for migration between genres than formulae in other Icelandic folk genres (cf. the fact that most formulae are borrowed into PMÞ from the ballads), but also more potential for variation.

Another conclusion that could be inferred from ex. (2–4) (and other examples referred to above) is that when ballad formulae change on their way to PMÞ they do not necessarily adjust themselves to the rhythm as it is each time in their new immediate context, but rather to the rhythm of PMÞ in general (or to the rhythm of PMÞ as described by the average values of their rhythmic features).[16] This can be illustrated as follows. There are generally two or three primary stresses in PMÞ lines, and a ballad formula with four stresses can become one stress shorter on its way to PMÞ, even though its particular context in PMÞ has four to five stresses per line (see YSH 2016: 51–52 for more details and discussion). In a similar way, many ballad formulae become poorer in rhyme (which is nonetheless one of their most essential features in the ballad context) and richer in alliteration on their way to PMÞ, in which rhyme is *generally* less widespread than alliteration – even though the new context of the migrating formulae can in some cases be, for example, rich in rhyme and deprived of alliteration. This tendency in the adaptation of formulae to some generalised rhythm of PMÞ is likely related to – although not necessarily conditioned by – the fact that PMÞ do not put metrical requirements on loan formulae in each particular case of a loan and in each specific context of use.

Metrical and Semantic Aspects of Variation

The two cases of loan formulae considered in YSH 2016 – and, in fact, also the case of the formula which is supposedly native to PMÞ – demonstrated both metrical and semantic variation. Some of this variation is a part of the strategy of the formulae's adaptation to the new metrical conditions, such as

16 This may also be true for formulae from other Icelandic folk poetry but needs additional verification, because these formulae, do not constitute a homogeneous group, as the ballad formulae and common tendencies are not as clear.

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increasing alliteration in the case of the *gaman–saman* formula (case 2 in YSH 2016). Other aspects of metrical variation are not immediately prompted by the receiving genre, for example, the unexpected line shortening in the *hest–mest* formula (case 1 in YSH 2016). Some of the variation is rather semantically and/or contextually driven and can even affect the metrical qualities of the formula in question, such as the sudden decrease of alliteration in the *hest–mest* formula, in which the alliterating attribute in *hvítan hest* ("white.ACC horse.ACC"), common in Icelandic ballads, was repeatedly replaced by non-alliterating attributes in PMÞ – presumably because *hvítur* ("white") is seldom used about horses in Icelandic outside of the source formula.[17] The cases presented in YSH 2016 thus gave good reasons to suggest that PMÞ tolerated considerable departure from maintaining a formula's original metricality in favour of semantically driven variation.

Further study into the loan formulae in PMÞ shows first and foremost that, in more than half of the metrically changing formulae, both metrical and semantic forces appear to be behind the changes, and that in these formulae, metre and meaning work together (or at least they do not work against each other). In the cases in which metre and meaning do not work together, there are quite a few examples in which metrically driven variation produces an inconsistent or contradictory meaning. Two such examples (cf. (5b–c)) belong to the *hest–mest* formula and represent attempts to restore or replace the alliteration *hvítan : hest* ("white.ACC : horse.ACC") that was lost when the attribute *hvítur* was no longer used:

(5a) (IB)	*ÍF* I: 8	
	Toa litla stie ä hvijtan hest […]	Little Tóa mounted <a/her> white horse […]
	allra kvenna reid hun mest	She rode the most of all women
(5b) (PMÞ)	Lbs 587 4to I, p. 135	
	Ég átti mèr *haltan* hest,	I had <a> halting horse,
	reið ég allra manna mest	I rode the most of all men [sic]

17 This source formula (the Icelandic ballad formula) is itself peculiar, since colours are not common as a horse's attribute in other Scandinavian ballads. Horses are traditionally characterised through such qualities as good, strong, vigorous etc.; if a colour is mentioned, then it is most often dapple-grey. In Icelandic ballads, nonetheless, horses are described predominantly as white; other colours or other kinds of characteristics are hardly found. The grey colour, on the other hand, is reserved for the more poetic word for a horse, *gangvari*, as in other Scandinavian ballads (cf. *ganger grå* and *gångare grå* in Danish and Swedish ballads). To mount *gangvara(nn) grá* ("(the) grey.ACC riding.horse.ACC") is thus as common in Icelandic ballads as to mount *hvítan hest*; the difference is that the former standing epithet has roots in continental Scandinavian ballads, while the latter apparently does not. It is not unlikely that the latter epithet was modelled on the former one already in Icelandic ballad texts that sought to get closer to Icelandic alliterating metres. The attempt was apparently successful – at least within ballads (since there is almost no alternative to the epithet *hvítur* for the word *hestur* in Icelandic ballads), although its (re)productive potential in other oral poetic genres is clearly limited.

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(5c) (PMÞ)	AM 247 8vo, 6v		
	gekk eg allra mann[a] mest;		I walked the most of all men;
	átti eg *alhvítan* hest		I had <an> all-white horse [sic]
(5d) (PMÞ)	Lbs 587 4to III, 14r	C-modification	
	eg átti brúnann hest.		I had <a> brown horse[,]
	allra manna reið eg mest.		I rode the most of all men
(5e) (PMÞ)	DFS 67 E, p. 188	R-modification	
	gekk eg allra manna mest		I walked the most of all men,
	engan átti eg hest		I had no horse

In (5b), an alliterating attribute (other than *hvítur*) is used to restore the lost alliteration. In (5c), which syntactically belongs to reverse modification of the *hest–mest* formula (cf. YSH 2016: 52), an alliterating attribute is needed in the second line and alliterates with *átti* ("have.PRET.1ST/3RD.SING") rather than *hest* ("horse.ACC").[18] However, the pursuance of an alliterating initial phoneme puts considerable restrictions on the slot-filler, that is, the varying element (namely the attribute of the horse) in this open-slot formula. Searching for an alliterating word can end in a semantically awkward result, even though the formula is well-formed metrically. Such semantically impairing variations can thus be considered *contra-semantic*. Examples (5d–e), much more common for the formula, have a consistent meaning; however, (5d) lacks alliteration in the former line, while (5e) compensates for the lost alliteration in a way similar to (5c).

Formulae that experience contra-semantic variation are, however, in the minority. In the majority of those metrically changing formulae in which metre and meaning do not work together, the variation appears to be semantically driven, and it works against metrical stability (and may thus be considered *contra-metrical*). This happens in slightly less than half of the metrically changing loan formulae considered here. This number is significantly higher than that of the metrically driven changes which affect the meaning of the formula in question. This supports the previous suggestion (in YSH 2016) that taking a step away from the metrical stability in favour of variation is acceptable in PMÞ – apparently to a greater extent than inconsistent meaning in favour of better metricality.

However, metrical changes that accompany contra-semantic or contra-metrical variation (i.e. variation in which metre and meaning contradict each other) do not involve *all* of the most relevant elements of Icelandic metrics (as is the case with metrical changes in PMÞ in general; see above), because they never seem to affect rhyme. Semantically driven variation affects first and foremost alliteration, as in the common modification (C-modification) of the *hest–mest* formula (see above). Another example is the *fisk–disk* ("fish.ACC–dish.ACC") formula, which could alliterate much more but apparently lost alliteration on its way to PMÞ. We find this formula in cumulative songs (*þulukvæði*) (cf. (6a)), in tongue-twisters intended to be repeated rapidly several times in the same breath (*lotulengdarkapp*), and in nursery rhymes

18 For alliteration with *hest* in the second line of the formula (R-modification), cf. ex. (1f) in YSH 2016: "engan hafði eg hest" ("I had no horse", *hafði* meaning "had").

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(*barnagælur*); at least one of the two lines of the formula in all these genres alliterates. In PMÞ, however, there seems to be some avoidance of alliteration, cf. (6a–c):[19]

(6a) (CS)	*ÍGSVÞ IV*: 298–299	
	Eg skal gefa þér einn fisk og allt upp á einn disk	I shall give you one fish and everything up on one dish
(6b) (PMÞ)	DFS 67 E, 428r	
	þar kom innar diskur —, var á smèr og fiskur	there came <a> dish further inside, on it was butter and fish
(6c) (PMÞ)	Lbs 587 4to III, 65v	
	þar kom fram diskur var á blautur fiskur	there came in <a> dish, on it was boiled fish
(6d) (PMÞ)	Lbs 587 4to IV, 15r	
	þar kom fram diskur þar var á feitur fiskur	there came in <a> dish, on it, there was fat fish

Cases of alliteration in this formula (cf. (6d)) are, surprisingly, almost unique, despite the fact that PMÞ usually have to strive for rhythm and metricality. Two (dialectical) forces could be at work here. On the one hand, the formula strives to be metrical in order to survive and be able to function as such. On the other hand, the eternal search for a rhythmical balance in PMÞ apparently requires, at least at times, that formulae should not be *too* metrical (i.e. they should not exhibit too many features of alliteration or rhyme). Among other things, they should not be metrically overloaded compared to their context, which would inevitably happen if alliteration came on top of rhyme (rhyme is considered to be a primary feature in this formula, since the rhyme pair is its base and stable element). The lines surrounding the formula in question are not rich in alliteration, which apparently impedes much metrically rich variation within the formula.

Variation and Non-Variation

The numerous examples of variation in the sections above (as well as in YSH 2016) showcase the dynamic development of formulae in PMÞ; ; but at the same time, a tendency towards decreasing variation and even towards non-variation is observed. The clearest examples are found in the slot-fillers. For instance, the words *smèr og* ("butter and") and *blautur* ("boiled") in (6b–c) above represent a large majority of occurrences of the *fisk–disk* formula; other variation is quite limited. (Cf. also the predominant names *Arngerður* and, later, *Hallgerður* in case 3 in YSH 2016.) A similar tendency is observed in cases in which one of a formula's modifications in PMÞ becomes dominant as time goes by, or in which only one of a formula's modifications migrates to PMÞ from the formula's source genre. In the *hest–mest* formula, for instance,

19 The same can be noticed in ballads, cf. the line *Til orða tók hún svarta Ísodd* ("The black Ísodd spoke") (*ÍFkv* I: 191), which could alliterate regularly if it only were e.g. **Til orða tók hún Ísodd svarta* ("Ísodd the black spoke").

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C-modification (ex. (5b,d)) eventually becomes prevalent in the 20th century, while R-modification (ex. (5c,e)) becomes far less common, which cuts down some possibilities for variation. In the case of the *gaman–saman* formula, borrowed from *sagnadansar*, only one of its two modifications migrated to PMÞ, the one in ex. (2a–b) in YSH 2016: 53 (not the one in ex. (2c–d) there), which also narrows variation.

I use the term *unification* to refer to the amalgamation of two or more modifications of a formula, or, alternatively, to one or more modifications that become predominant while others decrease or disappear. An extreme case of unification and decrease of variation is a formula which apparently migrated into PMÞ from the Norwegian *rim,* in which it has quite a number of variants, cf. some in (7a–c):

(7a) (NR)	Støylen 1977 [1899]: 40, no. 271	
	"Kor langt skal du fljuga?"	"How far are you flying?"
	"Burt paa gullan tuva"	"Away to <a> golden tussock"
(7b) (NR)	Støylen 1977 [1899]: 40, no. 271	
	"Kvar skal fuglanne fljuga?"	"Where are the birds flying?"
	Uppi gullan skogen	"Up to <a> golden forest"
(7c) (NR)	Støylen 1977 [1899]: 40, no. 270	
	"Kvar vil du fljuga?"	"Where do you want to fly?"
	"Langt nord yver heianne"	"Far away northwards over the plateaus"

Known occurrences of this formula in PMÞ have elements from (7a–b) but hardly anything peculiar for (7c); some possibilities for variation are thus lost already at the stage of migration. Besides, variation in the first line of the PMÞ formula (which is not a question but a clause[20] with an almost invariable first person pronoun) is minimal already in the 19th century and is basically limited to the verbs *mega* and *geta*, both meaning "to be able to". In the second line, the attribute *golden* is missing (although it appears further in many PMÞ texts, as well as in their Norwegian counterparts), and the destination of the flight in most common PMÞ versions (7d–e) is quite different from all of the above, even though the word for it is phonologically similar to *tuva* in (7a) (*tu-C-a*):

(7d) (PMÞ)	JS 289 8vo, 29r	
	svo eg geti flogid	so that I could fly
	upptil födr túngla	up to <my> father's moons [or, in broader sense: heavenly bodies] [*sic*][21]
(7e) (PMÞ)	Lbs 418 8vo, 30v–31r	
	svo ég megi fljúga	so that I could fly
	upp til föðurs [*sic*] túna	up to <my> father's hayfields

20 The main clause (in the two preceding lines of most PMÞ texts containing the formula in question) carries a formula closely connected to the present one; see discussion in YSH 2017: 151–152 (ex. 12a–b there).

21 Last word is sometimes written with a capital letter and can then possibly be read as a (non-existing) name, giving the formula a paradoxical meaning if it is interpreted e.g. as a masculine name: *svo jeg meigi fljúga / upp til Föðurs Túngla* ("so that I could fly / up to <my> father('s) Túngli") (Lbs 587 4to II, p. 46).

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Variation (7d) is predominant in the 19th century texts (more than half of occurrences); (7e) is considerably less common; other variations are occasional, among them (7f–g):

(7f) (PMÞ)	JS 507 8vo, p. 31	
	Svo eg meigí flyga	So that I could fly
	upptil himinstúngla	up to heavenly bodies
(7g) (PMÞ)	DFS 67 E, p. 197	
	svo eg geti flogið	so that I could fly
	upp til fagra túngla	up to beautiful moons [or: heavenly bodies]

Variation (7g), metrically better formed than, for example, (7f), which does not alliterate, and producing consistent meaning, remains occasional; *upp til himin(s)tungla* in (7f), on the other hand, is virtually *the only* variation of the formula's second line that can be found in the 20th century (*father's moons* and *father's hayfields* vanish altogether). This dramatic and contra-metrical change, along with the sharp decrease in variation, apparently occurs already within the PMÞ tradition, without evident external impact.[22]

This and other examples of decreasing variation and non-variation (see above) can be interpreted as crystallisation:[23] both that of a formula and its variable element[24] and that of a formula – or its particular modification – and a greater structural unit of which the formula is itself a part (e.g. of a multiform, in accordance with Frog 2017). However, this crystallisation does not appear to be necessarily metrically induced or conditioned. The relation of non-variation to the metricality of formulae in PMÞ is ambivalent (as predicted in YSH 2016: 56–57). At times, non-variation appears to be directly related to maintaining the metrical stability of the formula, as in case 3 in YSH 2016 or in ex. (12b) in YSH 2017, while other cases demonstrate

22 The popular poem by Hulda (*Hulda*: 101), discussed in YSH 2017 (p. 152, note 27) in connection with the formula in two preceding lines (see note 17 above), hardly has any influence in this case. The poem was inspired by PMÞ texts, published in the beginning of the 20th century and influenced, in turn, the formula in two preceding lines – which were still living in the oral PMÞ tradition – towards unification. However, the poem does not contain the formula currently under consideration. The shift in the formula in question could rather be motivated by the clear inner form of the word *himintungl* ("heavenly body/bodies"; specifically, the Sun, the Moon, and the stars) as compared to the words *föður tungla* ("father's moons" or "father's heavenly body/bodies"), whose exact meaning is not certain. This shift could also be motivated or supported by the intertextual connections within the PMÞ tradition, cf. the following PMÞ lines uniting the above phenomena (italics mine – *YSH*): "af þeim *mána* / mjög fagur *himin*, / af þeim him[ni] / heiðar *stjörnur*" ("out of that *moon* / very beautiful *heavens*, / out of those heavens, / clear *stars*") (AM 960 4to 9, 9r). The sudden onset of this sharp shift is nonetheless surprising; some influencing factor has possibly eluded our attention.

23 Following Frog (2011: 52), who refers in turn to an earlier work by Anna-Leena Siikala, I understand by crystallisation "the degree of relative fixity which verbal elements obtain in the memory of an individual through experience and practice."

24 In PMÞ, a formula and its variable element often crystallise as a couplet, rather than a whole-line unit, due to the distinctive features of the metrical organisation of PMÞ.

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non-variation that considerably impairs the metricality of formulae, such as *blautur fiskur* in ex. (6c) or *himintungla* in ex. (7f) as the dominant variation – neither of them alliterating, even though in both cases there are also possibilities and even existing examples of alliterating variation that does not compromise meaning. Formal constraints, such as alliteration or beat, do not limit variation considerably in PMÞ. Non-variation can thus hardly be explained solely by PMÞ formulae aiming for metricality, except in an intermediate way. The above consideration that formulae may not be too metrically regular in order not to be "metrically overloaded" for their context can also be a possible reason for non-variation in some PMÞ texts, despite a metrically unfavourable situation in a formula. Such situations can be a part of the rhythmical balance in PMÞ on a larger scale.

Concluding Remarks

This study on loan formulae in PMÞ has confirmed that the majority of such formulae change metrically from their source genre when moving into PMÞ. Moreover, approximately one-third of such metrically changing loan formulae prove to be metrically richer in PMÞ than in their source genre, while only approximately one-quarter turn out to be metrically poorer, and the rest are metrically balanced. The balance is often achieved by compensating for a metrical parameter, which was lost in migration, with another metrical parameter (e.g. rhyme with alliteration).[25] The metrical changes in question involve all of the most relevant elements of Icelandic metrics: alliteration (changes most frequently, usually increases), beat, and rhyme (least frequent changes, usually decreases – at least in ballad formulae). Alliteration and rhyme apparently balance each other out on a formula's way to PMÞ from another genre: more alliteration – less rhyme, and *vice versa*. All these changes confirm that PMÞ strive for metricality and often balance on the very fine line between a relatively metrical discourse and a discourse chiefly built on para-metrical strategies. Therefore, PMÞ seek a balance in *all* their strategies, avoiding not only an absolute shortage of metricality but also an over-abundance of metrical features.[26] This explains both the general avoidance of formulae that are too metrical compared to their context (albeit it is clear that some metricality level is necessary not only for PMÞ but also for the formulae therein) and particular cases, such as

25 Preliminary study (YSH 2017) shows that this is not the case in the loan formulae from the Scandinavian *rim,* which apparently compensate for the lost parameter with the same parameter, e.g. rhyme with another rhyme (although foreign formulae, be it ballad or *rim* formulae, should be in no less need of alliteration than formulae from Icelandic ballads). See further YSH (forthcoming).

26 This is very much in line with the long history of constraints on the number, position, and varieties of phonic features in Germanic verse, as is quite clear in the so-called eddic and skaldic poetry, which gernerally avoided extra alliteration patterns and noticeable end rhyme. Extra alliteration (*ofstuðlun*) has also been avoided in later Icelandic poetry, in particular in the elaborated metres of *rímur* (see note 6).

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the supposed avoidance of alliteration (contradicting the general tendency of an increase in alliteration).

This study also demonstrates that metrical and semantic forces usually work closely together to produce balanced formulae that are metrically well-formed and semantically consistent. Examples in which metrically driven variation produces an inconsistent or contradictory meaning are quite few; in the majority of those cases, in which metre and meaning do not work together, variation is contra-metrical rather than contra-semantic. That is to say, PMÞ formulae can sometimes take a step from metrical stability in favour of variation that is semantically driven (as predicted in YSH 2016) but seldom sacrifice semantics for metricality – even though metricality is ultimately of great importance both for PMÞ and the formulae therein. This is plausibly yet another part of the large-scale rhythmical balance in PMÞ. In a similar way as the eternal quest for rhythmical balance in PMÞ apparently requires – at least at times – that formulae should not be too metrical for their context, it also seems to require that, as a general rule, increasing metricality should not impair semantics. Some constraints, however, appear to apply, as the following tendencies illustrate. Those metrical changes in PMÞ in which metre and meaning work together affect all of the most relevant elements of Icelandic metrics, even though rhyme changes least frequently as compared to alliteration and beat. At the same time, metrical changes that accompany contra-metrical or contra-semantic variation do not involve *all* of the most relevant elements of Icelandic metrics: they never affect rhyme in the cases considered here.

Another constraint concerns non-variation, which can be interpreted as crystallisation in the cases considered here. Although metrical factors are conditioning and determinant for crystallisation in the *þulur*-like stanzas of the eddic poem *Alvíssmál* (Frog 2011: 17),[27] they do not seem to govern crystallisation in PMÞ. Non-variation in PMÞ can be both metrically favourable and contra-metrical; however, it apparently should *not* be *contra-semantic*. This constraint can be rooted in PMÞ; this would not, however, be consistent with the fact that PMÞ themselves are often quite incoherent semantically. On the other hand, it could also be rooted in the nature of formulae, namely, in their need and ability to convey distinguishable (and traditional) meaning.

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27 Old Icelandic *þulur*, which are meant here, are skaldic lists of poetic synonyms (*heiti*) in metrical form.

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Metrical Entanglement

The Interface of Language and Metre

This chapter addresses the phenomenon that I call *metrical entanglement*. Metrical entanglement describes a conventional linkage of language to metrical templates or poetic principles for organising language into units of utterance. It evolves as a feature of a register of verbal art and is predominantly found in oral or oral-derived poetry traditions that have an established and distinct idiom rather than in modern literary poetry. The phenomenon has been observed from countless angles in a wide range of poetic traditions, but scholars have not previously related the variety of its manifestations to one another. In one of his 1928 dissertations, Milman Parry defines a Homeric formula as a recurrent phrase expressing a coherent unit of meaning "*under the same metrical conditions*" (1928a: 16; 1930: 80, emphasis added). In other words, he defines a formula as bound with metre. This definition is the foundation of Oral-Formulaic Theory (OFT) (Lord 1960: 4), and its sustainability for almost a century testifies to empirically observable linkages of language to metre in a vast spectrum of traditions.[1] Before Parry's dissertation, August Brink (1920) observed that words became linked to the use of alliteration in Old and Middle English verse, founding a rich discussion (e.g., Borroff 1962; Cronan 1986; Roper 2012). Similarly, in his study of ballad traditions, David Buchan (1972: 154) notes a general tendency for certain words to "bear the brunt of the rhyme." The research on these topics has extended to conventional pairs or sets of words linked to both alliteration (e.g., Quirk 1968; Reinhard 1976; Tyler 2005) and forms of rhyme (e.g. Bredehoft 2005; Frog 2009, 2014b, 2014–2015, 2016c) and further to the preferred use of words in certain lifts in alliterative verse (Smirnitskaya 2022 [1994]: ch. 5). Words linked through parallelism have also been

1 See further Foley 1988; Frog & Lamb 2022. Parry's definition was intended specifically for Homeric poetry (Reichl 2022: 26), and the criterion of binding a formula to metrical positions has caused scholars to struggle with how to apply it to poetry that is not based on syllabic or moraic metres (e.g. Olsen 1986; Fox 2016), poetry that is not metrically regular (e.g. Yelena Sesselja Helgadóttir, this volume) and forms of discourse without metre (e.g. Lamb 2015; Sävborg 2018). However, these struggles only challenge Parry's definition of a formula in relation to a particular type of metre, not the applicability of the concept of metrical entanglement itself.

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widely discussed (e.g., Steinitz 1934; Fox 1977), but the complex semantic networks in parallelism have dominated research interests (although see Fox 2014). These diverse examples are united through their concern with how uses of language in verbal art become entangled with poetic principles for organising discourse. Understanding metrical entanglement can help shed light on various aspects of how language and poetic form work in oral poetry and how seemingly independent phenomena may be related.

To introduce the reader to the concept of entanglement, this chapter opens with a brief introduction that outlines theoretical platforms and terminological distinctions. The phenomenon is then addressed in poetically organised discourse of different types, illustrating the interplay of factors in entanglement with a poetry's dominant organising principles. The interface of language and form is most salient in metrically regular formulaic language. Examples are taken from Homeric epic, South Slavic epic, Finno-Karelian kalevalaic epic, Old Norse eddic and skaldic poetries and Old English alliterative verse. The discussion advances from the metrical entanglement of vocabulary and phraseology to the entanglement of syntax before turning to entanglement of phonic patterning of alliteration and rhyme, with examples from Old and Middle English, Old Norse skaldic poetry and unmetred Karelian laments. Entanglement with parallelism is addressed through examples from Native American poetries, Rotenese ritual discourse and kalevalaic poetry, as well as by briefly returning to an Old Norse eddic example. *Isolated entanglement* describes metrical entanglement of a stretch of text with poetic principles that do not organise a larger text as a whole. This phenomenon is examined in forms of discourse regularly organised by poetic principles, as well as in Danish charms, where a particular rhyme or stretch of parallelism can be remarkably historically enduring. Finally, attention is turned to idioms used in, for instance, casual conversation. A brief discussion then follows of what I call *metrical maintenance* and *metrical compensation*, which respectively describe the upholding of a poetic organising principle or its exchange for an alternative in variation.

Terms and Foundations

Metrical Entanglement, Metred Frames and Organising Principles of Discourse

In the term *metrical entanglement*, *metrical* is used in the broad sense of poetic principles that can be considered to "metricalise" language in text. In other words, the poetic principles structure language into formal frames that allow these to be perceived as units organised in relation to one another. These frames might be recognisable through parallelism or a pattern of alliteration or rhyme rather than metre proper (see also Frog with Tarkka 2017: 213). This broad use of metrical draws on approaches to text-metricality that have begun to evolve in semiotic approaches to discourse, as in linguistic anthropology (e.g. Silverstein 1984). Such approaches are here returned to the study of versification.

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Metricality is not a static concept. Today, poetic metre is conceived of as prescriptive conventions for organising language into lines based on counting more or less anything in the linguistic makeup of a line (Fabb 2015: ch. 4). However, before the mid-eighteenth century, metre was conceived of in narrow, classical terms of counting syllables and their quantities – that is, according to how "poetry" was defined and conceived in ancient Greece and Rome. At that time, other counted (and uncounted) structures were addressed with the fluid term *rhythmus*, used for everything from rhymed ballads to Old English alliterative verse, not to mention semantic parallelism, perceived as a *rhythmus* of meanings as opposed to a *rhythmus* of sounds or syllables (see, e.g., Kugel 1981: 233–251; Frog 2018). Crucial to the change in the concept of metre was Robert Lowth's (1753) pioneering argument that classical models were not universally applicable and poetics must be approached from the perspective of the language and culture in which it was found. Lowth argued that parallelism organised biblical Hebrew into lines in the same way that metre did in Latin and Greek. In this way, he argued that biblical texts organised through parallelism are poetry. Lowth's approach corresponds to what today is discussed as *ethnopoetics*. It is comparable to Dell Hymes' (e.g., 1977) explication of verse structures in discourse previously viewed as "prose." Lowth's ideas provided the foundation to view traditions of verbal art in vernacular languages on their own terms, which became so important during the era of National Romanticism (Frog 2018).

Since Lowth's time, the concept of poetic metre has extended to rhythms of sounds, syllables, words or accents. Perhaps ironically, the sort of "rhythm of meanings" (Mede 1653: 114; des Champs 1754: 280; Porthan 1766–1778: 21–22) that Lowth brought into focus is not included in the category, being treated instead as *parallelism* – a term coined by Lowth, who brought the modern concept into focus (see also Kugel 1981). With less concern about the patterning of sounds (although see Jefferson 1996; Person 2015), linking back to preceding units of utterance through repetitions and variations of words, structures, rhythms and meanings has gained increasing attention as ethnopoetics has been extended to co-produced conversation, which is discussed in terms of text-metricality (e.g., Silverstein 1984; Tannen 1987; Agha 2007; Du Bois 2007, 2014; Lempert 2008). Terminologically, I use *metre* in the sense that is conventional to poetry analysis, but I adapt Michael Silverstein's (1984: 183; cf. 2004) theory that each unit of utterance forms a *metred frame* in relation to which subsequent utterances are perceived and interpreted. I incorporate a criterion of formal commensurability into the relationality between metred frames, which then distinguishes the relationality of metred frames from other types of deixis (Frog 2017a: 427–429; 2017b: 584–586).

Metred frame provides a bridge from commensurate units of utterance organised with periodic poetic metre or parallelism to forms of discourse that may be viewed as prose but that ethnopoetic analysis reveals to be structured as verse. From this perspective, periodic poetic metre is just a particular, formalised type of metricalising principle, as Lowth argued already in the eighteenth century. Metrical entanglement can occur with this or with other poetic principles that operate regularly in metricalising

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a type of discourse. The approach to metricalising principles used here is adapted from Nigel Fabb's (2015) distinction between "prose" and "poetry" according to the hierarchy of organising principles that structure text. In Fabb's model (2015: 9, 20), *prose* is text of which syntax and prosody are the primary principles for organising language into sections; *poetry* is discourse in which other factors take precedence in organising language into sections. These other factors can operate at the level of language, such as formalised metre, parallelism and/or phonic patterning (e.g., alliteration or rhyme), and to which syntax and prosody are conformed or by which they are shaped. A performance-centred approach requires consideration of additional factors, such as how precedence of melody may significantly restructure metrical units in textsetting (Kallio 2013: ch. 4; see also Kallio, this volume). Performance might also be structured into units through extra-linguistic rhythms to which verbalisation is subordinate (Frog 2017b), resulting in versification in metred frames without any dependence on the poetic principles of language. Metrical entanglement refers to entanglement of language with organising principles of emergent metred frames, whether or not these frames are built on periodic metre. The present chapter focuses on entanglement with metre, phonic patterning and parallelism, without delving into the more wide-ranging and complex discussion of entanglement with metred frames organised through other principles. This approach shapes the organisation of the chapter to address each central poetic principle in a separate section.

Register, Poetics and Native-Like Fluency

Any discussion of the relationship between language and poetic form builds on a theory of how these work and relate, even if that theory remains implicit and potentially unsystematic. The theory of metrical entanglement builds on an experience-driven approach to oral registers and poetics. *Register* emerged as a concept in social linguistics to refer to varieties of language associated with recurrent situations or practices (e.g., Halliday 1978). It has gradually been developed to encompass a full range of non-linguistic expression as well (Agha 2007). Register theory was adapted to the study of oral poetry, especially by John Miles Foley (1995: 49–53).[2] For the present discussion, register is addressed specifically in terms of the linguistic register, without opening questions of paralinguistic features, although these may also be metrically entangled.[3]

In an oral tradition, poetic form does not exist independent of language; it is perceived, internalised and communicated through language practice. Similar to language grammar, an internalised understanding of metre or other poetic organising principles of verbal art can develop with little or no explication of the principles themselves and no more than a superficial vocabulary to describe them, if any at all (see, e.g., Honko 1998; Timonen 2000; Stepanova E. 2014; Hull 2017).[4] Of course, performers can assess the quality

2 On this development, see Frog 2015: 78–82.

3 On metred frames in multimedial performance, see Frog 2017b: 584–590 *et passim*.

4 For an exceptionally developed meta-discourse on oral verbal art, see Snorri Sturluson's thirteenth-century *ars poetica* on Old Norse court poetry, where

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of performances and expressions within them, but the position taken here is that, in most traditions, such assessment is equivalent to a grammaticality judgement of an utterance by someone with native-like fluency. Native-like grammaticality judgements are based on an internalised sense of language use; any reflexive parsing and analysis according to grammar and lexicon are secondary and depend on both an evolved vocabulary and concepts in the language as well as the individual's competence in using them. In the flow of oral discourse, certain things may jump out disruptively as unequivocally "wrong," while other things that might be flagged as grammaticality violations in an analytical context may pass less obtrusively or completely unnoticed (see also Kallio, this volume). Hence, a metrical analysis of oral poetry will not presume that all lines meet metrical ideals. Scholars of Russian folk poetry have framed this in statistical terms, some identifying a particular metre of a poem on a quantitative basis of finding it in 80% of lines, others only requiring that it be found in 75% (Bailey 1993; 1995: 483; Skulačeva 2012: 53). Regarding metrical well-formedness, I have proposed a corresponding principle:

> Metrical well-formedness in oral poetry is a perceived quality of text that can vary by degree in "better" or "worse" lines rather than being assessed in terms of absolute binary categories of "metrically well-formed" versus "not metrically well-formed" (Frog 2014a: 68).

Within the frame of analogical comparison, it is important to observe that people with native-like fluency do not make clear distinctions between grammaticality as such and other types of linguistic conventions. As Alison Wray (2008: 33) stresses, a "lexicon is not atomic, and so contains some items with an internal complexity that remains immune from the grammar." Although grammaticality tends to be imagined through an abstract Saussurian model, the variety of actual expressions that is probable for someone with native-like fluency is far narrower than the range of grammatically possible alternatives, many of which are perceived as non-native-like or marked in some other respect (Pawley & Syder 1983). I propose that the same is true in verbal art, where language and poetic form are internalised as integrated, even if we abstract and separate them in an analysis (see also Kallio, this volume). Integration in internalisation yields connections between language

vernacular discourse has nevertheless been refined and developed through the impacts of Latin models and discussions (Faulkes 1998; in English, see Faulkes 1987). It is noteworthy that the meta-discourse has evolved around one of the most complex forms of oral poetry known in Europe, which was emblematic of elite social settings and composition was a form of cultural capital that mandated an economic or equivalent reward. In other words, this was poetry for kings that provided both income and social status for poets skilled in it. Snorri's discussion is also informative because his vocabulary and presentation, which constitute a scholarly enterprise at multiple levels, reflect categories that seem more intuitively than analytically defined. His discussion is also not strictly about metre as understood today; it blurs into rhetorical and syntactic structures, along with other aspects of language use. (See further Wanner 2008.)

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and metre or other poetic principles, resulting in potentially marked differences between what is theoretically possible versus what is probable. Alongside grammaticality and technical well-formedness, conventions of language use in relation to poetic form can also be engaged in evaluative assessment, where deviations may be perceived as "odd," "clumsy" or "non-native-like," as rhetorically or aesthetically marked or as violations that are somehow "wrong." The particular connections between language and form are here referred to as *entanglement*. Entanglement is understood as being on a spectrum, from free, completely *unentangled*, to invariably fixed, *metrically bound*, the latter describing formulae identified through Parry's (1928a: 16) definition that always occur "under the same metrical conditions." The degree of entanglement is described in terms of *crystallisation*.[5]

Formulaic Language and Metrical "Capsules" of Periodic Metres

Metrical entanglement is most easily observable in poetry where language use is structured by formalised metre. Greater constraints of a metrical form on language use create conditions that promote phraseology to crystallise into metrically entangled formulae, such as those identified by Parry (1928a, 1928b, 1971). Foley (1996: 14–18) observes that metrical form establishes metrical "capsules" within which phraseology must be organised.[6] The crystallisation of formulae in particular metrical positions is not a mechanical outcome of degrees and types of metrical regulations. Formulae are ubiquitous in language (Wray 2008). Significant factors for formula formation are related to language use, such as the variety of what is regularly expressed in the form of discourse and the degree to which the discourse situation follows conventional patterns or is "ritualised" (Kuiper 2009). The degree of crystallisation of individual formulae may yet vary in relation to how narrowly or widely they are used (Hainsworth 1968: 25; Stepanova E. 2014: 86). Social ideals of non-variation and variation can also be significant, structuring perceptions of sameness and difference in phraseology, as well as perceptions of which of these is valorised in particular situations (Frog 2016b: 66; cf. Honko 1998: 112–113).

5 Anna-Leena Siikala developed the concept of *crystallisation* through her work on connections between language and content of oral narrative prose in the memory of individual tellers, where links were clearly established, but where concepts such as "memorised" were inappropriate (1990 [1984]: 80–86). Siikala gradually extended the concept to relative fixity in socially circulating poetic text as a reflection of its internalisation by the individuals involved; this avoided addressing social transmission through dichotomies of "fixed" versus "free" or "memorised" versus "improvised" (e.g., 2002 [1992]: 60, 90, 111). The concept has become well-established in Finnish folklore scholarship, where it has been extended to images, narrative plot and other things expressed through language and performance, and it has been an integrated part of developing the theory of metrical entanglement presented here (e.g., Frog 2014b: 286, 289–290, 2014–2015 I: 103, 111–114, etc.).

6 Due to limits of space, the metres of poetic forms addressed here are not introduced in detail.

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Parry (1928a, 1928b) laid the foundation for OFT by surveying Homeric phraseology that recurred in the same metrical contexts. He described such recurrent phraseology as formulae and reciprocally defined a formula as "an expression which is regularly used, under the same metrical conditions, to express a particular essential idea" (1928a: 16, my translation; cf. Parry 1930: 44; 1971: 13; Lord 1960: 4). A classic example is the line-end formula *πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς* ("swift-footed Achilles"), found 30 times in the *Iliad*.[7] Rather than being based on a general theory of formulaic language, Parry's metrical criterion defines formulae in terms of what his statistical method for identifying recurrent phraseology would identify (Frog & Lamb 2022: 15).[8] This extreme of entanglement has sometimes been distinguished as the *metrical localisation* of the formula, that is, as something that occurs in certain metrical positions rather than others within a line (O'Neill 1942; Kiparsky 1976: 89–90; Windelberg & Miller 1980: 44; cf. Hainsworth 1968). Metrical localisation is prominent in metres, where positions in the metrical capsules are more strictly regulated according to the number and/or quantities of syllables. Metres in which capsules are regulated on different principles can allow types of variations that were not observed in Parry's material.

Variable Placement within a Metrical Capsule

In Old English alliterative verse, formulaic language operates quite differently than in Homeric poetry. The Old English metre was structured accentually, according to word stresses within phrasal stress, and with metrically governed alliteration. Here, a primary metrical capsule shaping a formula is the short line, a unit comprising two strong and two weak positions, linked across a caesura to a second short line by alliteration, forming a long line. The two short lines present slightly different metrical environments; one or both of the strong positions of the first short line (the a-line) should carry alliteration with the first but not the second position of the second short line (the b-line). There are some additional differences in the metrical organisation of the strong and weak positions preferred or avoided in the short lines of each type, as well as in the number of syllables acceptable in anacrusis (extrametrical words preceding a short line) and in so-called hypermetrical structures (introducing an additional foot to the line). Of course, there are also long-line formulae spanning the caesura within the larger metrical capsule.

Kennings and kenning-like constructions can be used to illustrate variations in language use in this poetry. A kenning is a rhetorical figure, not itself considered a formula here, that is common to Germanic poetries. It is formed by a noun called a base-word complemented by a second

7 On the internal structuring of a Homeric line, which shapes its metrical capsules, see Foley 1990: 121–157.

8 Methodologically, the focus on metrically bound formulae supports Parry's interpretation that these are indeed units of traditional phraseology, in accordance with his theory that oral poets relied on prefabricated expressions to produce metrically well-formed lines in a long epic performance. On different definitions of a formula, see Wray (2008: 94–97).

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noun called a determinant, either in the genitive case (GEN = genitive; PL = plural) or forming a compound, to refer to a third nominal referent, such as LORD (SMALL CAPITALS are used to indicate a semantic unit). Kennings are most prevalent and highly developed in Old Norse, where they are often metaphorical, as illustrated in §2.3. In Old English, kennings blur into kenning-like constructions where the base-word means something similar to the referent, as in *weoroda dryhten* ("troop-GEN.PL ruler, lord of troops" = LORD), in which *dryhten* itself can also be used for LORD. A number of Old English formulae are built on a kenning paradigm. In a preliminary dataset of close to 1,000 Old English kennings or kenning-like constructions meaning RULER, LORD,[9] analysed in their verse contexts, 35 of the 91 examples of *dryhten* ("ruler") as a base-word are accompanied by *weoroda* ("troop-GEN.PL") as the determinant. In other words, more than one-third of the uses of *drythen* have the same determinant. These correspond to approximately 3.5% of the total dataset; thus, *weoroda dryhten* can be reasonably considered a distinct formula.

This formula is found in both a-lines and b-lines, including in so-called hypermetric lines that have an additional foot. The metre dictates that, among two nouns in a short line, the first should carry alliteration. In normal word order, a determinant in the genitive case precedes its base-word, so *weoroda* carries alliteration. However, the word order also gets inverted to allow *dryhten* to carry alliteration. The formula operates within the metrical capsule, completing both of the short line's strong and weak positions with a regular trochaic rhythm (also in hypermetric lines such as (1.iv)), yet that is simply a "natural" consequence of the two disyllabic nouns in a single half-line. The formula moves easily between the similar metrical environments of a-lines and b-lines; its word order varies for the required alliteration, yet Parry's criterion of "under the same metrical conditions" might still be considered valid for it as a complete, phrasal unit:

(1)	i.	and þæt wiste eac	weroda drihten	(*Genesis* 386)
	ii.	dæleð dogra gehwam,	dryhten weoroda.	(*Christ A, B, C* 428)
	iii.	weoruda dryhten.	Wæteregesa sceal,	(*Andreas* 435)
	iv.	wuldor weroda dryhtne,	þe hyre weorðmynde geaf,	(*Judith* 342 [hypermetric])

The dataset includes 30 examples with the base-word *brego* ("lord", poetic). Of these, nine (approximately one-third) have the determinant *engla* ("of angels"), all of which exhibit an inverted word order (*brego engla*) so that *brego* carries alliteration. The proportion of uses with *engla* and its regularity suggest that *brego engla* operates as a distinct formula. *Brego* differs metrically from *dryhten*; it has a light first syllable, so both of its syllables are required

9 Whereas the dataset of 340 kennings for BATTLE (mentioned below) was developed based on an index of kennings by referent, this dataset has been developed based on a combination of secondary literature and systematic searches of the DOEC. As a consequence, it is weighted towards more frequently encountered vocabulary. The overlap between expressions for LORD and the Christian GOD also remains an issue in the preliminary dataset because certain expressions are only used for the Christian GOD, yet their lexical variation appears integrated with those used also for human beings.

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to fill the strong position in a process known as "resolution." Consequently, *brego engla* only fills three of the four metrical positions of the line and is always used with other words in the same short line. Not only is the formula found in both a-lines and b-lines, but the accentual metre also allows the organisation of strong and weak positions to vary. The nine examples of this formula appear in three different positions or relations to the half-line, making it more difficult to reconcile with Parry's metrical criterion:

(2)	i.	beodeð, brego engla,	byman stefne	(*Phoenix* 497)
	ii.	blod of benne,	ac him brego engla	(*Genesis* 181)
	iii.	begen brohton.	Brego engla beseah	(*Genesis* 976)

Even where Old English formulae are confined to the metrical capsule of a half-line, they can potentially vary within that metrical microcosm in a variety of ways.

Telescoping Formulae

In Finno-Karelian kalevalaic poetry, the metrical capsule is the eight-position line. Put simply, the metre is a trochaic tetrameter in which each position corresponds to a syllable (with flexibility in the first foot). Significantly for the present discussion, rules govern the placement of long and short stressed syllables, which inhibits formulae from "sliding" between metrical positions like the *brego engla* formula; lines are characterised by alliteration although it is not required in every line (see also Kallio, this volume; Oras & Sarv, this volume). This poetry exhibits a type of telescoping formula for nominal subjects. For example, using curly brackets to show the hierarchy of elements in an expansion, the phrase *{{vaka} vanha} Väinämöinen* ("{{sturdy} old} Väinämöinen") is linked to particular metrical positions in the line, but the presence or absence of epithets is coordinated with whether the hero's name is preceded by a two-syllable or a four-syllable expression (curly brackets indicate that elements may be omitted):

(3)	{{vaka} vanha}		Väinämöinen	{{sturdy} old}		Väinämöinen
	vaka	vanha	Väinämöinen	sturdy	old	Väinämöinen
	sano	vanha	Väinämöinen	says	old	Väinämöinen
	päähän polven		Väinämöisen	into the knee-GEN		Väinämöinen.GEN

In Finnish and Karelian, most inflectional endings other than the nominative or genitive add a syllable. The metre thus inhibits morphological variations of this formula that would disrupt the syllabic structure of the line. Nevertheless, the potential of this type of formula to expand or contract reveals that it is not metrically bound in the same way as Homeric noun-epithet formulae, even if its relation to metrical positions is predictable.

Morphological and Lexical Variation

A formula may regularly occur "under the same metrical conditions" to express a coherent unit of meaning yet allow lexical variation between semantic equivalents. This can be illustrated through a South-Slavic example discussed by Albert Lord, meaning "mount(s/-ed) a horse," as in the line

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jalah reče / zasede đogata ("with 'by Allah' / (she) mounted her horse").[10] The formula fills the syllabically structured metrical capsule that follows the caesura of a line. Lord presents a table in which the number and the tense of the verb vary. It thus looks like a simple formula with a slot that is necessarily filled in use, completing its meaning (e.g., Acker 1998: ch. 2). This type of formula has been described with different terms linked to various theoretical approaches, such as a partially filled or a partially lexically filled construction (Goldberg 2006: 5) or a partially fixed frame (Wray 2008: 16). Here, it is simply described as an *open-slot formula* in which an *(open) slot* X is necessarily completed by a *slot-filler* when the formula is used (see also Acker 1998). In this case, the slot is both metrically and semantically conditioned; the verb undergoes morphological variation in a regular three-syllable position followed by a three-syllable slot that only receives a word meaning (or interpretable as meaning) "horse, steed, mount": *zase*-INFL HORSE. The initial impression is of a formula in which one word is stable and the other is variable. This impression is complicated by Lord's (1960: 48) subsequent examples where the prefix of the verb also varies (*po*- for *za*-) and where the verb lacks a prefix, shifting the stem to the beginning of the line, followed by a preposition (*na*) to complete the third position. The examples are here combined in a single diagram in (4).

(4)	MOUNT(S/ED)	HORSE
	zasednu	djogata
	zasedem	kočiju
	zasede	dorata
	zasedi	paripa
	zaseo	hajvana
		maljina
	posede	binjeka
		markova
	sede na	menzila
		(Lord 1960: 48)

In all cases, the verb phrase maintains a coherent unit of meaning. Despite the initial model presented by Lord, the verb stem seems to be the only stable morpheme in the formula, shifting its metrical position in one type

10 Lord (1960: 47–48) follows Parry's terminology in calling the whole set of examples a system rather than a formula (i.e., a fixed phrase) that is variably realised. The issue of lexical alternation was more prominent in Old English, where Anita Riedinger (1985) proposed that different forms of an expression forming a regular unit of meaning with a variation between semantically equivalent terms should be referred to as a "set," placing it between a "formula" as a regular phrasal unit and a "system" in which the varied elements could semantically differ. Paul Acker (1983: 45, 1998: 38, 40) draws on discussions of formulaic language in linguistics to address this type of a Classic OFT "system" as a formula or formulae having "slots" that receive "slot-fillers." The latter approach is taken here, paying attention to metrical, semantic and/or functional constraints on variation. Such constraints are referred to as "conditioning."

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of variation and being followed rather than prefixed by a preposition.[11] The "mount a horse" formula can be considered metrically bound as a unit of the poetic register that is internally structured so that the verb and the word for HORSE do not vary their metrical positions within the metrical capsule.

In Old Norse court poetry in the *dróttkvætt* metre, kennings become metrically entangled in a comparable way. The *dróttkvætt* metre is composed in six-position lines that are essentially syllabic, although with certain flexibilities. Each line should contain two syllables that rhyme with each other (including the vowel in even lines, excluding the vowel in odd lines). Two positions in an odd line should also alliterate with the first stressed position of the following even line. In addition, there are rules governing syllabic quantity. Because kennings are normally built through the selection of words from sets of equivalence vocabulary, both elements in the kenning are open to considerable variation. The outcome is what can be called a *semantic formula*, expressing a consistent unit of meaning entangled with particular metrical positions although it is not regularly formed by the same vocabulary.

In Old Norse court poetry, the complexity of variation increases because words of different semantic equivalence classes can potentially be used as functional equivalents that complete the same unit of meaning with a particular accompanying base-word or determinant. In other words, variation is not restricted to pure semantic equivalents, such as in Lord's HORSE example above. In kennings meaning BATTLE, for example, base-words that act as equivalents for WEATHER (PRECIPITATION/STORM or WIND) can be used with the same sets of determinants as base-words meaning SOUND (DIN or SPEECH/SONG) and those meaning ASSEMBLY (also PLAY/GAME/SPORT). Any of these semantic categories of base-words can be combined with, say, *geira* ("spear-GEN.PL") to produce a kenning meaning BATTLE. Consequently, an ASSEMBLY base-word can alternate with one for WEATHER or SOUND, as needed for the specific alliteration, rhyme, and number and quantity of syllables. In a metrically entangled kenning as a semantic formula, the number and quantity of syllables are metrically bound, and variation occurs only in relation to the phonic environment of the specific line. In addition to the variety of semantic categories of base-words, determinants in kennings for BATTLE may be IMPLEMENTS OF WAR (WEAPONS or ARMOUR) or MYTHIC AGENTS OF BATTLE (i.e., names of or kennings for the god ÓÐINN, a VALKYRIE or MYTHIC HERO or KING). In other words, *Viðris veðr* ("weather of Viðrir [ÓÐINN]") means the same thing as *vápna þing* ("assembly of weapons"), *Hildar leikr* ("game of Hildr [VALKYRIE]") or *giera jalmr* ("yammer of spears"). For example, a common BATTLE-kenning formula in the metre

11 Lord (1960: 50–53) attempts to account for variations in the word for horse by attributing it to phonic effects such as alliteration and rhyme. This is likely an oversimplification (Foley 1996: 18–19); other factors could also be relevant in particular instances, such as lexical repetition in proximate lines or its avoidance, and some variation may simply be an outcome of singers internalising a lexical variation in the formula as an organic part of its use. However, the question has never been tested empirically.

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called *dróttkvætt* places the (inflected) base-word in the final two positions of a line and the determinant in the two positions preceding it, as in the line *hverr gerir hjalma skúrir* (RvHbreiðm *Hl* 46^{II}.3)[12] ("who makes helmet-GEN.PL shower-ACC.PL" or "who makes showers of helmets (BATTLE)"). Drawing on a selection of attestations of this formula, a paradigm similar to that for "mount a horse" above is offered for comparison in (5).

(5) *Examples of words in their inflected forms, completing the semantic formula of a determinant in the genitive case in the third and the fourth positions of a six-position line, followed immediately by a base-word in the fifth and the sixth positions, the two together expressing the semantic unit* BATTLE *(for data, see Frog 2014–2015 II).*

BATTLE							
Determinant				Base-word			
KING/HERO	VALKYRIE	ÓÐINN	WEAPONS /ARMOUR	PRECIPITATION /STORM/WIND	NOISE	SPEECH/SONG /GAME/SPORT	ASSEMBLY
Ála	Gondlar	Háars	boga	byrjar	brestu	galdri	móti
Heðins	Gunnar	Hnikars	brodda	drífu	glammi	jalmi	þingi
Hǫgna	Hildar	Svolnis	eggja	éli/éla	glyggvi	leiki	
Sigars	Hlakkar	Viðris	geira	hagli	gnaustan	raddar	
	Skǫglar	Virfils	hjalma	hríðar		sennu	
		Yggjar	logðis	skúrir/skúrar			
			malma	veðri/veðrum			
			odda				
			ǫrva				
			stála				
			sverða				
			tognings				
			vápna				

Within the semantic formula, the variation is not completely free. At a general level, certain categories of determinants are in some cases more likely to be combined with certain categories of base-words as opposed to others. For example, names for MYTHIC AGENTS OF BATTLE are not normally combined with words meaning SPEECH/SONG and most often take IMPLEMENTS OF WAR as determinants (see also Meissner 1921). However, these conventions concern a general semantic pattern in kenning construction rather than metrical entanglement. A kenning as a semantic formula in certain metrical positions commonly exhibits metrical entanglement of vocabulary *for the particular formula*. Such entanglement entails combinations of categories of words with particular base-words and some preferred word combinations. Crystallisation may even advance beyond the kenning to a whole line, such as *menn at vápna sennu* ("men at the flyting of weapons") (Frog 2014–2015 II: 51, 53, 64). In a survey of 340 battle-kennings in their metrical contexts in the *dróttkvætt* metre, *vápn* emerges among the most common determinants. Nevertheless, *vápn*'s use in kennings for BATTLE is restricted to two cases: when in a genitive inflection, it is exclusively found in the semantic formula above; when compounded with the base-word, it is exclusively found in

12 Skaldic verse is cited by sigla according to the Skaldic Database.

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a second semantic formula. *Vápn* is a commonplace noun of everyday speech, meaning "weapon," and it is found widely in poetry in the *dróttkvætt* metre. Despite its relative frequency in kennings for BATTLE, *vápn* is not freely used to form kennings with that referent; it is not only conventional in kennings for BATTLE in certain metrical positions but is also *not* used for others outside of them. *Vápn* and other words thus appear metrically entangled with how they are and are not used, both within the formula and in the register more generally (see Frog 2016c: 189–191, 203, 214–215).

Similar to the *{{vaka} vanha} Väinämöinen* formula above, these kenning formulae can also be telescoped by replacing the determinant with another kenning. In contrast to Kalevala-metre, however, the metrical capsule of the *dróttkvætt* line does not necessarily correspond to a syntactic capsule; syntax is quite flexibly spread across a half-stanza of four lines. A kenning formula is telescoped by replacing the determinant with usually the base word of a semantically appropriate kenning, filling its metrical position(s) and placing the determinant of this additional kenning elsewhere. In other words, a poet would use an interlocking kenning formula, of which one kenning's base word or determinant matches the positions of the other kenning's determinant. Interestingly, whether or not individual kenning formulae telescope and, if so, in what way, also become entangled with the specific semantic formula. Thus, the most common semantic formula for BATTLE never telescopes whereas one for WARRIOR in the same metrical positions commonly does (Frog 2016c: 192–194).

Systems of Metrically Entangled Vocabulary

Returning to Old English kennings and kenning-like constructions, a somewhat different phenomenon can be observed. In Old Norse *dróttkvætt*, a striking variety of formulae evolved to say something like BATTLE, each with the two elements of the kenning in regular metrical positions. In Old English, the majority of constructions in the dataset for LORD simply fill a short-line capsule. The vocabulary of these kennings is divided into five classes (HEAVY$_2$ takes secondary stress in compounds; metrically strong positions are completed by either one heavy syllable or two light syllables with "resolution"):

1. Two-position base-words (HEAVY-LIGHT or HEAVY-HEAVY$_2$, ca. 60%)
2. One-position base-words (HEAVY, through resolution, ca. 40%)
3. Two-position determinants (HEAVY-LIGHT > 80%)
4. Three-position determinants (HEAVY-HEAVY$_2$-LIGHT or HEAVY-LIGHT-LIGHT < 20%)
5. One-position determinants (LIGHT-LIGHT, negligible)

Two-position determinants are used with both two-position and one-position base-words. A proportionately small number of three-position determinants are only combined with one-position base-words. One-position determinants are outliers that generally appear as formulaic, or their LIGHT-LIGHT structure seems used as HEAVY-LIGHT). Words may develop formulaic usage, also forming an open-slot formula with the construction, but the working dataset suggests that normal variations were not sufficient to develop distinct metric-structural formulae linked to particular metrical

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positions within which both elements regularly varied. This is not surprising because of a significantly different proportional relation of possible arrangements to the metrical capsule in each poetry. The majority of the Old English constructions complete a four-position short line and minimally complete three of those positions, so all uses metrically overlap. In Old Norse kennings in the metre above, kennings most commonly complete two to four positions, and uses within a six-position line tend to gravitate to one end, the other or both. A substantial portion of uses also distributes the base-word and the determinant across different lines. The variety of relations to metrical positions and the number of uses that are metrically non-overlapping seem to be factors in the development of semantic formulae in the Old Norse poetry but not in Old English.

Rather than metrically entangled semantic formulae, the lexicon associated with these Old English constructions appears to become entangled with preferred patterns of use and lexical combinations. For instance, of the 34 examples of *engla* ("of angels") as a determinant in the dataset (including one meaning "of English people"), 27 exhibit inversion (nearly 80%). This is more noteworthy because in all these cases of inversion, the base-word rather than *engla* carries alliteration, so it is not metrically motivated. In a similar vein, the one-position base-word *meotod* ("lord", poetic, especially for the Christian God) regularly fills the first strong position in a line, exhibited in 29 of 31 examples in the dataset, always carrying alliteration. In 21 of the 23 examples in a-lines, the use exhibits inversion, but this reflects a convention rather than a metrical motivation; in all but three of these cases, the determinant also carries alliteration, so their order could just as easily not be inverted. All but one of these cases of double alliteration with inversion are examples of the formula *meotod moncynnes* ("lord of mankind").[13] Here, metrical entanglement remains as the basis of the word order, which deviates from the default syntax.[14]

Metrical entanglement of other vocabulary in these constructions varies by type and degree, among which *engel* and *meotod* are simply more readily observable because their entanglement includes an inverted word order. Rather than a metrically entangled semantic formula manifested through varying vocabulary, each item of the Old English vocabulary for these constructions operates more similarly to an open-slot formula

13 This three-position determinant is found in four other a-lines of the dataset, where it follows general conventions of kenning word order. Three examples exhibit inversion for the base-word to carry different alliterations, with one case of a normal word order, where the determinant rather than the base-word carries alliteration (*moncynnes weard* ["ward of mankind"]: *Genesis* 2896a).

14 Olga A. Smirnitskaya (2022 [1994]: ch. 5) finds that Old English poetic vocabulary in *Beowulf* exhibits varying degrees of preferred usage in certain positions of a-lines or b-lines, indicating metrical entanglement at the general level of the lexicon in that poem. I have not yet attempted to assess individual words' conventions of placement in the construction of the dataset against patterns of use in the whole corpus in order to distinguish metrical entanglement in the particular construction or in connection with a particular referent (cf. *vápn* above).

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entangled with particular patterns of use. It is particularly interesting that the vocabulary for both base-words and determinants is metrically entangled in this way, operating and varying within a system. Although clear formulae are manifested within this system, such as those in examples (1) and (2), the system is more reasonably viewed in terms of metrical entanglement than formulaicity in the sense of Classic OFT (although cf. Fry 1967 and footnote 16 below).

Entanglement by Function versus Meaning

A metrical environment can develop patterns of language use that meet formal but not semantic criteria in Parry's definition. From Parry's perspective, the formulae *πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς* ("swift-footed Achilles") and *δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς* ("divine Achilles") are metrically alternative ways of saying "Achilles." The epithet *δῖος* ("divine, noble") is used in the same way with a variety of metrically equivalent names that begin with a short vowel. Parry views metricalised phraseology that seems too similar to be coincidental, such as those in (6), as formulae coined through analogy to an exemplar. He regards the analogy as producing a "system" of distinct formulae (i.e., each individual phrase, in his terminology) that ultimately trace back to an original formula, even if the first combination with *δῖος* in this way remains beyond reconstruction.

(6)				
		δῖος Ἀγήνωρ	*δῖος* Aginor	(3)
		δῖος Ἀλάστωρ	*δῖος* Alastor	(2)
		δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς	*δῖος* Achilleus	(55)
	*δῖος [?] >	δῖος Ἐπειγεύς	*δῖος* Epeigeus	(1)
		δῖος Ἐπειός	*δῖος* Epeios	(3)
		δῖος Ἐχέφρων	*δῖος* Echephron	(1)
		δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς	*δῖος* Odysseus	(98)
		δῖος Ὀρέστης	*δῖος* Orestes	(3)
		δῖος ὑφορβός	*δῖος* swineherd	(4)

(Adapted from Parry 1928a: 106)

Parry's system model reflects his initial thinking about phraseology in quite concrete terms. His model that formulae and phraseology are generated through analogy is here approached through abstraction as an open-slot formula *δῖος X* that is also built into distinct formulae, such as *δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς* and *δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς*. However, the formula *δῖος X* would be problematic from the perspective of Parry's definition because the epithet is metrically functional rather than communicating semantic content. The formulae *πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς* and *δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς* are metrically alternative ways of saying "Achilles," and *δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς* is just a way of saying "Odysseus" under certain metrical conditions. Although "divine X" might be used to translate *δῖος X*, this translation would represent the lexical semantics of *δῖος*, interpreting the phrase literally. Rather than "express[ing] a particular essential idea," *δῖος X* performs a functional role that allows names of a certain formal type to fill the metrical capsule following the bucolic diaeresis. This can be described as a *functional formula*, one that plays a formally functional rather than a distinctly semantic role in discourse. It can also be described

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more specifically as a *metricalising formula*, one that suits the semantic or discourse unit of its slot-filler to the metrical environment.

Metricalising formulae can be more transparent in cases of expletive particles or words that complete metrical positions without semantic value. For example, Old Norse poetic diction historically developed the use of the prepositions *of* and *um* as metrical fillers to complete positions where a verb prefix had been lost in historical language change (Kuhn 1929; Fidjestøl 1999: 207–230). These particles became entangled with usage in front of verbs to complete the metrical rhythm of a line, as shown in the following example where a short line would otherwise only have three rather than four positions: *ok hann þat orða / allz fyrst um kvað* (Bugge 1867: *Þkv* 2, 3, 9, 12) ("And he this spoke / first of all (*um*) said"). In kalevalaic poetry, emphatic particles that are also common in normal speech, such as *-pa/-pä*, can perform this metrical function, but so can the verb *olla* ("to be") in the third-person present singular form *on*, normally after the first word in a line. The use of this verb can often be interpreted grammatically, as in the line *tuo on seppo Ilmarinen* ("that (is) the smith Ilmarinen"). However, this sort of line normally presents the grammatical subject of a verb that will follow in a later line. Expletive use becomes transparent when another verb accompanies *on* in the same line, as in *vei on ruhkazet pihalla* ("took (is) the waste into the yard"). The use of expletives can be considered formulaic where it develops regular complexity, such as *um* before a verb or *on* following the first word in a line. However, such entanglement can also produce uses that deviate from conventional patterns, such as the use of *um* before words other than verbs, as in the Old Norse eddic line *fæir sia nu / fram vm leingra* (Bugge 1867: *Hdl* 44.5–6) ("few see now / ahead (*um*) further"), or independent of the metrical function, such as producing a textural effect in kalevalaic lines by eliding the final vowel of the first word and replacing it with *on*, as in the line *Peäst' on nuoren Joukahaisen* ("free[s] (is) young Joukahainen").

Grammatical and Syntactic Paradigms

The discourse that emerged around Classic OFT and Parry's definition of a formula stimulated explorations and discussions of virtually any recurrent pattern of language in a metre, linking them to OFT by labelling them as "formulae" of different types. The vocabulary for addressing such phenomena as traditional was only just emerging at that time, so this extension of the term *formula* was quite natural. Many of the phenomena thus addressed do not qualify as formulae according to the definition used here, and many of the terms have become peripheral or devalued. Perhaps the most significant among these terminological innovations is Joseph A. Russo's (e.g., 1963) use of the term "structural formula" to describe a grammatical or a syntactic paradigm in connection with the metre of a line. In today's construction grammar, such a paradigm can be described as a construction with metrical packaging rules. Such paradigms are in the background of the metrically equivalent noun-epithet formulae discussed by Parry (1928a, 1930) and have been explored in a variety of poetries, including Old Norse eddic poetry

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(Mellor 2008 [1999]) and Finno-Karelian kalevalaic poetry (Harvilahti 1992; Saarinen 2022). Some of these paradigms are quite prominent in a corpus, such as metrical packaging conventions for naming a nominative subject in the last six positions of a Kalevala-metric line (*{vanha} Väinämöinen*, *{nuori} Joukahainen*, etc.), or for an Old English construction of a two-syllable determinant, followed by a two-syllable base-word completing a short line (*sinca bealdor* ["treasure-GEN.PL lord" = LORD], *engla eðel* ["angel-GEN.PL homeland" = HEAVEN], etc.). Rather than describing the abstract constructions themselves as formulae as Russo did, I consider them better approached as the metrical entanglement of syntax, of which Russo's paradigms constitute only one manifestation. This allows the term *formula* to be reserved for linguistic units of regular and unitary meanings or functions.

The syntax of an oral poetry evolves in relation to the poetic form, developing rules or conventions for how units of language in one metricalised capsule may or may not relate to those preceding or following it. Enjambment has been a central concern in such discussions (see, e.g., Foley 1996), but such syntactic relationality conventions structure everything, ranging from semantic parallelism (Saarinen 2017) to how an adpositional phrase can or cannot be organised (Gade 1995; Saarinen 2017, 2018). At the most general level, the metrical entanglement of syntax is what syntax becomes in metre or whatever the poetic form is. The fairly straightforward paradigms of metrical slots for lexical items forming certain types of phrases are natural outcomes of a periodic metre organised around counting syllables and their quantities, as in Homeric verse. In another metrical environment, it may be relevant to distinguish the default syntax from metrically motivated variations. In Old English kennings and kenning-like expressions, the default syntax places the determinant before the base-word, as in *weoroda dryhten* ("lord of troops"), but when only one word in the kenning carries alliteration, then that word should be first: if *dryhten* carries alliteration, the default word order is inverted (*dryhten weoroda*) with no semantic impact. A predictable inversion is a metrically entangled feature of the syntax. When the metre is regular and periodic, metrical entanglement and registral syntax converge. However, in Old Norse poetry, multiple metres may be used in a single genre or even in a single poem, while syntax is entangled with the meter and line type and may also vary by register (where scholars often distinguish between skaldic and eddic verse). For example, one type of line is distinguished by commonly placing a preposition in the final position (Kristján Árnason 1991: 78–79), and formulae may vary in word order or phraseology when moving between the metrical environments of different line types of a single metre (Frog 2022b).

Syntax may also be metrically entangled in conjunction with the lexicon and its formulae. An inverted word order is a syntactic feature entangled with the uses of *meotod* and *engel* (as discussed above), and syntax is entangled with all kenning and kenning-like formulae more generally. The constructions are formed through a syntactic relation, and the crystallisation of words or construction paradigms into formulae based on them are invariably built on that syntax. Entanglement of a formula with particular metrical positions may also extend to syntactic relations with words in other

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positions. For example, in the Old Norse eddic formula *X jǫtunheim*-INFL ("X giantlands"), the slot-filler is conditioned as a preposition of movement *í* ("into") or *ór* ("out of"), while the inflection of *jǫtunheimr* ("giantland") is always plural, increasing the word by a syllable in a regular syllabic rhythm (x / / x ; *jǫtun* has a short initial syllable and can only fill the metrically stressed position through resolution). The formula's unit of meaning is the movement relative to an otherworld location, while alternative slot-fillers express the direction of the motion as "to" or "from."

The Homeric formula *τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη* ("then spoke again in answer") presents a more dynamic example. It is found in the beginning of a line, completing the same metrical positions, 35 times in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* together. The formula is a verb phrase that requires a nominative subject, structuring the line as an open-slot formula completed by a line-end formula, such as *πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς* ("swift-footed Achilles"). Parry (1928a, 1930) observed that formulaic expressions for different epic agents form groups ("systems") that are metrically equivalent and thus become interchangeable slot-fillers in this speech formula or other formulae with different meanings. Metrically equivalent formulae can follow a paradigm of Russo's structural formula, but the internal metrical structure of formulae that are interchangeable in such a slot are not necessarily identical (cf. Saarinen 2021: 251–253). The register of verbal art can develop metrically and syntactically complementary formulae, as in the well-attested system found in kalevalaic epic shown in (7), which engages with the telescoping formulae introduced above (on interlocking formulae, see also Parry 1928a, 1928b).

(7) *Illustration of paired equivalence sets of formulae that operate in combination as a system for the generation of metrically well-formed lines.*

Eq. set 1	Equivalence set 2	Eq. set 1	Equivalence set 2
tuo on	*vanha Väinämöinen*	that is	old Väinämöinen
sitten	*nuori Joukahainen*	then	young Joukahainen
oi on	*Ahti saarelainen*	oh is	Ahti island-dweller
sano	*Tiera Lieran poika*	said	Tiera, son of Worm
ajo	*Pohjolan emäntä*	drove	Mistress of Pohjola
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

(Source: Frog 2016b: 75; see also Saarinen 2022: 251–253)

Both regular and irregular syntax can be carried with the lexicon, as well as be generally applied to the use of language in the metrical environment. Systems of this type belong to what Lord (1960: 36) describes as the "grammar" of a form of verbal art, operating on the principles of construction grammar (e.g., Goldberg 2006). Not all language use in the same metrically structured environment functions in such black-and-white terms.

Syntax operates both within and between lines. Both enjambment and the quite flexible syntax in Old Norse *dróttkvætt* poetry have already been mentioned. The syntax of juxtaposing phrases or clauses in adjacent lines is also a phenomenon of syntax, including parallelism, as stressed by John W. Du Bois (2014). How parallelism is structured may also entail metrical

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entanglements of syntax, such as whether the word order must correspond to a preceding line or whether ellipsis is allowed (cf. Holm 2017; Saarinen 2017), or whether parallel members must formally match the whole preceding line or only the part of the line presented with alternative phraseology (cf. Cruz 2017; Hull 2017). Of course, most investigations can simply handle the syntax within and between lines under the umbrella of poetic or registral syntax. The aim here is only to draw attention to the fact that syntax can also be subject to metrical entanglement, whether in connection with single words of vocabulary, formal line types or general patterns of how language is used in a poetic form.

Alliteration and Rhyme

Metrical templates have generally dominated discussions of how poetic principles become bound up with language use in verbal art, but poetic principles can become no less entangled with the lexicon without a periodic metre. Where phonic requirements of alliteration or rhyme are metricalised or primary organising principles of discourse, they can form an integrated part of internalising a linguistic register, resulting in patterns of language use becoming linked to those requirements. This phenomenon has gained relatively limited attention outside of Old and Middle English alliterative metres, where, for example, a methodology has been developed for calculating a word's "alliterative rank" (Borroff 1962) or "alliteration rate" (Cronan 1986) as a percentage of its uses in alliteration within a corpus (see also Roper 2012; Griffith 2013). Research on these types of metrical entanglement seem to have only spread to other poetries quite recently.[15]

Simplex Words

In the above-mentioned cases of Old English kennings, their role in phonic requirements or the lack thereof is an integrated part of how words operate. Word order inversion is not simply a question of syntax but also commonly connected with whether a base-word, such as *meotod*, carries alliteration, or whether a determinant, such as *engla*, does not. A similar preferential use in relation to alliteration has been observed with vocabulary more generally. Nearly a century ago, August Brink showed that distinctively poetic vocabulary in Middle English was more commonly used in alliteration than other vocabulary – it had a higher "alliterative rank" (*Stabrang*) (1920: 54–56). However, discussions of the relations between alliteration and language only came back into focus with the turn that brought OFT into the spotlight, which occurred in Old English research while Lord was still working on his dissertation (see also Olsen 1986; Foley 1988; Hopkins 2022). OFT was recognised as relevant for Old English, but the accentual

15 Jonathan Roper has given new life to studies of alliterative rank, extending its application to Estonian oral poetry (2011, 2012) and opening its application to Old Norse (Frog & Roper 2011; see also Frog 2011); Maria Elena Rugerrini (2016) has brought alliterative collocation studies to Old Norse.

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metre with alliteration as a primary organising principle yielded variations that did not align well with Parry's definition of the formula.[16] Already Francis P. Magoun (1953) was concerned with the impacts of alliteration on formula use and text variation, which Randolf Quirk (1963) carried into discussions of alliterative *collocations*[17] – lexical pairs and sets of words that are commonly used together and meet that phonic requirement. In the same environment, Marie Borroff (1962) revived the study of alliterative rank in the examination of poetic style in Middle English. Whereas Magoun's work is generally regarded as pioneering applications of OFT to Old English poetry, the works of Borroff and Quirk stimulated increasingly sophisticated studies of both alliterative rank and alliterative collocations.

Line-internal alliteration differs from most uses of end-rhyme in the proportion of words in a line that it engages, making the phenomenon both more salient and more significant in driving word choice and shaping lexical semantics (Roper 2012). David Buchan's (1972: 154) observations concerning a general tendency for certain words to carry rhyme referred to the same type of phenomenon in rhymed ballads as Borroff and Quirk discussed regarding alliterative verse. However, similar to Brink's early study on alliterative rank, Buchan's observations did not advance to general discussion and debate (cf. McCarthy 1990).[18] Phonic requirements are integrated into how language operates in both cases; the difference lies in whether they have only been examined by individual scholars or have advanced to something that different scholars have begun to consider in their work and to subject to detailed investigation.

When alliteration is an organising principle of discourse, the registral lexicon evolves words to "say the same thing" that begin with different sounds. Brink (1920) found that precisely these words, rather than vocabulary that was also common in prose, tended to carry alliteration. He, followed by Borroff, considered this vocabulary elevated above less frequently alliterating vocabulary. Within the poetic register, however, the use of distinctly poetic vocabulary generally seems to have been normative, whereas the use of non-poetic vocabulary could be marked (Krischna 1975; cf. Foley 1996). In other words, poetic vocabulary may be emblematic of an elevated register,

16 For example, see Donald K. Fry's (1967: 203) redefinition of a formula as any product of a "formula system," that is, any phrase within a short line capsule that looks related by form and/or meaning, "thus solving one problem [of defining a formula] while creating another" with a new definition "too protean to be fully useful to either poet or scholar" (Riedinger 1985: 306).

17 The term collocation is used in different ways. Here, collocation refers to words that exhibit a tendency to occur *together* in a stretch of text (as opposed to words that occur as alternatives in the same *location* in a phrase or another unit of discourse; e.g., Halliday & Hasan 1976). Technically, formulaic sequences may also be collocations of words based on semantics; I prefer to use the terms formula and collocation as complementary, restricting collocation to co-occurring units of language that are not also formulae.

18 Thomas A. Bredehoft's (2005) more recent discussion of rhyme collocations in Old English and Old Saxon thus advances from discussions of alliteration in those poetries rather than of rhyme collocations more widely.

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but such words are not necessarily marked individually as elevated within a line. Dennis Cronan (1986: 146) found that, collectively, Old English words with cognates in Old Icelandic poetic vocabulary had a slightly higher alliterative rank than those that have no such cognates; if this higher rank is not simply an accident of the data, it suggests that a role in alliteration reinforces continued use of poetic vocabulary through language change. In the present context, it is more interesting that alliterative rank, even of this vocabulary, operates on a word-by-word basis rather than being uniform for "poetic" versus "non-poetic" vocabulary (Cronan 1986). For example, Old English *bealdor* is a poetic word for LORD, with an Old Icelandic cognate also exclusive to poetic usage (as well as being the name of a god), which places it in a group of words with the highest average alliterative rank. However, only one of the ten examples of Old English *bealdor* is used in alliteration – giving a low alliterative rank of 10% – and that single use is as the second alliterating word in an a-line (*Guthlac* 1358), complementing metrical alliteration rather than carrying it alone. This low alliterative rank is linked to the noun *bealdor*'s exclusive use as a base-word in LORD-kennings rather than being used freely in the register, a formulaic use that does not exhibit inversion. Such formulaic use must be accounted for when calculating alliterative rank. (See also Cronan 1986: 150–151, 157; Griffith 2013: 7–8.) Words are not used in alliteration just because they are "poetic." Vocabulary is internalised through patterns of use on a synchronic basis, and those patterns can include social conventions of using a word in alliteration or not doing so, irrespective of whether the word is archaic or common outside of the poetic register.

Collocations

The metrical role of alliteration in Old Germanic poetry, requiring alliteration between words linking an a-line to a b-line across a caesura, was an organising principle that gave a formal rather than a semantic motivation for links to evolve between words. Quirk regarded collocative pairs as constituting an extension of emerging formulaic language research; he viewed alliteration as "a regular mode of endorsing the linguistic connection [...] between collocated words" (1963: 2), with an interest in semantics within a syntactic unit. From pairs, more complex alliterative sets were recognised, of which only two might be used in a given line (Kintgen 1977). Interest in the significance of collocations continued – not in their propositional meanings but in their indexical significance, that is, in their associative meanings or connotations, or as cues marking, for instance, thematic units (Reinhard 1976; Tyler 2006; Rugerrini 2016).

Despite scholars' interest in meanings, the links that performers internalise between words and alliteration seem generally to be more formal than semantic. The words' semantics must normally be appropriate to a common topic for their recurrent use in the same line or proximate lines, but that is better viewed as a condition for a collocation's conventionalisation rather than necessarily leading it to carry distinct meanings itself. For example, the word *wuldor* ("glory") alliterates with *weorod* ("troop") in a number of the LORD-kennings in the dataset above. *Weorod* is a common determinant in the dataset of close to 1,000 examples; it is found in approximately 6%, or

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more than one of every twenty. Collocations with *wuldor* are sometimes in the same a-line, at other times, the collocations link an a-line and a b-line, and, in a few cases, the paired words are even in adjacent or proximate lines. I developed a dataset of 92 examples of *weorod* as a determinant in kennings and kenning-like constructions (including examples like *weoroda god* ["God of troops"], not in the data above). In 21 of these, *wuldor* alliterates with *weorod* within a long line, and in another three cases, *wuldor* appears within two lines of *weorud*'s use as a determinant. Together, these account for more than 25% of the examples, suggesting a conventional collocation. In examples such as *weoroda wealdend. / Is ðæs wuldres ful* (*Elene* 751) ("lord of troops. / Is that rich glory's"), the words are spread across independent clauses. An alliterative collocation may develop indexical significance, but its indexicality operates at a different level than the propositional meanings of its constituent words, which might not be in any syntactic relation. Consequently, a collocation of this type is distinct from formulae, as addressed above (see also Frog 2022: 118–119). It should also not be underestimated that formally or functionally driven collocations may be functionally motivated in use or may even be used as accidental outcomes of words being linked in memory.

Formally driven collocations are not exclusive to alliteration. Old Norse *dróttkvætt* required the penultimate syllable in its six-position line to rhyme with a preceding syllable in the same line. As a result, the register evolved preferred word pairs and systems of words that could be used to accomplish rhyme in a verse, such as the *almr–hjalmr–malmr* ("elm–helmet–metal") set (Frog 2009, 2014b; see also Nyquist 2016). Whereas this set seems to have been rather freely used across a variety of contexts, other rhyme collocations could be linked to formulae. For instance, the most common semantic kenning-formula meaning BATTLE forms a compound such as *malm-hríð* ("metal-storm") in the first two positions of a line. When *hríð* ("storm") is used as the base-word in this formula, it is rhymed with *síðan* ("then") in two out of every three examples. The same rhyme is not found when *hríð* is used in a battle-kenning in other line positions (Frog 2022a: 27–28). Vocabulary may be entangled with rhyme at the general level of the register, as in the case of the *almr–hjalmr–malmr* set, or it may be entangled with formulaic use, as in the case of *hríð–síðan*. The syntax of the poetry is quite flexibly spread across groups of four such lines, with the potential to vary the word order in ways that looks scrambled compared with conversational speech, even allowing words from different sentences to be used in the same line. Thus, in the line *almr gall hátt — við malma* (Ótt *Knútdr* 8^{I}.2) ("the elm (BOW) cried loudly – with metal (WEAPONS)"), *almr* is in a short sentence, separated from the rhyme-word *malmr* by a syntactic break (the type of rhyme only includes the stressed syllable, not the following inflectional ending). This collocation is metrically entangled with rhyme but functions primarily at the level of texture rather than meaning.

Discourse without a Periodic Metre

Phonic patterning, such as alliteration, can be a primary organising principle of discourse without a periodic metre. In this case, metrical "capsules" of periodic quantitative or accentual structures do not constitute a structuring

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principle in the evolution of the register. In Karelian lament, for example, expressions have a quite flexible duration that in some regions might comprise 40 (orthographic) words. These long, variable units are addressed as semantic "strings" rather than lines (Frog & Stepanova 2011: 197–198). Alliteration and parallelism, along with melodic structures, are used to organise units of utterance into metred frames in relation to which preceding and subsequent expressions are interpreted. The register of this verbal art is characterised by the abundant use of diminutive (DIM) and plural forms (PL, also for singular referents), as well as possessive markers (POSS), such as *-ni* ("my"), and a complex system of circumlocutions, such as saying *kandajazeni* ("carrier.DIM.POSS") for MOTHER rather than using a common noun or a proper name (see Stepanova A. 2012; Stepanova E. 2015). The circumlocution system has developed formulae that can accommodate the variable durations of expressions in performance. One core of such a formula is *kandajani* ("carrier.POSS"). In addition to expansion by a diminutive suffix (*kandaja-ze-ni*), it can receive the alliterating epithet *kalliz* ("dear") and be preceded by a complementary, parallel circumlocution with the same alliteration (Stepanova E. 2017: 493–494), which can itself be expanded. Finnic languages prefer "strong" alliteration, which includes the vowel of the alliterating syllable, to "weak" alliteration, which does not include the vowel. This formula can be represented as follows:

(8) {{kumbane olet kallehilla ilmoilla piäl'ä {kaheksien kuuhuzien} kandelija} kalliz} kandaja{ze}ni
{{one who is into the dear.PL world.PL {for eight.PL months.DIM.PL} bringer} dear} carrier{.DIM}.POSS

(Adapted from Stepanova E. 2015: 265)

Alliteration structures such telescoping formulae without constraints of periodic metrical capsules, allowing them to be expandable to a remarkable degree. These formulae and their potential for variation can nevertheless be considered metrically entangled, organized by the poetic form's dominant principles of alliteration and parallelism that structure its variation.

Rather than calculating the alliterative rank of individual words, Aleksandra Stepanova (2003) developed an approach to alliterative density calculated as a ratio and found that Finnic laments tend to have an average of about one of every two words alliterating, whether in a 40-word string in northern regions or in shorter units in the south (see also Frog & Stepanova 2011: 204–208). The register of laments has developed ways to maintain alliterative density. In the northern tradition dialect, with the longest strings, a vocabulary of expletives is used to augment different patterns of alliteration, increasing alliterative density, rather than filling vacant metrical slots as in the periodic metres above (Frog & Stepanova 2011: 206; Stepanova E. 2011: 133). Just as the Homeric epithet formula *δῖος X* performs a functional role in fitting a name of a certain formal type to a metrical capsule, epithets in Karelian laments provide a strategy for integrating words into alliteration.

A prominent word of the lament register is *spuassuzet*, a diminutive plural formed from a borrowing of the Russian *Spas'* ("Saviour"). This word

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is rooted in Christianity but became used for vernacular supernatural beings, ancestors, as well as to refer to the realm of the dead (Stepanova E. 2012: 265–273). As a Finnic language, Karelian does not have word-initial consonant clusters, except where these are retained in a handful of loans. Consequently, there is a lack of vocabulary with which *spuassuzet* can alliterate. In a corpus of laments from the dialect region of Olonets (Aunus) Karelia, Pentti Leino (1974: 117–118) observes that *spuassuzet* (dialectal *spaasazed*) is invariably integrated into alliteration by an adjectival epithet or by preceding it with a word that he interprets as forming a compound with *spuassuzet*. The latter words are the expletives mentioned above, which are never inflected and that are general to the region's register. The choice of expletive is determined by alliteration and the same expletive is used repeatedly for the duration of the string; Leino's findings indicate a relationship between expletives and the following word as non-alliterating, with systematic usage before the prominent noun *spuassuzet*. Leino's dataset is relatively small and localised, but the eleven epithets and eight expletives he observes, shown in (9a) and (9b), can be considered illustrative of the general phenomenon, if only directly representative of the local dialect.

(9a) *Inflected epithets are grammatically agreed with* spuassuzet/spaassazed*, here given in nominative plural.*

Inflected epithets			
ihalad		wonderful	
kallehed		dear	
kergeäd		bright	
kultazed		golden	
olovad		mighty	
parahad	spaassazed	best	spaassazed
pädöväd		omniscient	
sadojad		fertile	
vesseläd		joyous	
viekkahad		nice	
ylöväd		elevated	

(Source: Leino 1974: 117)

(9b) *Expletive particles used immediately preceding* spuassuzet/spaassazed*, interpreted by Leino as forming compounds with the following word; the expletives are words with propositional meanings in other contexts of use, translated in square brackets.*

Integrating expletives			
aigu		[time]	
ehto		[full]	
kylly		[full]	
loadu	spaassazed	[quality]	spaassazed
mieli		[dear]	
tundo		[feel]	
valdio		[power]	

(Source: Leino 1974: 117)

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On the one hand, Leino finds that many of these epithets are repeated many times in his corpus, inviting their identification as formulaic in the same way as *kallehed kandajazeni* ("dear.PL carrier.DIM.POSS"). On the other hand, the epithets must also be viewed through their broader dynamics within the register, where their operation in maintaining alliterative density can potentially align with or diverge from preferred combinations in patterns resembling determinants and base-words of Old English constructions for LORD.

Formula Choice

Metrical entanglement with alliteration and rhyme can structure expression and condition variations. Old Norse eddic poetry is composed in Norse forms of the common Germanic metre. In the poem *Alvíssmál*, the formula *enn með ásum X* ("yet [it is called] among gods X") is used several times. The formula is metrically entangled so that it is only used in a b-line, and, whenever it is used, the poetic word *ásum* ("god.DAT.PL") carries alliteration. In its first mention in the poem, it is not *ásum* but *álfum* ("elf.DAT.PL") that is used. The lexical alternation remains within the pattern of alliteration that is characteristic of the formula. Although *áss* ("god") and *álfr* ("elf") are not generally synonyms or treated as equivalents within the register, they form a formulaic collocation in alliterative phrases such as *æsir ok álfar* ("gods and elves") and are collocated across short lines producing alliteration, as in *Hvat er með ásum / hvat er með álfum?* ("How is it among the gods / how is it among the elves?"). In the variation of the above formula, the exceptional use of *álfum* for *ásum* not only maintains the formula's conventions for alliteration but also alternates between words conventionally paired by alliteration.[19]

How the entanglement of phonic features operates can be complex. In the poem *Alvíssmál*, Paul Acker (1998: 64–65) observes that (*a*) the slot-filler of the a-line formula *X heitir með mǫnnum* ("X it is called among men") is conditioned by the need to carry alliteration with a word in the following b-line, and (*b*) the formula in the following b-line varies systematically in relation to the pattern of alliteration (see also Thorvaldsen 2006: 116–117). Concerning (*b*), if the slot-filler in the a-line begins with a consonant, it is followed by the formula *enn X með goðum* ("yet [it is called] X among gods"), with alliteration on the second slot-filler; if the slot-filler begins with a vowel, alliteration is carried by the poetic term *áss* in the formula *enn með ásum X*, which motivates the different word order. The resulting long line forms the first line of a stanza comprised of a series of such open-slot formulae, each stating how a mythic race calls a particular phenomenon. The system is repeatedly used to form a stanza in response to a series of 13 questions. Rather than an unvarying chain of formulae, which formula is used following an initial line varies predictably in relation to schemes of alliteration required by relevant slot-fillers (Frog 2011: 40–44). Metrical entanglement with phonic requirements may thus occur at a more systemic

19 This type of transposition is discussed as the *off-target triggering* of vocabulary in Frog (2022c).

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level of hierarchically organised alternative choices rather than a simple preference for using a couple of words together (see also Frog 2016a, 2022b). Entanglement of phonic features such as those structuring stanzas in *Alvíssmál* can occur to different degrees and in various ways in relation to the particular poetic form, although their variety is too wide to explore in detail here.

Parallelism

Parallelism is a perceived property of text that results from qualities of sameness juxtaposed with the difference in commensurate units, leading to the units being interpreted as members of a parallel group. Roman Jakobson (1981 [1966]: 98) coined the term *canonical parallelism* to describe, in the terminology used here, parallelism as a primary organising principle of discourse, whether this is in combination with other poetic principles such as metre and alliteration, as in kalevalaic poetry (Saarinen 2017, 2018), or is a single principle elevated above unmarked syntax and prosody, as in biblical Hebrew (Lowth 1753; Berlin 1986; see also Fox 1977, 2014; Fabb 2015). Parallelism has gradually become recognised as a basic structuring principle of discourse (Frog with Tarkka 2017).

Lexical Parallelism

The most widely discussed entanglement of language with parallelism is linked to the formation of words and phrases that are regularly used to represent the same semantic unit or are used as analogical equivalents in parallel lines. In Rotenese ritual discourse, *kokolak//dede'ak* ("to speak"//"to talk") or *inak//fetok* ("woman"//"girl") are not simply paired synonyms; they are conventional for expressing unitary integers of meaning (Fox 2014: 203; see also Frog with Tarkka 2017: 217–221). In the study of oral poetries of the Americas, the Spanish-derived term *difrasismo* is used to describe especially paired words for a single semantic unit. Parallel sets are not restricted to simple synonymy; they may be organised on a metaphorical or symbolic basis. In this case, formulaicity becomes more evident because meaning is not necessarily transparent, as in K'iche' Mayan *aqan//q'ab'* ("foot"//"hand" = person), *tz'aaq//k'axtuun* ("wall"//"fortress" = home) or *loq'oneel//mayijaneel* ("esteemer"//"worshipper" = in-laws) (Norman 1980: 392). Parallelism is often thought of in terms of dyads, as is implicit in the etymology of *difrasismo* ("two-phrased"), but these formulaic equivalents can also be formed by sets of three or more parallel words, such as the Chatino (a Zapotecan language) *tykwi⁴//nyi⁴//ykwa⁴* ("entirely"//"directly"// "evenly") or *yqu²//ndlu³//suq³//sen³* ("survived"//"thrived"//"matured"//"mu ltiplied") (Cruz 2014: 164; see also example (11)).

In some traditions, only a single word varies between parallel lines (Norman 1980: 389); others may vary sometimes only one word, sometimes more words in parallel lines (Austerlitz 1958: 51–65); still others may have conventions of repetition avoidance (Frog with Tarkka 2017: 211). Where multiple words vary between parallel lines, their semantics may be linked

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through metaphorical or symbolic relations. For example, in Rotenese ritual discourse, the dyadic formula *bou//soka* ("vat"//"sack") links to the formulae *(lama-)kako//(lama-)lua* ("to overflow"//"to run over"), *fude//bafa* ("froth"//"mouth") and *totono//lulunu* ("to overturn"//"to roll up") as elements in the parallel formulae. Nevertheless, the parallel lines remain open to variation rather than each line necessarily being crystallised into a regular formula. In (10a) and (10b), lines from performances by different poets are presented, with variations in the order of parallel words in italic font, and a canonical pair that is repeated between couplets in (10a) but is expressed through an alternative pair in (10b) is underlined.

(10a)	Te leo bou lama-kako *fude*	But if the vats *overflow [with] froth*
	Ma soka lama-lua *bafa*	And the sacks *run over [at the] mouth*
	Fo bou lo totonon	So that the vats must be overturned
	Ma soka no lulunun	And the sacks must be rolled up
	(Fox 2014: 205)	
(10b)	Te neka lama-kako *bafa*	But if the baskets *overflow [at the] mouth*
	Fo soka lo lulunun	So that the sacks must be rolled up
	Ma tua lama-lua *fude*	And the syrup *runs over [with] froth*
	Fo bou lo totonon	So that the vats must be overturned
	(Fox 2014: 207)	

This example illustrates that the order of parallel lines can take different forms. The first has an $A_1A_2B_1B_2$ structure and the second has a chiastic structure that, if we treat this mark-up as labelling the four lines, is either $A_1B_2A_2B_1$ or an $A_2B_2A_1B_1$. In addition, the second poet uses the semantically equivalent parallel pair (underlined) that is more often found as *neka//bou* but is here reduced from *neka hade//tua bou* ("rice basket"//"syrup vat"). This variation can be interpreted as motivated by the chiastic structure, where the repeating pair *bou//soka bou//soka* of sequential parallel lines would otherwise result in the repetition between adjacent lines that are not parallel, whether *bou soka soka bou* or *soka soka bou bou*. This sort of repetition avoidance (Frog 2022b) would equally account for the unusual reduction *tua bou* > *tua* rather than *tua bou* > *bou* as an anticipation of *bou* in the subsequent line.

The alternative ways of interpreting the structure of the second example ($A_1B_2A_2B_1$ or $A_2B_2A_1B_1$) depend on whether the order of *(lama-)kako//(lama-)lua* ("to overflow"//"to run over") is considered inverted while the lines are stable or whether the lines have been inverted, of which the order of *(lama-)kako//(lama-)lua* is simply symptomatic. This potential ambiguity highlights the operation of language here as more complex than dyads of crystallised whole-line formulae – that is, entanglement is centrally at the level of lexical pairs rather than whole lines. At the same time, *fo//ma* ("so"//"and") is regularly ordered by syntax rather than each word being a metrically bound onset for a particular parallel line. Also, a semantic constraint requires variation in the order of *bou//soka* ("vat"//"sack") to co-vary with *totono//lulunu* ("to overturn"//"to roll up") because a sack but not a vat can be "rolled up." The semantics of the lines are stable, yet they are open

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to lexical variation by the transposition of parallel terms or the transposition of equivalent lexical pairs.

Formula Parallelism

Entanglement with parallelism may not be so variable, particularly where there is also a periodic metre. In kalevalaic poetry, especially in Karelia and areas of Finland where words are longer, lines are commonly formed of only 2–4 words, which, in combination of metrical constraints, inclines them to crystallise into formulaic units. Many parallel formulae are syntactically incomplete, owing to the ellipsis of an element in the preceding line. As a consequence, each of these lines cannot be used as the first member of a parallel group. For example, in the couplet *läksi Tuonelta orosta / Manalalta veäntijätä* (*SKVR* I_1 361.4–5) ("went for an awl from Tuoni / a bore from Manala"), the second line will not be performed independent of the first or as the first in the pair because it lacks the verb (underlined). The two-syllable verb may vary between synonyms, but the syntax of the poetry determines the line order and prohibits the second line from being used without a preceding verb.

Systems of Combination

In verbal art where only one element varies between parallel lines, entanglement can emerge as an interplay between recurrent phraseology and pairs or sets of words or phrases that vary in each line. In the following example from a Chatino prayer, the recurrent frames *no⁴ X* ("those who X") and *no⁴ ya⁴² X* ("those who lived X") are used in combination with the sets of parallel terms introduced above:

(11)

No⁴ yqu²	Those who survived
No⁴ ndlu³	Those who thrived
No⁴ suq³	Those who matured
No⁴ sen³	Those who multiplied
No⁴ ya⁴² tykwi⁴	Those who lived entirely
No⁴ ya⁴² nyi⁴	Those who lived directly
No⁴ ya⁴² ykwa⁴	Those who lived evenly

(Cruz 2017: ex. 3, Text I, ll. 4–10)

This type of structure is widely found, especially for a series of analogical equivalents. In the following Rotenese example, the formulaic couplet frame *Tane leu* X_1*//Ma sele leu* X_2 ("they plant at X_1"//"and they sow at X_2") is combined with the series of places, Tuda Meda//Do Lasi, Teke Dua//Finga Telu and Tanga Loi//Oe Mau:

(12)

Tane leu Tuda Meda	They plant at Tuda Meda
Ma sele leu Do Lasi	And they sow at Do Lasi
Tane leu Teke Dua	They plant at Teke Dua
Ma sele leu Finga Telu	And they sow at Finga Telu
Tane leu Tanga Loi	They plant at Tanga Loi
Ma sele leu Oe Mau.	And they sow at Oe Mau

(Fox 2014: 332)

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This series of parallel couplets is a topogeny, a traditionally ordered list of places (Fox 2014: ch. 11), and the sequence of couplets is therefore fixed. A more flexible example comes from the kalevalaic epic, the *Song of Creation*, where the creation of the world from a broken egg is described through the recurrent couplet formula *mi munassa (on) X / {se/ne (on)} Y* ("what in/of the egg (is) X / {it/those (is)} Y"). In this case, the slots of each line of the couplet are not semantically parallel, although the series of couplets form analogical parallelism: X is completed with part of the egg, and Y follows with the cosmological feature that the particular part of the egg becomes. Although the lines are highly crystallised in the tradition, variation still occurs in the use of the verb *on* ("is") and whether a pronoun opens the second line:

(13)		
	Mi munassa alanen puoli	What in the egg is the lower part
	Se on alaiseksi maan emäksi	It becomes the lower earth mother
	Mi munass' on ylinen puoli	What in the egg is the upper part
	Yliseksi taivoseksi	Becomes the upper heaven
	Mi on munassa luun muruja	What is in the egg fragments of bone
	Ne tähiksi taivoselle	They become stars in heaven
	Mi munass' on ruskiesta	What in the egg is brown
	Se päiväksi paistamah	It becomes the sun to shine
	Mi munassa valkiesta	What in the egg is white
	Se kuuksi kumottamah	It becomes the moon to glow
	Yliseksi taivoselle	Becomes the upper one in heaven

(*SKVR* I1 79.51–61, punctuation removed)

The order of the series of couplets is variable but within a hierarchy. The couplets for heaven//earth and for sun//moon each remain adjacent, although there is variation in which pair comes first and in which element comes first in each pair. Sometimes, only one pair is presented, and the couplet on the stars is easily omitted. A semantically parallel line marks the conclusion of the series in this example.

Parallel structures based on open-slot formulae and a series of semantically or analogically parallel slot-fillers may be extremely complex, as in the stanzas of the eddic poem *Alvíssmál*, mentioned above, which are regularly formed as series of open-slot formulae that are variable in order but avoid the repetition of central words (see also Frog 2022c). That example has been cited because of how alliteration determines the choice of lines in the series. Here, the example is again interesting because the stanza consists of six parallel open-slot formulae rather than a series of repeating open-slot formulae for forming the couplets, as in (13). In *Alvíssmál*, entanglement with alliteration operates in tandem with entanglement with parallelism, affecting which open-slot formulae are used in producing the parallel series.

Isolated Entanglement

In the preceding sections, the focus has been on entanglement in relation to organising principles of whole texts. Entanglement can also be established as an organising principle of a phrase, a clause or another stretch of language

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that is used within a larger text. This phenomenon can be encountered in any form of discourse, ranging from verbal art that is regularly structured by poetic principles (Frog 2019) to conversational speech. Such entanglement is here described as *isolated (metrical) entanglement* because the poetic principles are entangled independently of the dominant organising principles of the larger text. Isolated entanglement contributes to the memorability of the unit that it organises and may also be maintained through variation.

In Discourse Organised by Regular Poetic Principles

Isolated entanglement can be found in lines that are organised according to other poetic principles. In kalevalaic poetry, the name *Iki-Tiera* ("Ancient Tiera") begins a line that is completed with the formula *X.gen poika* ("son of X"), such as *Iki-Tiera Lieran poika* ("Ancient Tiera son of Liera"). Rhyme is not a common feature of this poetry; lines normally alliterate, but, in this line, rhyme seems to take priority over alliteration.[20] Variation gives a clear indication of metrical entanglement. There is minor variation in the lexeme preceding *Tiera*, which can also be *iku* (= *iki*) or *hiki* ("sweat"), but such variation customarily retains the same phonological shape. However, *Liera* alternates with *Niera*, both of which can be transposed with *Tiera*, and *Miera* is also found, yet the line continues to be organised by rhyme rather than by alliteration. Rhymes in kalevalaic poetry may also be formed morphologically in connection with parallelism, for example, in a line completed with two four-syllable words that also alliterate, such as *soittelovi, laulelovi* ("playing, singing") or *huutelovi, haatelovi* ("yelling, yammering"), where both verbs include the element *-le-* (normally indicating an ongoing activity), as well as the same inflection. Entanglement may also form in relation to primary principles for organising discourse but evolve further in relation to use, as in the case of the above-mentioned Old Norse *álfar–æsir* collocation, which is entangled with alliteration that allows the words to be used to join an a-line and a b-line or used in an a-line (Gurevič 1986: 35, 46; Frog 2011: 30–31).

Isolated entanglement can shape the lexicon of a poetry. Peter Metcalf (1989: 41–47) observes that in a Berawan (an Austronesian language) prayer, a form of discourse that is organised based on a principle of parallelism, the need for paired vocabulary in parallelism motivates the generation of words. Of interest here is that these purely poetic words are often formed to rhyme or alliterate with the main word – that is, new words are generated based on a poetic principle in addition to parallelism. (Metcalf 1989: 41–47.) Individual pairs have not only become metrically entangled, but entanglement with poetic principles has occurred in the process of forming formulaic word pairs (in kalevalaic poetry, see also Tarkka 2013: 154–156; Frog 2022d).

Verbal Art without Regular Poetic Principles of Organisation

In her work on formulaic language in post-medieval Icelandic *þulur*, Yelena Sesselja Helgadóttir highlights the operation of isolated entanglement. This type of poetry lacks regular poetic principles of organisation and is instead

20 On rhyme in kalevalaic poetry, see Frog (2022d).

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built on incorporating different principles such as metre, alliteration or rhyme at the levels of individual lines and groups of lines. The result is a relative density of poetic principles in versification without unification of a poem through any one of them. Her examination of formulaic language reveals that formulae become entangled with particular poetic principles of organisation so that these are introduced with the formulae in composition or performance. (Yelena Sesselja Helgadóttir 2016 and this volume.)

There are many forms of verbal art in which poetics emerge intermittently in any given text but have an established position in the social circulation of particular texts. This can be illustrated by the Danish tradition of charms of the Second Merseburg type. The example in (14) is given an editorial layout in lines. The rhyme of *red* ("rode") and *vred* ("sprain") is a stable (although not completely uniform) feature in these Danish charms, and the alliteration of *føl* or *fole* ("foal") with *fod* ("foot") is also well established. Grammatical parallelism is characteristic of the bone-to-bone conjuration of the Germanic tradition of this charm type more generally, referring to a series of parts of the leg in a recurring *X into X* construction:

(14)		
	Christus op ad Bjerget red,	Christ up to the mountain rode,
	sin Foles Føl sin Fod vred.	his foal's foal his foot sprained.
	Saa lagde han sine Fingre paa,	So he laid his fingers on,
	saa sagde han: Jeg signer I	So he said: 'I charm in[to?]
	Sener i Sener	sinew into sinew,
	Aarer i Aarer	vein into vein
	og Kjød i Kjød,	and flesh into flesh,
	Blod i Blod.	blood into blood.'
	Saa satte han den til Jorden [ned],	So he set it down at the Jordan,
	men saa lægedes hans Fodeled.	but so was healed his ankle.

(Ohrt 1917: 134)

In this charm type, the opening rhymed couplet is particularly stable, while the laying on of hands is less uniform and may be augmented or replaced by another sentence or two. Here, the laying on of hands is organised on a principle of parallelism in relation to the statement of charming and its opening words, with lexical repetition and rhyming lexemes. This parallelism is particularly salient in the first half of each line; these differ from one another by only a single phoneme, reflected in the spelling though not the pronunciation of the English translation: *saa lagde han//saa sagde han* ("so laid he"//"so said he").

My initial intuition in laying out the charm in lines was to place the beginning of direct speech on a new line and to place the preposition *i* ("in[to]") in the beginning of the subsequent line, as done with *og* ("and"). However, the expressions *sine fingre paa* ("his fingers on") and *jeg signer i* ("I charm in[to?]") also exhibit a parallelism of *[pronoun] X [preposition]*. The words completing the open slot are near-rhymed (*fingre* : *signer*), and the first continues the alliteration of the preceding line (*fingre* : *foles* : *føl* : *fod*), while the second alliterates with the preceding verb (*sagde*), augmented by the discourse marker opening both lines of the couplet (*saa*), as well as the pronoun in the preceding line (*sine*).

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The rhyme of *lagde* : *sagde* and near-rhyme of *fingre* : *signer* can be found in other examples, yet additional metricalisation strategies are also found, such as the alliteration of the verb *tog* ("took") in the place of *lagde* with *ti* ("ten") in *ti fingre* ("ten fingers"), and so on. Other examples exhibit no salient poetic structuring principles of this element. Some expressions for the laying on of hands may have been metrically entangled on a limited social scope,[21] but the complexity of the couplet in (14) may be more individual.

This example is also interesting because the concluding couplet is not common in that position of the charm (even if it is conventional in blood charms), and the editor of the published edition of this charm introduces the preposition *ned* ("down") at the end of the first line on the basis of analogy with other examples – so that the conventional rhyme of the couplet becomes present. Although the tradition of this Danish charm shows diverse variations, certain poetic principles have become entangled with particular elements, clear in the opening rhyme and especially in the parallelism of the bone-to-bone conjuration, stabilising them historically in social use.

Unmarked Discourse

Metrical entanglement can occur in complex units of phraseology that are parts of everyday speech. These expressions tend to be formulaic and may be completely idiomatic, such as *Keep calm and carry on*, organised with alliteration on *keep*, *calm* and *carry*, and assonance of the vowels in *calm* and *on* (and to a lesser degree, between the vowels of *keep* and *carry*). Such expressions can be so commonplace that they are simply taken for granted, such as *black and blue* or *born and bred*, organised through alliteration and parallelism. They easily maintain vocabulary that has become archaic and not semantically clear to many users, such as *might and main*, in which, etymologically, both words referred to strength and power. Some such expressions have proven to be remarkably enduring, for example, the Latin *veni, vidi, vici* ("I came, I saw, I conquered"), organised by both alliteration and masculine rhyme. The interest here is not simply that such expressions are widespread and potentially enduring but that poetic organising principles become built into them, considered here as forms of metrical entanglement.

Poetic principles can drive the construction of idioms, as in English emphatic constructions based on parallelism through reduplication with variation, resulting in the second element merely echoing the first rather than being an independent word of the lexicon, as in *super* > *super-duper* or *tattle* > *tittle-tattle*. In such production, the correspondence of the reduplicated element to a word of the lexicon can occur accidentally, as in *easy* > *easy-peasy*, in which the second element sounds like a pluralised form of *pea* that has received a diminutive *-y* ending. Reduplication may involve alternation of a single phoneme, as in *tick* > *tick-tock*, or be built on the similarity of two unrelated words, such as *happy* > *slap-happy*, where the added word (rhyming the stressed syllable only) is divorced from normal fields of meaning. In some cases, neither element may be independent of the

21 These charms were also widely transmitted in writing, so the social scope of convention is difficult to assess.

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compound, as in *knick-knack*. (See further e.g. Adams 2001: §10.4; Benczes 2012.) Mari Sarv (2017: 75–76) observes a similar phenomenon in Estonian riddles, where a word is immediately followed by a reduplicated form, differing only in the first vowel, like *tikker-tekker*, so that these words, used in part to veil the object of the riddle, simultaneously alliterate and rhyme. Jeffrey P. Williams and Lap M. Siu (2006) reveal that the device of echoing a word for emphatic or other effects became grammaticalised in Jarai (a Malayo-Polynesian language). In this language, "echo-morphology" has an integrated position in discourse to indicate quantity, intensity or emphatic quality. Echo-words are produced sequentially based on rhyme, alliteration or variation of the vowel, comparable to the word pairings generated for parallelism in Berawan prayers, as mentioned above. Jarai constructions can be emphatic, such as *grĭ* ("dirty") > *grĭ grăn* ("very dirty"), but they can also indicate variety, as in *čim* ("bird(s)") > *čim brim* ("different sorts of birds") or distinct concepts like *rang* ("troubles, confusion") > *rung rang* ("problems"), as well as *rung* ("farmland") > *rung rang* ("forest"). However, it is striking that the echo-word is not necessarily stable and may take two or more forms, such as *lŭk* ("mix") > *lŭk pŭk*, *lŭk lăk* ("mix"). (Williams & Siu 2006: 198.) Not only the products but also the paradigms for these constructions are metrically entangled.

At first glance, metre might seem irrelevant to such small units of language, but this is not the case. A prosodic morpheme, the pattern of rhythm and sound corollary to a unit of sense, can be seen as an entanglement of metre with language. Rather than being regular and periodic through a continuous text, it operates laterally for units of text of a certain type. Tomas Riad (2016) illustrates this with the example of nickname formation in English based on a stressed monosyllable, normally from the beginning of a longer name, followed by *-y*, such as *Joseph* > *Joey*, *Jeremiah* > *Jerry*, *Dorothy* > *Dorry*, *Robert* > *Robby, Bobby*, and so on. Similarly, English emphatic rhyme reduplications tend to be built on a trochaic rhythm, which may be created by combining strategies, as in *O.K.* > *okey-dokey*. Whereas the prosody of these rhyme constructions prefers trochaic disyllables, alliteration-based expressions like *might and main* often begin with a monosyllable forming a troche with a following light particle of speech even if the second word is longer, as in *facts and figures*. Most of the English rhyme-based echo-words above lack independent semantic value, whereas alliteration can lead to subordinating established vocabulary with no clear sense rather than producing new words, like *right as rain*, where *rain*'s role is alliterative and rhythmic rather than semantic. In addition to organisation based on phonic patterning or parallelism, expressions may also be, as in these cases, entangled with rhythmic or metrical templates.

The sort of semantic subordination in *right as rain* is also found in English rhyme-based constructions. English has experienced a generative paradigm for short questions or statements, followed by a rhyming name or other vocative expression for the addressee. These can be conventionalised formulations used for genuine inquiry, such as *What's the plan, Stan?*, which blur into discourse formulae of greetings, such as *What's shakin', bacon?* or *What's cookin', good lookin'?*. Others have been formed for a variety of

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discourse functions, like the expressions *Okey-dokey, Smoky.*, *Get on the bus, Gus.* or *What the fuck, Chuck?*. Prosodically, the vocative phrase in *What's cookin', good lookin'?* corresponds rhythmically to the question *What's cookin'?*, which may be a factor leading this phrase to exhibit less variation. In the other examples here, the vocative corresponds prosodically only to the last word of the preceding phrase – *plan* : *Stan* or *shakin'* : *bacon* – a structure most widely familiar today through the lyrics of Paul Simon's "50 Ways to Leave Your Lover," where all the vocatives are monosyllabic rhymes with the preceding word.

Rather than being limited to a single clause, such expressions may develop a conventional dialogic structure, for example:

(15) – *See you later, alligator.*
– *After a while, crocodile.*

This particular dialogic exchange is verbally very stable, owing to rhythmic and semantic parallelism between full expressions that would otherwise be disrupted by variation.

Here, the point of interest is that poetically organised expressions operate as units of discourse within larger text sequences that are not organised on those principles. The poetic features both mark and organise these smaller units, although they may remain open to different sorts of variation. Isolated entanglement can operate at the level of units of a variety of scopes, ranging from an idiom like *right as rain* to an extended versified speech in prosimetric narration (Harris & Reichl 1997).

Principled Variation

As this chapter nears its end, two significant ways that metrical entanglement structures variation warrant introduction: *metrical maintenance* and *metrical compensation*. Metrical maintenance describes variations that remain within and uphold metrical structure; metrical compensation describes the introduction of poetic principles as others are lost in variation (Yelena Sesselja Helgadóttir 2016 and this volume).

Metrical Maintenance

Metrical maintenance tends to be pervasive in poetically organised discourse: variations uphold rather than disrupt the poetic, text-structuring principles. Variations like the use of *álfum* in the place of *ásum* within a formula of the Old Norse poem *Alvíssmál* mentioned above are those that reflect metrical maintenance. At first glance, this may seem like a black-and-white issue of whether or not variations result in metrically well-formed lines, but the perception of well-formedness in the continuous flow of performed discourse is often more grey than black and white. Moreover, just as the absence of alliteration from a line in kalevalaic poetry is common, yet alliteration is maintained across the course of a poem, some poetic principles have a variety of flexibility that does not produce violations.

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Metrical maintenance also structures variation in isolated entanglement. In the type of phrase constructions introduced above, where a name reduplicates sounds from the preceding word, rhyme structures the collocation. The phrasing preceding the rhyme may vary, but the rhymed words are more stable, as in *Get on the bus* / *Get off the bus* / *You missed the bus, Gus*., or *What's the plan* / *Make a plan* / *You need a plan, Stan*. Metrical maintenance becomes observable in variations conditioned by the poetic organising principle with which the expression is entangled, so *You've got to plan, Stan*. may be manifested as *You've got to plan, man*., but the recognisability of the idiom breaks down without such maintenance in an expression such as *You've got to plan, Steve*. On the other hand, an expression like *Don't make a fuss, Gus*. can be produced with the metrical maintenance of *Get on the bus, Gus*., but the change in both discourse function and metaphor disrupts the relation to the model, leading to its interpretation as an expression of the paradigm but (probably) not as a variation of the latter phrase type *per se*. The preferred types of variation in *X the bus, Gus.* phrases also seems linked to resonance with a conventional phraseological, phonic and rhythmic form as a schema (cf. Nagler 1974). In phrases like this, the prosodic or metrical template is often maintained through variations, but rhyme appears to be the hierarchically dominant organizing principle. Thus, *Okey-dokey, Smoky.*, in which the vocative is prosodically equivalent to the preceding trochee, manifests the variation *Okey-dokey, artichokey.*, in which the vocative is prosodically equivalent to the whole preceding phrase. In a case like this, metrical maintenance involves rhyme but not prosody or metre.

Metrical maintenance is particularly evident in strategic variations, such as parody. An example can be taken from an adaptation of the lines beginning a common children's rhyme or song in (16a) (identified as Roud 16814).[22] The example cited here is the earliest that I could identify, found in a short story published in an American weekly magazine, where it is presented as a repeated (annoying) rhyming couplet and referred to as "Old Men Are Snoring" (Babcock 1909: 696, 698):

(16a) It's raining, it's pouring,
old men are snoring,

(Babcock 1909: 696)

In the BBC television series *Sherlock*, James Moriarty (in the mind of the dying Sherlock Holmes) recites lines parodying this rhyme:

(16b) It's raining, it's pouring,
Sherlock is boring;

(16c) I'm laughing, I'm crying,
Sherlock is dying.

(*Sherlock*, season 3, episode 3, "His Last Vow")

22 The rhyme is found in numerous forms; I recall it as a four-line stanza, whereas the Wikipedia article "It's Raining, It's Pouring" presents it with several stanzas in which the opening couplet varies by who is snoring.

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The first couplet employs the familiar first line, which makes the referent salient and is a familiar strategy for such English parody rhymes. At a glance, the second couplet might be interpreted as simply an abstraction of the metrical template from the first and as the use of that template with a different rhyme. However, the second line is generated in relation to the first in the same manner as the first is generated in relation to the familiar children's rhyme. It maintains the preceding metrical structure with the grammatical parallelism of the first line ([pronoun] TO BE (contracted form) + [present participle], x 2) and repeats the second with the variation of a syllabically equivalent verb stem. This becomes salient when presented through diagraph analysis, as shown in (16d).[23]

(16d)	It	's	raining	/	it	's	pouring	//	the old man	is	snoring
	It	's	raining	/	it	's	pouring	//	Sherlock	is	boring
	I	'm	laughing	/	I	'm	crying	//	Sherlock	is	dying

Metrical maintenance is itself a general phenomenon, and the concept is complementary to that of metrical entanglement. The children's rhyme can be considered metrically entangled and indeed entangled also with melody because this is firmly established at a social level. The melody reciprocally makes a parody of the lines transparently recognisable to anyone with sufficient cultural competence. The rhyme in (16b) is constructed through metrical maintenance with strategic variation of the metrically entangled lines. Although (16b) is metrically organised, it is a new composition and not itself metrically entangled except insofar as its use depends on a metrically entangled referent. Metrical maintenance is observable in (16c) but is yet another step removed from metrical entanglement as a *social* phenomenon of interfacing language with poetic principles of organising language. When these verses were broadcast in the *Sherlock* series, the audience received them as unique utterances that were recognisable as parodies through their engagement with the metrically entangled referent.

Metrical Compensation

Metrical compensation exchanges one poetic principle or feature for another. For example, the variation between *Okey-dokey, Smoky.* and *Okey-dokey, artichokey.* exhibits metrical maintenance of rhyme, but it exchanges the structural paradigm of rhythmical equivalence of *Smoky* with the rhymed element only for that of *artichokey* with rhythmical equivalence to the whole preceding phrase. In kalevalaic epic, the lack of alliteration in stressed syllables is sometimes accommodated by alternative strategies, such as alliteration across lines or alliteration on metrically stressed positions. For example, in the line *tako rautaisen haravan* ("made an iron rake"), the alliteration on /ra/ is manifested in metrically prominent positions in the trochaic rhythm rather than through the lexically stressed onset syllables that would gain prominence in conversational speech (Saarinen 2018: 91; see

23 On diagraph analysis, see Du Bois 2007: 159–162; 2014: 362–363, 376–378.

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also Frog & Stepanova 2011: 201; Frog 2019: 11–12). In formulaic lines, this type of metrical compensation is not a by-product of metrical entanglement, but it structures units that become metrically entangled. Similarly, the kalevalaic line-type *Iki Tiera, Lieran poika* lacks alliteration, for which rhyme can be regarded as a type of metrical compensation. In the couplet *Luotolah lankohinsa / Väinöläh sisärihinsä* (*SKVR* I$_1$ 1.4–5) ("to Luotola to his in-laws / to Väinölä to his sisters"), the second line lacks alliteration, but parallelism produces a morphological near-rhyme between the words in each line.[24] Rhyme offers a compensation for the lack of alliteration in the parallel line (see also Frog 2019: 13–14; 2022d). Although the poetry is characterised by alliteration, rhyme is integrated and plays a role in structuring formulaic lines and couplets in isolated entanglement.

In some variants of the *Iki Tiera, Lieran poika* formula, *miero* ("world") is found in the place of *Liera / Niera / Miera*. When *miero* is used, the rhyme is only on the stem syllable without the following vowel and may thus no longer operate as a noticeable feature in the text. However, this variation is accompanied by an additional lexical variation that produces alliteration: *hiki Tiera, mieron huora* ("sweat Tiera, whore of the world") or *Timo Tiera, mieroh_huora* ("Timo Tiera, whore of the world"). Here, the loss of rhyme in the isolated entanglement of the formula is compensated by alliteration. This sort of metrical compensation in variation can be found in a variety of contexts.

A common extension of *easy-peasy* in Europe is *lemon squeezy*, which corresponds to the name of the dishwashing detergent (Lemon) SqEsy, apparently launched in 1964. *Easy-peasy* is widely speculated to derive from this product's advertisements in the 1970s, although *easy-peasy* is found independently in the 1940 film *The Long Voyage Home* (ThLngVygHmG, 1:45 / 10:08; OED Appeals; Dictionary.com, *s.v.* "easy-peasy lemon squeezy").[25] Growing up in the U.S., I had only known the extensions *easy-peasy Japanesey* and *easy-peasy pumpkin pie*, the latter most likely emerging as a hybrid of *easy-peasy (X)* and the semantically equivalent Americanism *easy as pie*. I only learned the *lemon squeezy* form quite recently, and then, while preparing this chapter, I encountered additional variations, such as *easy-peasy puddin' and pie*, *easy-peasy pumpkin peasy* and *easy-peasy one-two-threezy*. In the present context, what is most interesting is not the variety *per se* but that the continuation may be linked to *easy-peasy* through either alliteration or rhyme – that is, socially enduring variations are based on lexical or phrasal

24 The vowels /a/ and /ä/ and /o/ and /ö/ are not natural rhymes in Finnish or Karelian, but these are alternatives in what is called vowel harmony, in which the preceding vowels of a word determine whether the front or back vowel of the alternatives is used in an inflectional ending, so that they are often paired in morphological rhymes.

25 In *The Long Voyage Home*, *easy-peasy* is used as equivalent to *easy* in the sense of "(do it) carefully, gently" – addressed to someone handling a bomb rather than in the sense of "(that is) simple." Recently, an expression stating a cure for the "easy-peasy, palsy, and the gout" was identified in a magazine from 1923; however, since it seems to refer to an ailment, it is commonly emended or considered otherwise independent of other uses of the *easy-peasy* reduplication (*OED*, *s.v.* "easy-peasy").

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alternation that either maintains the poetic organising principle or offers metrical compensation.[26]

Overview

In the preceding sections, I have surveyed various types of metrical entanglement, ranging from metrically bound formulaic expressions in Homeric poetry to Modern English vocabulary based on forms of reduplication with variation. Rather than treating such phenomena in isolation, the purpose of this discussion has been to explore the common underlying phenomenon of entanglement and bring it into focus. The phenomenon under scrutiny is the conventionalisation of units of language and syntax through linkage to poetic principles for organising discourse. Although it may seem most natural to find metrical entanglement in traditions of verbal art with periodic metres, this discussion has highlighted that the same phenomenon occurs in verbal art organised according to other poetic principles as well. Furthermore, it underscores that this process can also occur in smaller units of language that are used in discourse with any primary principles of organisation. Recognising entanglement as a general phenomenon reveals that many things that occur in language, which were previously regarded as disparate, are in fact related. Consequently, metrical entanglement provides a new platform for considering and analysing these phenomena, with wide-ranging potentials for new insights.

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26 Historically, *easy-peasy lemon squeezy* and *easy-peasy X pie* could, at least potentially, be independent extensions of *easy-peasy*, but their current operation in language maintains them as alternatives that appear equally viable and sustainable.

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Abstract

Versification

Edited by Frog, Satu Grünthal, Kati Kallio and Jarkko Niemi

Versification describes the marriage of language and poetic form through which poetry is produced. Formal principles, such as metre, alliteration, rhyme, or parallelism, take precedence over syntax and prosody, resulting in expressions becoming organised as verse rather than prose. The aesthetic appeal of poetry is often linked to the potential for this process to seem mysterious or almost magical, not to mention the interplay of particular expressions with forms and expectations. The dynamics of versification thus draw a general interest for everyone, from enthusiasts of poetry or forms of verbal art to researchers of folklore, ethnomusicology, linguistics, literature, philology, and more. The authors of the works in the present volume explore versification from a variety of angles and in diverse cultural milieus. The focus is on metrics in practice, meaning that the authors concentrate not so much on the analysis of the metrical systems per se as on the ways that metres are used and varied in performance by individual poets and in relationship to language.

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