Rhyme and Rhyming in Verbal Art, Language, and Song

Edited by
Venla Sykäri and Nigel Fabb

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Editorial Office
SKS
P.O. Box 259
FI-00171 Helsinki

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Preface

Rhyme as a major form of sound parallelism is found widely in the verbal arts of the world. After becoming established in many different languages all over the world from early to late Middle Age periods, it appears in all kinds of poetries: those composed orally as well as by pen; poems memorized, improvised, sung, recited and read. In research, rhyme is abundantly addressed in literature studies, linguistic and metrical analyses, and recently, after the bloom of rhyme in rap lyrics, increasingly in studies of popular song. Song writers' manuals typically provide extended rhyme typologies. Individual rhymed oral traditions are documented extensively. However, explicit, comparative research on rhyme chiefly concerns written verse. Moreover, authority and appeal to the literary canon over a significant but limited historical period has sought to constrain what rhyme is, despite a previous history in which practices varied and the persistence throughout of several kinds of alternative aesthetics. This is still well-established in such value-laden terminology as pure vs. impure rhyme and perfect vs. imperfect rhyme.

Neither the problems of terminology (discussed in Brogan & Cushman 2012: 1190; Scherr 1986: 198) nor the multiplicity of aesthetics have passed unnoticed. For example, the major reference on poetics, *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics* notes that the literary canon is challenged by alternative aesthetics established (1) in oral and popular traditions, (2) in song lyrics, and (3) in literary verse itself (Brogan & Cushman 2012: 1184). However, the availability of research that would explicitly focus on this variety of aesthetics is poor. Today, many literary scholars, folklorists, musicologists, linguists and others focus with new interest on practices which bridge between oral and literary cultures, and there is an ever greater need for access to knowledge of different poetries and poetics, historical and current – in general: how different traditions and trends are appropriate and aesthetically pleasing to those of whose culture, language, and practice they are part.

With this challenge in mind, and the goal of proposing a language- and tradition-sensitive approach to rhyme, this book offers perspectives on different kinds of rhymed traditions and practices. After an introductory discussion on rhyme's aspects in research, the book's chapters make

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excursions to the development, forms, aesthetics, methods, and contexts of rhyme and rhyming. The geographical areas discussed are varied, yet there is a clear focus on Europe and several contributions come from the Northern countries, in particular Finland. This reflects the scholarly collaborations and mental landscape from which this book emerges.

The book grew out of the conference 'Rhyme and Rhyming in Verbal Art and Song' held in Helsinki in May 2019. The initial impetus for an international conference on rhyme came from Venla Sykäri, who from the late 1990s has focused her research on rhymed registers of oral poetry and the process of oral composition with end rhyme. The need for cross-disciplinary discussion on the forms, terms, and meanings of rhyme first arose from the apparent conflict between the informants' ideas of rhyme in a vital oral culture and literary-oriented research literature. Further, the need for new, more varied perspectives on poetics emerged as the fuzzy boundaries of oral and written in early writings became a central interest in two recent research currents in Finland and the Nordic countries: the study of the long 19th century's literacy and self-taught authors (e.g., Laitinen & Mikkola 2013; Kuismin & Driscoll 2013; Anttonen et al. 2018; Droste & Salmi-Niklander 2019), and in particular, the poetics of the 16th and 17th centuries' hymns and other ecclesiastic texts (e.g., Kallio et al. 2016; Lehtonen & Kaljundi 2016). The conference was realized in collaboration with colleagues working in the Academy of Finland -funded research project *Letters and Songs: Registers of Beliefs and Expressions in the Early Modern North*, led by Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen in the Finnish Literature Society (SKS) in 2016–2020. This project also secured the conference's funding. Among its research lines, the project focused on analysing and reinterpreting questions of poetic aesthetics related to the valorization, practice, and interaction of the two Finnish metrical systems: rhymed and stanzaic vs. non-rhymed, alliterative, and iterative (Kallio, Bastman, Frog in this volume).

The Rhyme Conference inherited a well-working model: it completed a series of international cross-disciplinary conferences on poetics and verbal art organized from 2011 by the Folklore Studies of the University of Helsinki in collaboration with the Finnish Literature Society. Close ties between these two institutions, and the generous support provided by their leaders, professor Lotte Tarkka and secretary general Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen, secured the practical organization and scientific ambition of these events. All earlier conferences and symposiums were generated and guided through by docent Frog. They focused on the notion of Register (2011; 2013), Parallelism (2014), Versification (2016), and Formula (2017). The results have in each case been worked into publications, pre-prints and books, forming a significant inspiration and channel for recent output of the scholarship in related fields (Frog 2014; Agha & Frog 2015; Frog 2017; Frog & Tarkka 2017; Frog et al. 2021; Frog & Lamb 2022).

Similar to these earlier events, the goal of the Rhyme Conference was to discuss rhyme's forms, poetics, and aesthetics in different oral, written, and popular cultures and involving scholars from different disciplinary backgrounds. An additional aim of this event was to focus on history: in particular, to bring the research on rhyme in the Latin and Arabic languages

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within one event, which appeared not to have taken place before. Papers were presented by altogether thirty speakers from Europe, U.S. and South Africa, including keynote lectures by folklorist and ethnomusicologist, professor Dwight Reynolds from University of California, Santa Barbara, U.S., literary linguist, professor Nigel Fabb from University of Strathclyde, UK, and specialist of early Latin poetry, docent Seppo Heikkinen from University of Helsinki, Finland. The cross-disciplinary interaction in the intimate and conversational atmosphere was characterized by heuristic moments; since rhyme had in many cases not been the central focus of research but simply a central feature of the material, new connections were found. This made obvious that the results should also be offered to a wider public. The preparation of an edited volume became feasible as professor Fabb agreed to bring his literary-linguistic expertise into the process and share the editorial work. A selection of conference papers were hence thoroughly revised to become the chapters of this book.

Chapters in the book proceed in a loose historical order. The first six focus on the historical development and forms of rhyme in Arabic and early Latin cultures, in the early modern and modern periods in the Finnic languages Finnish and Estonian, and comparatively in old Germanic and Finnic alliterative cultures. All these chapters make visible how forms of rhyme develop in relation to language, and the chapters on Finnic languages examine how rhyme was employed in cultures relative to the impact of another parallel poetic model and its aesthetics. The second cluster of chapters tackles rhyme's specific psychological and aesthetic characteristics and its role as an established, primary device in recent and contemporary oral poetry, rap songs, and literary poetry. These chapters take up questions of end rhyme's role in oral composition and sung ornamentation, and rhyme's placement within the line in regular and irregular patterns. The last chapter provides an experiment-based analysis of German students' expectations of literary poetry, pointing out the strong mental connection of rhyme with the notion of poetry even in times when free verse reigns.

Authors have been free to use a terminology related to their research areas and traditions. We have however asked each contributor to prefer the term 'line' for poetic lines and only use the term 'verse' as an opposite to 'prose', in order to avoid misunderstanding, unless the term is fundamentally tied to a research tradition, as is the case with respect to the study of indigenous traditions, where 'verse' is equivalent to 'stanza'. We have also asked the authors to avoid, if possible, the use of value-laden terminology. During the process, we settled on the terms 'identical' and 'nonidentical' to be the most neutral terms to discuss whether the final sections of the words which create the parallel sound effect we hear as 'rhyming' are exactly the same or based on partial correspondence. This overlaps in some cases with the term 'identical rhyme' as used for two *words* that are identical, including their onset, and thus commonly regarded as not being able to be rhyme partners. It may also be noted that when we speak of rhyme 'words', the notion 'word' also includes sequences that can contain several words or are parts of longer or compound words. Inconsistency in terminology cannot be avoided when dealing with a phenomenon that has become established during the last 1500

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years in the different local languages and cultures discussed in this volume.

We realize that the rhyme's many faces in terms of aesthetics, language-/tradition-/culture-related forms, history, practices of oral and written composition and performance, should be addressed in the future in a dedicated series of publications. We hope that the excursions provided by this book can serve as an inspiration for more research and presentation of the diversity of rhyme.

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Venla Sykäri and Nigel Fabb

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Nigel Fabb
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4820-7612

Venla Sykäri
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2487-8657

Rhyme in the Languages and Cultures of the World

An Introduction

Rhyme is found in verbal arts throughout the world. In the appendix to this introduction, we offer a partial list of languages whose associated verbal arts sometimes have rhyme.

Rhyme is most commonly found in texts which are poems, including sung poems (songs). Poems are defined as texts which are divided into lines, where lines are a sectioning imposed on the oral or written text which is distinct from the syntactic and prosodic structure (Fabb 2015). However, there are also examples of rhyme used in prose, for example in Latin and Greek (McKie 1997), and Arabic (Fabb 2015 citing Beeston 1983). It is common for rhyme to be found specifically in metrical poems, these being poems whose lines are measured by counting out the elements which comprise them. But rap songs may have nonmetrical lines and nevertheless have rhyme. Where rhyme is found it can be systematic, in the sense that it is possible to predict that a rhyme will appear in a particular place, which is often at the end of the line, but sometimes line-internal. Rhyme can also be non-systematic or emergent or 'sporadic' (Tartakovsky 2014; 2021). And there are intermediate cases where rhyme is both frequent and fairly predictable, but not entirely predictable. The distinction between systematic forms which arise across many texts and non-systematic forms which might arise in one text only is generally important in literature, and particularly in literary criticism which has a particular interest in non-systematic forms and their relation to meaning; it is the distinction which Klima and Bellugi (1976: 57) call 'Conventional form' vs. 'Individual form'. Finally, if we count as 'verbal art' word-games and invented words, for example reduplicative words such as 'hurly burly' (Sherzer 2002; Minkova 2002) then we might find rhyme as an everyday type of verbal art in the language outside poetry, and indeed in this extended sense rhyme may be found everywhere in the world.

Are there languages in which the verbal arts entirely lack rhyme? The entry for Rhyme in *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics* thinks so: 'it is a thundering fact that most of the world's 4,000 languages lack or avoid rhyme in their poetries altogether' (Brogan & Cushman 2012: 1182). We are less certain about this, and take the view that the most we can say is that for a specific language, we know of no description of its verbal art that it has rhyme. Sometimes an exhaustive analysis of a literature explicitly says

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that there is no rhyme, so for example Dell and Elmedlaoui (2008: 61) say that 'rhyming is unknown in traditional Tashlhiyt Berber singing'. But it is always possible that for some language, rhyme might have existed in a now-lost oral form, or it might exist in an unnoticed children's verbal art, or in a poetic form such as the sonnet imported into a language whose literature previously had no rhyme, or in contemporary verbal arts such as rap.

Rap is now an important place for rhyme in many languages whose literatures traditionally do not have rhyme. For example, Korean and Japanese are languages whose known traditional literatures are described as not having rhyme, but rhyme is used in Korean rap songs (Park 2016) and Japanese rap songs (Kawahara 2007; Manabe 2006). Analogous examples of languages where perhaps it is only rap and related genres which have rhyme include, from Central and South America, Tz'utujil-Mayan (Bell 2017), Yucatec Mayan (Cru 2017), Qom (Beiras del Carril & Cúneo 2020), Aymara (Swinehart 2019), and the Quechua songs of Renata Flores or Liberato Kani. We know of examples from Africa including Akan (Shipley 2009), Rhonga (Rantala 2016), and Guinea-Bissau Creole (Lupati 2016). We suspect that there are many more languages whose rap traditions differ from traditional songs and poetry in having rhyme. (The papers we have cited often do not specifically comment on rhyme, but rhyme is clear in the quoted examples, sometimes involving words from two languages.) We note that there is a tension in our discussion between talking about the language as 'having rhyme' in its verbal arts, and the individual composers who are responsible for using rhyme, and indeed may be unusual or innovative in using rhyme: the individual uses rhyme but the tradition does not. We focus however on the general here, and assume that if one author is able to use rhyme in the language, then it is a possibility in the verbal art more generally.

Children's verbal art sometimes has distinctively different characteristics from the adult verbal art in a culture (Campbell 1991). It is possible that children's songs have poetic characteristics not found in the adult verbal art of the same culture. For example, Brăiloiu (1984) and Burling (1966) thought that there was a universal type of rhythmic structure in children's song. (However this is probably not correct, as noted in research summarized in Fabb 2015: 118–120.) We might ask whether children's songs have rhymes in cultures where the adult verse lacks rhyme. In fact, data on this is hard to find, and we do not know of any general surveys of rhyme in children's song, or of specific instances of clearly rhyming children's songs in these otherwise rhymeless traditions; for now we treat this as an open question. There is one specific point to make about rhyme in children's songs, which is that counting rhymes show an interesting function for rhyme, partly because nonsense words are more freely used in children's songs. This relates to the use of rhyme in counting-out games (Marsh 2008), where each word identifies a different individual in a circle of children, such that the final individual is identified by the final rhyme: an English example begins 'eeny meeny miney more / put the baby on the floor'.

While noting hesitations about what we may not know, we now nevertheless make some area-based generalizations about rhyme. European and Western and Northern Asian verbal arts often have rhyme, at least from

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the mediaeval period onward, though their older verbal arts as preserved in the written tradition do not, except sporadically (Reynolds, this volume). Colonialism and emigration brought these rhyming traditions into other parts of the world such as the Americas. Verbal arts which have been influenced by Islam often have rhyme: Arabic, Turkish, Persian, Urdu, Swahili, Hausa – but notably not Somali which has alliteration instead of rhyme. Northern Indian verbal arts tend to have rhyme; some Southern Indian verbal arts have a distinctive use of rhyme on the second syllable of the line. South East Asian verbal arts often have rhyme, with 'hook rhyme' a particular areal characteristic, in which the same line can include both an internal syllable rhyming back into the previous line and a final syllable rhyming forwards into the next line. Chinese verbal art has rhyme, but traditional Korean and Japanese verbal arts do not. Where Pacific verbal arts have rhyme, it tends to involve only the vowels. Rhyme appears in some songs in Central Australian languages. The editors of this volume know about only a few of the large number of verbal art traditions of Papua New Guinea, but none of these few have rhyme. Many African languages have verbal arts which appear to lack rhyme, but rhyme is found in traditional poetries in African Arabic poetry, in Ethiopian poetry, in some Berber poetry, in Hausa, Swahili, and others (sometimes as a result of the influence of Arabic poetry). Perhaps the most striking gap is that we know of almost no accounts of rhyme in the indigenous languages of the Americas, outside of rap; however, we know of unpublished proposals that there is rhyme in some traditions, and Prieto Mendoza (in prep) argues that there is rhyme and alliteration in songs in the Amazonian language Kakataibo.

Verbal arts which do not have rhyme may nevertheless have formal devices which are like rhyme. For example, Yoruba is generally considered not to have rhyme, but Babalola (1966) argues that there is deliberate line-final tonal dissonance, which is a kind of anti-rhyme based on tone. Javanese *matjapat* songs fix which vowels have to come at the end of specific lines in the stanza, depending on genre (Fabb 2015 citing Kartomi 1973). In Hawaiian, final rhyme is usually avoided, but there is repetition of a word or word-part from line end to next line beginning, called 'linked assonance' by Elbert and Mahoe (1970). Black (1988) says that '[a]lthough neither Sumerian nor Akkadian verse is based on rhyme, it can be shown that comparable effects were sometimes exploited.' Indigenous peoples of the northern Russia and Siberia do not have rhyme in their poetry, but for example the Nenets researched by Niemi (1998; Niemi & Lapsui 2004) add a song syllable '*ngey*' in the ends of the lines of their narrative poems thus producing a kind of pseudo-rhyme. Klima and Bellugi (1976: 63) discuss the literary linguistic forms of American Sign Language (ASL) poetry or 'art-sign', in which there is no exact equivalent to rhyme, but where there are similar kinds of signed form such as shared handshape similarity, noting that this 'patterning of linguistic forms in art-sign is by-and-large Individual rather than Conventional.'

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Why Do We Have Typologies of Rhyme, and Other Kinds of Poetic Form?

Rhyme is one of the verbal art forms which are often divided into subkinds or types; that is, it is subject to typologies (or taxonomies, the term preferred in the *Princeton Encyclopedia*). In this section, we consider some reasons for formulating a typology of rhyme or of any type of verbal art form.

One way to think about rhyme typologically is to fit it into a formal hierarchy. As part of a larger hierarchy which contains it, rhyme can be considered a type of sound patterning along with alliteration and possibly other types of sound patterning, which are differentiated by which parts of the word they involve. Sound patterning in turn can be considered a type of parallelism (as Jakobson 1960 claims) in which similar linguistic elements are distributed relatively close to one another in a text. Rhyme can be classified by its own internal hierarchy and can itself be divided into types. Relevant criteria include prosodic prominence (e.g., whether a syllable is stressed), whether the rhyme involves just the final syllable, whether the sounds must be identical, and if nonidentity is allowed what kind of nonidentity (including where vowels are similar but consonants unrelated), whether homophonous but nonidentical words rhyme, whether homophonous but nonidentical suffixes rhyme ('grammatical rhyme', e.g., Opara 2015), whether words are visually similar (eye-rhyme), and so on.

There are various motivations for dividing poetic form into types.

First, the poetic tradition may have its own authorial poetics, where the division of sound-patterns into types is adhered to by authors as part of the rules for composition. For example, alliteration is systematically deployed in Old English metres, and as another example, rhyme is a form systematically deployed in English sonnets. These reflect an 'authorial typology'. Another example can be found in the different named kinds of rhyme which are explicit in mediaeval Irish poetics, where for example rhyme between stressed and unstressed syllables is used in the *deibhidhe* genre of poetry (Knott 1994). The authorial practice may be fully explicit, such that the authors can describe what they do, with a terminology, as is true for the Irish poets. Or it may be implicit but still adhered to as a systematic practice. There are no limits in principle on authorial typologies, and indeed an author can invent a new formal system for each text, as is the practice of some avant-garde writers, such as those in the Oulipo group (Mathews and Brotchie 2005).

Second, the literary critic may divide the form into types in order to produce a critical poetics, and then apply this in a close reading of the text, or in a stylistic analysis, perhaps claiming that each specific type of form has a specific function, such as expressing or supporting a meaning, or producing some response in the reader or listener. This is a 'critical typology', and it need not correspond to the authorial typology. There are no limits in principle on critical typologies. Critical typologies of rhyme can have a large number of types. An example of a large critical typology is presented by Harmon (1987).

A third type we might call a 'convenience typology', which is where we assign types to kinds of poetic form as a shorthand way of referring to them.

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So for example instead of saying 'rhymes which share the same vowels but end in different consonants' we might say 'nonidentical rhymes', thus creating a type without necessarily wanting to make any particular theoretical claim that these are in any important way different from rhymes which share the same vowels and end in the same consonants.

Literary linguists find a fourth reason to divide poetic form into types. This is in order to explain and predict how poetic forms are deployed, and we might call this a 'theoretical typology'. Theoretical typologies have to be justified, and are likely to be small, given general principles of theoretical parsimony. A theoretical typology captures generalizations, where a specific type manifests two or more generalizations at the same time; these generalizations can be absolute, or statistically significant. For example, we can justify a distinction between alliteration and rhyme because they are used in quite different ways, and have different characteristics. The first characteristic is that alliteration is more local than rhyme and the second characteristic is that alliteration does not generally involve intersecting patterns such as abab (Fabb 1999, and Fabb this volume): these two differences converge on the same partitioning of sound patternings, and so justify the theoretical typological distinction between 'alliteration' and 'rhyme'.

Theoretical typologies are hard to establish. For example, despite their being given different names, it is less easy to theoretically justify a distinction between (i) a 'full rhyme' in which vowel and final consonants are involved and (ii) a rhyme in which just the vowel is involved, this being a type of rhyme sometimes called specifically 'assonance'. For a theoretical typology, the distinction between full rhyme and assonance is justifiable only if it can be used to form a generalization which cannot otherwise be made. For example, if a genre has stanzas in which all rhymes but the last are full rhymes and the last is assonance, then this would justify the typological distinction, because we could use the difference between the types to formulate a generalization. It would also be justified to create this typology to distinguish a genre in which there is only ever full rhyme and another genre in which there is only ever assonance. And the typological distinction would be justified if we found that full rhyme was capable of rhyme patterns (e.g., abcabc) which assonance was not capable of. If however the distribution of assonance vs. full rhyme were not subject to any further generalization, then it is not clear that the typological distinction is justified, as part of a theoretical typology. The distinction between assonance and rhyme might therefore exist in a critical typology (and indeed it is used in many critical typologies), but not in the theoretical typology.

As another example, consider the distinction constituted by (i) rhyme between words which have final stress, or 'masculine' rhymes, and (ii) rhyme between words with penultimate stress, or 'feminine' rhymes, a distinction investigated by Tsur (2013). This distinction clearly exists in authorial typologies, as noted earlier. But for this distinction to be part of a theoretical typology, it would be necessary to show that some further generalization can thereby be captured; for example, we might find that masculine rhymes more easily allow mismatched vowels than do feminine rhymes (this is invented to give the example; we do not know if this is true or not). If we could show

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this then we would be moving towards a theoretical justification for the distinction between masculine and feminine rhyme.

Theoretical typologies usually demand some deeper explanation, perhaps in terms of psychological aspects of linguistic form. One of the implications of theoretical typology is that it might help explain why a particular form is used in a particular language. This hypothesis that the forms of the language particularly enable specific literary forms is called 'the development hypothesis' by Fabb (2010), and discussed in the next section.

Linguistics and Rhyme

Theoretical linguists have focused on two questions about rhyme. The first is to what extent rhyme depends on the language having certain characteristics. The second is whether linguistic form can play a role in allowing nonidentical rhyme, between certain sequences of sounds which are not on the surface identical but might have some deeper linguistic similarity.

There is a widespread view that a language offers 'affordances' which make rhyme, or a particular kind of rhyme, possible in its verbal arts, and that languages differ in their affordances. Fabb (2010) calls this 'the development hypothesis' (but does not endorse it – in fact his article argues that it may sometimes be true but not always).

> The Development Hypothesis: Literary language is governed only by rules and constraints which are available to ordinary language, and which refer only to representations which are present (at some stage in a derivation) in ordinary language. (Fabb 2012: 1220.)

A version of the development hypothesis is stated by Sapir in his 1921 book *Language*:

> Study carefully the phonetic system of a language, above all its dynamic features [prosody], and you can tell what kind of a verse it has developed – or, if history has played pranks with its psychology, what kind of verse it should have developed and some day will. (Sapir 1967.)

The development hypothesis can take various forms when it comes to rhyme.

One manifestation of the development hypothesis is the view that the possibility of rhyme depends on the language having words with stress, such that the rhyme includes a stressed syllable. One of the major reasons for this claim relates to the correlational observation that when the Latin language developed word stress, so rhyme appeared in Latin verse. However, this correlation does not always hold: Indonesian is a 'stressless language' (Athanasopoulou et al. 2021), but it does have rhyme in the poetry, in traditional *pantun* and in modern sonnets, for example.

Arguments in the mode of the development hypothesis sometimes correlate a distinction between the linguistic forms of two languages and the poetic forms of the same two languages. One such argument is presented

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by Kentner (2017), who compares reduplication processes in French and Italian against German, and suggests that this correlates with differences in whether the poetries respectively allow rhyme between identical words or not. Wagner and McCurdy (2010) explore another reason why rhymes between identical-sounding words are allowed in French but not in English, based on differences in prosody and information structure.

A second manifestation of the development hypothesis is the view that the vocabulary of a language can make certain kinds of rhyme more easy, or less easy. For example, if there are a limited number of ways in which words can end, perhaps because there are fewer available vowels, then this might have an effect on whether rhyme is used and what kind of rhyme is used. Barbara Reynolds (2000) discusses a version of this argument which has often been made about translations from Italian into English of Dante's *Divine Comedy*. The original text's triplets have *terza rima* rhyme as aba, bcb, cdc, and it is sometimes claimed to be difficult to reproduce in English because it is said to be harder to repeatedly find three words which rhyme together. But, Reynolds notes, '[t]his statement continues to be made, though it can easily be disproved'. It is worth noting that the development hypothesis also makes a possibly incorrect assumption about aesthetics, which is that a verbal art should be constrained so that it is easy to produce poetry relative to the resources of the language. But we should also remember that verbal arts often gain their value by their difficulty, and by the skill of the composer in overcoming those difficulties. Sapir's view that literature should be fitted to language is opposed to the view developed at the same time (in the early 20th century) by the Russian formalists that literature is a difficult rule-breaking practice (Hanson and Fabb 2022).

The development hypothesis is attractive in part because it appeals to the notion of a 'national literature', a literature particularly suited to the nation and to the language which is attributed to that nation. However, the weakness of any claim based on the development hypothesis is that it is usually based on correlating aspects of language and literature either within a single language, or within a small group of languages. There are (to our knowledge) no big typological accounts of the characteristics of all the verbal arts in a large number of languages, which might allow more widely justified generalizations to be formed about how aspects of language correlate with aspects of verbal art. Sapir was overconfident about this, in the absence of extensive supporting evidence. In the appendix to this introduction we list all the languages which we think probably have rhyme in their verbal arts, but it is worth noting that what evidence we could find is in some cases quite thin and indirect. We think there is no full version of this type of list.

The other main way in which theoretical linguists have taken an interest in rhyme relates to nonidentical rhymes, rhymes which involve an inexact match of speech sounds. Nonidentity is an interesting phenomenon in many aesthetic practices, where small amounts of nonidentity are accepted and indeed may be favoured over identity, but where a larger amount of nonidentity is forbidden. In music, for example, there are 'participatory discrepancies' (Keil 1987) where different performers can be slightly out of time or pitch with one another, but not too far out of time or pitch; exactly

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where the threshold lies is worth exploring. In the study of rhyme this is illustrated by Zwicky's (1976) argument that in rock lyrics, two nonidentical words such as 'rock' and 'fop' can rhyme if they differ in one phonological feature such as place of articulation: here, both final consonants are voiceless plosives, differing in place of articulation as velar and bilabial. But words in this tradition cannot rhyme if they differ in two phonological features such as both place and voicing as in the illegitimate rhyme 'rock' and 'fob', where the final consonants are plosives, but differ in two ways: in voicing and in place of articulation. In other cases it may be that the underlying sound-structure of a word, before various phonological alterations have occurred, is the basis of the rhyme. Fabb (1997) discusses some of the ways in which linguists have characterised the limits on difference in nonidentical rhymes, and for further discussion of the linguistics of nonidentity in rhyme, see Kiparsky (1981[1973]), Worth (1977), Malone (1982; 1988a; 1988b), Holtman (1996), Steriade (2003), Kawahara (2007), Jefferson et al. (2014) and van der Schelde (2020). It is worth noting that the notion of intermediate levels of complexity in rhyme parallels the idea in psychological aesthetics, in Wundt (1874) and Berlyne (1971) for example, that aesthetic pleasure depends on intermediate levels of complexity.

Psychology and Rhyme

Psychologists have long been interested in rhyme, because as a sequential relationship between related words it can tell us things about memory and other aspects of our psychology. Much of this work has involved lists of words, often invented words, where some words rhyme with other words. Relatively little of this experimental work has involved poetry, and a great deal of caution is needed when carrying over findings from word lists to making speculations about poetry, a point made by Rubin and Wallace (1989). Some of this research is discussed in Fabb, this volume, and also summarized in Fabb (2015).

Rubin (1995) argues that rhyme makes poems easier to remember, and this has been one of the major issues in the psychology of verbal art. Another major issue relates to fluency effects: when a text is processed more fluently (e.g., words are recognized more quickly), all kinds of side-effects can arise, such as the text being liked more, or its being considered more true; this is explored as an effect of rhyme by Obermeier et al. (2016). Knoop et al. (2019) explore both linguistic and psychological aspects of nonidentical rhymes (called 'imperfect' in their article), including issues relating to the order of words within a rhyme. The extent to which systematic rhyme in a poem leads to expectations which can be satisfied or disappointed is explored by Scheepers et al. (2016).

Much of the psychological work on rhyme has looked at what the relation between rhyming words can tell us about word recall, and access to the mental lexicon, and is not specifically focused on poetry. For example it is possible to test whether a word X makes a word Y more easily retrieved from memory when the two words rhyme (i.e., 'priming' experiments), and

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this illuminates the relation between words as they are stored in memory (e.g., Dufour and Peereman 2012, or Allopenna et al. 1998 for an experiment using eye-tracking). Dautriche et al. (2017) look at how similar sounding words can be confused by a listener; they find that there are many factors, such as the fact that nouns are more likely to be confused with other similar-sounding nouns than with similar-sounding verbs (Dautriche et al. 2017: 137). These are findings which might be carried over to look at what kinds of words tend to rhyme with what others. Creel et al. (2006) pairs invented words with a CVCV structure, and finds that words which share the same consonants are more easily confused than words which share the same vowels, an interesting finding given that this loosely correlates with the alliteration-rhyme distinction, but needs to be tested in the context of poetry. The last two of these psychological experiments look at the confusability between pairs of words which in principle would seem to be a bad thing; but it is not clear exactly what we would expect when looking for similar patterns in poetry, which needs in different ways to be both easy and hard, as noted above.

Other studies ask whether words which rhyme are for that reason processed in a specific area of the brain (e.g., Khateb et al. 2007), and have looked at how rhymes are processed in silent reading (Chen et al. 2016). Though this work tends not to be specifically on poetry, there are implications for the study of poetry, as Rapp and Samuel (2002) note.

Fabb (2015) presents an account of the relation between various kinds of poetic form, including rhyme, and working memory, drawing specifically on the systems approach to working memory of Baddeley (2012). Fabb (2015: 26, 172, 184) defines a poem (spoken or written) as follows:

> A poem is a text made of language, divided into sections which are not determined by syntactic or prosodic structure.

This definition is put to use in the following hypothesis:

> A poetic section on which systematic added forms depend must be able to fit as a whole unit into the episodic buffer in working memory.

This applies to systematic rhyme, rhyme whose presence and location can be predicted in the text. The simplest example of this is a text which always has line-final rhyme; but other kinds of line-internal rhyme can be predicted. The hypothesis specifically applies to the rule which locates the rhyme relative to a section of text, and requires that the section of text be short enough to fit as a whole into working memory. For comparison, about sixteen words of syntactically coherent English speech can fit into working memory. This generally means that it should be possible to require a rhyme to be located relative to short sections such as a line or couplet. But there is a specific prediction that rhyme should not be located relative to a long section such as a quatrain: that is, we would not expect to find a type of verbal art in which a rhyme occurs only at the end of every four lines. This is quite a loose prediction, and it depends on negative evidence; the positive evidence Fabb

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presents in his book is that a large number of rhyming traditions in fact locate the rhyme relative to the shorter sections of line, long line or couplet. Fabb distinguishes between two aspects of rhyme: the location of the rhyming word relative to the constituency of the text vs. the pattern of rhymes (such as abab or abcbca etc). He makes no prediction about rhyme patterns and suggests that the distance between two words which rhyme is not limited by working memory.

As a final comment on psychology and rhyme we note that there has been research on young children's general sensitivity to rhyme, which is relevant here because this has a bearing on the distribution of rhyme in the world's verbal art. There has been experimental work in this area, though often – as usually in psychological studies – it is on rhyme in word lists rather than in poetry or song. The experimental evidence in general has sometimes suggested that very young children process alliteration more readily than rhyme in word lists: '9-month-olds are sensitive to shared features that occur at the beginnings, but not at the ends of syllables' (Jusczyk et al. 1999: 62, who also note how frequently alliteration appears in young children's word play). On the other hand, Hahn et al. (2018) offer evidence that very young children can also detect rhymes. All the work we know on children's songs which rhyme is in cultures which also have adult traditions with rhyme (e.g., English, Dutch, etc.). This means that we cannot be sure what role prior familiarity with rhyme may have in making children aware of rhyme; for example Hahn et al.'s (2018) study of Dutch 9-month olds showed that they were able to discriminate rhymes, but also that they already had vast experience with rhymes in the songs they had been exposed to.

Literary Criticism and Rhyme

One of the disciplinary locations for the analysis of rhyme is in literary criticism, both in the evaluative criticism in newspapers and other outlets, and in the historical and theoretical approach taken in literature departments. In this brief section we summarize some of the driving principles of much literary critical work as it pertains to rhyme; some of these principles can be seen in operation also in chapters of the present book.

Literary criticism focuses on individual authors, in their historical context, and on the traditions formed by those authors. For example, McDonald (2012) offers a reading of rhyme in the work of nineteenth century British poets; Small (1990) explores Emily Dickinson's use of rhyme; Caplan (2017) is an anthology of essays on rhyme in mostly English language poetry from critical, stylistic and historical perspectives; Tartakovsky (2021) discusses rhyme in free verse. This focus on the individual author in turn relates to the role of evaluation in literary criticism, and the practice of close reading to identify local authorial stylistic choices and their consequences.

Evaluation is important in literary criticism. On the one hand, critics may look at how writers were evaluated in their own context, and on the other hand, critics may evaluate poems in how they function for us as readers now. Consider for example the rhyming practices of John Keats

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(English, 1795–1821), particularly in the *Poems* of 1817 and in *Endymion* (1818, in rhyming couplets). Keach (1986) and McDonald (2012) are two critics who examine early nineteenth century Tory (right-wing) attacks on Keats's looseness in rhyme by associating it with his looseness (liberalism) of politics: 'the Cockney school of versification, morality, and politics' (Keach 1986: 183 quoting a contemporary review). Keats's looseness is in his allowing enjambment across the boundaries of the rhyming couplet, in opposition to Pope and other writers of the previous century. There is also a claimed looseness (and in this interpretation, a low value) in how the rhymes drive the poetry: 'He seems to us to write a line at random, and then he follows not the thought excited by this line, but that suggested by the rhyme with which it concludes' (Mcdonald 2012: 118 also quoting a contemporary critic). In their literary critical accounts, Keach and McDonald attempt to understand the contemporary debate and Keats's intentions, look for causal factors in the writing of the poetry, and to some extent also evaluate the quality of the poetry. Thus for example Keach argues that the need to find a rhyme may combine with other driving forces, in a productive aesthetic practice which draws on 'the stylistic instincts encouraged and shaped by that context' (Keach 1986: 196).

A second major theme in literary criticism is to characterise the forms of the text, often at a granular level. Many of the chapters in the present book look at the stable aspects of rhyming traditions, where a type of rhyme is used in the same way across a large number of texts. Stable forms are most interesting to literary critics not because of their generality (which in contrast interests linguists) but because of the opportunities that stable forms offer for combining meanings in formal pairings, for example by looking at how the fact of couplet end rhyme can pair two words whose meanings can be productive in combination. Literary critics also focus on the non-systematic forms which depend not on pre-existing principles of writing but almost entirely on authorial choice. This approach places no limits in principle on what counts as a form, since these forms are emergent, based on the identification of some repetition. In the case of rhyme, this might mean looking for repetitions of vowels and final consonants apart from the stable line-final rhyme system. Here is an example from McDonald (2012: 116), reading Keats:

> the insistent, almost too-obvious internal rhyme [...] "To toll me back from thee from my sole self" [...] has behind it another almost immediate sounding of verbal likeness, in 'bell' and 'toll' while it contains also a secondary internal rhyme on 'me' and 'thee'. Even between 'bell' and 'self', the distinction in rhyme consists in no more than a single letter.

In this mode of close reading of (in principle) every part of the text, the forms are described and then sometimes evaluated; sometimes either effects on the reader are claimed, or non-coded 'stylistic' meanings are proposed as produced by the forms (presumably by implicature). As the quoted passage indicates, literary critical accounts of form are often improvisatory, choosing and varying the level of focus on the text in order to find material to which

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effects and meaning can be attributed; and in some cases, the entire text is treated as a collection of formal choices each of which can be meaningful or have some other effect. The literary critics characteristically draw on their own intuitions in these evaluations and attributions, and assert their own authority as an expert reader.

Rhyme in Oral Poetry

Analysis of literary poetry typically expects rhyme to serve semantic ends in addition to its structural and rhythmic roles. In contrast, rhyme in oral poetry is often understood chiefly as a device helping the retrieval of lines and sections from memory. This is provably a significant aspect of rhyme in many genres of orally performed memorized songs and poems (Rubin 1996). Wider perspectives in oral poetry (e.g., Bauman 1977: 18–19) note that poetic devices such as rhyme can either work to enhance memory or to show skills in the successful composition of novel utterances by deploying these conventions; this is especially the case in lyrical improvisation. Finally, as suggested by Sykäri (2011: 75–78; 2017), if we listen carefully to the practitioners, we need at least a threefold division to approaching the basic cognitive and aesthetic processes in the creation and performance of oral 'text'.

First, there is 'pure' memorization, that is, rendition of a memorized text. This rendition can be close to verbatim or include changes caused by the recall process. In an oral culture such an aim may be inscribed in the genre, for example ritual songs, or related to the singers' capacity to only perform memorized songs and not to produce new verses. The second category would be that of oral composition based on verse materials, motifs, and/or story lines that are known in the community, but the use of which in each performance varies. As described by Lord (2000 [1960]), traditional formulas and formulaic structures, recurrent themes and story lines, as well as artistic and situation-sensitive variation, are characteristic of the epic composition-in-performance which he and Milman Parry researched. The means of oral composition can vary largely in different epic traditions, yet the epic performers' goal in versification is the same: to deliver a traditional story (see Reynolds in this volume, see also e.g, Reichl 2020; 2022). This category is already large and varied, and between it and the third category several genres, such as laments and praise songs, employ traditional formulaic language to create personalized, situation-sensitive entities. A third category is what oral singers themselves refer to as improvisation or extemporization and, in the divergence of the latter, the explicit aim of the performer is to create new, situation-sensitive images and messages. These are transformed to conform to the conventions of the respective poetic language, register, genre, and adapted to the on-going performance event. Such genres are typically argumentative, dialogic, and socially interactive: short genres (couplets, quatrains, quintets, etc,), contest poetry and its current recreational variants, mocking songs, or longer situational compositions. In contemporary cultures of lyrical improvisation, end rhyme is emblematic of

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poetic languages employed, and its significance is major both as a difficulty for the beginner and a creative tool for the experienced performer.

Rhymes in oral poetry are sometimes referred to as being 'mere assonance'. With regard to the orally produced, transmitted, and performed poetry, it is however important to note the following things: first, as oral poetry is chiefly performed by singing, or rhythmically reciting, the sound similarity does not need to be very explicit in order to be understood as such. The musical performance, melody and rhythm, co-creates the experience and the performer can stress desired sounds effectively. This is why a too pervasive identity is often employed and perceived as comic, for example as parody. Second, when the genre characterized by end rhyme is wholly or partly intended for improvisation, it must allow a large variety of words to appear at the ends of the lines in order to allow witty and surprising rhymes. Lyrical improvisers use both textual and musical processing to simultaneously create semantically new and meaningful utterances and sound-patterned lines. Recent experimental evidence indicates that experienced freestyle rappers judge the quality and acceptability of nonidentical rhymes with both left and right brain hemispheres, these being responsible for musical and linguistic processing, correspondingly, while non-experts judge them only with linguistic processing (Cross 2017; Cross & Fujioka 2019). Oral production and aural reception thus deploy multiple channels for coding and decoding poetic utterances, which may at least partly contrast with reading a text on paper. Finally, oral poetry and its imposed poetic forms may develop in close interaction with the given language (fitting the 'development hypothesis' described above). When stating his preference of speaking of song meter rather than poetic meter in oral song, Finnish musician and musicologist, professor Heikki Laitinen (2003: 208–209) also comments on the question of restrictions and allowances in meter. He takes up the claim made by Finnish linguist Pentti Leino (1982: 314, note 5) that 'in song the language system's restrictions are broken much more freely than in other poetry'. Laitinen argues that from the song meter researcher's point of view, song meter is not more free, but literary poetry has more restrictions: because the meter of written poetry also has to be *seen*, it needs more restrictions than oral. Any typology or definition of the type of rhymes used in oral poetry should therefore see established oral forms as primary, and the literary forms of that same culture as secondary, to the phenomenon under focus.

This does not mean that such authorial typologies as explained above would not exist in oral cultures, or between a group of oral performers. In his comprehensive 'Theory of poetic improvisation' (*Teoría de la Improvisación Poética*, in Spanish), Cuban improviser and author Alexis Díaz-Pimienta (2014: 445–467) explains how the contemporary Cuban community of *repentistas*, lyrical improvisers, discard assonance as a serious fault in the ten-line *décima* (rhymed abba-ac-cddc) and opt for identical rhyme (in Spanish referred to as consonance) even to the detriment of better choices with respect to the content. In general, Díaz-Pimienta argues that recent generations search for literary values in the composition of improvised oral poetry in a way unknown to their predecessors; this is due to professionalization and new media, and generally the performers'

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greater degree of education and parallel knowledge of literary cultures and values. On the other hand, we know very little of internal evaluation and criteria assimilated and implemented, for example, by very competent performers in most past traditions and communities. However, the chief values of any contemporary culture of lyrical improvisation or composition-in-performance stem precisely from orality: the capacity to compose poetry with an oral method and to act in an emergent, evolving performance.

Pathways to Rhyme and Rhyming

The thirteen chapters of the book proceed in two thematic clusters: rhyme's language-related development and use in historical contexts is addressed first, and established forms of rhyme and rhyming in recent and contemporary cultures are studied in the second. The opening chapter on Arabic poetry (Reynolds) introduces both early history and recent usage. Chapter six on Estonian poetry addresses all periods of the young literary history in this language, and the Finnish history of rhyme is addressed in chapters four, five, eight, and twelve. Midway between the two clusters, Fabb's account of rhyme's psychological and aesthetic characteristics lays the ground for analysis in the rest of the chapters, and offers as clue as to why systematic alliteration in many of the languages discussed in the first part yielded to systematic rhyme.

Rhyme in Arabic and Mediaeval Latin

Chinese poetry is documented to have had systematic rhyme for more than three thousand years (Brogan & Cushman 2012: 1182; Rouzer 2012: 234–235), and in Europe, Irish poetics, perhaps continuing a tradition in an elder but now lost poetry, demonstrably deployed rhyme early, even if the direction of early influences between Irish poetry and Latin hymnology are not very clear (Brogan & Cushman 2012: 1184). The Arabic mono-endrhyme is the first systematic usage of rhyme among the Middle Eastern and South Asian ancient literary cultures, and one of great worldwide impact, also on the inception of rhymed stanzaic poetry in the Iberian Peninsula.

Dwight Reynolds' extensive account of rhyme in Arabic poetry begins by presenting the long-standing culture where rhyme is documented already by the fifth century and is conceptualized not only as a characteristic but also an obligatory part of poetry. Along with poetry and prose Arabic employs rhymed prose, which is characteristic of many literature genres as well as the Qur'an, and prosimetric forms typical of oral narratives with alternating passages in prose and poetry. The pervasiveness of the end rhyme is also visible in Arabic poetry anthologies and dictionaries, both of which were being produced from eighth century onward, with entries organized according to their final letter. The spread of Islam carried with it the Arabic poetic principle of end rhyme. Reynolds then focuses on the multicultural chains of poetic influence and practice in the Arabic speaking Muslim Spain, al-Andalus. The invention of the song-form called *muwashshah* or *zajal* broke the Arabic end-of-line mono-rhyme culture by introducing interplay with

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passages that used different end rhymes, and later also internal rhymes. The establishment of the new poetic forms immediately preceded the emergence of systematic rhyme in European vernaculars, as in the Occitan that was the birth place of the troubadour culture which flourished in 1100–1300, further influencing several other parts of Europe already during the 12th century (Paden 2012: 966–969).

The enthusiasm with which the new rhymed strophe models were encountered by the multi-ethnic and multi-language al-Andalus communities, and the succeeding impact, resembles a phenomenon which we can see now: the spread and adaption of hiphop culture and rap as its lyrical and musical element all over the world by young people after the commodification of the originally orally performed new styles in early 1980s. Similarly as described by Reynolds for al-Andalus and poetry written in Arabic by non-native poets, in most non-anglophone communities abroad, rap lyrics were first produced in English, which was the language of the African and Latino American youth that created this new genre. In the succession, the stylistic conventions of the new genre were adapted to native idioms.[1] While this adaption was often smooth because it could build on the shared medieval cultural heritage of established end rhyme and stanza forms, the impulse given by the U. S. hiphop culture was so pervasive that also young people in cultures where rhyme was not a conventional device of poetry began to rhyme their songs (for Japan and Korea, see Kawahara 2007, Manabe 2006, and Park 2016), as discussed elsewhere in this introduction. We may also recognise how contemporary rap lyrics have often 'turned into a veritable bacchanal of rhymes', which is how Reynolds depicts the al-Andalus fervour (see also Oddekalv in this volume).

Reynolds extends his chapter to an analysis of how the Arabic mono-end-rhyme worked in a previously notable oral tradition of Arabic epic singing. Based on his own long-term fieldwork in the community of hereditary epic singers in 1960s and 70s, this part of the chapter sheds light on how this end rhyme form structures the process of oral composition and the resulting product. The Arabic epic composers' practices of rhyming their sequences with a certain end rhyme letter (standing for sound) as an identifier of that particular sequence, and the ability to also switch into another letter instead, exhibits how trained cognitive skills work in oral composition, with such inverted methods typical of poetic idioms that use end rhyme (cf. Sykäri in this volume).

While the Arabic use of rhyme was systematic – and obligatory – from early medieval times, rhyme was employed in Latin only sporadically and in several forms until its formalization during the high Middle Ages (early 11th to late 12th centuries), as discussed in the next chapter by Seppo Heikkinen. In Latin we see a notably different rhyme structure and development where the grammatical structure, which produces similar forms due to inflectional endings, and the changes of the metrical system, eventually

1 For the early history of hiphop and rap, see e.g., Rose 1994; Chang 2005; Toop 2000. On development outside the U.S., see e.g., Mitchell 2001; Alim et al. 2009; Terkourafi 2010; Nitzsche & Grünzweig 2013; Sykäri et al. 2019.

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ended up producing regular two-syllable rhymes. Heikkinen elaborates on different early sources and influences that have or may have contributed to the development of rhyme in Latin: oral-derived poetic devices and the grammatical structure, the common stylistic device of hyperbaton that creates line-internal rhymes, foreign Semitic and Celtic influences, and the sequence, a novel form of ecclesiastical music and poetry that first appeared as an appendage of the Alleluia.

Heikkinen emphasizes that the development of rhyme in Latin was very slow and based on parallel usages and impact from both the change of the metrical system and external influence. The change of the metrical, quantitative system to syllabic and stress-based metre thus was not the only reason. We may compare this with Greek, which underwent during the first millennium a similar metrical change, but the modernizing vernacular Greek language poetry did not assimilate rhyme until late 14th century first in Crete, becoming standardised by 1500 in the Dodecanese islands, the areas under the Venetian and French conquest (Beaton 1980: 148–150; Holton 1991). Even then, the central metre, the iambic fifteen-syllable line, remained unrhymed on the mainland, where rhyme was objected to as a foreign Western device (Beaton 1980: 148–149). Because the chief form of poetry, oral and written, in the islands ever since the advent of rhyme has been the rhyming couplet, either as a stand-alone unit or structural element of longer narrative compositions, many researchers consider that rhyme and the couplet form arrived and were adopted from Italian troubadour poetry as one parcel. (For an overview, see Sykäri 2011: 117–119.)

Rhyme's Coexistence with Alliteration and Development in Finnic Languages

Rhyme became established in the poetry of the major European language groups, Romance and Germanic, between the 12th and 13th centuries (Gasparov 1996; Brogan & Cushman 2012). The earlier established poetic device in Old Germanic as well as Finno-Karelian languages was alliteration, and this gave way to rhyme, similarly as in Latin, only after long periods of coexistence. The next four chapters discuss various stages of development from rhyme's sporadic occurrences in alliterative poetry in Northern European languages to the impact of alliteration in rhymed poetry and the processes of rhyme's establishment in the Finnic languages. While systematic rhyme and systematic alliteration are fundamentally different as poetic devices (Fabb in this volume) and chiefly appear in different traditions and historical layers, alliteration sometimes prior to rhyme, this does not hinder their coincidental, complementary or purposeful coexistence in sound patterning. In written song lyrics this is today often taken advantage of (e.g., Alim 2006; Bradley 2009; Salley 2011).

In chapter three, Frog compares the appearance and role of rhyme in three languages which rely on alliteration as their primary and in some cases obligatory poetic device: Old English, Old Norse, and Finno-Karelian poetry. The Old English (and Old Saxon) poetry addressed by Frog was being written and copied from roughly the eighth through the twelfth century while the Old Norse poetry was mainly written down in the thirteenth and fourteenth

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century. As an inheritance from Old Germanic, these languages used alliterative meters until rhyme became prevalent in poetry of the subsequent vernaculars. Finno-Karelian languages were employed for writing only by the 16th century and chiefly for religious texts until the 19th century. Oral poetry held to its alliterative runosong tradition in eastern areas until the 20th century, and the material written down chiefly dates from the 19th century.

As noted by Frog, the processes of documenting Old Germanic oral poetry are not known and they may have varied between texts. As rhyme was not the expected device, texts may have been produced in a manner sustaining the uniformity of the metricalized device of alliteration. Moreover, while rhymes have been recognized in Old English, their occurrences have been viewed as lacking intentionality, and researchers have often only looked at end rhymes including the stressed syllable similar to later poetry. However, in a few yet clear cases rhyme co-occurs with the lack of metrically conventional or additional alliteration thus indicating that it was deliberatively used as a metrical compensation. Old Norse Eddic and Skaldic poetries also show that rhyme was a recognized device that appeared in multiple forms, even if on stressed syllables extremely rarely.

In Heikkinen's chapter we saw that in Latin, rhymes appear due to the inflectional forms characteristic of the language's grammatical structure. Finnish and Karelian are heavily inflected languages with long words, and phonic parallelism similarly produces morphological rhymes, whether this is intentional or not (see also Reichl 2020 on Kirghiz epics). It may be for this reason that rhymes in Finnish and Karelian alliterative poetry have not drawn much attention. Alliteration in Finnic oral poetry is not metricalized, and just as its density varies between regions, traditions, and users, rhymes are more frequent in certain song dialects and certain singers. Frog points out that formulaic constructions lacking alliteration are more stable when this syntactic construction entails grammatical rhyme. In general, rhyme appears as a significant form of sound parallelism yet not a deliberate device for production of lines. Frog concludes that in all these languages rhyme appears beyond its incidental or ornamental occurrences in varying forms and degrees in relation to alliteration. Differences between the Germanic Old English and Old Norse are due to changes in the poetic ecologies, and between the Germanic and Finnic due to different linguistic structures and that alliteration is not metricalized in the latter, allowing larger variation in the creation of phonic parallelism.

In Scandinavia and its developing vernaculars deriving from Old Norse, the Norwegian four-line couplet *gamalstev* (old stave) rhyming abab or abcb is estimated to date from the 12th century and thus to be the oldest form of rhymed oral poetry in the area (Åkesson 2003; Ekgren & Ekgren 2021). Bengt R. Jonsson (1991) also identifies the development of the Northern ballad in Norway, which became established there first as written poetry during the last decades of the 13th century, but soon spread in oral tradition all over Scandinavia. Unlike in these close-by Scandinavian languages, however, the development of rhymed poetry was much further delayed in the non-Indo-European languages of the North-Eastern margins of Europe:

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Finnish, Karelian and Estonian. It is clear that along with the Scandinavian influences, rhyme reached at least the coastal areas of Finland and Estonia, but for example ballad themes coming from west, south, and east were first integrated into the unrhymed runosong tradition (Asplund 1994: 33–34, 801–802). In addition to that the Finnic languages did not yet have established literary forms, their established oral poetic system, the trochaic, iterative, alliterative eight-syllable line meter, was very strong. It held its vitality as an oral culture in Eastern parts of Finland, Karelia, Ingria and Estonia until the beginning of the 20th century. Today, this shared tradition is often referred to as the runosong poetry (*runolaulu* in Finnish, *regilaul* in Estonian), and the meter the Finnic tetrameter; the conventionalized terms Kalevala-meter or kalevalaic poetry are also current in philological and folkloristic research (chapters by Frog, Kallio, and Bastman; for the terms, see Kallio et al. 2017).

As examined by Kati Kallio in the fourth chapter, systematic rhyme is documented in Finnish poetry only after the Reformation and the impact of Evangelist Lutheran hymn singing and other rhymed texts written by clergymen with the new models deriving from Sweden and Germany. Even in the west coast, where Swedish was (and is) widely spoken and the runosong tradition had quite totally yielded to rhymed and stanzaic forms by the 18th century, rhymed forms seem to have become established only during the 16th and 17th centuries in connection to Lutheran hymn singing. These early rhymed texts featured unstable and mixed uses of alliteration and rhyme, the first associated with the runosong and presumably non-intentional, the latter with the new Lutheran practices and intentional. Kallio shows how the rhymed texts have been evaluated sometimes as purposeful trials to quit the old, 'pagan' runosong tradition, sometimes as attempts to avoid its integrated Catholic references to saints, and in some cases the rhymed texts are attributed to a lack of compositional skill. When the analysis, however, takes into account a more varied set of impacts and interpretations, for example the impact of the runosong culture and the priests' continuing use of Latin, it is possible to see these common practices as being aesthetically accepted and up-to-date, as discussed by Kallio.

In chapter five, Eeva-Liisa Bastman's analysis also connects with the question of influence between alliteration and rhyme, and their parallel use, but by this end of the 18th century case of devotional text of the Pietist movement, rhyme is the expected genre convention. Bastman shows how the aesthetics of rhyme may, among other things, be influenced by the existence of a characteristically yet not normatively alliterative tradition.

Between oral poetry (orally composed, or memorized and orally performed poetry) and written 'high' literature, a lot of material was produced by non-elite authors during the long 19th century, a period of time counted from late 18th until early 20th century, and one of major social changes. In his division between oral, oral-derived and written-to-be-performed-orally poetic 'texts', as a result of intersections between methods of production, ways of performance, and layers of textualisation, John Miles Foley (2002) coined the term 'written oral poetry', by which he meant poetry written but deploying an oral register, or stylistic conventions of one. With the spread of literacy, also writing was increasingly taken up by self-taught authors in

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the 18th and 19th century, with contributions directed especially at public education, historical accounts, and texts for spiritual uses. These texts often deployed commonly known oral registers as their basis, nevertheless regularizing stylistic components that were sparingly employed in oral usage and introducing linguistic structures from literary texts' conventions (Leino 1975). In relation to rhyme, this could sometimes mean parallel use of identical and nonidentical rhymes, or hypercorrect use of identical rhymes regardless of them being forced to fulfil only this aspect. In Finland, as well as elsewhere, the elite neither valued the emergent aspirations of the written oral poetry producers nor the more literature-oriented non-elite authors, both of whom begun to gain readership in the 18th century, followed by the opening of printing facilities to larger spheres and secular purposes in the form of broadsides and similar cheap publications (e.g., Laitinen & Mikkola 2013; Kuismin & Driscoll 2013).

Bastman analyses in depth the poetics of one late 18th century devotional text produced by a lay author among the Pietist movement. By the time of its writing, in the 1780s, the ongoing regularization of the Finnish written versification had come to the point where the hymn poetry metre was very regular, but the rhymes still were not. To make sense of how rhyme was possibly understood in this historical and spiritually purpose-oriented context, Bastman turns to examine the rhyming usage together with other forms of sound patterning, alliteration and assonance. Assonance is understood here as unordered sound parallelism, either assonant (regarding vowels) or consonant (regarding consonants) within the words and lines. Her analysis comes to two conclusions. Her first conclusion is that the nonidentical rhymes featured in the text were products of the historical situation in which rhyme's formal prerequisites were not yet established, and all the other poetic devises were conventionally deployed intermittently rather than normatively, in both strong and weak forms – thus rhyme could be aesthetically understood as a similar intermittent device with strong and weak alternatives. Second, she points out that all forms of sound patterning collaborated in the text in the creation of a multilayered emotional soundscape whose chief goal was performative: to allow the singers to put their soul into the joint spiritual act of singing, which was in this as in so many other spiritual movements understood as a major form of praising and communicating with the supreme being (cf. e.g., Kapchan 2009 for Sufism in France).

In addition to the above-mentioned reasons for rhyme being assimilated late in the Finnic languages, the Estonian language presents problems in terms of possibilities for identical sound patterning by its very structure. In chapter six, Maria-Kristina Lotman and Rebekka Lotman analyse how identical and different types of nonidentical rhymes have been employed and advocated in the history of Estonian literary poetry. Ever since the 17th century, when the first Lutheran hymns were translated and first secular poems composed in Estonian, the new literary device of rhyme collided with the Estonian vowel system, where vowel sounds are of unusually high number and have three durations. The short literary history has involved on the one hand efforts to conform to the strict rules advocated by the primary

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literary model, German poetry, and on the other hand finding alternative models through experimenting with language. Rhyme has also been advised to be discarded altogether in favour of alliteration, which is the poetic device integrated in the oral runosong poetry. As shown with detailed case studies by the Lotmans, especially rhyme-partners with vowels of different durations and paired with umlauts continue to exist through the history, although this has varied greatly between authors.

Rap has become a significant popular genre also in Estonia, and there are now few obstacles in fitting the language with the several nonidentical rhyme forms brought about by rap rhyme models. The tables presented by the Lotmans point out the significance of the replication of the vowel sounds and less consideration for the consonants, which is one of the typical features of the U.S. rap (Alim 2006; Bradley 2009). As the replication of a series of vowels in the relatively long rhyme sections has established as the chief type of rap rhyme in Finnish, where words are long and compounds equally common, several Finnish studies on popular songs and rap have referred to this type of rhyme as a 'vowel rhyme' (see Sykäri 2014; 2017; also Sykäri in this volume).

Rhyme's Psychological and Aesthetic Qualities with Regard to Alliteration

Alliteration is sometimes thought of as a form of rhyme. Nigel Fabb's analysis of both devices' characteristics however argues that they are very different in how they work psycholinguistically and aesthetically in poetry. Based on a large variety of poetic traditions and drawing on multi-disciplinary research, Fabb illustrates their differences in terms of role, placement, and relation to nonidentity of the sound section. Both devices appear in relation to syllable and word, as well as a relatively short poetic unit, typically a line, half-line or a couplet, as their domain, and both can appear in a position that is fixed, free, or a mixture. However, rhyme more often tends to be in a fixed position, simultaneously marking the end of the line, whereas alliteration is almost always free. As analysed by Fabb, this difference in the position has further consequences for their relation to sound identity and possibilities to appear in intersecting patterns.

The result that the regularity of the placement of end rhyme and thus it being easily attended to provides a significant explanation to why end rhyme is so popular in song lyrics and oral poetry – beyond the apparent benefits to structure, rhythm and phonic pleasures of sound parallelism. What is attended to in poetry provides support for memorization but also makes, as a result of long-term rehearsal, the cognitively demanding method of anticipation in oral composition possible (cf. Reynolds, Rosenberg, and Sykäri in this volume).

Rhyme as a Compositional and Structural Device in Oral Poetry

In chapter eight Venla Sykäri examines the micro-cosmos of oral composition in the genre of rhyming couplets with reference to Finnish material noted down during the latter half of the 19th century and beginning of 20th

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century. Couplets as short standalone units that can either be memorized or composed orally, prefabricated to be performed later or extemporized on the spot, were popular in many European rural areas by that time, and in the Finnish-speaking area the genre was very vital. In this genre, more than a memory device, end rhyme is a genre identifier which differentiates the short utterance from normal language use, and for the oral composer, it is an obligatory reference point, which determines how s/he can say what s/he wants to say. It is also a benchmark of skill and experience, since it is the automation of the 'end rhyme-first' principle, reached after years of dedicated practice, which sets the composer free to think of contents and the quality of rhymes. In this chapter, Sykäri discusses how even well-worn end rhymes participate in the creation of a textual network where novelty is appreciated but continuation lays the background against which these novelties as well as even minor textual changes appear as creative in the speech community.

In chapter nine Susanne Rosenberg analyses the results of a contemporary experiment in which experienced singers try their hands on collectively improvising couplets with the aim of forming a ballad-style narrative. Rosenberg presents with examples three methods she has used in these experiments, and analyses their results and the singers' reflections on their task. Both show that extemporized rhyming with end rhyme is hard. On the other hand, the experiments make explicit what people who have learned to improvise always tell in interviews of the central meaning of engaged, long-term practice: 'no one is born as an improviser; an improviser is "born" through practice'.[2] In this practice, the attendance to end rhyme is one of the three central tenets. These are: 1) learning to anticipate end rhymes, and in the course of time also to anticipate the final line before even beginning the preceding line, 2) learning the performance conventions, and 3) learning to have ideas and to express them in the genre-dependent format (Sykäri 2017). In these experiments analysed by Rosenberg, the participants are experienced singers and familiar with improvising the melody but have only begun to practice to improvise new ballad couplets with end rhymes. Rosenberg concludes that the more familiar they are with performing in the target genre of ballads, the easier it is for them to practice the oral composition. This is logical since in addition to the practical help provided by genre conventions, melody and refrain, they can more readily move towards simultaneous processing of words and phonic similarity as discussed above.

Singing is the vehicle for the utterances created and performed in the rhyming couplet genre, as well as for the narrative ballad performance that can either be solo singing or alternation between the leading singer and a choir. In the Central Australian aboriginal traditions (Kaytetye, Alyawarr, and Warlpiri) presented by Myfany Turpin in chapter ten, the act of collective

2 Just as the lengthy assimilation and learning period is described for traditional singers (e.g., Lord 2000 [1960]), this attitude is presented by contemporary improvisers without exception. Recently, it was expressed with aproximately this phraise by local improviser, *glosador,* Mateu Xurí, during a lecture provided to the students of the Catalan ethnopoetics course at the University of Balearic Islands in Palma de Mallorca (fieldwork data, 5.5.2022, Venla Sykäri).

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singing is much more emphatically at the center of the practice than the text, and thereby also the role of end rhyme is chiefly performative, euphonious as well as structural. The performative role of rhyme in a devotional yet very different cultural and historical setting was analyzed in chapter five by Bastman as a call to the singers to partake emotionally. In the Aboriginal women's ceremonial genre whose Kaytetye name is *awelye* analyzed by Turpin, such a performative role is enhanced as the end-rhyme-like sound similarities are in fact not parts of words selected to fit in the sound pattern but syllables imposed on the words. Syllables which do not have independent semantic meaning but are added for euphony also appear on the other side of the world in Nenets songs that never rhyme in the conventional sense nor have stanza structures (Niemi 1998; Niemi & Lapsui 2004). In the Nenets songs these syllables are additional and formally work more like mono-endrhyme: the same syllable is used throughout the song. In contrast, the *awelye* songs' rhyming words change their last (always unstressed but in performance prolonged) syllable to that imposed by the rhyme pattern. The pattern also crosses the line repetition patterns. In this case, rhyme's role is at the same time that of creating an additional layer of sound patterning but also divergence in a poetics where otherwise repetition rules. This, again, highlights rhyme's multifaceted functionality.

Patterns and Placement: How Established Regularity Allows Irregularity

All previous chapters make clear how important it is that rhyme is often placed at the ends of poetic lines, which can be interpreted as a device that crystallizes lineation. These chapters also show how rhyme ties lines with end rhyme to a regular pattern: mono-endrhyme, couplets, triplets, quatrains or larger units. In a vast majority of the world's rhymed traditions rhyme patterns are established, and a number of common patterns are employed, such as couplets or quatrains for ballads, reflecting the melody structures. Against this background of end rhyme and recurrent patterns being perceptually so self-evident, poets and song-makers can effectively dramatize patterns where irregularity or deviation is utilized for artistic effect. The next two chapters present examples of purposeful irregular rhyme patterning in contemporary rap lyrics and mid-20th century Finnish literature.

Early rap lyrics in the 1970s and early 1980s were cast in the common English 4+3, 4+3 stress meter used in ballads and children's songs, while later another familiar meter of English language poetry, the four-stress couplet meter, became established (Bradley 2009: 18–26). End rhyme is already the trademark of African-American-English as well as Latin American oral genres and lyrics in related musical genres. After its commodification in 1979, and with the rocketing growth in popularity ever since, as written songs, regular end rhymes also became emblematic of rap's expression. In the recitative speech-song style of delivery of rap, the correspondence of the text line's end rhyme with the end of the musical bar, colloquially expressed as 'going to the beat', has been a matter of principle. This is still common, just as it is typically one of the cornerstones in the exhibition of skill in improvised freestyle rap performances. However, after some decades of continuously

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augmenting the length of rhyme sections and number of internal and chain rhymes, in addition to sourcing from other forms of sound patterning, modern rap consciously also plays with end rhyme position.

In chapter eleven, Kjell Andreas Oddekalv argues that in modern rap the line-final rhyme of the poetic line is not always placed to coincide with the end of the musical line (the bar), and to better grasp how this is central to rap's aesthetics, we need to rethink how to define the line-bar relationship relative to those structurally fundamental and other rhymes. Oddekalv begins his discussion by analysing how poetic metre and musical metre and their relation have been defined in research. To describe the realizations of line-bar relation, he proposes the terms convergent and divergent metrical structure, and the use of the term 'primary rhyme' instead of 'end rhyme'. That the play with divergence is indeed based on settled convergence is evident in that often this means using divergent passages within strophes that are otherwise convergent. However, the various forms and degrees of divergence appear in the analysis as central to personal styles in modern rap.

In chapter twelve Sakari Katajamäki takes up the theme of irregularity in terms of a rhyme pattern. Beginning with the medieval al-Andalus 'poetry lab' described by Reynolds in chapter one, end rhyme patterns associated with stanza structures have been central to definitions of poetic models developed and used by literary authors. Only seldom is the pattern of a longer work – which is still clearly felt as rhyming – irregular. Katajamäki presents one such case, the 123-page playful narrative poem *Kukunor* written by Finnish poet Lauri Viita in 1949. In Finland, Viita's work bordered between traditional literary verse with metre and rhyme and post-war modernism. Katajamäki carries out his experimental study by deploying several quantitative analysing techniques on two samples of the text. The analyses reveal how the author balances between avoiding recognizable regular schemes and creating phonetic parallelism in a way that the reader has a clear sense of rhyming yet cannot expect any specific occurrences of rhyme. The results also correlate with semantic features, proving that the statistical methods employed can together significantly help an analyser of similar works.

Already by the modernist times of Viita, rhyme and metre had lost their place in mainstream literary poetry to free verse, and readers of contemporary literary poetry may find these poetic devices remote. Yet rhymed verse holds a stable place in literary history and thus becomes familiar to ever new student generations in addition to being prominent in popular song and performance cultures. In the last chapter, Stefan Blohm and Christine Knoop present their experimental analysis of German students' genre expectations of literary poetry. It turns out that rhyme outweighs all other notions, both structural and those of content. The authors analyse this and other results by reflecting earlier empirical evidence on similar respondents and possible practical as well as cognitive integers, providing a short tour through current and recent research on cognitive processing and aesthetic evaluation of poetry. They find the shared readings during this generation's secondary schooling important but even more than this, rhyme's cognitive salience yields it more prominence with this group of young people than might be expected given the poetry to which they have been exposed. This

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final chapter thereby reminds us of the salient mental connection between rhyme and poetry, despite the current dominance of free verse.

Current university age young people also have a salient experience of rhyme based on contemporary popular music and performance poetry genres. While literary poetry chiefly abandoned rhyme at the latest by the 1950s, this never happened in oral and popular song genres. The former had of course given way to the latter already during the inter-war period in most modernizing countries. In Europe, oral poetry continued to flourish in communicative genres until the 1970s at the margins: e.g., the Balkans, Mediterranean islands, Basque Country, Galicia, and Portugal, and was revived in many of these areas in the form of lyrical improvisation in the 1990s. Ballad singing never stopped in several areas of Europe and the U.S., but local ballad genres were in the 1990s also revived to accompany local dances in Brittany (see Constantine & Guillorel 2017). All these oral song and improvisation traditions lean on end rhyme. Popular song that took over the place of oral traditions never looked down on rhymes and the recent world-wide enthusiasm for performance poetries, improvised freestyle rap as well as spoken word, has made explicit that rhyme's euphonic potentiality is by no way exhausted, even if the regular and repetitive rhyme patterns – those that were the flowers of the literary poetry still a hundred years ago – may never return in serious poetry. Irregularity and especially those nonidentical forms which we saw cause so much tension during earlier centuries now create with full license pleasant soundscapes in a poetry that unites the word with the voice. A good example of this is the poem 'The Hill We Climb' composed by the young African-American poet Amanda Gorman and recited by her at the inaugural ceremony of the newly elected president of United States, Joe Biden, in January 20th 2021. This poem with its complex rhymes stylistically adheres to a long African-American lyrical and performance tradition. Spoken word has already permeated especially young adults' verbal art cultures worldwide. This specific public instance however made the genre and its aesthetics widely visible to the public at large. Rhyme, ever flexible in its applications, survives.

Appendix

A Partial List of Rhyming Traditions

This is a partial list of languages whose verbal arts have rhyme, based on what the editors of this volume have been able to find. The incompleteness of this list can be illustrated by the fact that even at proofs stage we discovered some new cases. Note that some sources are very cursory, and sometimes without examples. In some cases, it may be that a single individual is known to use rhyme in composing texts in the language; nevertheless we still treat this as a language whose verbal art has rhyme. Languages listed only here have not been listed in the index to this book.

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In parentheses we indicate sources, using the following abbreviations in some cases:

P = our source is a language entry in The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics (Green 2012), whose entries each have their own extensive bibliographies.
G = Gasparov (1996)
F = Fabb (2015)
F2 = Fabb (1997)
FH = Fabb and Halle (2008)

Akan (rhyme in rap, Shipley 2009)
Albanian (Pipa 1975)
American Sign Language, ASL (visual rhymes: P, Klima and Bellugi 1976)
Amharic (Leslau 1990)
Apabhramsa (Arjunwadkar 1985)
Arabic (P, Reynolds this volume).
Arabic, Hassaniya (FH from Norris 1968)
Arabic, Moroccan (Elmedlaoui 2014)
Aranda ('lines terminating in identical syllables' Strehlow 1971)
Armenian (Navratil 2015)
Assamese (P)
Aymara (rhyme in rap, Swinehart 2019)
Bakhtiari (F from Lorimer 1954)
Balinese (Edmonson 1971)
Balti (Söhnen-Thieme 2007)
Bare'e (Grijns et al. 1989)
Basque (Barandiaran 2009)
Bengali (P)
Breton (P, F from Hemon 1962)
Bulgarian (G)
Burmese (Douglas 2010)
Cambodian (Ung 1972)
Catalan (P)
Chaha (Malone 1991)
Chinese (P, F from Cai 2008, FH from Yip 1984)
Cornish (P)
Croatian (P)
Czech (G, Worth 1977)
Danish (P)
Dutch (P, van der Schelde 2020 on rap)
English (P)
Estonian (Lotman and Lotman this volume)
Fijian (Quain 1942)
Finnish (Bastman; Kallio; Katajamäki; Sykäri this volume)
Flemish (P)
French (P, G)
Galla or Oromo (Chadwick and Chadwick 1940)
Ge'ez (Kiros 2004)
Georgian (P)
German (G)
Gothic (Worth 1977)
Greek (not Ancient or Classical, but in post-Byzantine Greek: P, see Modern Greek)
Guinea-Bissau Creole (rhyme in rap, Lupati 2016)
Gujarati (P)

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Halang (F from Cooper 1973)
Hausa (P)
Hebrew (more systematically from the Byzantine period: P)
Hindi (P, F)
Hittite (occasional, P)
Hungarian (P, G)
Icelandic (P)
Ilocano (rhymed proverbs in some of the lowland Philippine languages: Jamias 1953)
Indonesian (P)
Irish and Scottish Gaelic (P, F from Knott 1994, F2 from Malone 1988a)
Italian (P, G)
Jarai (Jensen 2010)
Kabylie (Berber) (Bencheikh 2000)
Kakataibo (Prieto Mendoza in prep)
Kannada ('vakh' quatrains with occasional rhyme: P)
Karelian (Frog, this volume)
Kaytetye (Turpin, this volume)
Kazakh (P)
Khmer (P)
Kirghiz (Reichl 2020)
Kurdish (F from Shakely 1996)
Latin, post-Classical (G)
Mahar (Junghare 1983)
Malay (P, F from Braginsky 1991)
Malayalam (rhyme involving the second syllable in the line: Arjunwadkar 1985)
Maltese (Herndon and McLeod 1980)
Manx (Moore 1896)
Marathi (P, Arjunwadkar 1985)
Mayan, Tz'utujil (rhyme in rap, Bell 2017)
Mayan, Yucatec (rhyme in rap, Cru 2017)
Minangkabau (Tanner 1967)
Modern Greek (Beaton 1980)
Mongolian (F2 from Poppe 1958)
Nepali (Stirr 2015)
Norwegian (Worth 1977)
Ntumu ('The different parts […] of the epic end with two rhyming lines': Alexandre 1974)
Occitan (P)
Old English (F from Mackie 1922, Frog this volume, and McKie 1997)
Old Norse (Frog this volume)
Oriya (P)
Orkhon Turkic poetry (P)
Oromo (Andrzejewski 1985)
Pali (Wright 2002)
Pamiri languages (*maddoh* genre in rhymed couplets: Levin 2007)
Pashto (Mackenzie 1958)
Persian (P)
Polish (P, G)
Portuguese (P)
Punjabi (P)
Qom (rhyme in rap, Beiras del Carril & Cúneo 2020)
Quechua (trap songs of Renata Flores, rap songs of Liberato Kani)
Rhonga (rhyme in rap, Rantala 2016)
Romanian (P, G, Steriade 2003)

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Russian (P, G)
Samoan ('identical vowel combinations – normally the final two – rather than vowel-consonant combinations', Moyle 1988)
Sanskrit (but 'In the whole range of Sanskrit literature, we find use of rhyme only to prove the rule that Sanskrit poets do not employ [it]', with the exception of Jayadeva's *Gitagovinda*: Arjunwadkar 1985)
Sardinian (Rosa 2003)
Serbian (G, Worth 1977)
Sinhala ('internal rhyming patterns': P)
Spanish (P)
Swahili (P, F from Abdulaziz 1979 and Harries 1956)
Swedish (P, Rosenberg this volume)
Tagalog (P)
Tai (F from Chamberlain 1989)
Tamil (*etukai* = rhyme on the second syllable, and *iyaipu* = end rhyme: Monius 2000, also Clare 2011, and P)
Tatar, including Altai, Kazak, Turkoman (Chadwick and Chadwick 1940)
Thai (P, F from Cooke 1980)
Tongan ('assonant rhyme', Moyle 1987)
Turkish (P, F2 from Malone 1982 and Malone 1988b)
Ukrainian (G)
Urdu (P)
Vietnamese (P, F from Thông 1983, FH from Balaban 2003)
Welsh (P, F from Williams 1953, F2 from Morris-Jones 1980)
Yiddish (P)

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Rhyme's Language-related Development and Use in Historical Contexts

I

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Dwight F. Reynolds

Rhyme in Arabic Oral Poetry

Rhyme has a unique place in the Arabic poetic tradition. Ancient Arabs considered mono-endrhyme – in which the end of each verse of a poem rhymed on the same syllable for the duration of the poem – to be obligatory, and testimony to this practice is found in rock inscriptions dating as far back as the fifth century CE (ʿAbdallāh 1988a: 81–100, 1988b: 185–192; also Hoyland 2001: 211–219). The most basic definition of poetry in early Arab culture was that poetry was metrical, rhymed speech; anything that was not composed in meter and did not possess end rhyme was, quite simply, not poetry.[1] Since end rhyme in later periods appeared in many other languages, including European languages, it is worth noting that none of the literary traditions of the ancient Middle East or South Asia used obligatory end-rhyme: it was not used in Sanskrit, Biblical Hebrew, Sumerian, Babylonian, Akkadian, Ancient Egyptian, Hittite, Ugaritic, Old or Middle Persian, Aramaic, Greek or Latin. Arabs do not seem to have invented end rhyme (it has been used as occasional ornamentation in a number of other languages, much as poets make use of intermittent assonance or alliteration), but they were certainly the first culture in their part of the world to associate end-rhyme so strongly with poetry, and vice versa.[2]

This essay examines the role of rhyme in three periods in the history of Arabic poetry: (1) ancient Arabic oral poetry and the formation of the Arabic literary tradition; (2) the 'rhyme revolution' that occurred in the 10th and 11th centuries in medieval Muslim Spain (al-Andalus) and its possible connections with the sudden appearance of rhymed vernacular poetry in medieval Europe; and finally, (3) the function of rhyme in modern performances of the lengthy Arabic oral epic poem, *Sīrat Banī Hilāl*, as sung by professional, hereditary poets who use composition techniques similar to those of the Serbo-Croatian epic singers famously studied by Milman Parry and Albert B. Lord (Lord 1960 and 1995; Parry 1975).

1 Ibn Rashīq (d. 1063 or 1071): 'Rhyme is the partner of metre in being a marker of poetry: one does not call it poetry unless it has a metre and a rhyme,' quoted. in Gelder 2012: 175.

2 The distinction here is between what Peust terms 'sporadic' versus 'systemic' end-rhyme, see Peust 2015: 348.

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Early Arabic Poetry

All Arabic poetry from the earliest periods was composed with mono-endrhyme, and the vast majority of Arabic poetry up to the twentieth century continued to be so.[3] Although rhyme in the Arabic tradition almost always consisted of a consonant followed and/or preceded by a vowel, the rhyme-consonant (Ar. *rawī*) was considered the crucial element, and rhymes are referred to in Arabic as an 'L-rhyme,' 'M-rhyme,' or 'N-rhyme,' not by the full recurring syllable (*-lu* or *-ām* or *-ūna*).[4] This may in part be due to the characteristics of Arabic script, in which consonants and long vowels are clearly portrayed, but short vowels are indicated with small diacritic marks located above or below the relevant consonant. Diacritic marks for the short vowels, however, were only developed in the mid-seventh century CE, and only a handful of texts, such as the Qur'an, are fully vocalized on a regular basis.[5] The visual impression of a written poem in any case, whether vocalized or unvocalized, is that each verse ends in the same consonant; however, the practice of referring to rhymes by their consonant appears to pre-date the widespread use of Arabic script. Already by the early ninth century a complex typology had been created by scholars that included technical terminology that distinguished rhymes ending in a vowel followed by the rhyme-consonant (*muqayyada* 'bound' or 'fettered'), rhymes with a vowel after the rhyme-consonant (*muṭlaqa* 'loose' or 'open'), or both (in other words, for example, 'un', 'na', or 'una'), whether the vowels were long or short, whether the rhyme consisted of one or two syllables, as well as how these rhymes interlocked with different poetic meters. By the medieval period the 'science of rhyme' (Ar. *'ilm al-qawāfī*) had evolved to the point that a number of lengthy treatises were authored dealing solely with this topic.[6]

Rhyme in ancient Arab culture, however, was far more than a purely phonological phenomenon, it was also imbued with social meanings. Some of the earliest terms used for distinguishing between prose and poetry were derived from the metaphor of pearls or beads strung on a necklace: rhymed metrical speech (i.e. poetry) was referred to as *manẓūm* [strung, ordered] whereas prose was labelled *manthūr* [scattered, unstrung, unorganized]. In addition, Arabic possessed a third mode, 'rhymed prose' (Ar. *saj'*), that consisted of uneven, unmetered phrases marked with end rhyme. Rhymed prose is a prominent stylistic feature of the Qur'an, and in the medieval period it became widespread in many genres of Arabic written literature.

3 In the 20th century, various forms of 'free verse' emerged, fueled to a great extent by the writings of Arabs in the Diaspora (Ar. *Mahjar*) such as the Lebanese-American poet Jubrān Khalīl Jubrān, known in English as Kahlil Gibran (1883–1931).

4 The one common exception was that the long vowel -ā could also be used as a *rawī*.

5 The invention of the short vowel diacritics is commonly ascribed to Abū Aswad al-Du'alī (c. 603–689).

6 See, for example, *Kitāb al-qawāfī* [The Book on Rhymes] by Abū l-Ḥasan al-Akhfash (d. 830/31), *Kitāb l-qawāfī* by Abū l-Qāsim al-Raqqī (d. 1058/59), and *Kitāb al-qawāfi* by 'Abd al-Bāqī al-Tanūkhī (d. ??). For a detailed overview, see 'Ḳāfiya,' *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

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A further remarkable characteristic of ancient Arabic is the organization of alternating prose and poetry passages into prosimetric forms, as is found in the oldest Arabic extant narratives called the 'Days of the Arabs' (*Ayyām al-ʿArab*) (Caskel 1931; Lichtenstädter 1935; Meyer 1970). These tales of raids and battles that occurred among the pre-Islamic Bedouin tribes of the Arabian Peninsula were transmitted orally for several centuries and eventually written down in the eighth and ninth centuries. They typically consist of a prose story punctuated at various points by verses composed either by the protagonists themselves ('And it was at this point that he composed the following verses …') or inserted afterwards by transmitters or compilers.[7] These prosimetric tales and other evidence indicate that Arabs believed that poetry was more reliable and truthful than prose, for it is easily demonstrated that the more densely patterned an utterance is (with meter, alliteration, assonance, and rhyme), the fewer changes it undergoes in oral transmission, especially when contrasted with ordinary, unpatterned prose. There was thus a symbiotic relationship between prose historical narratives and their accompanying poems. Since poems were transmitted orally with fewer changes, their presence lent credence to the tale, and, on the other hand, since the poems usually lacked specific historical detail, the narratives provided a context in which the poems could be fully understood. In a remarkable echo of this belief, a Bedouin sheikh in Jordan declared to ethnographer Andrew Shryock, who was researching historical tribal narratives in the 1990's: *il-qiṣṣa illay ma ʿindhā qaṣīd kidhib* [The story that does not have a poem, is a lie!] (Shryock 1997: 258).

The oral traditions of pre-Islamic and early Islamic Arabic were thus permeated with rhyme, both the obligatory end rhyme of poetry and the more loosely rhymed phrases of 'rhymed prose'. The frequent use of rhyme in the Qur'an meant that wherever Islam spread, new populations were immediately exposed to the techniques of Arabic rhyme, and when people in those regions began to learn Arabic, they inevitably encountered rhyme in Arabic poetry, which was considered the highest and most noble art form. The ubiquity of rhyme in Arabic oral traditions also imprinted itself in various ways on the early Arabic written literary tradition. As literacy spread and scholars began compiling the poems of the ancient Arabs into written anthologies (Ar. *dīwān*) from the eighth century onward, they organized the poems by their rhyme letter, a practice that is still common to this day. So pervasive was this focus on rhyme that when the first dictionaries of Arabic were authored in the eighth century, words were ordered by their final consonant, thus creating – whether intentionally or not – 'rhyming dictionaries', in which one could not only look up the meaning of a word, but could also browse for words that rhymed.[8] By the Middle Ages, many

7 The tradition of transmitting oral history in alternating passages of poetry and prose has survived into modern times among the Bedouin of the Arabian Peninsula, Jordan, southern Syria and Iraq. See Sowayan 1985; for the medieval period, see Heinrichs 1997: 249–275.

8 The remarkable *Kitāb al-ʿAyn* [The Book of ʿAyn], by al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad (718–786), is commonly recognized as the first Arabic dictionary, and indeed, is one

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pedagogical works for students were composed in rhymed verse to aid memorization, such as the famous *Alfiyya* [Thousand-Verse Poem] by the Andalusian scholar Ibn Mālik (c. 1203–1274) that has remained the standard student's introduction to Arabic grammar for some seven centuries. Early Arabic oral traditions and written literature thus utilized a spectrum of modes that included prose, rhymed prose, prosimetrum, and metrical end-rhymed poetry.

There is little debate about the transmission of end rhyme from Arabic into Persian, and from there to Urdu and Ottoman Turkish, nor about the adoption of Arabic rhyme in Hebrew by the Jewish poets of medieval Iraq and Muslim Spain (see below). Fascinatingly, however, the issue of whether end rhyme was adopted from Arabic or emerged independently in various European languages has been the subject of much controversy and many (often vociferous) publications.[9] It is not the purpose of this essay to put forward a thesis about the origin of rhyme in European languages (indeed, it is my personal opinion that this development took place within a complex network of oral and written sources and did not involve a simple linear progression); however, one of the most interesting zones of contact is certainly to be found in medieval Iberia, where both Hebrew and Arabic underwent revolutionary changes in the use of rhyme.

A Revolution in Rhyme

Following the Islamic conquest of most of the Iberian Peninsula beginning in 711, a lengthy period of intermarriage, immigration, religious conversion, and cultural assimilation eventually resulted in Arabic emerging as the mother tongue and/or lingua franca of nearly all of the inhabitants of al-Andalus (Muslim Spain), including in Jewish, Christian, Muslim, and Imazighen (Berber) communities. One remarkable glimpse of this process is found in the famous letter by Paulus Alvarus (Paul Albar), written circa 850, in which he complains that the young Christian men of Cordoba have become so enamored of Arabic, and in particular Arabic poetry, that they were no longer able to compose letters in acceptable Latin:

> Alas! Christians do not know their own law, and Latins do not use their own tongue, so that in all the college of Christ there will hardly be found one man in a thousand who can send correctly letters of greeting to a brother [in Latin]. And a manifold crowd without number will be found who give out learnedly long sentences of Chaldean [= Arabic] rhetoric . . . (Wright 1982: 157; qtd. in Zwartjes 1997: 7)

of the earliest dictionaries in any language. It is preceded by an introduction to the phonetics of the Arabic language and is organized in a unique manner, by the points of articulation, rather than the standard alphabetical order, beginning with the Arabic letter *ʿayn*, which, being pronounced at the deepest point in the throat, is the first entry, hence the work's title.

9 A useful summary of these scholarly debates is found in Dainotto 2006.

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It is the passage that immediately follows this, however, that is pertinent to the topic of Arabic rhyme. Here, Alvarus struggles mightily to describe to his Northern Christian brethren the concept of end rhyme in a Latin that, as yet, had no terminology for this concept (since *rithimus* still indicated 'rhythm' rather than 'rhyme'), producing a text that is famously difficult to parse and has spawned several different translations:

> Et repperitur absque numero multiplices turbas qui erudite Caldaicas verborum explicit pompas, ita ut metrice eruditjori ab ipsis gentibus carmine et sublimiori pulcritudine finales clausulas *unius littere* coartatjone decorent, et iuxta quod lingue ipsius requirit idioma, que omnes vocales apices commata claudit et cola, rithmice, immo ut ipsis conpetit, metrice universi alfabeti littere per varias dictjones plurimas variantes *uno fine* constringuntur *vel simili apice* (Mallette 2012: 180, emphasis added).

> There are found countless crowds of people who, in their erudition, create ostentatious Chaldean (i.e., Arabic) displays of words, so that in a song metrically more skillful than those of the Arabs themselves and loftier in beauty, they embellish the final clauses by *binding them with a single letter.* And as the idiom of that language requires, which ends the hemistiches with vowels [or long vowels], in rhythm – or rather, as befits them, in meter – the letters of all the alphabet are constrained, by means of a great diversity of expression, *to one ending or a similar letter*.

Although Alvarus' use of the terms *commata* and *cola,* as well as several other aspects of this passage, are somewhat obscure, the most striking element of his description is perfectly clear: he understands end rhyme to consist of a *single letter*. For example, using the Arabic system, the rhymes -un, -na, and -una would all be referred to as an N-rhyme. But anyone thinking of these sounds using the Latin alphabet would understand them to be rhymes consisting of two or even three letters. The only way Alvarus could possibly understand rhymes as being based upon a single letter is from the Arabic tradition itself, conceived through the Arabic alphabet in which the short vowels would not be marked, only the final rhyme consonant.[10] His letter therefore offers us the example of a literate Christian in the mid-ninth century who gives testimony that the most striking characteristic of Arabic poetry was its use of end rhyme, which he describes through the Arab concept of rhyme, rather than using terms, or referring to examples, from spoken Romance or written Latin. If there were, as some scholars claim, a folk or oral tradition of Romance rhymed poetry in Iberia at this early date, he strangely does not refer to it, which would certainly have made it far easier to explain Arabic poetry to Northern Christians.

Another encounter with Arabic rhyme was taking place simultaneously in the Jewish communities of the Islamic Empire. By the tenth century, the vast majority of the Jewish population of the world lived under Muslim rule

10 Mallette has also deduced evidence that Alvarus himself composed Arabic poetry in his youth from a passage in his "Vita Eulogi"; see Mallette 2012: 181 ff.

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and spoke Arabic as their mother tongue.[11] Hebrew had long since ceased to be used as a language of daily life, but continued to be used for religious purposes. The example of Arabs who used the sacred language of the Qur'an (accepted as the literal speech of God) also for secular poetry, song, and scholarly writing, appears to have sparked the movement to reinvent biblical Hebrew as a language for secular poetry and scholarship. Among the most prominent figures in this movement was Sa'diya Gaon (882–942), who is often cited as the first major Jewish intellectual to write predominantly in Arabic (Brody 2006). He not only translated the Torah into Judeo-Arabic (Arabic written with Hebrew characters) to fulfill the needs of now Arabic-speaking Jewish communities, but also compiled one of the earliest Hebrew lexicons, the *Agron* (or *Egron*) half of which was organized as a rhyming dictionary.[12] Jewish poets had already begun to use end rhyme in the composition of strophic *piyyutim* (liturgical poems), typically with mono-rhyme in each strophe (e.g., aaaa, bbbb, cccc, etc.), but Sa'diya Gaon began to experiment with other rhyme schemes as well, such as abab, cdcd, and so forth. The Arabizing movement that he initiated was conveyed to Muslim Spain in the figure of Dunāsh ben Labraṭ (920–990). Although Dunāsh was born in Fez, Morocco, he traveled to Baghdad to study with Sa'diya Gaon, later returned to Morocco, and then traveled to Cordoba. There he became the most prominent proponent for adapting the features and themes of Arabic secular poetry to Hebrew, which required not only the use of end-rhyme, but also the creation of a new system of Hebrew poetic meters.[13] These innovations set the stage for the remarkable revival often referred to as the 'Golden Age' of medieval Hebrew poetry.

Jewish poets of medieval al-Andalus were soon equally adept at composing rhymed, metrical poetry in Arabic and Hebrew, and at times produced *contrafacta* poems across linguistic borders by modelling a Hebrew poem on an Arabic original, a process known in Arabic as *muʿāraḍa.* Thus, by the eleventh century end-rhymed poetry in Arabic and Hebrew was traveling across and around the Mediterranean through a vast network that linked Iberia with North Africa, the Eastern Mediterranean, Sicily, Italy, and Southern France.[14]

At some point in the late tenth or early eleventh century, a 'rhyme revolution' occurred in al-Andalus that had tremendous impact on both

11 Though scholars differ as to what percentage of the Jewish population lived in al-Andalus, some estimates run as high as 90%, see Gerber 1994: xxiv.

12 Completed in 913, this Hebrew word-list consisted of two parts: in the first, words were organized by their first root-letter for use in acrostics, and in the second by their final root-letter which the author explicitly states is for use in rhymed poetry. Sa'diya later expanded this by glossing all of the Hebrew terms with their Arabic equivalents.

13 For Dunāsh's adaptation of Arabic metrics to Hebrew, see del Valle Rodríguez 1988 and Maman 2009.

14 Provence, and Arles in particular, was a center of Jewish scholarly activity and of Arabic-Hebrew-Latin translation. For connections among Arabic, Hebrew, and Troubadour poetry and song in medieval Arles, see Eisenstein 1975–76.

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Arabic and Hebrew poetic traditions: the invention of a new strophic song-form, termed *muwashshaḥ* if the text was in classical Arabic or *zajal* if the text was in the Andalusi colloquial dialect. This new genre broke with both the Arabic poetic tradition and also with the Arabic courtly song tradition in a number of ways (Reynolds 2018; 2021: chapters 8 and 9). In its simplest form, the new song-genre was strophic, contained alternating sections of longer and shorter verses, and was composed in an entirely new rhyme scheme.[15] In one of the two alternating sections the same rhyme was retained throughout the poem/song (the 'common rhyme'), much as classical Arabic poetry did. But in the alternating sections, the verses ended in a different rhyme (the 'changing rhyme') each time it recurred. In the following diagram the alternating sections are of two and three verses, but many different patterns were used:

Common-rhyme	---------- ----------	A
	---------- ----------	A
	---------- ----------	B
Changing-rhyme	---------- ----------	B
	---------- ----------	B
Common-rhyme	---------- ----------	A
	---------- ----------	A
	---------- ----------	C
Changing-rhyme	---------- ----------	C
	---------- ----------	C
Common-rhyme	---------- ----------	A
	---------- ----------	A
	---------- ----------	D
Changing-rhyme	---------- ----------	D
	---------- ----------	D
	(etc.)	
Common-rhyme	---------- ----------	A
	---------- ----------	A

Figure 1. Rhyme scheme of a simple muwashshaḥ

Once the mold of the standard mono-endrhyme poem was broken, however, poets began to experiment with a variety of different rhyme schemes, such as inserting internal rhymes at the medial caesura:

15 Although experiments with multiple rhymes had taken place previously in both Arabic and Hebrew, the innovation of composing poems with alternating 'common rhyme' and 'changing rhyme' sections seems to have occurred uniquely in al-Andalus.

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Common-rhyme	---------X ---------A
	---------X ---------A
	----------Y ----------B
Changing-rhyme	----------Y ----------B
	----------Y ----------B
Common-rhyme	---------X ---------A
	---------X ---------A
	----------Z ----------C
Changing-rhyme	----------Z ----------C
	----------Z ----------C
	(etc.)

Figure 2. Rhyme scheme of a 'doubly-rhymed' muwashshaḥ

Later, more and more flamboyant patterns emerged with three, four, or more internal rhymes within each verse. In some cases, *muwashshaḥ / zajal* lyrics turned into a veritable bacchanal of rhymes.

The new *muwashshaḥ* lyrics broke not only with the classical form and rhyme-scheme of Arabic poetry, but many also broke with the standard Arabic poetic meters. A twelfth-century treatise on the composition of *muwashshaḥ* poetry written in Cairo by Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk (c. 1155–1212) tells us that many were composed to fit the music, rather than to fit poetic meters. That music was also much more accessible than the main genre of courtly song known as *ṣawt* [voice, sound, song] (Reynolds 2007; 2021: chapter 8). The Arabic courtly song tradition had until that point consisted of very short texts, usually only 2–4 verses, coupled with complex melodic settings that could only competently be performed by professional, highly trained singers. The new strophic *muwashshaḥ / zajal* genre, in contrast, consisted of two rather straightforward melodies that alternated with the two sections of the lyric: one melody was used for the common-rhyme section and a second for the changing-rhyme section. In a given performance, the melodies would therefore be repeated many times over and were easily learned and sung by amateurs as well as professionals. In addition, this simpler musical form lent itself to choral singing much more than the courtly *ṣawt* did. The music here was not the main focus, the lyrics were, and the lyrics were all about the ingenious use of rhyme.

This new poetic form/song genre came into its own in the eleventh century in Arabic and was immediately imitated in Hebrew. Some of the great Jewish poets of medieval Muslim Spain, such as Samuel Ha-Nagid of Granada (993–c.1056) and Solomon ibn Gabirol (d. c. 1060), composed poems in the new strophic, multiple-rhymed form. Indeed, Ibn Gabirol appears to have been the first poet to deploy the new form for devotional purposes, a century earlier than the first Arabic religious *muwashshaḥ* poems composed by Ibn ʿArabī (1165–1240) (Rosen 2000: 175). A fascinating glimpse of the interaction between Arabic and Hebrew, secular and devotional, strophic rhymed poetry can be found in a letter written by Yehudah Halevi (c. 1075–1141) to his future mentor, Moshe Ibn Ezra (c. 1060–1139), in which he

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describes one of his experiences while traveling southwards to Granada. He was invited to join a wine-drinking party of Jewish literati who were amusing themselves by competing in the composition of poetry. Joseph ibn Zaddiq (d. 1149) had composed a Hebrew *contrafactum* of an Arabic *muwashshaḥ* by Abū Bakr al-Abyaḍ (d. c. 1130). The other guests tried but failed to compose another Hebrew *contrafactum* based on Zaddiq's Hebrew poem. Eventually they turned to the young Halevi and challenged him to give it a try. Here is his account:

> I was forced into composing a song [*ve-etḥakema le-naggen*] in the drinking gathering of gifted poets. The model of their song [*neginatam*, lit. 'their melody'] was a composition by the Prince of the Armies and the opening of the poem was *Lel maḥshevot lev a'irah.* They could compose a good song [*heitivu nagen*, lit. 'they were competent in composing a good melody'] for the beginning but could not finish it. They turned to me with boastfulness saying: "See, they started it, you finish it." (Seroussi 2007: 19)[16]

Halevi goes on to recount his triumph and give the text of his composition. Halevi's song later become the basis for a *contrafactum* by Abraham Ben Ezra (d. 1164), who composed devotional lyrics for use in the morning service (Rosen 2000: 174). A secular Arabic *muwashshaḥ* by al-Abya*ḍ* was thus the basis of a secular Hebrew *muwashshaḥ* by Ibn Zaddik, from which Yehudah Halevi composed lyrics for another secular Hebrew song, which Abraham ibn Ezra transformed into a Hebrew devotional song for use during synagogue services, all of which retained the same rhyme pattern.

This new poetic form was astonishingly successful and within a century it had swept across the Arabic-speaking world from Iberia and Morocco in the West, to Syria and Iraq in the East, and south as far as Yemen. Everywhere it went its arrival prompted local poets to try their hand at this new multi-rhymed genre, and these texts, set to music or composed to fit well-known tunes, were soon being sung around much of the Mediterranean basin. In Jewish communities, Arabic and Hebrew *muwashshaḥ* songs were sung together at weddings and other celebrations, a practice documented in *responsa* by Maimonides (1138–1204) (Monroe 1988–89). Given the long history of Christian musicians from Northern Spain traveling south to Cordoba (documented as early as the first quarter of the ninth century) and Arabic-speaking Muslim and Jewish musicians performing in the courts of Castile, Aragon and Catalonia (a practice that continued unabated until the sixteenth century), it is quite probable that both the Arabic mono-rhymed courtly song tradition and the multi-rhymed *muwashshaḥ* / *zajal* genre were performed in Northern Christian courts and may have had some impact on medieval European song traditions.[17] Since *sporadic* end-rhyme is attested in a number of European languages at various dates, the

16 The 'Prince of the Armies' has been identified by Fleischer as Joseph ibn Zaddiq, see Fleischer 1986–87: 898–900, 902 ff.

17 For historical references to medieval musicians traveling north and south in the Iberian Peninsula, see Reynolds 2021.

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contribution of Arabic poetry and song may have been to promulgate the concept of *systemic*, *obligatory* end rhyme as a characteristic of cultivated verse-making.[18] Given the prestige enjoyed by many other aspects of Islamic culture in realms as diverse as architecture, textiles, philosophy, medicine, mathematics, astronomy and other sciences, it would be almost surprising if the most prestigious art form of Arab culture, namely poetry, was not also regarded with esteem.

Rhyme in a Living Oral Epic Tradition

Across the Arab World, there are dozens of different genres of rhymed oral poetry in a large variety of different forms and rhyme schemes.[19] Some are composed spontaneously at weddings and other celebrations, others are more carefully crafted over time, some are performed in 'poetic duels', others are recited as historical accounts or as political and social commentary, and others simply as a form of entertainment (see, for example, Caton 1990; Al-Ghadeer 2009; Kurpershoek 1994; Yaqub 2007). Among these many different genres, the lengthy narratives recounted in prose and verse called folk *siyar* (s. *sīra*) in Arabic, and referred to in western languages as epics, romances, *gestes* and other terms, offer a remarkable opportunity to study the composition techniques of oral rhymed poetry.

The first written documentation of the emergence of these folk epics is from the early Middle Ages, but eventually well over a dozen massive prosimetric narratives were in circulation.[20] Although several of these survived into modern times, only one of these epics, *Sīrat Banī Hilāl* [The epic of the Banī Hilāl Bedouin tribe], has survived as a *sung oral* poetic tradition, rather than as a spoken story-telling tradition performed with the aid of written texts. *Sīrat Banī Hilāl* [hereafter SBH] is rooted in historical events that took place in the tenth to twelfth centuries.[21] The Banī Hilāl tribe, which had not participated in the early Islamic conquests but instead remained in the homeland in the Arabian Peninsula, embarked on a mass migration westward, across Egypt to North Africa, where they conquered much of the region occupied by modern Libya, Tunisia, and Algeria and ruled for a little over a century. In the mid-twelfth century, however, they were defeated by the Moroccan Almohad dynasty and the remnants of the once powerful tribal confederation were scattered. Groups claiming descent from the Banī Hilāl tribe are still found in Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Sudan, and Chad. Written documentation that the exploits of the tribe were being woven into a lengthy, overarching narrative was first recorded by

18 For a survey of rhyming practices in medieval Europe, see Gasparov 1996.

19 One of the only genres of Arabic oral poetry that is not rhymed, is the *ghinnawa*, a genre of one-line (= two hemistiches) Bedouin women's poetry studied by Abu Lughod 2016 [1986].

20 For an overview, see Lyons 1995.

21 For an analysis of the relationship between the story of the epic and actual historical events, see Reynolds 2010.

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the historian Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406) in his *Kitāb al-`Ibar* [Book of Lessons], a history of the Arabs and Berbers, and the famous prolegomena to this work, usually referred to simply as *al-Muqaddima* [The Introduction] (Ibn Khadūn 1958). In two different sections he writes about collecting stories and poems from nomadic Arabs outside the city walls of Tunis. In one section he discusses the virtues of oral colloquial versus written classical poetry and to make the argument that colloquial poetry has its own rules and can be quite beautiful, he cites poems of the Banī Hilāl; and in another section, he discusses the use of oral historical sources when composing a written history, and again cites stories and verses that he himself collected. From the fourteenth to the twentieth century evidence for the spread of SBH is found in Arabic manuscripts, accounts or oral performances by western travellers and scholars, and eventually also in cheap printed chapbook editions and audio recordings.

Inspired by the work of Milman Parry and Albert B. Lord among Serbo-Croatian epic singers, I chose to do an ethnographic study of a group of SBH epic-singers in northern Egypt for my dissertation research. I first visited the village of al-Bakātūsh several times in 1982–1983, then returned to live in the village for nearly a year in 1986–1987, and made further trips in 1988 and 1995. Al-Bakātūsh was then home to a community of fourteen households of hereditary professional epic-singers, where all of the males sang SBH as their sole livelihood. I was privileged to attend, listen to, and eventually record, hundreds of hours of epic performance, as well as engage the singers in many hours of discussion about nearly every aspect of the tradition including the early learning process, their first performances, interactions with listeners, their opinion of other singers and other regional traditions, the role of the music, and so forth.[22]

In northern Egypt, SBH is sung in a poetic form very close to the ancient Arabic poems of the pre- and early Islamic eras: lengthy verses of 22–28 syllables are divided into two equal hemistiches by a medial caesura, and the verses are composed with mono-endrhyme.[23] The epic unfolds in alternating passages of prose and poetry, with spoken prose interpolations being used as 'stage settings' or occasionally as a means of speeding up the performance, whereas the majority of the narrative, most often over 80% of the performance, is sung in verse. The poetry is not composed to a strict meter, but instead emerges in an interaction between the melody and the words usually with a regular number of stresses per line. A master poet's rendition of the entire epic can last well over one hundred hours and he might sing 5–8 hours in a single night. Over the course of a performance poets move from one melody to the next, and also from one rhyme to the next. Similar to the Serbo-Croatian oral epic singers, they do not memorize a set text, but instead learn the art of 'composition in performance' in

22 This research was supported by the Center for Arabic Studies Abroad (CASA), a Fulbright-Hays dissertation research grant, and the Harvard Society of Fellows; see Reynolds 1995.

23 In southern Egypt, SBH is performed in rhymed quatrains with shorter verses of 8–12 syllables, see Slyomovics 1988.

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childhood, which allows them to retell the narrative each time they sing. Although they have no technical vocabulary for discussing the music or the stress patterns, the act of rhyming figures prominently in their discussions of how they perform the epic and in evaluating performances by other poets.

Rhyming is referred to as *al-mashī bi-l-ḥarf* [lit. 'walking with the letter' or more loosely, 'going along with the rhyme']. Although the poets were completely illiterate, to the point that they did not sign their names but instead used thumbprints on all official papers, their concept of rhyme reflected the Arabic tradition of referring to rhymes by a single letter. The poets used a variety of means of producing the required end rhymes, including a repertory of 'oral formulas' similar to those studied by Parry and Lord. In Serbo-Croatian epic singing, the main constraint upon the singer is to produce lines with the same number of syllables, and their oral-formulaic systems aid them in expressing key ideas in phrases with the required syllable count. In the Arabic tradition, strict syllable count is not an issue, but generating end rhyme is, so the oral-formulaic systems used by singers of SBH function as a means of expressing the same or similar ideas with different end rhymes. Here is an example of one such cluster of formulas that express an idea very close the English phrase, 'he lost his mind' (i.e. from anger, grief, or fear) and is used to generate different rhyme words in phrases ranging from six to eleven syllables:[24]

a. *il-ʿaql-I minnuh: tāh / rāḥ / ṭār / hām / iḥtār* [6–7 syllables]
His mind from him: strayed / departed / flew / wandered / grew confused
b. *il-ʿaql-I min dimāghuh: tāh / rāḥ / ṭār / hām / iḥtār* [8–9 syllables]
His mind from his skull: strayed / departed / flew / wandered / grew confused
c. *il-ʿaql-I min juwwa dā rāsuh: tāh / rāḥ / ṭār / hām / iḥtār* [10–11 syllables]
His mind from inside his head: strayed / departed / flew / wandered / grew confused

I was inspired by the remarkable 'fieldwork experiments' conducted by Parry and Lord, in which they sometimes recorded poets multiple times to ascertain the amount of variation, recorded the same poem from different poets, and even documented a poet learning a new poem from another poet. I attempted to replicate as many of these as I could. A few times I used a small subterfuge in order to obtain recordings of the same section of the epic and analyze how 'back-to-back' performances varied. During a pause in the performance, I would examine the tape and sadly announce that it was 'bad,' and ask if the poet would be willing to re-sing the portion of the story he had just finished performing. On one such occasion, it suddenly occurred to me to ask my main teacher, Sheikh Ṭāhā Abū Zayd[25], a true master poet of the SBH tradition, if he could re-sing a section but on a different rhyme. He looked at me for a long moment, during which I wondered if I had put

24 A more detailed account of these compositional techniques is found in Reynolds 2016.

25 Note that Sheikh Ṭāhā's father's name, Abū Zayd, is the same as that of the central hero of the epic; several of the poets of al-Bakātūsh were named for characters in the epic.

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him on the spot and embarrassed him in front of the small group of listeners, but instead he snuffed out his cigarette and asked me, 'What rhyme do you want?' He had been singing on the rhyme *-ār*, a rather common rhyme, so I suggested another common rhyme, *-ām*. He immediately picked up his *rabāb* (two-string spike fiddle) and began to sing. To my astonishment, he sang the same half-hour section, a total of 65 verses, changing the final word or phrase to generate the new rhyme, without changing any major elements of the narrative. Here are comparisons of a few lines from these two performances. The hero Abū Zayd al-Hilālī (also known as Salāma) after traveling across the desert has arrived at a city and is introducing himself as an epic-singer, one of the disguises he commonly uses in the epic when he wishes to travel incognito. As he begins to sing, however, the city is attacked by foreigners and, to the astonishment of his audience, he puts down his instrument, pulls out a sword, rides into battle and defeats the leader of the attacking forces in combat. The lowly epic-singer is, at the moment of crisis, revealed to be a hero (a common trope in SBH).

Text 1/Line 5:
Abū Zayd reached them. 'My greetings to the Arabs,
My greetings to those on the right, yes, and are repeated to those on the /left/' **yasār**
Text 2/Line 11:
'My greetings to you, O Bedouin,
My greetings to those on the right and I repeat my /greetings/' **salām**

Text 1/Line 8:
'What is your craft, O Uncle, and what is your profession?'
So Salāma [= Abū Zayd] said, 'I am a poet of /princes/' **umār**
Text 2/Line 14:
'What is your profession and what is your craft?'
He said to them, 'I am a poet, I measure /words/.' **kalām**

Text 1/Line 9:
They said to him, 'Poet, take out your *rabāb*,
Let us hear, man, praise of the Prophet, /the Chosen One/' **mukhtār**
Text 2/Line 16:
They said to him, 'Poet, O Uncle, take out your *rabāb*,
Let us hear praise of the Arab Prophet, the Noble, /the Leader/' **miqdām**

Text 1/Line 11:
Abū Zayd was making poetry when suddenly the horses of the foreigners
Came out from the mountains, men of King Ṣaymūl, strong of /refuge-seeker/[26] **al-jār**

26 An epithet that indicates that he is so powerful that even the strong seek refuge with him in times of need.

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Text 2/Line 19:
Abū Zayd was making poetry when suddenly the horses of the foreigners
Came out from the mountains, each warrior like seven at the time of
/weighing/[27] **al-mīzān**

Sheikh Taha had certainly never been asked to do this, but at a moment's notice he provided a remarkable demonstration of his mastery of the art of singing epic poetry and his ability to generate end rhyme almost as easily as speaking in regular conversation.

I did not discover another remarkable aspect of rhyme in this tradition until I was several months into my research. As a means of better understanding how epic singers learned the epic, I began taking lessons from Sheikh Ṭāhā Abū Zayd. Occasionally I would return with a section that I had learned with a few changes to see which alterations he would accept and which he would reject. I soon realized that when he taught me a section of the epic, he did not associate that portion of the text with a particular melody. If I came back the next day and sang it to him on a different melody from his repertory of melodies, he made no comment. But one time I was supposed to learn a battle scene, and since the battle scenes are all very similar, to the point of being repetitious, I sang a passage from a different episode that described almost exactly the same events. As soon as I began to sing, his head jerked up and he snapped, 'What's that? That's not from this episode!' I asked him how he knew and he looked at me in astonishment: 'The rhyme'. Despite my focus on rhyme and compositional techniques, I had never noticed that each section of the epic had a set rhyme scheme! When I went home and compared recordings by different poets, sure enough, they all sang the narrative with almost identical rhymes, changing at the same point in the story to a new rhyme. The epic, as it existed in oral tradition among the singers of al-Bakātūsh, possessed a 'deep structure' that was based on a shared rhyme scheme, even when the actual words used by singers differed from performance to performance.

By 2000 all of the epic singers of al-Bakātūsh had passed away, and none of their sons had taken up the profession. The singers themselves were proud that their offspring were going to school, learning to read and write, and following other occupations, since it was clear that the era of the itinerant epic-singers who used to perform in cafés, festivals, weddings and other occasions had passed. Already in the 1980's televisions had become the central focus in the village cafés and had almost completely replaced the evening *sahra* gatherings of epic-singing held in private homes. Local weddings began to feature urban music groups with massive amplifiers and electric keyboards rather than epic-singers. Audio recordings, transcribed and translated texts, as well as photographs of the village and its epic-singers can all be found on the Sirat Banī Hilāl Digital Archive [https://siratbanihilal.ucsb.edu/].

27 'The time of weighing' is a common metaphor for a battle.

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Concluding Remarks

Arabic oral poetry has been composed with verse end rhyme for some 1,500 years, and rhyme permeates the Arabic literary tradition, both oral and written, to a truly remarkable extent. Not only is rhyme a constant characteristic of Arabic poetry, but rhymed prose is a central characteristic of the Qur'an and of medieval writings of many different genres. From the flamboyantly complex rhyme schemes of Arabic and Hebrew *muwashshaḥ* compositions to the remarkable role of rhyme in the 'composition in performance' techniques used by Arab epic singers, rhyme is a feature constantly deployed in Arabic literature. Looking at the origin of Arabic poetry, at the most ancient verses that have come down to us, it is not much of an exaggeration to say: 'In the beginning, there was rhyme'.

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Seppo Heikkinen

Multiple Origins

Some Observations on the Medieval Latin Rhyme

This paper addresses the emergence of rhyme in medieval Latin poetry, a subject that is intriguing, as although rhyme is generally considered a quintessential feature of most poetry in modern languages, it was largely non-existent in classical Latin. In our paper, we set out to trace the origins of medieval Latin rhyme. While its emergence can be attributed to foreign influences, we argue that certain morphological and stylistic features of classical, and even archaic Latin probably played a central role in the feature.

Most readers are aware of the existence of two different types of Latin verse technique: classical and medieval. To put it roughly, their main difference is one of prosody. Classical Latin verse follows a quantitative, or metric, system, where the defining structural feature is syllable length: syllables, or the position which they hold in a metrical unit are divided into long (or, in more modern nomenclature, 'heavy'), short (or 'light') and indifferent. Most medieval verse, or at least its best-known proponents, follows a non-quantitative, or rhythmic, system, where the defining features are the number of syllables, and, especially toward the end of each line, their accentuation. The role of the latter feature sometimes tends to be exaggerated, as accent patterns varied hugely over the Middle Ages from their near-total disregard in, say, early Hiberno-Latin to an almost slavish adherence to regular accentual rhythm in the High Middle Ages. Similarly, the coexistence of metric and rhythmic form of versification throughout the Middle Ages is often ignored.

If we cite, as an example of what most would consider a prime example of 'typical' medieval verse, the opening of the 13th-century *Dies irae* sequence, usually attributed to Thomas of Celano, we can see how this plays out:

> Dies irae, dies ílla
> solvet saeclum in favílla
> teste Dauid cum Sibylla.
> (Raby 1959: 392–93.)

> That day, the day of wrath, dissolves the world to ash, as testified by David and the Sibyll.[1]

1 All translations are by the present author.

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Each line has a regular number of eight syllables, with no regard for syllable quantity, and the ending of each line has a penultimate (or paroxytone) accent. To employ the abbreviations used by D. Norberg, the structure could be presented as 8p (Norberg 2004: xxiv). In addition, even the beginning and middle of each line are regularly accentuated: *díes írae, díesílla* etc., making this a representative of high medieval rhythmic verse in its strictest and most regular form.

For the average reader, or singer, these structural features, however, are scarcely the most prominent feature of the text. What really stands out is the employment of regular, two-syllable rhyme: *illa-favilla-Sibylla* (*y* being homophonous with *i* in medieval Latin). (Norberg 2004: 41.) And this, indeed, is yet another quintessential, although not defining, feature of medieval Latin verse. Although not all medieval Latin verse uses rhyme, or uses it far less regularly than our sample, we can see how the rhyme supports the prosodic structure of the regularly accentuated line endings.

It is no wonder then, that end rhyme is seen as one of the central features of medieval rhythmic verse, and this, indeed, seems to have become the consensus by the High Middle Ages. The Venerable Bede, who in his 8th-century treatise *De arte metrica* presented the first creditable definition of rhythmic verse as being composed *numero syllabarum*, or according the number of syllables, makes no mention of rhyme, and, indeed, his examples are unrhymed (Heikkinen 2012: 187–205). In the high medieval *poetriae* such as those of John of Garland and Eberhard the German, however, rhyme is presented as a central feature of verse technique (Lawler 2020; Purcell 1993). It is telling that even the word rhyme is derived from *rhythmus*, by way of such intermediate forms as *ritmus*, *riddimus*, *rimus* etc. (Norden 1898: 825; Klopsch 1972: 49). In other words, we could expand our previous definition of rhythmic verse to include regular end rhyme, at least insofar as high medieval verse is concerned. But this would mean ignoring the fact that much of earlier rhythmic verse is unrhymed, and, perhaps, more strikingly, that rhyme in the Middle Ages was frequently also applied to such classical quantitative verse forms as hexameters and sapphics, not to mention prose. This also does not explain why rhyme became so central a feature of medieval Latin verse, or where it emerged. Rhyme did not simply appear together with rhythmic versification: we can see early symptoms of it in a wide variety of pre-classical, classical and late antique sources, but it took several centuries for it to assume the regular disyllabic form we can observe in the *Dies irae* sequence and, indeed, many of our modern languages.

Early medieval examples of rhyme rarely match the full-fledged high medieval model, often bordering on mere assonance, but this is not to say that the feature is not noticeable. We may cite, as an example, the anonymous 9th-century hymn *Ave maris stella*:

Ave, maris stella,
Dei mater alma,
Atque semper virgo,
Felix caeli porta.

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> Sumens illud 'ave'
> Gabrielis ore,
> Funda nos in pace
> Mutans Evae nomen.
> (Raby 1959: 94–95.)
>
> Hail, o star of the sea, merciful mother of God, eternal virgin and blessed gate of heaven. Receiving that 'ave' from the mouth of Gabriel, establish us in peace, changing the name of Eve.

In the first strophe, three of the lines end with *a* (*stella-alma-porta*). In the second strophe, all lines end with *e* (*ave-ore-pace-nomen*), although the last one also has a final consonant. We can see that rhyme has obviously been employed deliberately, although not with the kind of consistency we find in high medieval verse. Also, all the rhymes are monosyllabic. If we look for plausible precursors to medieval rhyme in earlier sources, they generally look very similar to this example.

Early Latin Models

Archaic Latin abounds in features that have their roots in preliterary forms of poetic and rhetorical expression. It shares most of them with other, extinct, Italian languages. These include various forms of wordplay, the most prominent being alliteration, but assonance and rhyme also play a noticeable role. Obviously, these are features that are typical of most oral traditions and have functioned as a memory support. Alliteration and assonance feature, above all, in spells and prayers, and early legal Latin makes frequent use of them in a ritualistic manner. It is difficult to ascertain to what extent rhyme is deliberate in a language the structure of which relies heavily on inflectional endings. The archaising language of Roman law and religion is characterised by its fondness for parallelism and paronomasia, themselves common features of oral poetic traditions, and its pleonastic use of synonyms, which, together with the Latin inflectional system, often results in rhyme as in the formula *dat, dicat, dedicat* [he gives, devotes and dedicates]. In classical literary Latin, however, excessive use of alliteration and rhyme were often viewed as rusticated, although such authors on rhetoric as Cicero (e.g., *In Verrem* 2.1) and Quintilian (*Institutio oratoria* 9.3.66–74) approved highly of paronomasia, where similar-sounding words are used in conjunction. Famous examples from Cicero include *bonarum artium, bonarum partium, bonorum virorum* [of good skills, good parties, and good men] (*Pro Caelio* 77) and *O fortu**natam natam** me consule Romam* [O happy Rome that was born during my consulship] (*De consulatu suo* 10), later notoriously mocked by Juvenal. In these examples, it is apparent that the rhyme-like effect is deliberate and not merely a by-product of the Latin inflectional system, but, nevertheless, the rhyming words share inflectional forms: this is far from the 'rhyme for rhyme's sake' that became a part of medieval verse technique. It is also worthy of note that the rhyming words are placed next to each other; the concept of using rhyme to end phrases or lines had yet to emerge.

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Apart from Italic traditions of wordplay, one typically Latin feature of poetry and rhetoric may arguably have contributed to the development of rhymed verse. This is the stylistic device known as hyperbaton, which means the separation of an adjective or other attribute from its noun head. A prime example from the High Middle Ages is the line *Tuba mirum spargens sonum* [the trumpet, spreading its wonderful sound] from the *Dies irae* sequence. The words *mirum* [wonderful], and *sonum* [sound], have been separated from each other, creating an additional monosyllabic rhyme in the middle of the line. Hyperbata are exceedingly common in classical Latin poetry. Some of the most celebrated examples can be found in Horace's first *Ode* and its depiction of a chariot race:

> Sunt quos curriculo pulverem Olympicum
> Collegisse iuvat, metaque **fervidis**
> Evitata **rotis**, palmaque nobilis
> Terrarum **dominos** evehit ad **deos**.
> (West 1997: 25.)
>
> There are those whom it pleases to gather the Olympian dust; the turning post, passed by fiery wheels and the palm leaf of victory raises them as lords of the world among the gods.

Here the hyperbata create elaborate inner rhymes, sometimes even overlapping the division of the lines. As, e.g., *fervidis* [fiery], and *rotis* [wheels], belong to the same declension and are in the same case (the ablative), they share the same ending, resulting in rhyme. Here again, however, it is open to question to what extent the rhyme is deliberate or a secondary by-product of the Latin inflectional system and the poet's choice of word order.

A particularly sophisticated form of double hyperbaton is what, at least in the Anglosphere, is commonly referred to as the 'golden line'. This term refers to a line of poetry, usually a hexameter, that consists of two pairs of noun and adjective separated from each other with the verb in the middle; it can be represented as A1-B1-Verb-A2-B2. (See, e.g., Winbolt 1903: 219–21; Wilkinson 1963: 215; Mayer 2002; Heikkinen 2015.) This arrangement of words appears to have been sought, in particular, by bucolic poets of the imperial period and favoured by such Late Latin and medieval poets as the fifth-century Sedulius and the sixth-century Aldhelm. Its first coherent description is given in Bede's 8th-century *De arte metrica*, followed by two celebrated examples from Sedulius's Bible epic *Carmen paschale*:

> But the best and most beautiful arrangement (*optima…ac pulcerrima positio*) of dactylic verse is when the penultimate parts respond to the first ones and the last parts respond to the middle ones (*primis penultima, ac mediis respondet extrema*). Sedulius was in the habit of using this arrangement often as in:
>
> ***Pervia** divisi* patuerunt ***caerula** ponti*
>
> The penetrable waters (*pervia caerula*) of the divided sea (*divisi ponti*) lay open.
>
> ***Sicca** peregrinas* stupuerunt ***marmora** plantas*

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> The dry marble (*sicca marmora*) wondered at the foreign soles (*peregrinas plantas*).
>
> (Bede, *De arte metrica*, ed. Calvin Kendall 1977: 111–112; Sedulius, *Carmen Paschale* 1.136, 1.140.)

The rhyming effect is here emphasised by the fact that the word at the end agrees with the one immediately before the central caesura of the hexameter line. Here, again, it would be tempting to assign to the rhyme the status of a mere by-product, but it appears that Bede himself was of a different opinion. Namely, in his companion work to *De arte metrica*, *De schematibus et tropis* [On schemes and tropes] he also uses the latter of his quotations from Sedulius as an example of homoeoteleuton:

> Homoeoteleuton is a similar ending, whenever the middle and end of a line or sentence end with a similar syllable…Poets use it in this way:
>
> *Sicca peregrinas stupuerunt marmora plantas.*
> (Bede, *De schematibus et tropis*, ed. Calvin Kendall 1977: 149.)

The placement of the rhyming words corresponds precisely with those of the so-called leonine hexameter, which became hugely popular towards the end of the Middle Ages, and it is probable that the golden line contributed strongly to its evolution. Naturally, the high medieval rhyming hexameter differs markedly from the lines from Sedulius cited above, as we can see in this line from the *Carmina Burana*:

> In mundo *summus* rex est hoc tempore *nummus*.
> (Hilka & Schumann 1930: 15.)
>
> Today, money is the highest king in the world.

As we can see, the rhyme is disyllabic; we do not simply have the 'similar final syllable' as described by Bede. Also, the rhyming words do not form a noun-attribute unit. Although the structure may be rooted in the earlier use of the hyperbaton, it has become totally divorced from it, giving us, at last, 'rhyme for rhyme's sake.'

An intriguing feature of medieval leonine rhyme is that, although it is employed in such classical verse forms as hexameters and elegiacs, which, even in the Middle Ages were composed strenuously according to the rules of classical syllable quantity, vowel length is irrelevant from the point of view of rhyme, e.g., Hugh the Primate in his epigram against the dilution of wine:

> In cratere meo / Thetis est sociata Lyaeo.
> (Hilka & Schumann 1970: 28.)
>
> In my chalice, Thetis (water), is together with Bacchus (wine).

Metrically, the hexameter line is faultless but note that *meo* (with a short *e*) rhymes with *Lyaeo* (with a long one).

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Foreign Influences

Efforts have been made to attribute the Latin rhyme to Semitic models (e.g., Dihle 2013: 572). Monosyllabic end rhyme was a defining feature of Arabic and Syriac verse (Scott 1997: 7; Catholic answers/encyclopedia/syriac-hymnody; Reynolds, this volume), but it also appears in two verse pamphlets written in late antique North Africa: *Psalmus contra partem Donati*, composed against the Donatist heresy by Augustine of Hippo, and *Psalmus contra Vandalos Arrianos*, written by Fulgentius of Ruspe against Vandals, practitioners of the Arian heresy (Hunink 2011). These 'psalms' constitute something of a curiosity in Latin literature, as, in structure, they are strikingly dissimilar to any other poetic compositions of the same period. They feature stanzas in alphabetical order and a refrain together with a fairly regular number of eight or nine syllables per line, with total disregard for syllable quantity, making them, arguably, some of the first representatives of rhythmic verse. They also have simple, monosyllabic end rhyme, which, however, is not used with perfect regularity, and their rhythm is roughly trochaic.

Augustine's hymn, which constitutes the only extant poem by his pen, is possibly modelled after similar polemic verse used by his opponents, the Donatists themselves, and probably has its ultimate origin in the Middle East, where Syriac verse homilies with similar form and content have been documented. Semitic models are also suggested by Augustine's own commentary on the hymn in his Enchiridion, where he both attributes its abecedary structure to Hebrew models and mentions 'Latin and Punic' abedecary hymns; incidentally, this is one of the very last mentions of Punic still being used in North Africa. The opening of the hymn is striking not only in its vernacular tone, but also its radical departure from other contemporary verse:

> Abundantia peccator**um**
> Propter hoc Dominus nost**er**
> omparans regnum caelor**um**
> Congregavit multos pisc**es**…
> (Anastasi 1957: 44.)
>
> Because of the abundance of sinners, our lord, preparing the kingdom of the heavens, collected many fish…

The verse homilies of Augustine and Fulgentius, although intriguing and rare examples of cross-cultural influences, probably had little impact on subsequent Latin poetry, although they exhibit features that became prominent in the Middle Ages. They were not widely known in the Early Middle Ages, as, understandably, the Donatist and Arian heresies had, for all practical purposes, ceased to exist. Ultimately, they must probably be regarded as an isolated phenomenon.

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Celtic Influences

Yet another 'foreign' influence that may have played a role in the evolution of the Latin rhyme is vernacular Celtic verse. We encounter rhyme in early Welsh and Irish verse, and it is at least plausible that Gallic oral poetry shared the same feature. Previously, we observed the use of the golden line in the verse of Caelius Sedulius, together with the rhyming effect in which it often resulted. As Bede asserted, the rhymes in Sedulius's hexameter lines are probably intentional and not merely a result of word order. This comes to the fore even more strongly if we examine Sedulius's hymn *A solis ortus cardine*, composed in iambic dimeters. Here, we have nearly systematic use of monosyllabic end rhyme:

> A solis ortus cardin**e**
> Ad usque terrae limit**em**,
> Christum canamus Princip**em**,
> Ortum Maria Virgin**e**.
> Beatus Auctor saecul**i**
> Servile corpus indu**it**;
> Ut carne carnem liberans
> Ne perderet quos condid**it**.
> (Raby 1959: 39.)
>
> From the pivot of the sun's rising to the farthest edge of the earth, let us sing to Christ our lord, born of the virgin Mary. The blessed creator of the world assumed the body of his servant, liberating flesh with flesh, that he might not lose what he had made.

This differs markedly from the examples of homoeoteleuton we cited in earlier Latin verse. Rather than internal rhyme, we have genuine end rhyme, with the rhyming syllables holding the final position of each line. We can see that we are on the way towards a system where rhyme has become a defining structural feature.

What made Sedulius so fond of rhyme? It has been – rather questionably – proposed that the reason may be that he was of Irish origin, Sedulius being a Latinised form of the name Sladhal (Woulfe 1923: s.v. Sladhal). As hardly anything is known of Sedulius's life, this can neither be attested nor denied; the Irish hypothesis rests partly on the fact that the 9th-century poet Sedulius Scottus was genuinely from Ireland, and the lives of the two namesakes have become conflated. The proposal also rests on the earlier Sedulius's fondness for rhyme and the influence he had on medieval Irish and Anglo-Latin verse. (Wright 1982.)

As Christianity, together with the Latin language, became established in early medieval Ireland, the Irish scholars ultimately became Latin poets themselves. It is apparent that the early Irish authors had no concept of syllable quantity, which had by this time disappeared from spoken Latin (Roger 1905: 267–68), and the models to which they resorted were primarily those of Late Latin hymns, although cast in a non-quantitative form. It is not surprising that they also made full use of the possibilities of rhyme. The

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seventh-century poem *Versiculi familiae Benchuir* in praise of the monastic family of Bangor, which has been preserved in the Antiphonary of Bangor, is a prime example. The rhyming surpasses virtually anything previously composed in Latin: rhymes are used with unerring regularity in an *abab* arrangement, and often, though not always, they are disyllabic, anticipating high medieval practice by centuries:

> Benchuir bona reg**ula**,
> recta atque div**ina**,
> stricta, sancta, sed**ula**,
> summa, iusta ac m**ira**.
> (Raby 1959: 69.)
>
> The good rule of Bangor, right and divine, strict, holy and sedulous, high, just and wonderful.

The disyllabic rhyme does not always take into account the different consonants before the final syllables (*divina-mira*); in this respect, it follows the practices of vernacular Celtic poetry. The rhymes may also have been inspired by the monosyllabic end rhyme of Late Latin hymnody as we witnessed in Sedulius's *A solis ortus cardine*. In this case, if Sedulius was indeed Irish, we can see this as a very sophisticated case of literary recycling.

Sequence

A novel form of ecclesiastical music and poetry that emerged in the Early Middle Ages is the sequence, also known as *prosa* (Norberg 2004: 158–73). It had its origins in a melisma that was sung at the end of the Alleluia in mass. Originally, such melismata may have been improvised, but later they were written down and supplied with their own texts. As the sequence grew independent of its origins as an appendage of the Alleluia, it nevertheless retained its place between the Alleluia and the proclamation of the Gospel. Although the sequence was influenced by such early Christian hymns as Venantius Fortunatus's *Vexilla regis prodeunt*, it had, from the start, a different structure. The sequence was popularised, above all, by the 9th-century Notker Balbulus, who published a collection of sequences in his *Liber hymnorum*. Early sequences were typically written in rhythmical prose, hence their alternative denomination *prosa*. Typically, an early sequence has a regular number of syllables and regularly accentuated line endings without adhering to a single verse type. Later sequences often have a regular strophic or stichic structure, and some high medieval sequences have even been composed in classical, quantitative metres.

Some early sequences still betray their origin as an appendage of the Alleluia. A case in point is the Aquitanian *Swan Sequence* with the incipit *Clangam, filii*, which was hugely popular for some two centuries. It is an allegorical story of a swan that loses its way over the sea. Structurally, it falls

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somewhere between verse and prose: the lines are of varying lengths but there is a consistency to their rhythm and the accentuation of their cadences. Perhaps its most striking feature is its use of rhyme: every other line ends with the vowel *a,* something that seems to have been a common feature in early French, though not German sequences. We can take this to be a carryover from the origins of the sequence as an embellishment on the final *a* of Alleluia:

> Clangam, filii
> ploratione una
> alitis cygni
> qui transfretavit aequora.
> O quam amare
> lamentabatur, arida
> se dereliquisse
> florigera
> et petisse alta
> maria;
> aiens: "Infelix sum
> avicula,
> heu mihi, quid agam
> misera?
> (Raby 1959: 90.)
>
> I shall cry out, my sons, of the lament of one winged swan, which traversed the seas. O how bitterly he bemoaned that he had left the dry and flowery land and sought the open seas, saying: "I am an unfortunate little bird, woe to me, what shall I do in my misery?"

Although its dogged use of the final *a* is basically an allusion to the Alleluia, the fact that the sequence uses rhymes at all probably also reflects the general increase in the popularity of end rhyme in early medieval verse.

Concluding Remarks

Rhyme in medieval Latin verse is a fascinating phenomenon, and much more complicated than it seems on the surface. We are best acquainted with the high medieval practice of using regular disyllabic end rhymes, but this was merely a result of a long evolution and multiple influences from archaic spells and prayers, classical peculiarities of word order, the phonetic features of liturgical texts and possible foreign influence, especially by Semitic verse in the Late Antique period, and, in Hiberno-Latin, by Celtic traditions. Essentially, the propensity for rhyme was built into the Latin language from the start: in a language which relies heavily on inflectional endings, avoiding rhyme is actually more difficult than allowing it. Early examples, however, fall into the category of internal rhyme, naturally enough. The evolution of end rhyme cannot be simply attributed to linguistic features, and the concept of deliberately using rhyme to round off sentences or lines of poetry took a long

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time to take root. One probable factor was the emergence of rhythmic verse, the structure of which revolves around the regularly accentuated cadences of lines: disyllabic end rhyme was useful in underlining this feature. At the same, medieval rhyme demonstrates the varied history of Latin verse and the wide variety of influences that helped shape its aesthetic over the centuries.

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Frog
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5967-6281

Rhyme in Alliterative Oral Poetry

A Look at Old English, Old Norse, and Finno-Karelian Traditions

Rhyme has received little concentrated attention in Old Germanic and Finnic alliterative poetries. Its absence is often taken for granted or it simply remains invisible. Although it may come into focus in connection with particular lines, passages, or poems, alliteration is viewed as the older and truer poetic organizing principle, leaving rhyme to be considered as insignificant, late, or of foreign influence, if it is addressed at all. The present chapter looks briefly at rhyme in Old English, Old Norse eddic poetry, and Finno-Karelian kalevalaic poetry. Attention is given to how rhyme's usage relates to the principles organizing the poetic form and how it may become integrated into particular formulae, lines, or stretches of lines, conditioning their variation. Differences in the operation of rhyme in each tradition are considered in a concluding discussion.

The Old Germanic Alliterative Metre

Old Germanic poetries are based on an inherited, accentual, alliterative metre, in which, simplifying somewhat, each long line is made up of two short lines, called an a-line and a b-line, linked by alliteration. Because so many things are called 'lines' in Germanic poetries, the German term *Langzeile*, plural *Langzeilen*, will be used to refer to long lines here with the hope that it will make the distinctions less confusing for unfamiliar readers. A short line is customarily organized in four positions, two strong and two weak, although they can be in almost any order, and the number of positions in a short line may vary in practice. One or both strong positions of the a-line carry alliteration with usually the first but not the second strong position of the b-line, a metrical principle that is, in general, remarkably regular in both Old English and Old Norse to the point that editors have long considered its absence an error and as grounds to edit a line's phrasing. The following examples illustrate these patterns in Old English, presenting alliteration on only the first strong position in the a-line, then only on the second, followed by an example of alliteration on both; so-called hyper-metric lines are not addressed here (all translations are by the present author unless otherwise

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indicated; the caesura between short lines is indicated through six spaces between the a-line and b-line; line-end punctuation has been removed):[1]

sigora dryhtne þæs þe hio **s**oð gecneow
(*Elene* 1139)
lord of victories from whom she knew the truth

Nu ic þe **h**alsige **h**eofonrices weard
(*Sat* 420 = 423)
Now I entreat you heaven-kingdom's ward

metod **m**oncynnes **m**æge Lothes
(*GenA* 2923)
meter of mankind kinsman of Lot

The medieval processes of documenting Old Germanic poems is generally unknown, but it may have impacted how rhyme appears in the corpora. Poems were written out as continuous text on manuscript pages rather than laying out lines in a column as in modern editorial practice. Nevertheless, the metre is salient in reading; many Old Norse lines even include expletive particles relevant to metrical reading but not to meaning (a type of particle often omitted when oral poetry is transcribed). The process of writing was likely different for different texts, but may have made some or many texts more formally uniform (cf. Ready 2019: ch. 3). The attention to metrical form in transcription increases the likelihood that the presence or absence of rhyme is consistent with poetic ideals.

Rhyme in Old English

Rhyme in Old English poetry has long been recognized (e.g., Sievers 1893: 146–149), especially its most common form in the use of rhymed words within a short line. Thomas A. Bredehoft (2005b: 207–208) emphasizes that the topic has been neglected and remained poorly understood. Scholars have predominantly looked at end rhymes that include the stressed syllable and link an a-line to a b-line as in later rhymed verse; rhyme pairs within a short line get viewed as ornament or idiom (Bredehoft 2005b) and morphological rhymes have received very little attention either in their use (Zacher 2002: 355–356) or in their avoidance (Frank 2003: 242). End rhyme is seen as 'a bookish device': it appears as a salient feature in a few poems, such as the passage of sixteen *Langzeilen* at the end of *Elene* (1236–1251), which immediately precede the poet Cynewulf's runic signature. Old English had a number of poetic devices that seem quite subtle today (Bartlett 1935), but rhyme's relative frequency in *Beowulf* (Table 1) does not point to it as one of these.

1 Old English poems are referenced by sigla and line numbers as used in the Dictionary of Old English Web Corpus, unless otherwise cited.

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Within an a-line	11
Within a b-line	4
A-line to b-line end rhyme	5
Successive b-line end rhyme	4
Successive a-line end rhyme	3
B-line to a-line end rhyme	3
B-line to a-line with an intermediate line	1

Table 1. Rhymes from the stressed syllable in the 3,182 *Langzeilen* of *Beowulf* according to Fulk et al. (2008: clxi n.5).

A common view is that, in a poem like *Beowulf*, 'there is no instance in which it [end rhyme] is unquestionably intentional' (Fulk et al. 2008: clxi). Distinguishing between ornament and accident is methodologically problematic without a way to determine social practice, as in the following line (Bredehoft 2005a: 58):

l***ærað*** ond l**æ**st***að*** ond his lof r***ærað***
(*Guthlac A* 24)
teach and follow and his glory raise

Potential functions of rhyme become visible when they correlate with another factor. R. D. Fulk (1992: 262–263) identifies six instances of rhyme or near-rhyme in the poem *Judgement Day II* within lines where alliteration is lacking or non-ideal (3, 6, 28, 82, 147, 266 and cf. line 4 of 301 lines). The rhymes link the a-line and b-line in four lines where alliteration is lacking and in two lines where alliteration is on the b-line's second strong position (from which it is normally excluded). Although the number is small (2% of lines), the regular co-occurrence indicates that rhyme was able to compensate for a lack of metrically conventional alliteration in the line, in a type of *metrical compensation* (Frog 2021: 284–286). Such compensation may also occur elsewhere in an isolated line (Fulk 1992: 259), noting that, in Old Germanic poetries, /st/ does not alliterate with /s/:

æfre embe st***unde*** he sealde sume w***unde***
(*Maldon* 271)
in almost every moment he distributed some wound

Although end rhyme as compensation for alliteration is viewed as a pattern characteristic of late poetry (Fulk 1992: 264), Calvin Kendall (1991: 115) observes that, in *Beowulf*, a pair of rhymed or semantically contrasting (e.g., 'north'–'south') words was accepted in an a-line where double alliteration was metrically expected. Old Germanic short lines are formally distinguished into types according to the arrangement of strong and weak positions, and how these relate to linguistic stress and the number and quantity of syllables in the line (e.g., Sievers 1883). In Old English, certain types of *Langzeilen* customarily require a second alliteration in the a-line. This can

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be accomplished by simply having both strong positions carry alliteration with the first strong position in the b-line or by having so-called double alliteration, in which the first strong position in the a-line alliterates with one strong position in the b-line and the second strong position in the a-line alliterates on a different sound with the other strong position in the b-line. Bredehoft (2005a: 51–62) tests Kendall's finding concerning rhyme against the corpus. He shows that rhyme can have a function in relation to metre as an alternative to additional alliteration, although this usage concentrates in particular poems or dialects of poetry. These Germanic rhymes do not depend on full end rhyme; those surveyed by Bredehoft are always on a stressed syllable, and several do not include any following syllables, for example (2005a: 61):

eard w***eard***igað, eðel healdað
(*Andreas* 176)
the land, defend the possession, hold

br***oð***or ***oð***erne blodigan gare
(*Beowulf* 2440)
one brother the other with a bloody spear

Alliteration remained systematic, but stressed-syllable rhymes offered a compensatory alternative to additional alliteration.

Bredehoft's survey of rhymed words reveals that many rhyme pairs such as these circulated as a stable part of the poetic idiom (2005a: 51–62; 2005b). He further shows that conventional rhyme pairs in Old English are paralleled in Old Saxon. Differences in the variations and conventions of usage of rhyme pairs in each of these languages suggest that the usage of rhyme goes back to a common language phase, and that the use of rhymed stem syllables within a short line in particular has roots in an early period of the poetry (2005b). Bredehoft further reveals that rhyme could be integrated into constructions in the poetic idiom, as in the following b-line construction, where a monosyllable carries alliteration, its stem rhyming with an immediately-following noun, followed by a prefixed form of the verb *fon* (2005b: 213–214):

h***ond*** r***ond*** ge*feng* his hand the shield seized
(*Beowulf* 2609b)

w***eal eall*** be*feng* a wall all encompassed
(*Ruin* 39b)

s***und*** gr***und***e on*feng* the sea the land seized on
(*Andreas* 1528b)

b***ord ord*** on*feng* the shield the point caught
(*Maldon* 110b)

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Rhyme is here integrated as an organizing principle that structures the relation between the two nouns; it shapes variation by conditioning word choice (on which, see also Frog 2021). The examples suggest that, rather than generating new rhymes, this construction was customarily completed with a conventional rhyme pair.

Although stressed-syllable rhyme with or without end rhyme is statistically infrequent in the Old English corpus, it held an integrated position in the idiom and was used, under certain conditions, with a metrical function. Unlike alliteration, rhyme may occur in both strong positions in a b-line (Kendall 1991: 114n.31). However, the metrical constraint is not that alliteration is excluded from both b-line positions, but that both b-line alliterations cannot be *the same* as the metrical alliteration linking short lines, thus double alliteration is also allowed, in which each strong position in the b-line alliterates on a different sound. Alliteration remains generally uniform in its metrical role of linking short lines to form a *Langzeile* and rhyme does not compete with it in this role. Outside of this primary metrical function – i.e. in metrically motivated secondary alliteration – rhyme could be employed as an alternative. Metrical compensation of alliteration by rhyme in *Langzeilen*, as in *Judgement Day II*, is undoubtedly connected with changes in the poetic ecology, but these changes may have been more complex than simply introducing rhyme as a foreign or learned poetic feature; it may have involved an extension of rhyme's potential for compensation from secondary to primary alliteration.

Eddic Forms among Old Norse Metres

Old Norse poetries evolved away from the inherited Germanic form in two significant ways. On the one hand, the poetic form became shorter, stylistically more dense, and poetic syntax changed so that breaks between longer clauses could only occur between *Langzeilen* or so-called *Vollzeilen*,[2] leading poems to be performed in short groups of *Langzeilen* that tended to crystallize[3] into relatively stable verbal stretches of text (see also Kristján Árnason 2006). On the other hand, Old Norse poetic forms diversified. *Eddic* has become the common term in research to describe poetry considered to be Old Norse forms of the common Germanic tradition, while *skaldic* refers to forms of poetry linked to so-called court poetry, peripheral to the present discussion (Clunies Ross 2005). Eddic metres fall into two main categories: *fornyrðislag*, which basically corresponds to the Old Germanic form, and *ljóðaháttr* with its derivatives; *ljóðaháttr* is composed in combinations of Old Germanic *Langzeilen*, and *Vollzeilen* [full lines] (sg. *Vollzeile*; I retain the German term). *Vollzeilen* are formed with two or three strong positions

2 The long Germanic form often placed breaks between longer clauses between an a-line and b-line, so that the meter carried the flow of narration forward; Old Norse poetry only allowed this in parallelism between a-lines and b-lines and in short interjections.

3 On crystallization, see Siikala 1990 [1984]: 80–86.

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without a caesura and alliteration on any two strong positions, while *ljóðaháttr Langzeilen* are more flexible than in *fornyrðislag* with some differences in their formal conventions (e.g., Sijmons & Gering 1906; Hollmérus 1936); for example:

> **V**eiztu ef **f**yrstr ok øfstr **v**artu at **f**jǫrlagi
> þá er ér á **Þ**iaza **þ**rifoð
> (*Ls* 51.1–3)
> You know if first and foremost you were at the death scene
> then when you attacked Thjazi

The tighter textual units in which eddic poems are composed are commonly called strophes; some *ljóðaháttr* poetry seems to have become regularly stanzaic, composed in two pairs of alternating *Langzeilen* and *Vollzeilen* (the example is a half-stanza).

Formal regularity was taken to an extreme in skaldic poetry, which was composed in regular stanzas, attributed to named poets, and the stanzas were so highly crystallized in transmission that variation in oral transmission seems to have remained minimal. Skaldic poetries may employ the same metres as eddic poetry but they also include more complex metrical forms that incorporate stressed-syllable rhymes that were metricalized in the metre called *dróttkvætt* (Kristján Árnason 1991). As in Old English, the metrical use of rhyme is in the short lines that are linked in pairs by alliteration, which would seem to point to rhyme as an integrated feature already in Northwest Germanic.

Rhyme in Eddic Poetry

Rhyme has been recognized in eddic poetry, but distinguishing intentional use from accident has remained problematic (Harris 1985: 106), and the phenomenon has generally received much less attention than in Old English (though see Sijmons & Gering 1906: ccxviii–ccxix, ccxlv–ccxlvii). End rhyme with stressed syllables is rare. According to the survey of Barend Sijmons & Hugo Gering (1906: ccxlvi), there are more examples of such end rhyme of consecutive *Langzeilen* in *Beowulf* than in the whole eddic corpus, even when including the cases of end-rhymed *Vollzeilen* below. Rhymed pairs linked by a conjunction within a short line are also much less common than in Old English. Not including personal names, Sijmons & Gering (1906: ccvii) identify only seven examples,[4] all end-rhymed. Three are in *ljóðaháttr* a-lines (*Háv* 62.1, *Skm* 29.1, *Sd* 20.4), two in *fornyrðislag* a-lines (*Br* 14.5, *Grt*

4 Elena A. Gurevič (1986: 41) counts eleven, which excludes Sijmons & Gering's example of *Sd* 19.5–6 owing to different scansion and not including their example of *Br* 14.5 owing, it seems, to its syntax; Gurevič's additional six examples thus seem to include paired compounds with the same second element (*Háv* 41.4, *Rþ* 43.3–4; Gurevič 1986: 35) plus four examples based on rhymes that do not include the stressed syllable.

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4.1) and one in a *fornyrðislag* b-line (*Sg* 66.2), and the last is in a *ljóðaháttr* b-line but it is problematic and may instead be scanned as a *Langzeile* with end-rhymed short lines (*Sd* 19.5–6);[5] such rhymes are not found within a *Vollzeile*:

S***napir*** ok g***napir*** er til sævar kømr
(*Háv* 62.1–2)
Snaps and cranes his neck when he comes to the sea

Tjaldi þar um þá borg t***jǫldum*** ok sk***jǫldum***
(*Sg* 66.1–2)
Deck there around that mound (pyre) with tapestries and shields

Skaldic poetry shows that rhyme was a recognized poetic feature. Two types of stem-syllable rhyme were distinguished by whether they included the same vowel or had different vowels (e.g., *-u**nd**-* : *-ǫ**nd**-*). There is nothing unusual about two or even three *-$V_1C_1(C_2)$-* : *-$V_2C_1(C_2)$-* rhymes in a *Langzeile* or *Vollzeile*:

bu***nd***n***um*** rǫ***ndum*** bleikum skjǫldum
(*Atk* 14.7–8)
with bound shields bright shields

Heyrða ek se***g***ja í sǫ***g***um fornum
(*Od* 1.1–2)
I have heard it said in ancient sagas

Mik ba***ð*** hann gœ***ð***a gulli rau***ð***u
(*Od* 15.5–6)
He bade that I be endowed with red gold

gla***ð***r inn gó***ð***a mjǫ***ð***
(*Gm* 16.6 [*Vollzeile*])
glad, the good mead

Bredhoft identifies eighty-one Old English lines containing a rhyme of *miht* [might, power] and *drihten* [lord], but the eddic system seems to generally avoid stem-syllable rhymes with the vowel (cf. Kellogg 1988). Pairs and sets of conventional rhyme words are part of the skaldic system, yet none of the pairs identified by Sijmons & Gering are rhymed more than once in the eddic corpus (cf. *HHv* 12. 3 and *Am* 104.5–6, where related words are used without completing rhyme). Eddic rhymes on stressed syllables with the vowel thus seem marked, which is consistent with such rhymes generally occurring either on both strong positions in a short line or on the second

5 The rhymed pair is in the *Langzeile hveim er þær kná óviltar oc óspiltar* (*ó-* being a prefix); scanning the rhyme pair as a b-line (cf. the runic inscription below) leaves the *Langzeile* without alliteration; scanning it with the caesura between *óviltar* and *ok* links the a-line and b-line by both alliteration and end rhyme.

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strong positions of an a-line and a b-line, comparable to cross alliteration (an example of Class I below):

bað hann Sifiar v***er*** sér fora hv***er***
(*Hym* 3.5–6)
he asked Sif's man (i.e. Thor) to fetch him a cauldron

Stem-syllable -$V_1C_1(C_2)$- : -$V_1C_1(C_2)$- rhymes are found without rhyming the final syllable, as in the following exceptional example, where a single rhyme continues across two *Langzeilen*, each with triple alliteration, with rhyme on the second alliteration in each a-line (notably a theonym) and on a different strong position in the b-line:

ǫnd gaf ***Óð***inn ***óð*** gaf Hœnir
lá gaf L***óð***urr oc lito g***óð***a
(*Vsp* 18.5–8)
breath gave Odin spirit gave Hœnir
form gave Lóðurr and good appearance

A survey of stem-syllable rhymes is currently lacking, but Sijmons & Gering's (1906: ccxlvi) survey of short-line end rhyme on stressed syllables shows this to be nearly exclusive to *fornyrðislag*, with ten examples (plus one excluded here as belonging to an inventory of names: Þul *Kálfv* 4III.5–6). They identify only one example in *ljóðaháttr*, and that in a *Langzeile* that they considered contextually out of place (*Vm* 38.6–7); the problematic example mentioned above may be a second, and an example discussed below could be a third. Sijmons & Gering's examples are listed in Table 2. 'Heavy' and 'light' is a syllabic quantity distinction: 'light' syllables can only fill a strong position with a second syllable in a process known as *resolution*, so a light disyllable (i.e. a two-syllable word with a light stressed syllable) is metrically equivalent to a heavy monosyllable.

Class I:	Light monosyllables	2	(*fornyrðislag*)
Class IIa:	Heavy monosyllables	1	(*fornyrðislag*)
	Light disyllables	4	(*fornyrðislag*)
Class IIb:	Light disyllables (compound)	1	(*fornyrðislag*)
Class IIIa:	Heavy disyllables	2	(*fornyrðislag*)
Class IIIb:	Heavy disyllables (compound)	1	(*ljóðaháttr*)

Table 2. End rhyme linking an a-line and b-line according to Sijmons & Gering (1906: ccxlvi); the problematic example above would be Class IIIb; the possible example discussed below would be Class IIa in *ljóðaháttr*.

In each class, patterns seem to emerge. The second Class I example (*HHI* 13.7–8) has the same metrical structure as the one quoted above. Formal

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similarities and differences appear between lines in Class III (*HHII* 25.5–6, *Sg* 3.7–8, *Vm* 38.6–7, and cf. *Sd* 19.5–6 above), but the data is too limited to be confident of a relation, while there is only one example of Class IIb (*Am* 54.5–6). Examples of Class IIa stand out because all are in parallel short lines while no examples of other classes are (the *ljóðaháttr* example below that is interpretable as Class IIa also conforms to this pattern):

Varð ára ***ymr*** oc iárna gl***ymr***
(*HHI* 27.1–2)
There was the splash of oars and ring of iron

grjótbjǫrg gn***ata*** enn gífr r***ata***
(*Vsp* 52.5–6)
craggy cliffs clash and witches travel

Brestanda b***oga*** brennanda l***oga***
(*Háv* 85.1–2)
A stretching bow a burning flame

Hreingálkn hr***utu*** enn hǫlkn þ***utu***
(*Hym* A24.1–2)
The sea-wolf shrieked and submerged rocks echoed

Sumir úlf sv***iðu*** sumir orm sn***iðu***
(*Br* 4.1–2)
some wolf roasted some serpent sliced up

Although five examples is not many, the exclusive relation between parallel constructions and Class IIa rhymes account for half of Sijmons & Gering's examples in *fornyrðislag*, each in a different poem. Cross-alliteration and other double alliteration commonly occurs in parallel short lines in *fornyrðislag* (Sievers 1893: 70), to which Class IIa rhymes, *not stressed-syllable rhymes generally*, present an alternative. It is therefore probable that Class IIa rhymes reflect a conventional construction integrating a particular type of rhyme with parallelism.

End rhyme between a b-line and following a-line also appears, although scholars have dismissed it (Gering 1927: 120):

sjúkum kálfi sjálfráða þr***æli***
vǫlu vilm***æli*** val nýfeldum
(*Háv* 87)
a sick calf a self-thinking thrall
a seeress's good word a corpse fresh-slain

The only example of full end rhyme of *Langzeilen* including the stressed vowel is in the opening of the poem *Þrymskviða*, where it has been attributed (anachronistically) to influence from ballad traditions (de Vries 1928):

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Reiðr var þá Vingþórr er hann v***aknaði***
ok síns hamars um s***aknaði***
(*Þkv* 1.1–4)
Angry was then *ving*-Thor when he woke
and his hammer was lacking

The couplet's uniqueness makes it fruitless to speculate about the rhyme's motivation.

A variation of *ljóðaháttr* places *Vollzeilen* in series, normally characterized by parallelism with lexical repetition. Sijmons & Gering (1906: ccxlvi) identify one unambiguous example of end-rhymed *Vollzeilen*:

þeim er hangir með h***ám***	from those who are hanged with skins
ok skollir með skr***ám***	and dangle with dried skins

(*Háv* 134: 11–12)

The rhyme here may echo lexical repetition while conforming to the different alliterations, enabled, in this case, by synonyms that rhyme. Correspondence to Class IIa type rhymes is an outcome of a light disyllable or heavy monosyllable as the preferred cadence of *Vollzeilen*.

End rhymes on unstressed syllables have received even less attention (though see Sijmons & Gering 1906: ccxlvii). A Class IIa rhyme introduces a parallel series characterized by morphological rhymes that produces the texture of the following *fornyrðislag* strophe, where it may also operate as an alternative to additional alliteration:

Brest***anda*** b***oga*** brenn***anda*** l***oga***	A stretching bow a burning flame
gín***anda*** úlf*i* gal***andi*** kráku	a yawning wolf a cawing crow
rýt***anda*** svín*i* rótlausum við*i*	a squealing swine a rootless tree
vax***anda*** vág*i* vell***anda*** katl*i*	a rising billow a boiling kettle

(*Háv* 85)

Syllable rhymes in skaldic verse may be between lexically stressed and unstressed syllables, which appears in eddic end rhyme as well:

fundu á l***andi*** lítt meg***andi***	found on land little capable

(*Vsp* 17.5–6)

An example of unstressed syllables linking non-adjacent *Langzeilen* is also found, where the two words also alliterate:

Þaðan koma meyjar margs ***v***it***andi***
þrjár ór þeim sal er und þolli stendr
Urð hétu eina aðra ***V***erð***andi***
(*Vsp* 20.1–6)
Thence came maidens much knowing
three from that hall which under the tree stands
Urðr one was called a second Verðandi

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Unstressed-syllable rhymes are also found in complex patterns. In the following strophe, the first a-line rhymes with the second b-line, forming partial rhymes with the intermediate short lines, and resonating with a-lines in the second long-line couplet:

Hefir þú er***indi*** sem erf***iði***
segðu á lopt***i*** lǫng tíð***indi***
opt sit***jand***a sǫgor um fallaz
ok ligg***jandi*** lyg***i*** um bellir
(*Þkv* 10)
Was the errand successful for the trouble
tell from the air long tidings
oft from the one sitting escape stories
and the one lying a lie bellows

The morphological rhyme of *sit**jand**a* : *ligg**jand**i* is comparable to that of *gín**and**a* : *gal**and**i* : etc. above. Although these *Langzeilen* have different metrical alliterations, they exhibit phonic verse parallelism, an ordered repetition of a series of sounds at the scope of the line:

opt si***t******jand******a*** sǫ***g***or ***um*** fa***ll***az
ok li***g******jand******i*** ly***g***i ***um*** be***ll***ir

The phonic verse parallelism makes the rhyme of *sitjanda* : *liggjandi*, which participates in it, more salient.

Phonic verse parallelism is a device used elsewhere and does not necessarily entail rhyme. In the following example, formula repetition was given priority in the first *Langzeile*, but varying the verb from *eta* [to eat] to *sofa* [to sleep] eliminates alliteration (initially on *átta* [eight]); this lack is compensated through phonic parallelism with the following *Langzeile*:

Sv***a***f ***v***ætr ***Fr***eyja ***át***ta ***n***óttu***m***
svá var hún óð***f***ús í ***jǫtun***hei***m***a
(*Þkv* 28.5–8)
Freyja did not sleep for eight nights
she was so madly eager to come to giantlands

Metrical compensation for lack of alliteration is nevertheless rare in eddic verse. The following example, interpreted by Sijmons & Gering (1906: ccxlvi) as end rhyme between *Vollzeilen*, is interpretable as compensating the second *Vollzeile*'s single alliteration with the preceding *Vollzeile* where line-internal alliteration is expected:

á þik Hrímnir h***ari*** on you may Hrímnir glare
á þik hotvetna st***ari*** on you may everything stare
(*Skm* 28.3–4)

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A *Vollzeile*'s single alliteration with a preceding *Langzeile* is found in a few instances without rhyme (e.g., *Háv* 80.1–3; *Gm* 27.13), and use of *stari* [may stare] here in the place of *hari* [may glare] would be a choice of rhyming synonyms that disrupts alliteration, in contrast to being motivated by it as in the case of *með h**ám*** [with skins] : *með skr**ám*** [with dried skins] above. The structure of *ljóðaháttr* (ideally) anticipates one or more *Vollzeilen* here, so Sijmons & Gering (1906: ccxlvi) view this rhyme as a late feature being chosen over alliteration. Other editors instead scan this as a *Langzeile* (Neckel & Kuhn 1963: 75), making another example of a Class IIa line, uniquely in *ljóðaháttr*. In either case, it is linked to parallelism and follows the principles of repetition customary for sequential *Vollzeilen*, which Class IIa examples in *fornyrðislag* do not, with the exception of *Hávamál* (85.1–2), a poem predominantly in the *ljóðaháttr* metre.

A clear case of rhyme in the place of alliteration is found in a runic charm text, dated to the eleventh century, composed in a variant of the *ljóðaháttr* metre (the second 'l' of **hulaʀ · auk · bulaʀ** is in parentheses because the words are *hapax legomena* and the runes are ambiguous):

Runaʀ iak risti a r(i)kjanda tre	Runes I carved on the ruling tree
swa reþ saʀ riki mǫgʀ	thus interpreted the powerful lad
asiʀ a ardagum	gods in days of yore
h***ul(l)ar*** ok b***ul(l)ar***	hurlys(?) and burlys(?)
mæli þæʀ ars sum magi	may for you speak arse as stomach

(Nielsen et al. 2001: 211–212)[6]

Rhyme instead of alliteration in a *Vollzeile* is striking owing to the date of the inscription and because the verses' phraseology otherwise appears linked to recognizable poetic diction (Naumann 2018: 63–66).

A second case is found in a mid- to late-thirteenth-century manuscript variant of a quotation of the poem *Lokasenna* in Snorri Sturluson's poetic treatise called *Edda*. The stem-syllable rhyme involves a *hapax legomenon* of unknown meaning and is considered some sort of corruption. However, the change cannot be attributable to simple misreading[7] and a copyist seems to have rephrased the line, treating rhyme as a reasonable alternative to alliteration:

6 Editors commonly layout the text as a regular *ljóðaháttr* stanza, treating *æsir á árdǫgum* and *hul(l)ar ok bul(l)ar* as forming a *Langzeile*, but *æsir á árdǫgum* scans as a well-formed *Vollzeile* (cf. *áss í árdaga* [the god in days of yore]: *Gm* 6.6), the separation of the two lines by different phonic patterning, and the association of consecutive *Vollzeilen* with magic (a variation of *ljóðaháttr* called *galdralag* [charm metre]) make interpretation as *Vollzeilen* more probable.

7 *Floptir þú* is exchanged for *né legskaðu* [why not silence yourself], losing the negation and with only a single letter in common aside from the pronoun *þú/-ðu*.

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Ærr ertu nú orðinn ok ørviti
hví fl***optir*** þú L***optr***
(Snorri Sturluson 2012: 34; cf. *Ls* 29.1–3)
Mad you've now become and out of your wits
why are you ???-ing Loptr

The Class IIIb end rhyme below (*Vm* 38.4–8) is the only example in a *ljóðaháttr Langzeile* identified by Sijmons & Gering (though see also note 5 above). They considered the line an interpolation (Gering 1927: 173) as an 'extra' line between a *Langzeile* and *Vollzeile* that together form a single clause, interrupting both the immediate syntax and the poem's stanzaic rhythm. However, the preceding *Langzeile* lacks alliteration. The dense pattern of alliteration and rhyme connects back to this *Langzeile*, producing metrical compensation through interlinear alliteration and rhyme:

*h*vaðan Niǫrðr um k***om*** með ása son***om***
*h*ofom ok ***hǫrgom*** *h*ann raeðr *h*unnm***ǫrgom***
ok varðað hann ásom alinn
(*Vm* 38.4–8)
whence came Njǫrðr among the sons of gods
temples and sacrificial sites he oversees a great many
and he was not raised among gods

Although end rhymes are generally rare in eddic poetry, they appear prominently in some lists of names. For example, whereas Sijmons & Gering (1906: ccvii) count only seven rhymed word pairs within a short line in the corpus, they identify seventeen of rhymed personal names. Rhyme appears as a conscious strategy for ordering information, yet the abundance of phonically matched names in some lists suggests that at least some of these are generated through reduplication with variation of a name's onset (*rhyme reduplication*) or stressed vowel (*ablaut reduplication*). The following is from a two-strophe inventory of river names:

Nyt ok ***Nǫt***	N***ǫnn*** ok Hr***ǫnn***	Nyt and Nǫt	Nǫnn and Hrǫnn
Sl***íð*** ok Hr***íð***	S***ylgr*** ok ***Ylgr***	Slíð and Hríð	Sylgr and Ylgr
V***íð*** ok Ván[8]	V***ǫnd*** ok Str***ǫnd***	Víð and Ván	Vǫnd and Strǫnd

(*Gm* 28.4–9; cf. Snorri Sturluson 2005: 9, 29, 33)

It is probable that several or many of the names in this list were produced through reduplication, even though most of the names are analysable as meaningful or can be related to meaningful words (von See et al. 2019: 1331–1347). Production through reduplication thus does not appear random but guided to recognizable vocabulary.

8 This name can also be interpreted as *Vǫ́n* and thus rhymed with *Vǫnd* and *Strǫnd*.

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Rhyme is less dense in the much longer inventory of dwarf names in *Vǫluspá*, which includes an example of end-rhymed short lines:

Nár ok N***áinn***	Nipingr D***áinn***	Nár and Náinn	Nipingr Dáinn

(*Vsp* H13.5–6)

Stem-syllable rhyme without name endings is also found, but less frequently than full end rhyme:

Fjalarr ok Frostri	F***inn***r ok G***inn***arr

(*Vsp* 9–10)

Fjalarr and Frostri	Finnr and Ginnarr

Þekkr ok Þ***or***inn	Þr***ór***, V***itr*** ok L***itr***

(*Vsp* 12.3–4)

Þekkr and Þorinn	Þrór, Vitr and Litr

The poem *Vǫluspá* entered writing in two independent versions along with quotations from oral knowledge in *Edda*. The different versions allow perspectives on variation, which, in rhymed names, occurs in their onsets rather than their rhymes, suggesting a role of rhyme in remembering the lists (see also Jackson 1995: 17). The following *Langzeilen* are presented from one version with variations of a second in square brackets; names that rhyme vary by their onsets, while the last name, which neither alliterates nor rhymes, varies in its ending:

F***íli***, K***íli***	Fundinn, Ná***li*** [Vá***li***]
Hepti, V***íli*** [F***íli***]	Hanarr Svíurr [Svíðr]

(*Vsp* 13.1–4)

Fíli, Kíli	Fundinn, Náli [Váli]
Hepti, Víli [Fíli]	Hanarr, Svíurr [Svíðr]

Names that seem produced from ablaut reduplication also vary while maintaining the formal relation that links them:

Variant 1: ***Bívǫrr***, ***Bávǫrr***	Bǫmburr, Nóri
Variant 2: ***Bifurr***, ***Báfurr***	Bǫmburr, Nóri

(*Vsp* 11.5–6)

Stylistic features often persist through lexical and phrasal variation and renewal (cf. Kuusi 1994). The role of the formal relationship between names and what is most probable in variation reflects a hierarchy between a formal organizing principle and the words it organizes. *Vǫluspá* is rich in complex sound patterning. Parallelism in the following series of lines produces salient morphological rhymes (cf. also Gunnell 2013: 71):

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Hittuz æsir á Iðavelli
þeir er hǫrg ok hof há timbr***uðu***
afla lǫg***ðu*** auð smið***uðu***
tangir skóp***u*** ok tól gor***ðu***
(*Vsp* 7.3–8)
The gods met on Iðavǫllr
they who shrines and temples high timbered
forges set ore worked
tongs wrought and tools made

A second version of the poem has a different second *Langzeile*. Formally, the *Langzeile* differs by being internally structured by parallelism rather than forming a single clause, but its role in opening the parallel series and beginning the rhyme is the same:

Hittuz æsir á Iðavelli
afls kost***uðu*** alls freist***uðu***
afla lǫg***ðu*** auð smið***uðu***
tangir skóp***u*** ok tól gor***ðu***
(*Vsp* H 7.3–8)

The gods met on Iðavǫllr
forges cast everything attempted
forges set ore worked
tongs wrought and tools made

Parallelism and morphological end rhymes function as conditions that shape variation in the regularly-reproduced passage (see also Reichl 1985: 631).

Stressed syllable rhyme including the vowel is rare in eddic poetry outside of lists of names. Conventional rhyme pairs do not seem established *for the generation of new lines*, but the multiple versions of *Vǫluspá* show that rhyme could be an integrated part of socially-circulating lines, and that morphological rhymes could be maintained as a formal feature of multi-line passages. There are two late cases where rhyme appears to compensate for absent alliteration within a line, and a third where compensation may be interlinear, all notably found in the more flexible *ljóðaháttr* metre. The Class IIa lines show that rhyme was integrated into constructions that generated new *Langzeilen*, even if the idiom did not maintain a stock of regular rhyme pairs, while the number of examples in other Classes remains remarkably few, reducing the likelihood that these were produced freely or accidentally. Class IIa rhymes appear as a construction-specific alternative to additional alliteration, but additional alliteration does not appear as strongly motivated as in the case of Old English and morphological rhymes on unstressed syllables are more common in parallelism. In these respects, rhyme on stressed syllables seems to have narrow and limited uses.

The Kalevalaic Poetic Form

Kalevala-metre poetry is here considered as referring to North Finnic forms of the common Finnic tetrameter (on terms for the Finnic tetrameter, see Kallio et al. 2017; on the poetic form in English, see also e.g., Leino 1986). This poetry was extensively documented especially across the nineteenth and early twentieth century, yielding a corpus of over 150,000 items, of

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which more than 87,000 are published and digitized in a searchable database, used in this study (*SKVR*). Variation by language and dialect is not a concern here and the poetry will be discussed centrally in terms of Karelian and Finnish dialect areas where the metre and language use were less affected by changing word lengths. In simplified terms, lines were made up of eight syllables with rules controlling the placement of long and short stressed (i.e. initial) syllables in a trochaic rhythm. Verses were commonly only 2–4 words long without a caesura. Two of these words should normally alliterate; *strong alliteration*, including the vowel of the stressed syllable, was the ideal, while *weak alliteration*, in which vowels differ, was an alternative with a preferential hierarchy of vowel similarity (Krikmann 2015). Alliteration was not metricalized: there is no link between alliteration and metrical position, and its absence was not a violation (see Frog 2019a: 42). Whereas a *Langzeile* is almost never without alliteration in a poem like *Beowulf* or *Vǫluspá*, stressed-syllable alliteration is lacking from easily 15% of kalevalaic lines, which can rise to 20–25% in narrative poetry (varying by region: see Kuusi 1953). The poetry is characterized by semantic and syntactic parallelism, although parallelism is not required of every line (Saarinen 2017). The length of lines inclined them to crystallize into formulae, while the short form of the poems, comparable to eddic poetry, inclined them to be verbally quite regular at a textual level, although the variable multi-line units are never called strophes (Frog 2016b; on such units, see also Lord 1995: 22–68; Frog 2016a).

Rhyme in Kalevalaic Poetry

Researchers of kalevalaic poetry have tended not to look at rhyme (although see Kuusi 1949: 97–98) and it has only begun receiving attention in recent years (e.g., Kallio et al. 2017; Saarinen 2018: 166, 179). Recurrent patterns of sounds at the end of words and at the ends of metrical lines are nevertheless widespread. Finnic languages are heavily inflected, commonly using case endings where Germanic languages would use prepositions. In addition, the poetry's syllabic rhythm motivates the extension of words, for instance with the diminutive *-(i)nen* (genitive singular *-(i)sen*) or verb affixes such as *-ttaa/-ttää* or *-ttoa/-tteä* and *-lla/-llä* (/a/ or /ä/ in the affix vary to agree with the preceding vowels of a word). Parallelism thus easily produces rhymes of two and sometimes more syllables. Although /a/ and /ä/ are a minimal pair, they are phonologically close enough that their combination is the most common alternative to strong alliteration for /a/ or /ä/ (with /ä/ and /e/ not far behind for /ä/: see Krikmann 2015: 17). This near-equivalence is also relevant when considering rhyme, where /a/ and /ä/ commonly alternate in the inflections of parallel words.

Uses of rhyme appear more prominently in certain dialects of singing and with certain singers. Miihkali Perttunen belonged to a family of talented singers who were adept at manipulating the tradition. Rhyme is particularly prominent in the following passage (the text follows the collector's transcription and /š/ alliterates with /s/; line-end punctuation is systematically removed from quotations):

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	Vaka vanha Väinämö***iń i***	Sturdy old Väinämöinen
	Otti olk***isen*** or***i***h***in***	took a straw stallion
	Herneǩ-vart***isen*** hepo***iseñ***	a pea-stalk horse
	Meren jeätä juokšo***maǩe***	to run the sea's ice
5	Šomerta širehti***mäǩe***	jaunt gravel
	Hüppäsi hüvän ***še***lä***llä***	hopped onto the good one's back
	Hüvän laukin lautai***sella***	the good horse's hindquarters
	Löi on virkkuo vit***śa*****lla**	struck *(on)* the horse with a rod
	Helähütti helmis-pe***ällä***	clouted with a beaded belt
10	Ajoa ***k*****are*****ttelouve***	drives, rumbles
	Männä lui***ke***roi***ttelouve***	goes, twisting
	Še***l***vällä mereñ še***l***ällä	on the sea's clear back
	Ulap***alla*** auki***ella***	on the open water
	(*SKVR* I_1 58.1–13)	

Of these thirteen lines, lines 10 and 11 lack stressed-syllable alliteration, which is common in two-word lines, and line 13 has vocalic alliteration between /u/ and the diphthong /au/, which is less than ideal (e.g., Frog & Stepanova 2011: 197, 201). Sung performance wholly or largely neutralizes lexical stress, allowing lack of alliteration on lexically-stressed syllables to be compensated by alliteration on metrically-stressed syllables in the trochaic rhythm (Frog & Stepanova 2011: 201; Frog 2019b: 11–12). In line 11, the lexically-stressed syllables (*mä-*, *lui-*) do not alliterate, but the second of these alliterates with the penultimate syllable in the final lift (*-lou-*). Phonic verse parallelism is also common (Frog & Stepanova 2011: 201; Frog 2019b: 12). The full rhyme of the final three syllables in lines 10 and 11 is augmented by repeating the consonants in the preceding two metrical positions, further integrating the lines into the acoustic texture of performance. Rhyme is prominent through the passage. Interlinear grammatical rhymes in parallel lines are common: the poetic form conventionally places longer words at the end of a line,[9] frequently producing end rhymes at the intersection of grammar and poetic form. Line-internal grammatical rhymes are also common, and the density of rhymes in the last two of these lines operates as metrical compensation for the non-ideal vocalic alliteration in the last line. Where ideal alliteration is lacking, other recurrent sound patterns can buoy a line in the flow of performance.

Rhymes are not bound by parallelism. For example, the formulae in the first three lines above are used again when describing the horse being shot from under the hero, inflecting the name *Väinämöińi* in a prepositional phrase, leading it to rhyme with the preceding series of diminutives used for the object of the verb:

9 This convention is subordinate to the placement of long and short syllables, for which the flexible first foot is a valve. For example, the four-syllable *helähytti* [clouted] in line 9 would appear at the end of the line, but the short stressed initial syllable (*he-*) is not acceptable in a metrically strong position outside of the first foot.

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Ampu olk***isen*** orihiñ	shot the straw stallion
Herneƀ-vart***isen*** hepo***señ***	the pea-stalk horse
Alta vanhañ Väinämö***iseñ***	from under old Väinämöinen
(*SKVR* I_1 58.31–33)	

Miihkali's use of rhyme might be compared to Cynewulf's in Old English, illustrating how one person may use the idiom. His father's performance of the first passage above lacks the density of rhyme and did not use line 11 in parallelism with line 10 (*SKVR* I_1 54), while other dialects commonly reproduced the crystallized units forming sequences without the sort of virtuoso dynamism of Miihkali and his family (Frog 2016b).

As a rule of thumb, formulaic lines with alliteration are more socially stable and enduring than those without. Nevertheless, lines lacking customary alliteration seem to be more socially stable when they participate in an environment dense with rhymes. In the following example, the first line completely lacks alliteration, usual for the formula (in which the verb varies), but it is commonly integrated into the acoustic texture of the poem through morphological rhymes with parallel lines. The couplet in lines 95–96 is also used in other contexts, but morphological rhymes support its second line which otherwise has only weak alliteration on metrically-stressed positions (***mail****le ristimät****tömill****e*):

	Jouvut m***aille*** vierah***ille***	got into strange lands
95	Paik***oille*** papi***ttomille***	into priestless places
	M***aille*** ristimä***ttömille***	into unchristened lands
	(*SKVR* I_1 79.94–96)	

Couplets with morphological end rhyme where both lines lack conventional alliteration are found, like the following:

otas tuuli purt***ehesi***	take, wind, into your craft
ahava venos***ehesi***	cold, dry wind into your boat
(*SKVR* I_1 79.162–163)	

However, there are very few and highly localized examples: three-syllable end rhyme did not have the density within lines to sustainably compensate multiple lines lacking alliteration.

Whereas reduplication was observed with names in Old Norse above, kalevalaic poetry employed reduplication paradigms for line-internal parallelism, producing some enduring formulae. Rhyme reduplications forming two, four-syllable words were socially sustained without customary alliteration or other metrical compensation than the alliteration of metrically-stressed syllables within the rhyme. The following line is found in Finnish-language areas (note that *-läi-* is metrically stressed):

h***yöryläinen***, p***yöryläinen***	hustle-one, roundy-one
(*SKVR* VII_3 573.6)	

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Lotte Tarkka (2013: 154–156) observes that the formation of such lines can be considered as onomatopoetic. As in the case of Old Norse names above, reduplication generally connects with vocabulary in the language so that the pairs are interpretable as independent words (Kuusi 1949: 98). The poetic register facilitates these connections because of its extensive use of archaisms, various dialectal forms, and affixes, along with the flexing and blurring of semantics connected with alliteration and parallelism: the poetic lexicon often diverges from the language of everyday speech while still being recognizable or familiar. *Hyöryläinen* [hustling-one] is not formed from a word **hyöry* but links to a family of words like Finnish *hyöriä* [to bustle, rush about, swarm]; *pyöryläinen* [roundy-one] is similarly formed from or related to Finnish *pyöreä* [round]; *-lainen/-läinen* forms an adjective of belongingness, from *-la/-lä*, normally indicating 'place of', and the diminutive *-inen* makes this an adjective 'of the place of', like *Suomi* [Finland] > *suomalainen* [Finnish person, Finnish]. The reduplication paradigm on which the line has formed is metrically structured, yet the expression *hyöryläinen-pyöryläinen* is comparable to English idioms like *hulrey-burley*; it is particular to use in this line, with a regional development of use of *hyöryläinen* to otherwise refer to a mythic bee and use of *pyöryläinen* in a formula for the sun. Rhyme reduplications like *hyöryläinen, pyöryläinen* commonly connect with words recognizable from other contexts that are at least not inconsistent with the poetic use. The formal relation of rhyme is also maintained through variations, although the change in semantics may be surprising:

h***yöryläinen***, v***yöryläinen*** (*SKVR* VI_1 3653.2)	hustle-one, landslide-one
v***yöryläinen***, p***yöryläinen*** (*SKVR* XII_1 3863.5, 4467.3)	landslide-one, roundy-one

Line-internal rhyme reduplication by itself is rare; rhyme reduplication is more common across parallel lines. As in lines 10 and 11 in the longer passage above, it may involve a difference in word length by one syllable. The greater frequency of interlinear rhyme may be a combination of: (*a*) its use with longer words that commonly gravitate to the end of a line; (*b*) its use within phonic verse parallelism; and (*c*) its common use in line-internal morphological rhyme. End rhyme thus does not stand out as a distinct poetic device, being simultaneously an organic outcome of combinations of grammar and poetic form on the one hand and as a frequent component of additional types of phonic repetition on the other.

Interlinear rhyme may combine with the reduplication of a whole word at the beginning of the next line. This increases rhyme density in a line where customary alliteration is lacking:

työ***n t***arb***e***hin k***eäntelekse***	work with the need for turning
k***eäntelekse***, v***eäntelekse***	turning, twisting
(*SKVR* VII_5 4879.6–7)	

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It is also found in examples where both lines lack customary alliteration:

Niinpä tuo Ohto k***eäntelekše***	so indeed brings Ohto turning
K***eäntelekše***, v***eäntelekše***	turning, twisting
(*SKVR* I_4 1242.b.5–6)	

Interlinear rhyme may equally accompany lexical repetition without alliteration:

nyt se mehtä k***ääntelekse***	now the forest turns
nyt se mehtä v***ääntelekse***	now the forest twists
(*SKVR* VI_2 4912.4–5)	

Within a line, pairs generated through ablaut reduplication are more common than those of rhyme, since it produces alliteration, for example:

lii***telekse***, ***l***oa***telekse***	moving, preparing
kah***telekse***, ***k***eän***telekse***	looking, turning

Formulae based on ablaut reduplication also exhibit variation that maintains the formal relation between the two words, for example:

len***telekse***, ***l***ii***telekse***	flying, moving
(*SKVR* VII_2 2892.3)	
kuu***ntelekse***, ***k***eä***ntelekse***	listening, turning
(*SKVR* I_1 637.7)	

Use of such lines in parallelism produces an interlinear pattern that can also compensate for lines lacking customary alliteration:

lii***telekse***, ***l***oa***telekse***	Moving, preparing
kats***elekse***, ***k***eän***telekse***	Looking, turning
nokalla ***k***olis***telekse***	With its beak banging about
(*SKVR* VII_2 2889.5–7)	

Spreading a formula based on ablaut reduplication across lines can make a parallel series more uniform. Rather than one line having alliteration and not the other, the combination of interlinear rhyme and alliteration can produce phonic verse parallelism:

arv***eleepi***, ***k***ah***teleepi***	guesses, looks
väänt***eleepi***, ***k***ään***teleepi***	twists, turns
(*SKVR* VI_1 48.37)	

Ablaut reduplication with shorter words is less common. Lines based on ablaut reduplication of two-syllable words can be found, but they are

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relatively unusual and thus were not as well-maintained socially, for example (cf. Kuusi 1949: 98):

***si**itti* siivet, ***su**itti* sulat	begot wings, gathered feathers
(*SKVR* VII$_1$ 380.20, 381.26; VII$_4$ 2708.31, 2709.30)	

Two-syllable reduplications are more often simply reduplications of whole words, which is characteristic of a number of formulae in which different verbs may be used (see also Harvilahti 2015), such as:

souti päivän, ***souti*** toisen	rowed a day, rowed a second
(*SKVR* VI$_1$ 11.13)	

Although the pattern of ablaut reduplication is distinct from rhyme reduplication, especially in Old Norse monosyllables like *Nyt* : *Nǫt*, its use in kalevalaic poetry is predominantly in four-syllable words with variation in the first (i.e. stressed) vowel, yielding both alliteration and salient rhyme.

Alliteration in kalevalaic poetry is systematic, but not being metricalized opens it to flexibility. Just as line-internal alliteration employs strong alliteration as an ideal followed by alliterations with other vowel combinations on a spectrum, line-internal alliteration on lexically-stressed syllables is an ideal followed by alliteration on metrically stressed syllables and interlinear patterns of phonic repetition like phonic verse parallelism and rhyme. Rhyme is widely found in the poetry and it appears integrated with particular formulae and passages in ways that structure how they vary; it is also a common device to compensate a lack of stressed-syllable alliteration in a line where it has sufficient density within and/or across lines. Rhyme has tended to be overlooked in research partly because of its organic relations to morphology and parallelism and lack of regularity in the poetic system, and partly because it participates in other patterns of phonic repetition, like variations based on ablaut reduplication, that tend not to be viewed in terms of rhyme (although see Kuusi 1949: 98). These factors simultaneously make rhyme a significant feature in producing the texture of a stretch of text while it seems to remain unmarked among devices for generating phonic repetitions.

Conclusion

Rhyme has integrated roles in each of these alliterative poetry traditions but it functions differently in each poetic system. Stem-syllable rhymes seem to have deep roots in the Old Germanic poetries with particular prominence of use in short lines. Old English, Old Saxon, and Old Norse skaldic poetries exhibit conventional pairs of rhyme words and integration in the idiom (in skaldic *dróttkvætt*, see Frog 2016c), whereas the same words are never used for rhyme in two different lines in the whole eddic corpus. Nevertheless, the type of syllable rhyme varying the vowel, which was also metricalized in

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some skaldic metres, is common in eddic poetry, and rhyme on unstressed syllables appears integrated, with particular salience in extended series of short-line parallelism. The compensatory metrical role of Old English rhyme for additional alliteration has a parallel in eddic Class IIb rhymes, which are, however, so narrowly conventionalized that they may be an archaism. Stressed-syllable rhymes only seem actively used in eddic lists of names. Changes in the Old English poetic ecology seem to have enabled rhyme to compensate an absent metrical alliteration in a *Langzeile* on a limited basis, as in *Judgement Day II*, and scant parallels in Old Norse *ljóðaháttr* could point to a parallel development. However, the earlier changes in the Old Norse poetic ecology metricalized stressed-syllable rhymes in skaldic poetry while generally excluding them from eddic poetry. Kalevalaic poetry looks extremely rich in rhymes compared to the Old Germanic traditions, owing centrally to alliteration remaining unmetricalized alongside a combination of word length and the syllabic metre's motivation to extend words with affixes, repeated in canonical parallelism, facilitating morphological rhymes. Whereas metrical regularity inhibited the omission of alliteration from the Germanic *Langzeile*, kalevalaic poetry exhibits strong alliteration on lexically-stressed syllables as an ideal on a spectrum, with rhyme on the lower end, where it blurs into other types of sound repetition. Whereas differences between rhyme in Old English and Old Norse reflect changes in the respective poetic ecologies, the differences between rhyme in kalevalaic poetry and its Germanic counterparts ultimately come down to differences in their flexibility regarding alliteration on the one hand and the facilitation of rhyme by the register on the other.

In each tradition of poetry above, examples emerge of rhyme creating a formal link between words and lines of different types. This formal relation becomes a part of individual formulae and whole groups of lines. Crystallized formulae are not immune to variation, but the formal relation operates at a level above the lexicon. As a consequence, variations occur within it, so that a relationship of rhyme is maintained between words unless the structuring principle itself is also discarded or exchanged for another. The role of rhyme thus not only shapes traditional phraseology; it also creates conditions in which variation occurs (see also Reichl 1985). This is, of course, true of any structuring principle. Changing one word in an alliteration must similarly result in one of three outcomes: (*a*) it conforms to the pattern of alliteration, maintaining it; (*b*) diverges from the pattern of alliteration, so that the organizing principle no longer operates, or not as it did; or (*c*) diverges and compensates that alliteration with an alternative, whether on a different but proximate word or motivating co-variation with another word to produce a new alliteration, or, if allowed by the particular poetry, and perhaps only under particular conditions, rhyme.

In this chapter, rhyme has been brought into focus with consideration of how it operates in poetic systems with systematic alliteration, including as compensation. It should be noted that bringing any such feature into focus can give an exaggerated impression of its presence and significance. Key here, however, is that rhyme is integrated into all three poetic forms, where, in addition to being used ornamentally and perhaps sometimes accidentally,

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it operates to varying degrees in relation to alliteration and can affect word choice and variation within units of different scope.

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Kati Kallio
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3673-1409

The Early History of Rhyme in Finnish Poetry

In the Finnish language, two main metrical systems prevail. The first one, the old oral Kalevala-meter – often called runosong meter or Finnic alliterative tetrameter – is usually described as an antithesis of regular rhyme and stanzas, and it has peculiar rules for syllables. For linguistic and historical reasons, it is thought it probably developed at the time the Finnic languages were not yet separated. The second one, the widely used metrical system of rhymed poetry, is closer to other European poetics with various kinds of stanza structures and accentual or accentual-syllabic meters, found across the genres of literary poetry, Lutheran hymns, folk songs and contemporary popular music. By the 19th century, it started to supersede the Kalevala-meter.

The early history of rhyme in the Finnish language is a complex and only partly documented process. The ecclesiastical hymn, the first poetic rhymed genre written in greater amounts, was an essential instrument in Lutheran popular education from the Reformation on. Otherwise, the sources of early modern oral and secular poetry are scarce. The Finnish rhyme first appears in written sources in 16th century Lutheran hymns, and then in 17th century learned poetry and some mocking songs in court records. (Kallio et al. 2017: 323–410). Ever since, rhyme has been used in hymns, literary poetry and folk songs up to the present-day rap and popular music. While the 19th–20th century developments of different rhymed genres are fairly comprehensibly analysed (e.g., Asplund 1997; Karhu 2019; Laitinen 2003; Laurila 1956; Leino 1986; Sykäri 2017; 2019; Viikari 1987), the quality of rhyme in early modern Finnish poetry is often labelled primitive and not much studied.

What is counted as rhyme has varied a lot. Typically, researchers have not been interested in materials they have considered of poor poetic quality, and poor quality has often been defined in terms of the aesthetics of the contemporary literary culture of the researchers, not by historical, cultural or culture-specific criteria (see Tedlock 1983; Webster 2009). In general, the most regular examples of the Finnish poetic systems have received the most attention. A focus on the most typical cases of kalevalaic and rhymed poetry has also hindered observing the hybrid forms and overlaps of these systems, e.g., the significance of irregular rhyme caused by parallelism in kalevalaic poetry (see Frog, this volume).

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In this article, my aim is to analyse what is known of the early history of the rhyme in Finnish language. I am trying to take the first printed rhymes seriously. I do not assume that their creators did not know how to rhyme, but instead accept that that they had their own ideals for good poetry, which are potentially quite different from ours, and that their poems were regarded as good enough to be printed. The Finnish language will have offered opportunities for poetry which relate in complex ways to what already existed in the oral sphere (and in other languages).

Kalevala-meter and Grammatical Rhyme

When describing the Finnish poetics, rhyme is typically presented as a central criterion to distinguish between the two main poetic systems. The traditional Kalevala-meter does not have structural or regular rhyme, while the rhymed meters do. Yet, especially when discussing the first 16th–17th century written sources and later oral traditions, these systems sometimes overlap, producing various kinds of hybrid forms. Due to the existence of two poetic systems in Finnic languages, it is common to talk about rhymed poetry as a cluster of features consisting not only of rhyme, but also of stanza structure and particular metrical features. Thus, some 'rhymed songs' actually have no rhyme, they just belong to the cluster on the basis of other features. Heikki Laitinen (2003: 214n163) notes that it might be more accurate to talk about 'newer' folk songs or stanzaic songs than 'rhymed' ones when talking about the Finnish folk song tradition.

Kalevala-meter (runosong meter, old Finnic meter), in different local variations, is a metrical system typical to most Finnic languages. It is thought to have developed at the time these languages were not yet separated somewhere during the first millennium. Especially in Estonian, the subsequent linguistic changes have influenced the poetic meter to such a degree that it is sometimes considered a different meter from the so-called classic Kalevala-meter, which was most regular in Karelia. Similar linguistic and poetic changes also took place in Western Finland. (Frog 2019; Korhonen 1994; Leino 1994; Sarv 2015; 2019.) The very first written lines in Kalevala-meter – two short proverbs – appear in literary sources in the 16th century when the Lutheran Reformation led to the creation of the Finnish literary language. Yet, most of the ample folklore collections were not recorded earlier than the 19th and early 20th century. (Kallio et al. 2017.)

Kalevala-meter was a multi-purpose meter, used for epics, ritual and lyrical songs, charms, ballads, proverbs, riddles, dancing songs, lullabies, and so on. Alliteration and parallelism are common, but not regular or mandatory. There is no regular rhyme or stanza structure. The poetic line has eight poetic positions (or four rises and four falls), of which the first two positions are free. In other positions, a prominent (rising) position only allows long stressed syllables, a non-prominent (descending) position only short stressed syllables. Yet, in some regions, both strong and short stressed syllables are allowed in prominent positions – and in Estonia, the contemporary language has three categories of syllable length, which also

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affects the meter (see Oras 2019; Sarv 2019; and Lotman and Lotman, this volume). The rules regarding the quality of syllables only apply to stressed syllables. In Finnic languages, the first syllable of a word or a compound is stressed. In Kalevala-meter, the poetic position typically accommodates one syllable, but especially the first two positions may contain two syllables each so that the first two positions can contain four syllables in total. As an oral meter rooted in different local traditions, Kalevala-meter contains a lot of variation. (On oral Kalevala-meter, see e.g., Leino 1986; Kallio & Frog & Sarv 2017; Saarinen 2018; Sarv 2015; 2017; 2019.)

It is usually said that the Kalevala-meter has no rhyme or does not build on rhyme, but the parallelism (e.g., repeating the content of a line in subsequent lines with new wordings) often creates irregular sections of morphological or grammatical rhyme, as the Finnic languages are rich in morphological variation at the word endings, and the parallel verses often make use of similar morphological forms. (On parallelism in Kalevala-meter, see Oras 2010; Saarinen 2018; Sarv 2017; Frog & Tarkka 2017; Kallio 2017a.) Yet, the irregular end rhyme relating to parallelism is evidently one aesthetic component of the meter. In typical oral Kalevala-meter, parallel verse units are of irregular length, but there are also cases reminiscent of couplets.

The oldest examples of oral meter are charms written in the 17th century court records. These include both pre-Christian and medieval Christian motifs very similar to those in the more ample 19th century folklore collections. Gertrud Nätyri from Ostrobothnia told seven charms during a complex court case in 1657–1658, and a scribe wrote these down as a piece of evidence. (Kallio & Timonen & Ahokas, forthcoming.) One of these texts is the charm against curses, given below as transcription of the original text, transcription to modern Finnish orthography, and translation to English. In the original text, some characters are used in ambiguous ways, making some interpretations uncertain, and a parallel set of three words naming some malevolent beings does not appear in other sources, making their meanings difficult to decipher. Grammatical rhymes – including partial ones – and corresponding words in translation are boldfaced, other rhymes and assonances with their corresponding words resembling end rhyme are italicised, and the text is divided according to groups of parallel lines:

Kudhå Jesus Kuldej Tarh**a**	Kudo Jesus kulta(/tei)tarha,	Weave, Jesus, a golden **enclosure**
Tarha rautainen raken*a*,	Tarha rautainen rakenna	*Build* an iron enclosure,
Wiereä Waskinen weräj**ä**,	Vierrä vaskinen veräjä	Twist a copper **gate**,
Ethehän Emä**ttö**m**ällen**,	Etehen emättömällen	In front for the **motherless**,
Waraxj War**attome**l**len**,	Varaksi varattomallen	to the defence for the **defenceless**,
Turwaxj Turw**attåmillen**,	Turvaksi turvattomillen	to the shelter for the **shelterless**,
eij Nähdä Näkeltå**möitä**,	Ei nähdä näkeltö/ämöitä	not to see **näkeltämö's,**
åttettane åckel**måita**,	otettane okkelmoita	to take **okkelmo's**,
Hawattåme Hafwaskar**åja**,	Havattome hau/v(v)askaroja	to notice **havaskaro's.**

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Kudå alda tich**kiäxi**,	Kudo alta tihkiäksi	Weave [it] **thick** below,
Wierre Pelde Kår**kiaxj**,	Vierrä päältä korkiaksi	Twist [it] **high** above,
Etteij Maan Madåt alaitze Päs**e**	Ettei maan madot alaitse pääse	So the worms of earth will not **go** below,
eij Pahat ÿlitze lenn**e**,	Ei pahat ylitse lennä/e	the evils will not **fly** above,
Hÿwen Suoman laske**mata**,	Hyvänsuoman laskematta	without the good-willing-one to **admit**,
Pahan Suåjan Tårju**mata**.	Pahansuojan torjumatta	the bad-allowing-one to **avert**.

(Kansallisarkisto, Kihlakunnanoikeuksien renovoidut tuomiokirjat, Pohjanmaan tuomiokunta, KO a:10, varsinaisten asioiden pöytäkirjat 1657–1658, Isonkyrön ja Vähänkyrön kesäkäräjät 5.–10.7.1658, f. 609v,7–16. Original text transcribed by Lari Ahokas. All examples are translated by the present author.)

Here, the verses group into sections of parallel verses of 2–3 lines, tied together by various rhymes, half-rhymes and assonances at the line ending. In other poems by Nätyri, and in Kalevala-meter poetry in general, parallel sections are typically 2–4 verses long but also single verses are common, and not all the sections are tied by rhyme or assonance. In the example above, the last syllable or the two last syllables tend to repeat, especially the consonants. The repeating vowels at the penultimate syllables may also rely on vowel harmony pairs or other close vowels (ö-o, ä-a, ä-e-i), which are not marked above, but add to the poetic fabric. Besides varying degrees of grammatical rhyme and alliteration, there are also a varying number of assonances within lines and parallel sections. Typically, the rhyme-like phenomena in Kalevala-meter take place in equivalent words (same word classes, similar meanings) of neighbouring verses. Here, in contrary, the weak rhyme in the first triplet is not based on parallel words, which are situated at varying locations in the verses, but instead rhyme holds between different word classes. This might be intentional – but, naturally, this is a feature that should be studied in broader material (see also Frog in this volume).

Rhyme in Stanzaic Songs

In contrast to the Kalevala-meter, the rhymed or stanzaic meters typically make a regular use of rhyme and stanza structure, and, if compared to Kalevala-meter, not much alliteration or parallelism. The metrical structures vary. Iambic meters are more popular in Lutheran hymns, and trochaic meters – with occasional anacrusis – in folk songs (Laitinen 2005). In contrast to the Kalevala-meter, the length of a stressed syllable is typically not taken into account but both long and short stressed syllables appear in prominent metrical positions. (Pentti Leino 1986 has given the most detailed overview of the 20th century metrical systems of Finnish literary poetry in English.)

Initially, it was not easy to create rhymed poetry similar to Indo-European poetry in Finnic languages (see Hallio 1936; Kurvinen 1941; Kurvinen 1929; Laitinen 2005 on the early history and making of Finnish Lutheran hymns.).

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The observations that Maria-Kristiina and Rebekka Lotman (this volume) make on Estonian rhyme mostly apply also to Finnish rhymed poetry: the abundance of diphthongs and two different vowel durations (three in Estonian) make complete rhyming pairs quite rare, except for morphological rhyme. In addition, the iambic meters that are common in Indo-European rhymed poetry are somewhat problematic in Finnic languages, where (1) the main stress is always on the first syllable, (2) one-syllable words are relatively rare, and (3) the words tend to be quite long (see Ross 2015). Kristina Ross (forthcoming) notes that the Finnish early modern hymn poets solved this by using shortened words, but also by creating iambic inversions especially in the first poetic foot, but also elsewhere. Iambic inversion is the use of a trochaic foot in an otherwise iambic poem. I suspect this option was easier to invent and practice due to the preceding model of Kalevala-meter, where stressed syllables appear both in prominent and non-prominent poetic positions and the first foot is free, although it appears that the hymn poets did not make any systematic difference on the basis of the length of the syllables.

All around Northern Europe, a poetic revolution was initiated by the *Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey*, a book on poetics in 1624 by Martin Opitz, demanding the use of more regular verse structures and full rhyme. In Finnish, this quickly affected the poetics of Lutheran hymns (Kurvinen 1929; Kurvinen 1941), while in secular literary poetry (Melander 1929–1941) and later folk songs and lay hymns (Asplund 1997; Bastman 2017; Laitinen 2005), the influence was more occasional and varied. Indeed, in 16th century hymns, in 17th century poetic instructions and in later folk use, the use of rhyme is much more versatile than in Opitzian literary ideals (Kallio et al. 2017: 323–410).

What Eeva-Liisa Bastman (2017) notes for vernacular 18th century folk hymns applies also to earliest Finnish hymns written by the clergymen and the later folk songs: the rhyme did not need to be what has often been called 'full', 'perfect' or 'identical' but the rhymes were often 'weak', 'incomplete', 'non-identical', or vowel rhymes – in addition to the irregular use of other kinds of assonances and consonances – and the words sometimes took abridged forms (or the last syllable just did not count). While earlier researchers have often interpreted these features as demonstrating the poor quality of the poetry, it seems the users themselves took them as acceptable, valid features. It seems that most of the poetry in Finnish language was created for oral uses or by oral ideals even when written down: it needed to sound good (according to local standards) rather than look regular on the page (see also Tedlock 1983). There were versatile options to fulfil this – alliteration, assonances, consonances, parallel structures, rhymes of various kind – but no requirement for strict regularity, except in the stanza structure and in the way the verses fitted the melody.

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Lutheran Hymns

In Finland, the breakthrough of the Lutheran Reformation did not mean an immediate creation of rhymed stanzaic hymns that were a characteristic Lutheran genre in German; instead, the process was slightly slower (see e.g., Gummerus 1931; Harjunpaa 1969; Kurvinen 1941; Kurvinen 1929). This may relate to the linguistic difficulty of producing new kinds of iambic, stanzaic songs, but also to other reasons, such as preferring the Latin non-measured tradition (see Hannikainen & Tuppurainen 2016), or the limited number of clergymen in the relatively small Finnish speaking population which were mainly in just two dioceses in the kingdom of Sweden. (Kallio 2016; Kallio et al. 2017.) Making measured hymns was yet slower in Estonian and Sami languages, where there was no native language speaking clergy at all until the late 17th century. In contrast, in Scandinavian languages the process was much faster due to the number of clergy, compatibility of iambic structures with Germanic languages and the creation of rhymed stanzaic poetry already in the medieval period. (Kallio et al., forthcoming.)

The most well-known representative of the Finnish Lutheran Reformation, rector and later bishop Mikael Agricola, did not publish any Lutheran hymns, but only some translations of medieval songs in his Prayer Book (1544) and Mass (1549). These were mostly non-measured and non-rhymed, relating to medieval singing practices. Indeed, vernacular Gregorian chant was used for quite a long time after the Reformation, although it was later mostly associated with the medieval Catholic church, and there were also efforts to create Finnish language translations of non-measured chant (see Hannikainen & Tuppurainen 2016). In the prefaces to his books, Agricola mentions the need for the clergymen to still have Masses in Latin and the singing of the Hours, although the Masses for the lay people needed to be conducted in vernacular language in order for them to learn and understand (see Kallio 2016: 128–129, 135–136).

The songs in which there are the greatest number of rhymes in Agricola's *Prayer Book* are probably earlier translations, as these are also written in similar but slightly varying forms in the manuscript *Codex West*, dated around the same time. 'Veni Sancte Spiritus' is one of the five most rhyming ones, but still quite far from the regular rhyme structure (aabccb) of the Latin original:

TUle Pyhe hengi t*e*n /	Veni, Sancte Spiritus
alaslaske Taijuah*a*st /	et emitte caelitus
sinun paijstes wal**k*e*us** /	lucis tuae radium.
Tule kieuhetten Is*e* /	Veni, pater pauperum,
tule lahian andaij*a* /	veni, dator munerum
tule sijelun kir**c*a*us** /	veni, lumen cordium.
Sine paras lodh**otus /**	Consolator optime,
ja mielen hywe weras /	dulcis hospes animae,
mackia mös wirg**otus /**	dulce refrigerium.

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Töse sine olet lep*o*	In labore requies,
Ja heltes wilw**otus /**	in aestu temperies
ja idkusa lodhu**tus /**	in fletu solatium.
O caikein pyhin walkeu**s /**	O lux beatissima,
teutte sinun wscolis*tes*	reple cordis intima
sydhemen pohia*t* /	tuorum fidelium.
Ilman sinun w**oijma**t**os /**	Sine tuo numine,
eij on ychten t**oijmi**t**os /**	nihil est in homine,
eijke miten wigha*t*oin*dh* /	nihil est innoxium.
Pese se / quin sastas **on /**	Lava quod est sordium,
casta se / quin qwiwa **on /**	riga quod est aridum,
lekitze se / quin hawoit **on /**	sana quod est saucium.
Taitta se / quin cowa **on /**	Flecte quod est rigidum,
haudho se / quin kylme **on /**	fove quod est frigidum,
caitze se / quin exypi /	rege quod est devium.
Anna sinun wscolis*t* /	Da tuis fidelibus,
iotca sinun turwau*at* /	in te confidentibus,
pyhen hengen lahia**t /**	sanctu septenarium.
Anna awun ansio**t /**	Da virtutis meritum,
anna loppu autu*a*s	da salutis exitum,
anna ilo lackam*at* / AMEN.	da perenne gaudium.

(Agricola I: 409–410; AHMA 54, 234–235.)

Six-line stanzas of the Latin original version are tied by the rhyme structure, but in different printings often typographically divided into 3-line stanzas. Agricola prints the song as 6-line stanzas. In Agricola, each of these stanzas has one rhyme ending that may occur in 2–5 verses, with some additional weaker assonances in the last syllables and many repetitions of words (*se*, *anna*) in other parts of the verses across the stanzas. Except for the last stanza (*turvaavat/lahjat/antavat*, [they secure/gifts/they give]), the strong rhymes mostly depend on grammatical rhyme of parallel verses. In the Latin original, rhyming is more regular, taking place at every verse in a regular pattern, with each stanza having 3 rhyme pairs often building on grammatical rhyme. In other medieval liturgical songs and hymns, there was an option for both regular and irregular rhyme, although most of the liturgical singing was non-measured and non-rhyming (Boynton 2011; Hornby 2009; Kurvinen 1941). It seems that Agricola and his contemporaries saw translating the Bible, Psalms and traditional non-rhymed Latin songs as more important than creating the rhymed Lutheran hymn in Finnish. It is also possible that the task of creating a whole new song language was too much at the time.

It was only in 1583 that Jacobus Finno (1988) published the first proper Finnish Lutheran hymnal with 101 songs, most of which rhymed. In the preface, he explains that he wanted to make the hymns similar to other

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Christian – meaning Lutheran or Reformed – countries, that is to say with rhymes. Indeed, the use of rhyme characterises the whole book, although the idea of rhyme is quite versatile. Finno mostly uses iambic meters with iambic inversions and sometimes variable numbers of syllables, and, in fact, seems to avoid features relating explicitly to Kalevala-meter even when writing trochaic songs. He clearly avoids the alliteration that is characteristic of the oral meter: there is more alliteration in the emotional parts of his preface than in his hymns. (Lehtonen 2016.) In translating and creating new hymns, Finno made use of metrical models and melodies of Lutheran songs in other languages (Kurvinen 1929). He evidently wanted to create a whole new Christian song genre, in all aspects different from the traditional songs in Kalevala-meter. (Kallio et al. 2017: 334–338.) Curiously, around the same time two translations of medieval Latin hymns in versatile alliterative iambic rhymed couplets appear in an anonymous written source, making an intricate use of patterns familiar from Kalevala-meter, indicating that someone may have held the idea that the old oral meter might well serve as a basis for creating rhymed Christian songs (Rapola 1934, see also Kallio et al. 2017: 339–341).

While Finno obviously avoided the features of vernacular oral meter, Hemmingius of Masku, the publisher of the next edition of the hymnal (1605) took a contrary stance. He kept the hymns by Finno but added to these 131 new songs. Into these new rhymed translations and compilations, Hemmingius integrated vernacular features, especially using an ample although not structural alliteration. From this time on, alliteration and even some verse structures reminiscent of Kalevala-meter were part of the rhymed Finnish Lutheran hymn poetics. It is worth noting that quite a similar adaptive process took place in Iceland, where the first hymnal copied German poetics, and the second one added alliteration and other vernacular features (Eggertsdóttir 2006: 179–180). Nevertheless, in Finland, the plain Kalevala-meter never made it to the Lutheran hymns: it seems that the regular rhyme and stanza structure was understood as the central feature of this genre, and, besides, the hymn translations and new versions were always produced in relation to hymn melodies, which were rarely compatible with the structure of the Kalevala-meter. (Kallio 2016; Kallio et al. 2017: 339–343.) In addition, as the principles on how to place stressed and non-stressed syllables in the Kalevala-meter were not properly defined until the 19th century (see Haapanen 1926), it would have been difficult to build regular 17th century Opitzian ideals on the traditional oral meter.

In the few measured hymns published by Agricola the rhyme was often irregular, and the requirements for phonetic or linguistic similarity were not as strict as in later hymns. To a lesser degree, this latter characteristic also applied to Finno and Hemmingius. They, too, sometimes invented a word or shortened it to create a rhyme and accepted also partial rhymes. (Häkkinen 2005; 2012; Kallio 2016; 2017b.) The situation changed from the second half of the 17th century on. It became a literary ideal to have very regular verse patterns and complete rhymes. Indeed, the new Finnish hymns in 17th century chapbooks and in the new edition of the Finnish hymnal (1701) mostly follow Opitzian ideals (Väinölä 1995).

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Nevertheless, the new prints and editions of hymnals still contained not only new regular hymns, but also almost all of the hymns by Finno and Hemmingius. Thus, the 16th–17th century hymns remained in use until the next totally revised hymnal appearing in 1886 and have been in use up to the present in some revivalist movements (Laitinen 2002; 2005). This means that Finnish hymn singing has inherited also pre-Opitzian aesthetics of rhyme and meter, thus potentially giving support to similar, flexible use of rhyme in secular songs.

Alongside catechisms, hymnals were the best-selling books of their times (see Knuutila 1997; Laine 1997; Laine & Laine 2010). Participating and singing in the Divine services was obligatory for centuries (Vapaavuori 1997). This means the hymns had a huge impact on folk culture. In the genre of chapbook songs, new songs – also secular ones – were created in the metrical formats of hymns, and the names of hymns were given as a reference to the melody to be used (Niinimäki 2007). Yet, this impact was not always direct. Heikki Laitinen (2005: 205–311) analyses the structures of 19th century folk hymns and secular folk songs, and notices that these mostly use different metrical structures, folk hymns having more similarities with the official Lutheran hymns. Although cross-overs were possible, Lutheran hymns and secular folk songs developed as two distinct genres, also metrically. Yet, in the 18th–19th century revivalist movements, the lay folk created new rhymed hymns and spiritual songs, sometimes closer to folk songs than to the official hymnal. Eeva-Liisa Bastman (2017: 270–271) shows how, towards the 19th century, the pietist hymn gets closer to oral folk songs, as more and more lay people create hymns and use them in non-ecclesiastical contexts.

Rhyme in Folk Songs

It is generally assumed that the birth of the stanzaic rhymed oral songs in Finnish language takes place slowly around the Reformation (see e.g., Asplund 2006; Leino 1994: 56–57), but this claim can only be affirmed indirectly. While the Finnish early modern printed poems and especially Lutheran hymns are well documented, and some manuscripts have also survived, the same cannot be said of oral tradition. As the determined folklore collecting only begun during the 19th century, and was mostly focused on Kalevala-meter, the early sources on rhymed folk songs are very limited. (See Asplund 1997; 2006; Kallio et al. 2017: 382–387.)

Although 17th century scholars describe rhyme as an overarching element in all Finnish poetry, they give no hints of other metrical systems in oral poetry than Kalevala-meter or its derivatives. Indeed, it is evident they consider the Kalevala-meter as the Finnish oral meter. (Kallio et al. 2017: 387–401.) This leads to the suggestion that if there were other metrical systems in oral use, these were not prevalent or dominant. On the other hand, there is firm evidence that rhyme was, at the time, already part of oral poetry.

The 17th century court records from Western Finland contain two rhymed mocking songs. These songs do not make use of the patterns typical

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of Lutheran hymns nor Kalevala-meter. The first one, a four line stanza from a song mocking the local parson and his wife, resembles the Swedish *knittel* verse (see Lilja 2006: 210–218, 443–461; Asplund 1997; 2020; Kallio et al. 2017: 344–347), and also contains several Swedish loan words (*dikta, skrifta, bruka, falsk*). Without knowing the detailed context, the exact meanings of the stanza are difficult to interpret – this is often typical of mocking songs, where it is enough that the local community understands the references.

Edesseisovainen riimi on d**ikt**a**t**	This rhyme has been coined
siltä kuin viimein on pappilas sk**rift**a**t**	about/by what was written in the parsonage.
Veistää siellä silloin pruuka**ttiin**	They used to carve there,
falskil sydämel hänt juote**ttiin**.	with insincere heart, they made him drink.

(Oja 1952: 78–84.)

Another song, again mocking the local parson, was recorded in six stanza version, each stanza ending with a recurring three-line refrain:

Miehet ovat w**ier**a**t**	The men are unfamiliar,
tulevat ja t**ie**n**at**	they come and earn.
ei hän tiedä t**apa**	He does not know the manners/habits,
nijn pannaan händä pitkin l**apa**;	so he is put along the shoulders [beaten?].
hän juoxe n**ieme[e]n**	He runs to the cape,
ja hänen tuä m**ielä** [m**ieleen**]	and it comes to his mind:
woi orjan olendo	oh the being of a slave.

(Asplund 2006: 112.)

What is interesting is that these examples are from western Finland, i.e. the areas where the processes relating to the advent of literary culture and modernization were fastest and that had the closest contacts to the Swedish mainland. It is also worth noting that mocking songs are typically a genre that may include improvisation and where the punchy content is more important than any finalised form, making it also suitable for using recent metrical innovations. There are some mocking songs also recorded from eastern parts of Finland. These are either in traditional Kalevala-meter with no regular rhymes or stanza structures, or build on Kalevala-meter and emphasise grammatical rhyme. (Asplund 2006; Kallio et al. 2017: 382–387.) This consolidates the idea of rhyme in folk songs spreading from Swedish oral culture especially in western Finland and, possibly, being reinforced by the use of rhyme in hymns and literary works. In the early 19th century collections the knittel-like verse similar to the first example is common (Asplund 2020).

In Scandinavian song culture, rhyme was in use at least from the 13th century in oral and literary, secular and ecclesiastical spheres. Finland had close prehistoric ties to Scandinavian cultures, and formed the easternmost part of the Swedish kingdom from the 13th century on, also having a Swedish

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speaking population on the coastal areas (e.g., Tarkiainen 2010). The early modern charms in court records from Western Finland present some peculiar cases clearly showing that either the defendants or the scribes knew versions of charms both in the Swedish and Finnish language (Timonen et al., forthcoming). The linguistic and cultural border was permeable. This means that all kinds of Swedish songs have been used and heard in towns and in Western and Southern parts of the country. Some medieval Scandinavian songs were adapted to Kalevala-meter, but it is also possible that these influences affected the degree to which grammatical rhyme was used in Kalevala-meter, or that some experiments in other meters (such as knittel verse) were made already before the Reformation. In any case, rhyme was part of the oral culture in 17th century western Finland.

Literary Poetry

The first Finnish literary poems – other than hymns – were the poetic parts in prefaces by Mikael Agricola (Häkkinen 2012). In contrast to the mostly unmeasured and unrhymed liturgical songs Agricola published, all his poetic prefaces made use of regular rhymed couplets, building on very flexible tetrameter similar to Swedish *knittel* (see Lilja 2006: 210–218, 443–461) and also showing a quite flexible understanding of rhyme (Häkkinen 2012). Hemmingius of Masku, the editor of the second Finnish hymnal, turned this genre of literary preface poetry closer to the traditional oral Kalevala-meter in a similar way that he did with the hymn poetics. His preface poem to the hymnal builds on regular rhymed couplets with ample but not regular alliteration, and syllabic structures very similar to the trochaic verses with strong stressed syllables of the oral Kalevala-meter:

Hyvän suova	Suomal**ainen**,	Amiable Finn,
Jotain jouteld	laolava**inen**,	who have some time to sing:
Herran töitä	tunnu**stele**,	Confess the Lord's works
Herran hyvyt	Yli**stele**,	Praise the benevolence of Lord,
Ja maas kielell	Jesust k**ijttä** [kiitä],	and thank Jesus with your land's language
Mitä teki	muista n**ijtä** [niitä]:	remember what he did.
Opin ollen	autuan **anda**,	Gives the blessed learning,
Lohdhutuxen	caunin c**anda**,	carries the beautiful consolation
Tämä vähä	virsi k**iria** [kirja],	this minor hymn book:
Oppimahan	ole v**irj***ä* [virjä].	be alert to learn!
Äläs ennen	näitä l**aita**,	Do not reprehend [these songs],
Edk he heicod	olla t**aita**,	although they may be weak,
Cuin caunimbit	edhes t**uodan**,	until better ones are brough to you,
Jotc sun saavas	kyllä s**uodan**.	which [we] hope will happen.
Mester Jacoin	jalo l**ue**,	Read by Master Jacob,
Ennen tehty	esip**u**h**e**,	the noble preface that was made earlier,
Cateit vastan	vasta**uxex**	as an answer against the envious,
Mielen maux heil	Ja suun s**uu**tt**ex**.	[giving] taste of mind and wedge to mouth.

(Hemminki Maskulainen 1607: preface.)

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In terms of both syllabic structures and completeness of rhyme, this is one of the most regular poems in the whole hymnal. Each trochaic line has eight syllables. Hemmingius accepts also some vowel rhymes, and words that rhyme but do not look the same when written with his orthographical system. Typography emphasises the caesura in the middle of every verse. The text would fit perfectly to the traditional two-line runosong melodies, although it is, in terms of vocabulary, syntax, regular rhyme, and lack of syncopated verses, clearly a literarized version of the oral meter, or a hybrid between oral meter and literary needs. (Kallio et al. 2017: 347–349.)

The 17th century saw an increase in Finnish literary poetry, especially in prefaces, congratulations and condolences. Here, various meters – contemporary, classic, vernacular – were used. Practically all the poems build on rhyme, but the demand for the quality of rhyme and other aspects of regularity varies. (see Melander 1929–1941; Salokas 1923; Suomi 1963a; 1963b.) These poems also include poems in more or less traditional Kalevala-meter. The most celebrated of these have regular, often trochaic-only lines of eight syllables, have much more alliteration than typical oral poems, do not follow all the classic rules for placing the short stressed syllables on non-prominent positions, and build on rhymed couplets, not on sections of varying lengths of parallel verses. In one famous case by Ericus Justander in 1654, this kind of regularised alliterative rhymed poem was titled '*Imitatio Antiquorum Tavvast-Finnonicorum Runorum*' [an imitation of ancient Tavast-Finnish *runo*-poetry], making it explicit that the author did set his poem into a continuum of Finnish tradition of Kalevala-metric runosongs, but was not trying to repeat the oral aesthetics as such. (Kallio et al. 2017: 347–354; Melander 1928–1941.)

In earlier research, the 17th century rhymed versions of Kalevala-meter were often explained as failures caused by the writers' misunderstanding of the oral meter. It was thought that the 17th century writers did not really know the oral meter, although most of them were native speakers of Finnish. (See e.g., Sarajas 1956.) It is true that we do not know the extent to which the traditional oral meter was in use in the early modern most western Finland and around the capital of the diocese – but it was still used in lullabies, songs for children, and short charms in the early 20th century even in these most quickly literarized and modernized Finnic regions. In some form, it evidently was familiar to those early modern learned authors who knew the Finnish language. The practice of combining some features characteristic to the traditional oral poetics with rhyming couplets (in literary poetry) or rhymed stanzaic forms was recurrent and looks intentional. On the basis of their recurrent appearance and the way these forms dominate in the 17th century Finnish language printed poetry, these hybrid forms of rhymed Kalevala-meter were appreciated by their early modern literary audiences. The whole process may be interpreted not as a misunderstanding of the true character of oral poetry, but as a process of finding different versatile ways to literarize the Finnish language and existing oral resources to meet the 17th century poetic and literary ideals – themselves changing swiftly.

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Early Modern Understandings of Finnish Rhyme

The early modern scholars created rhymed and regularized versions of the traditional versatile non-rhymed oral meter, which was understood as a literary continuum from the ancient oral tradition, and also used some features of traditional oral meter in creating the Lutheran hymns that were understood as a local version of the larger field of Lutheran hymns in other European languages. Yet, three short poetic instructions appearing during the second half of the 17th century make the reader ask how the scholars actually understood the characteristics of different poetic genres. It needs to be noted that these short texts were not meant to be thorough analyses or descriptions, but just were very short pieces of advice for those learning the Finnish language in a Grammar book (Petraeus 1649, Martinius 1689) or those wanting to read about the geography and culture in the area of the kingdom of Sweden (Wexionius 1650). These authors all simply say that Finnish poetry uses both rhyme and alliteration. The only exception to this line of thought is the very first short description in 1626, written by the Swedish-speaking Andreas Bureus who emphasises that Finnish traditional poetry is different from the poetry of other (i.e. Indo-European) peoples, since they build their poems on alliteration only. (Kallio et al. 2017: 387–397.)

Aeschillus Petraeus, professor of theology, headmaster of the Åbo Academy and later the bishop of Åbo, wrote a description of Finnish poetics in his Finnish grammar in 1649. This account is short, general and somewhat confusing: Petraeus (1968 [1649]: 65–66) says that the Finnish poetry is based on rhyme, but often uses also alliteration. He says the quantity of syllables is not observed and says nothing of the length of the lines.[1]

While his description of Finnish poetics is vague, the set of examples is encompassing and precise: first a trochaic and very alliterative hymn with rhymes by Hemmingius of Masku, then a more or less iambic hymn with rhymes by Jacobus Finno, eight oral-like riddles and one proverb from unknown source, and finally the oral-styled proverb and rote (which relate to Kalevala-meter but do not follow the constraints strictly) from Agricola's Prayer Book. Although the description is short and general, the selection of examples shows a detailed understanding of various poetic types that existed in the Finnish early modern poetry. Yet, across the examples, Petraeus seems to pick only poems that contain alliteration (even the one by Finno) with verses of 7–10 syllables. (Petraeus 1968: 65–72; Kallio et al. 2017: 365–366.)

Above all, Petraeus emphasised the importance of rhyme, describing it as an obligatory part of Finnish poems. Some of his riddles contradict this claim, but the last three of these Kalevala-metric riddles use parallelism that, due to similar grammatical forms, leads to some rhymes: 'Lyhykäinen l*ylleröinen*, tasapäinen ta*lleroinen*, carjan corvesta cocopi' [The short *fat*

1 'Quantitatum abservatio nulla hic in usu est, versus tamen componuntur habita certarum syllabarum ratione, ita ut ultimae versuum sullabae eandem habeant terminationem. Accendit a. peculiare quiddam in hac lingva quod gaudeat in Rhythmo aliquot vocibus in initio versus ab eadem litera incipientibus.' (Petraeus 1968[1649]: 65.)

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one, the square-ended *chubby* one, collects the cattle from the forest]. Most remarkably, Petraeus modified the two oral-like texts from Agricola into a more rhyme-like form at the expense of the metrical structure: 'Satehixi peijuen sappi, Poudixi Cuum kehä' changed into 'Päiwän sappi satehe*xi*, Cuun kehä poudi*xi*' [the halo (gall) of the day into *rain*, the halo (ring) of the moon into *dry weather*.] (Petraeus 1968: 65–72; Kallio et al. 2017: 365–366.)

It has been estimated that Petraeus – who was born and had studied in mainland Sweden and did not speak Finnish as a maternal language – either did not understand Finnish poetics or wanted to efface the characteristics of traditional runosongs (Sarajas 1956: 40–42). On the base of his Kalevala-metric oral-styled riddles, the later assumption does not seem to hold: he could have made his description with hymns only. Moreover, the Finnish grammar by Petraeus was not a scholarly treatise, but a short practical guide (*Linguae Finnicae Brevis Institutio*) for officials coming from other regions and with the need to learn the basics of the Finnish language, as was typical of early vernacular grammars (Lauerma 2012).

One year later, another professor at the University of Turku Michael Wexionius gave a very short description of Finnish poetics in his book *Epitome descriptionis Sueciae, Gothiae, Fenningiae*. What is interesting here is that he gives as an example three alliterative verses of another trochaic hymn by Hemmingius of Masku, and then tells that 'these all used to have the same melody and they were called *runoi*'.[2] The word 'runo(i)' [poem], at the time, referred to the traditional Finnish oral poetry in Kalevala-meter, and the learned understanding up to the 18th century was that there was only one (varying) melody to sing these. (Kallio et al. 2017: 392–393; Laitinen 2006: 52).

From his instructions we can extract three implications: First, that rhyme can be used when writing Finnish traditional oral meter, second that rhymed alliterative poetry is part of the Finnish tradition, and third that previously published proverbs in traditional oral meter can be edited to include rhyme. Giving examples of Lutheran rhyming hymns, of learned hybrids of rhyming poems making use of alliteration and some other features of Kalevala-meter, and of non-rhyming riddles and proverbs in more-or-less Kalevala-meter (and some of these actually building on grammatical rhyme), they make an overall claim that Finnish poetry makes use of both rhyme and alliteration.

What has been characteristic of the 20th century interpretations of these descriptions is the idea that as the Kalevala-meter is not rhymed, and so any claim combining rhyme with the traditional meter shows either the incompetence or hostility towards the oral culture. Yet, if we take into account the fact that the traditional oral Kalevala-meter actually contains irregular grammatical rhyme (made more regular or emphasised by some singers), that the earliest rhymed hymns published by Agricola also often relied on grammatical and partial rhymes, and that the overall 17th century direction in the development of literary poetics was towards more regular

2 'Fenni praeter rythmum & lamdaismum, ubi eadem initiales lit: continuantur, ut, [runo]; neq; ullum carmen agnoscunt. In quibus omnibus una antiquitùs melodia fuit. Dicebantur & olim Runoi ad imitationem RUnarum Sveo-Gothicarum.' (Wexionius 1650 liber III caput XIV.)

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structures, another interpretation becomes possible. It may be that the early modern scholars and poets looked at Agricola's hymns and traditional oral poetry, and saw similar ways of using rhyme. Irregularity of rhyme was also present in some medieval Latin hymns, and most of the singing heard in medieval churches was not rhymed, but in the original Latin versions to Agricola's hymns the rhyme structures were firm. If Agricola's hymns were understood as rhymed although irregular, the scholars probably understood the oral poetry that had very similar irregular patterns of grammatical rhyme as rhymed, as well. Maybe the occasional grammatical rhyme of oral poetry was just taken seriously, and then developed further in literary poems.

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Eeva-Liisa Bastman
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6366-3544

Voicing a Song of Praise

Forms and Meanings of Sound Repetition in an 18th century Hymn

This article analyses the forms and functions of rhyme and other types of sound repetition in an 18th century Finnish hymn. In the history of Finnish verse, end rhyme is a feature first introduced by and strongly associated with hymns, originally a genre of lyrics composed for congregational song in the Evangelic Lutheran Church. For poetry and song, the early modern period entailed a thorough change as stress-based metres and stanzaic, rhymed verse forms started to spread and slowly became the dominant form of oral and written poetry (Kallio 2016: 125–131; Leino 1986: 16–17, 155–157). Although the hymn is nowadays a marginalized genre of poetry, at least from the point of view of the literary canon, it was significant and exceptionally widespread during earlier centuries. Moreover, hymn poetry served as an experimentation platform for the development of Finnish poetics and metrics up to the end of the 19th century (Kallio 2016; Kallio 2017; Laitinen 2003: 165–166, 205).

Later critics have often seen the hymn genre which first introduced rhyme to Finnish verse as the embodiment of bad rhyming (Kurvinen 1941: 22–24, 37; Suomi 1963: 249–255). The frustration with rhymes that stylistically do not match the elevated and devout style of the hymn genre shines through for instance in the following statement by hymnologist Aarni Voipio (1955: 62): 'It might have been better if we had never started to require that hymns rhyme. It has caused us such trouble'. Rhymes evoke reactions, especially when they do not meet the prevailing criteria for proper rhyming. And even though rhyme is a conventional and formal feature of poetry, it has symbolic meanings as well. In Finnish verse, rhymed poetry has traditionally been contrasted with unrhymed Kalevala metric verse, with its own variable connotations (Kallio 2016; Lehtonen 2016; Kallio et al. 2017: 323–410).

In literary analyses, rhyme has been considered in terms of structure, rhythm, and meaning (Brogan & Cushman 2012: 1182–1192; Lilja 2006: 98–102; Leino 1986: 55). It is rhythmical since it is created by repeating similar sound units. Structurally, it marks the line endings and shapes the structure of the line. Further, rhyme can either suggest semantic similarity or difference in words that sound similar. However, rhyme as a poetic feature is not invariable or unhistorical: what counts as rhyme depends partly on the genre and the period (Brogan & Cushman 2012: 1185; Jarvis 2011: 22; Lilja 2006: 100–101). The aim of this article is to analyse rhyming in

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a way that takes into consideration the practice of rhyming of the period and the verse culture in question, but also acknowledges rhyme's poetic abilities and functions as well as its interaction with other poetic features. The article discusses the various ways in which rhyme, alliteration, and assonance take part in the processes of meaning making in a 18th century Pietist hymn. I discuss the similarities, differences, and combined effects of rhyme, alliteration, and assonance, against the backdrop of the historical and cultural context of Finnish versification and Pietist spirituality. The metrics of Finnish written verse were at the time only developing, and the 18th century was a period of strong regularization. In hymn poetry, this led to a situation where the use of metre was extremely regular, while the use of rhyme was loose. This article explores the practices, principles, and reasons for this kind of rhyming. The analysis also pays attention to the connections between sound and voice. Poetry is often theoretically perceived as speech, as vocal expression, regardless of the actual medium of the poem, be it written language, speech, song, or something else. I also look at the ways in which sound repetition in Pietist hymns works in favour of the performative in lyric, and how it can be used to promote a sense of involvement in the reader.

The Orimattila Hymn Book

The research material comes from a handwritten hymn book in the Archives of the Finnish Literature Society (SKS/KIA, A 1663). The book was compiled in the south western town of Orimattila in the 1780's by the local Pietist revival movement. Pietism is a revival movement within Protestantism which tried to regenerate Protestant Christianity by emphasizing individual faith and an active spiritual life (Feldkeller 2011: 112–119). As to hymn poetry, Pietism introduced new poetic forms, new kinds of expression and imagery, and new tunes often via translations from German and Swedish (Arndal 1989: 33, 170; Bastman 2017: 23–27; Göransson 1997: 82–85). In Finland, Pietist revival movements also prompted the emergence of hymns as a genre of popular song and promoted literacy and non-elite authorship (Kauranen 2013: 42–43; Laitinen 2003: 211; Niinimäki 2007: 65).

The Orimattila Hymn Book has altogether 68 hymns. Five of these are in Swedish and the rest in Finnish. While some are previously published as broadside songs, others appear for the first time in the handwritten song book. Some are translations of hymns which have been published in 18th century Swedish or German song books (like *Geist=reiches Gesang=buch, Sions sånger* [Songs of Zion] and *Mose och Lambsens wisor* [The songs of Moses and the Lamb]). Most of the hymns in the collection have been dated to the early 1780's. (Kurvinen 1982: 92–94.)

Some of the hymns in the book were later published in other Finnish songbooks, such as *Halullisten Sieluin hengelliset Laulut* [Spiritual Songs for Devout Souls], published in 1790 in Turku, and in the currently used hymnal of the Evangelic Lutheran Church of Finland, although in heavily altered and modernized form (Kurvinen 1982; Väinölä 2008). Some are still sung today while others have been forgotten.

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This article focuses on a hymn called 'Weisatkat, weisatkat, weisatkat ain Herral' [Sing, sing, sing to the Lord]. The poem was originally composed in Swedish and was copied into the Orimattila Hymn Book in both languages. The translator's identity is not known. The Finnish translation is longer than the Swedish one: the original song has four stanzas, but the Finnish translation has seven. Thus, the Finnish hymn is rather a rewriting than a simple translation, even though the translated four stanzas are true to the original.

Since the song was written in the Orimattila song book, it is obvious that it was meant to be sung as a Christian hymn. However, the Swedish song was not originally composed to be sung by a congregation in a religious context. It was written and published in 1724 to celebrate the marriage of Eric Tolstadius (1693–1759), a vicar and a central character in the Pietist circles in Stockholm, Sweden, to his second wife Margareta Arosia. Their wedding was celebrated with a publication containing five songs of which 'Lofsjunger, lofsjunger, lofsjunger wår HErra' is the last one. The poem is the grand finale of what Emil Liedgren calls 'a wedding cantata'. According to Liedgren, the poems were supposed to emphasize the Christian character of the wedding festivities. Later, the wedding poems were included in several Pietist song books and became popular spiritual songs, and especially the last song became a popular melody reference for new songs. (ELB 1823; Liedgren 1924: 366–367; Odenvik 1942: 60–61.) Genre crossings between occasional poetry and hymn poetry are not uncommon (Bastman 2017: 94–95). 'Lofsjunger, lofsjunger' uses rhetoric and motifs familiar from Pietist literature, and its form and metre are typical for hymns, which undoubtedly enabled its transition between genres.

Pietism and the Hymn Tradition

In 1782, the Pietist awakenings, which had been sweeping over Southern Finland since the mid-18th century, reached the small town of Orimattila. The district doctor Carl Daniel Ekmark described in a letter in August 1782 how he, during Sunday worship in Church, had heard silent singing and clapping of hands. The singer turned out to be 'one of the awakened', a young woman. She later told Ekmark that she had had a vision of three men dressed in white. The men were singing a hymn, and she had joined in the singing until she had suddenly passed out. (Akiander 1859: 232.)

The Pietist awakenings had a strong emotional and ecstatic character. The movements which followed stressed the importance of personal faith, religious experience, and an active prayer life. Many of them also nourished a keen interest amongst their followers in questions of eschatology. Early Pietist awakenings were also united by the significant role which hymn singing and devotional books played both in the birth and in the later spiritual life of the movement. (Heikkilä & Heininen 2016: 102–103; Sulkunen 1999: 13–22.)

Pietist hymns continued the hymn tradition which was born during the Reformation and was shaped by Baroque poetry and the years of Lutheran Orthodoxy, but also renewed it in important ways (Arndal 1989: 108–109).

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Besides broadening the metrical repertoire of hymns, Pietism introduced new themes, motifs, and expressions. Hymns developed new ways to depict the innermost feelings and internal processes of a human being and constructed a new kind of community of believers, where true Christians were set apart from false Christians. (Bastman 2017: 269–271.) In the Pietist revival movements, hymns were a way to express self-understanding and to spread their faith. (Arndal 1989: 32.)

The hymns in the Orimattila Hymn Book are mostly anonymous, but some authors and translators are mentioned by name. The names connect the book to the Pietist circles in Orimattila. A crofter by the name Johan from the village of Ruha composed one hymn for the collection, and the local chaplain, Petter Sanngrén (1729–1797) translated two hymns from the Swedish *Sions sånger* into Finnish. Sanngrén had some contacts to the Moravian movement, the *Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine*, but it is not clear what his own views on Pietism were and precisely what his role was in the compilation of the song book. Since literacy rates at the time were not high, the compilation of the hymn book would have required cooperation with or the participation of someone who mastered the skill of writing, most likely someone from the educated class.

Even though many details concerning the handwritten hymn book of Orimattila remain unclear, it seems likely that the book is a result of the Pietist awakening in Orimattila. The hymns were meant to be sung by the awakened in Orimattila and some hymns are also written by local townspeople. Taking into account Sanngrén's role as a translator, it is also possible that the hymn book was a part of the aspiration to carefully steer the awakened in Orimattila away from Pietist perils like ecstatic visions and isolation from other parishioners to more conventional forms of Lutheranism. (Bastman 2017: 19–21.)

Singing was a central practice in Pietist spirituality, and it is frequently referred to in Pietist hymns. In the context of Christian lyric, the act of singing comes close to praying: it implies interaction with God. In Pietist hymns, singing is always represented as a communal activity. Typically, Pietist hymns depict singing as praising and thanksgiving. The spiritual revival was understood as a gift from God, and therefore, the hymns' song of praise was seen as a response and a reaction to that gift. Singing was a way to communicate with God and to express gratitude. (Arndal 1989: 34–35.)

In 'Weisatkat, weisatkat', the invitations to sing are repeated throughout the hymn and they determine the hymn's manner of address. In addition to urging people to take part in the song of praise, the hymn also addresses Jesus in an elevated and highly emotional prayer. Recurrent forms of address and exclamations foreground the emotional qualities of the speech situation.

Form and Metrical Structure

Repetition and regularity characterize the form of the hymn. Each stanza has four lines and all lines are metrically identical: every line has exactly 12 syllables, starts with an unstressed syllable, and ends with an unstressed

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syllable. The aabb rhyme scheme binds the lines together into couplets. This has traditionally been considered the most important function of end rhyme and one of its criteria. Rhyme marks out the line-endings and organizes the stanza into a coherent, well-balanced whole. (Leino 1986: 55; Jarvis 2011: 28.)

In the metrical analysis, o stands for lexically unstressed syllable and + for lexically stressed syllable (Leino 1986: 22). It is noteworthy that in Finnish, the iambic line does not conform to the lexical stress of the Finnish language, since the stress is always placed on the first syllable. The iambic metre was, as rhyming, a poetic novelty introduced by Lutheran hymns in the 16th century. (Kallio 2016; Kallio 2017; Laitinen 2003: 165–166, 205). In the original Swedish poem, the first stanza in the Orimattila hymnbook has exactly the same form.

1 Weisatkat weisatkaat weisatkaat ain Herral	o + oo + oo + oo + o	a
2 veisatkamme kitost mond tuhat täll kerrall	o + oo + oo + oo + o	a
3 hän armost meit rakasti kuoleman asti	o + oo + oo + oo + o	b
4 sill andakam rackauden oll palavasti.	o + oo + oo + oo + o	b
1 Låfsiunger, Låfsiunger, Låfsiunger wår Herra	o + oo + oo + oo + o	a
2 Låfsiunger wår Jesu uphöijer hans ära,	o + oo + oo + oo + o	a
3 han hafwer af nåde oss älskat I döden	o + oo + oo + oo + o	b
4 ty låtåm wår kärlek och bli öfwerflöden.	o + oo + oo + oo + o	b

Sing, sing, sing to the Lord eternally
Let us sing many thousand thanks
Out of mercy he loved us until death
Therefore, let us keep our love burning.

'Weisatkat, weisatkat' is a song about singing a communal song of praise for the Lord, but the text does not mention how the song is supposed to be sung. All early hymnals and pietist song books are poetry anthologies: they have no sheet music. In the Orimattila songbook, the melody is usually mentioned by referring to a song in the Finnish hymnal of 1701, or, if the song was translated from Swedish, by giving the title of the Swedish original. Sometimes the melody reference states that the song was to be sung to 'a new melody' or to 'a tune of its own', which suggests that the melody used was not one of the traditional hymn melodies. (Niinimäki 2007: 99–102; Laitinen 2003: 210.) The oral transmission of melodies meant that tunes were modified and changed over time and place. Composing a poem for an existing tune meant, however, that the structure of the lines and the stanza needed to be more or less fixed, since the words needed to fit the melody and rhythm of the song.

In the Orimattila Hymn Book, neither the Swedish nor the Finnish version of the hymn mention any tunes. However, the poems written for the wedding between Eric Tolstadius and Margareta Arosia did have melody references. 'Lofsjunger, lofsjunger' was sung to the melody of 'Ich liebe dich hertzlich', which most likely refers to a song in the 1698 edition of *Geist=reiches Gesang=buch*. (ELB 1823; Koski 1996: 393). Another melody for 'Lofsjunger, lofsjunger' was sung by former habitants of the Swedish

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villages in Estonia and recorded in 1937 (Jersild & Åkesson 2000: 84–85, 244). To my knowledge, no melodies for this hymn have been recorded in Finland.

Rhyme and Metre in Hymn Poetry

Rhymes made their way into Finnish verse at about the same time as poetry started to be written, in the aftermath of the Reformation and the rise of the vernaculars in the 16th century. In the first Finnish hymnal published in 1583, Jacobus Finno describes how he has started to compose hymns in Finnish, in the manner of other Christian regions, that is, with rhymes. Finno's hymnal marked the beginning of a new liturgical genre in Finnish, and from the start, end rhyme was an essential feature of that genre (Kallio 2016: 141; Kallio et al. 2017: 119–120, 335–336).

Rhyme is a phenomenon with many cultural connotations. In early modern Finnish verse, it signified a cultural orientation to Protestant Europe and a desire to imitate new foreign models instead of old domestic ones. The original metrical system of the Finnish language, later named *Kalevala metre* after the title of Elias Lönnrot's epos, had neither stanza structures nor end rhymes (Leino 1986: 28–30). The traditional oral metre could be problematic in some contexts since it was presumably associated with the pagan or Catholic past. Hymns were never written in Kalevala metre, even though similar four beat trochaic meters were used. Some hymn writers even avoided poetic features associated with the traditional oral metre, such as alliteration (Kallio 2016: 129–134, 145–146; Lehtonen 2016: 205).

In hymns, iambic metres dominated, together with four-line stanza structures (Kurvinen 1941: 206–207). Irregularity and diversity are characteristic of hymn metrics during the first centuries of Finnish hymnody and their form and metre are in many cases not easily analysed. As Kati Kallio (2016: 129) notes:

> [t]he poetic features of these songs – incomplete rhymes, shortened words, varying numbers of syllables in metrical positions, and varying ways to actualize the patterns of stress – were typical of vernacular poetics in northern Europe at the time, although some Finnish poets made use of these features to an exceptional degree.

Both the original Swedish poem 'Lofsjunger, lofsjunger, lofsjunger vår HErra' and the Finnish version 'Weisatkat, weisatkat, weisatkat ain Herral' have the same four-line stanza structure with a regular, four beat anapaest metre, and the same rhyme scheme, aabb. This stanza structure and rhyme scheme are among the most common in 18th century Pietist hymns (Bastman 2017: 52). In 16th and 17th century Finnish hymns, a loose iambic metre, i.e. a mixed line combining iambs and anapaests, was more common than pure anapaest. This combination is also widely used in sung and written verse during later decades. (Kurvinen 1941: 207; Leino 1986: 34.) In contrast, 18th century verse favours pure anapaests, and it is especially common in Pietist hymns.

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Compared to traditional chorales, 18th century hymns used metres which contemporaries described as 'prancing' or 'bouncing' (Göransson 1997: 82). Due to the mobile and dance-like impression evoked by its rhythmic pattern, the anapaest was to be used with caution. In a handbook for hymn writers from the 1830s, the anapaest was recommended to be used only in cheerful hymns, such as Christmas hymns and hymns of praise. This had been the practice in Church hymnals, but it was never embraced by Pietist hymn writers (Bastman 2017: 64–65).

The separation of iambs and anapaests is a part of the metrical regularization, which was started by the German poetics of Martin Opitz, published in 1624 (Gasparov 1996: 195–197; Lilja 2006: 224–225). The rules demanding consistency in metres, and identical rhymes started to be manifested in Finnish verse during the 18th century (Bastman 2017: 66–67; Niinimäki 2007: 191–202).

18th century Pietist hymns also exhibit a new kind of sophistication in verse structure. As Pietist hymn books and song collections from Germany and Sweden introduced new hymn melodies, hymns became rhythmically, metrically, and structurally more diverse. Besides anapaests and dactyls becoming more common, lines of various length were combined in different ways to create more varied stanzas. *Halullisten Sielujen Hengelliset Laulut* [Spiritual Songs for Devout Souls], a Pietist song book published in 1790, which has some hymns in common with the Orimattila Hymn Book, includes stanza structures with up to 18 or 21 lines in one stanza, and with concomitant, regular rhyme schemes. (Bastman 2017: 108; Laitinen 2003: 254–255.) These stanza structures and rhyme patterns are so intricate that they are obviously not a result of oral composition but of literary origin.

Interestingly, the regularization and diversification of metrics did not affect the rhyming in any greater scale. Rather, rhymes remained virtually unchanged from the early days of hymn poetry in the late 1580s and well into the mid-19th century, while at the same time verse forms and metrics went through major changes (Niinimäki 2007: 161). Both kinds of hymns, those with extremely regular, literary-like metres and elaborate stanza structures as well as hymns with a more flexible, oral kind of metre, use rather loose rhyming.

The end rhymes in the first stanza of 'Weisatkat, weisatkat' are identical rhymes. Rhyme pairs such as *Herral : kerral* or *asti : palavasti* abide by the general definition of end rhyme in the Finnish language, according to which two words rhyme when the sounds in the words are the same from the vowel in the last stressed syllable of the word to the end of the word (Leino 1986: 57–62). Identical rhymes are used in the original Swedish song as well. The Finnish hymn also uses nonidentical rhymes, rhymes where the sound is not identical. Often, the double vowel sound is paired with a single vowel sound, like in *sangen : langeen* or *olkon : kuulkoon* (Bastman 2017: 83–85; Leino 1986: 60–61).

Nonidentical rhymes of this kind, sometimes referred to as imperfect rhymes or near rhymes, are not in any way avoided in 18th century hymn poetry. One reason for this is that the Finnish language and versification was at this point not standardized. Finnish had been used as a written language

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particularly within the Church and in education from the 16th onwards, but the foundation for metrics was established only in the 1860s (Leino 1986: 16–18). Therefore, 18th century hymn writers did not have any explicit rules to follow. Their rhyming reflects their own understanding of what rhyme is and how it is used, and what kind of phonetic parallelism counts as rhyme.

Although this kind of rhyming has been dismissed as archaic or inadequate, many 18th century hymns were later sung and printed in their original form numerous times over the centuries. Without question, they have a meter and a form which is well suited for the use they were meant for (Kallio 2016: 126). Yet, the Finnish literary institution has never recognized nonidentical rhymes as a form of rhyming, and the conflict between dominant aesthetic values of the 19th century and actual rhyming practices of former periods has characterized discussions on early written verse and oral-literary genres.

How then are we to bridge this gap? One way of approaching rhyme is to see it not as primarily an attribute of the stanzaic, rhymed, stress based metrical system or as a marker of line endings, but as one form of sound repetition among others. Hymns are, after all, not only rhymed, but use plenty of other forms of sound repetition as well.

Forms of Sound Repetition: Rhyme, Alliteration, Assonance

Alongside end rhyme, the hymn also uses alliterations, as in the line *kitost mond* ***t****uhat* ***t****äll kerrall* [many thousand thanks] in the first stanza. Here, the word pair *tuhat täll* alliterates by a repetition of the t-sound. Alliteration is a poetic device which has been most widely used in oral or pre-modern oral-written forms of poetry (Lilja 2006: 93). In Finnish verse, alliteration was used in traditional oral Kalevala metric poetry, where it is, according to Pentti Leino, 'a tendency, not a rule' (Leino 1986: 134). Kalevala metric poetry favoured strong alliterations, that is, alliterations where both vowel and consonant sounds were repeated. However, also weak, consonant initial alliterations with no repetition of the vowel do appear (Frog & Stepanova 2011: 197). As an organizational, cohesion creating tool, alliteration usually functions within a line, as in the line cited above, but it can also bind together words in sequential lines.

Because alliteration is one of the key features in the Kalevala metric system, alliteration and rhyme have, in the study of early modern Finnish verse, been seen almost as opposites. Alliteration belonged to the old, domestic metrical system of oral poetry, and was therefore shunned by some early hymn writers, like Jacobus Finno, as is demonstrated by the fact that his prose contained more alliterations than his hymns (Lehtonen 2016: 205).

Besides rhyme and alliteration, there is a third form of sound repetition. Assonance is here defined as the repetition of a vowel or consonant sound that can occur anywhere in the line and anywhere in the word (Ferber 2019: 65). Assonance does not carry the kind of cultural associations or affiliations that rhyme and alliteration do, and as to its form and position, assonance is vaguer and more variable. The terminology for the different forms of sound

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repetition tends to be inconsistent, and the term assonance has been used in a number of different ways (Adams & Cushman 2012). In studies of Finnish prosody, assonance has been used as a name for nonidentical line-final rhyme and also for internal rhyme (Bastman 2017: 86). August Ahlqvist, a prominent 19th century Finnish linguist and poet, defined the differences between the various forms of sound repetition in the following way: 'Sound harmony can occur either in the beginning, inside, or at the end of words, being accordingly either alliteration, assonance, or end rhyme.' (Ahlqvist 1877: 148).

We can distinguish between three different forms of assonance. One is full assonance, in which both consonant and vowel sounds are repeated (i.e., a type of strong assonance). A second is vowel assonance and a third is consonant assonance (also called consonance), which only repeat either vowel or consonant sounds (Lilja 2006: 88), and which can be called weak assonance.

hän armost meit rakasti kuoleman asti	Out of mercy he loved us until death
sill andakam rackauden oll palavasti.	Therefore, let us keep our love burning.

In these lines, we have weak vowel initial alliterations in ***a**rmost*, ***a**sti* and ***a**ndaka.* Weak and strong assonances create sound patterning inside words in *ra**ka**sti, anda**ka**m* and *rac**ka**uden*. Also, end rhymes *asti* and *palavasti* rhyme with internal rhyme *rakasti*. All these different forms of sound repetition are bound together by the a-vowel.

The following figure shows some more examples of the different kinds of sound repetition in 'Weisatkat, weisatkat, weisatkat ain Herral'.

RHYME	**Rhyme**	**Nonidentical rhyme**
	H*erral* : k*erral*	Herr*an* : arm*an*
	Asti : palav*asti*	Sang*en* : lang*een*
	M*ullas* : av*ullas*	Olk*on* : kuulk*oon*
ALLITTERATION	**Strong**	**Weak**
	*ta*ivan, *ta*varan	*m*orsian, *m*aistaa
	*ma*keus, *ma*kiambi	*p*yhät, *p*auha
		*a*rmost, *a*utit
ASSONANCE	**Strong**	**Weak**
	tai*van*, tav*aran* (-va, -an)	kit*o*st m*o*nd (-o)
	and*aka*m rac*ka*uden (-ka)	en*ä*, ett syd*ä*mmest (-ä)

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Keeping apart and defining different forms of sound repetition is challenging since the terminology is not systematic but also because the different forms blend into each other. Sound repetition can be defined either as assonance, nonidentical rhyme or internal rhyme, depending on the degree of sound similarity, and either as rhyme or assonance depending on the metrical position in the line (Ferber 2019: 67; Lilja 2006: 100). Simon Jarvis finds that the distinctions between end rhymes with a metrical function and other forms of intra-linear sound repetition are more theoretical than experiential: 'in the experience of reading, rhyme and assonance are intimately linked.' (Jarvis 2011: 38.)

End rhyme can in some cases be replaced with assonance or other forms of sound repetition (Lilja 2006: 87–100). In Finnish hymn poetry, any kind of sound repetition, regardless of type and degree of phonetic similarity between a word pair in end rhyme position, can fulfil the function of end rhyme. This was a long-lasting practice which did not change even though other metrical principles became stricter.

It is noteworthy that in all three forms of phonetic parallelism, the degree of sound similarity can vary between strong and weak. This means that the end rhymes of Finnish hymn poetry actually function much in the same way as assonance and alliteration. Assonance and alliteration are, as opposed to end rhyme, optional: they can either be used or left out entirely, whereas a rhymed stanza requires at least some kind of sound similarity at the end of the line.

Ethnomusicologist Pirjo-Liisa Niinimäki (2007: 238) has, in her study about broadside song metrics, suggested that the custom of using strong and weak alliteration, familiar from Kalevala metric verse, could have influenced the practice of rhyming in the early rhymed songs and contributed to the long tradition of using nonidentical rhymes alongside identical rhymes. In summary, the metrical practices of the early rhymed songs were certainly affected by the metrical principles of Kalevala metre, which sometimes lead to ambiguous hybrid forms combining features from two different metrical systems (Kallio 2016: 144–146; Kallio 2017).

Rhyming in hymns is an example of the kind of metrical practices that are formed by the intermingling of oral and literary traditions. Hence, modern literary classifications or theories cannot directly be applied to 18th century hymn poetry. Since it is impossible to know now precisely how the writers or singers of broadside songs or hymns understood the poetic features of the genre back in the 18th century, what we can do is to try to balance historical knowledge and current insights.

Functions and Meanings of Sound Repetition: Some Theoretical Perspectives

The question of how sound correlates to meaning has been frequently addressed and has proven to be difficult to resolve. According to the general understanding, sounds in themselves do not express meaning, but within a poetic text sounds can carry associations and gesture towards meaning

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(Wood 2012). In contrast, Peter Robinson argues that sound is always meaningful. This is why in Finnish culture alliteration can be seen as oral, ancient, and inappropriate for Christian verse, or anapaests can be associated with movement and feelings of joy. In addition, the reader gives meaning to sounds and sound patterns. Robinson (2018: 22) refers to the 'sound sense of poetry', the totality of a poem's different features, both formal and semantic, as the product of the reader's response to the text.

Some criticism has been eager to attach meaning to sound. For instance, rhymes that add layers of meaning to the poem can be seen as more valuable than rhymes that simply sound the same (Jarvis 2011: 31–32; Wood 2012: 1188–1189). Perhaps, as Jonathan Culler (2015: 182) suggests, the semantic qualities of rhyme might even have been exaggerated by the desire to prove that rhyme is more than a mere pleasure to the ear: 'Historically, the conception of rhyme as nonsemantic chiming fits much rhyming practice better than the modern view that rhyme should serve meaning.'

In hymns, rhyme is strongly conventional, and many hymns do not shun even the most worn out rhymes. Rhyme seems to be foremost a factor of structure and sound, not semantics. This suggests that the primary function of sound patterns in hymns is not to express meaning. However, there is also no reason to rule out the possibility that sound may operate on the semantic level. 'Rhyming is at once both intended and compulsive, an art practice that makes full use, by means of sound, of these possibilities for resonance and saturation', writes Susan Stewart (2009: 30). Sound repetition can be a linking device, a device for creating cohesion, or suggesting resemblance or difference, but as Stewart notes, sound repetition usually functions in a subtle and indirect manner.

In Benjamin Hrushovski's (1980) terms, we can distinguish between neutral, focusing and expressive sound patterning. Sound patterning is neutral when the repetition of sound does not affect the meaning of the words in which the repetition occurs. Rather, it signals that we are dealing with a poetic text by attracting attention to sound itself, thus reinforcing the poetic function of the text (Jakobson 1968: 353–358). According to Hrushovski, 'neutral sound patterning' is the most common type of sound patterning. 'Focusing sound patterning', on the other hand, brings some key concepts or important words into the fore, and, through the similarity of sound, establishes a relation between the words. Expressive sound patterns are used to reinforce the atmosphere conveyed by the poem's situation or frame of reference. (Hrushovski 1980: 48–53.)

For example, as noted earlier at the end of the first stanza, *asti* (until) is end-rhymed with *palavasti* (burning), which echoes the word for love, *rakasti* (an internal rhyme).

hän armost meit rakasti kuoleman asti	Out of mercy he loved us until death
sill andakam rackauden oll palavasti	Therefore, let us keep our love burning.

This is a case of Hrushovski's focusing sound patterning. The repetition of sound binds together the abstract concept of love, in this case God's love, with something that will last until death or endure death. In the hymn's

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Christian context, this is a reference to Christ's death as an act of love. Further, the second word of the rhyme pair, *palavasti*, evokes the sensation of warmth or heat. The repetition thus serves to illustrate the nature of godly love. There is no correspondence between the repeated sounds themselves and the meaning of the words, but when similar-sounding words are brought together in the relatively small space of a stanza, associations start to form (Jarvis 2011: 36).

In these lines, the syllables *ar* or *ra* as well as the vowel *a* are also repeated multiple times. This repetition functions on a more general level and does not create any direct linkages between words. This kind of repetition demonstrates Hrushovski's neutral function. Stylistically, it raises the hymn above the commonplace use of language and makes it elevated, poetic, and rhythmical.

Focusing sound patterning occurs also when sound repetition is paired with rhetorical figures, such as antithesis. The speaker in the poem declares he will love Jesus 'in life and in death, in grave and in dirt': *elämäs ja kuolemas haudas ja mullas*. Assonances, internal rhymes, and end rhymes are used together to create a harmonious and coherent soundscape. The first word pair, *elämäs ja kuolemas* [in life and death], is an antithesis, whereas the second one, *haudas ja mullas* [in the grave and the dirt], pairs together two words which are semantically close and stand as metonyms for death.

In 'Weisatkat, weisatkat', sound is also used to reinforce imagery and concepts central to Pietism. The fourth and final stanza in the original Swedish poem, the wedding poem of Tolstadius and Arosia, opens with a chiastic figure: *O sötast nöje nöjsammaste sötma*, [o sweet delight, enjoyable sweetness]. The corresponding line in the Finnish poem is slightly different:

(4) O suloinen makeus makiambi ruoka	O lovely sweetness, sweetest food
kuka väsy kuin peräst ainian huoka	who would tire in eternal yearning
weisatkam kitost mond tuhat täll kerrall	let us now sing many thousand thanks
weisatkam, weisatkam, weisatkam ain Herral.	let us sing, let us sing, let us sing to the Lord.

Allusions to different sensations appear frequently in the hymn tradition and particularly in Pietist hymns. Sweet (Ger. *süs*, Swe. *söt*, Fin. *makea*) is an adjective typically used to describe the love and union between God and man. (Arndal 1989: 234–235.) The Swedish version does not make any direct allusions to food or nourishment. The following stanzas, which are composed for the Finnish hymn only and do not appear in the Swedish poem, build up the theme of nourishment by invoking images associated with Christian blood symbolism and wedding symbolism.

(5) O Pyhembi ilo kuin morsian saa	O Holier joy, that the bride can taste
maista, kosk hala ja rakasta veri sulhaista	when embracing and loving the bridegroom of blood
tääs elos sitt taivaas kus Pyhät kaik pauha	in this life and then in Heaven, where all the holy are shouting
O Pyhembi ilo kans ijäinen rauha	Oh holiest joy and eternal peace.

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(6) Vijs hava vijstuhatta kijtost sull olkon sää armost meit autit ja nyt vielä kulkon	Five wounds, five thousand thanks to you who helped us out of mercy, now listen (to our thanks)
mond tuhatta vaiva sä kärsinyt aina	many thousand hardships you have suffered
o Jesu o Jesu meil armos ain laina.	o Jesus, o Jesus lend us your mercy.

Joy is here described as something that can be tasted. This points in two directions: first, to the allegorical description of love between God and man as a marriage, in which the kiss or the embrace symbolizes the union. At the same time, the stanza actualizes images of Christ's passion. The word rhyming with *maista* [to taste], *veri sulhaista* [bridegroom of blood] as well as the five wounds of Christ mentioned in stanza six (*vijs hava*) explicitly highlight Pietist conceptions of the union with God.

However, as the fifth stanza continues, it is revealed that the joy expressed in the hymn is not only associated with the eucharist and the Christian wedding allegory. Sound repetitions also connect the feeling of joy to heaven, where the holy sing praise to the Lord:

(5) tääs elos sitt taivaas kus Pyhät kaik pauha	in this life and then in Heaven,
O Pyhembi ilo kans ijäinen rauha.	where all the holy are shouting Oh holiest joy and eternal peace.

The rhyme pair *pauha-rauha* links the sound of a peal of voices (*pauha*) to peace and silence (*rauha*). In the hymn, the joy expressed in song is thematically connected to the heavenly song of praise. Singing is an activity happening right now, in the present of the hymn, and in which the reader or the listeners are invited to take part, but it is also happening simultaneously in the eternity of heaven. This double time-perspective is based on a passage in the Book of Revelation, where a large assembly of people are gathered around the Lamb, standing on the mountain of Sion, singing 'a new song' (Rev. 19:1–6). From the Pietist point of view, the 'new song' was the song of the awakened. It was the people's reaction to the spiritual revival, which was, in turn, inspired by God. (Arndal 1989: 35; Koski 1996: 117–129.) 'Weisatkat, weisatkat' parallels the song of praise expressed in the hymn with the singing in heaven, and this way, the song of the awakened is represented as a reflection of the song of the holy.

Voice as Lyric Performativity

The hymn demonstrates an interesting interplay between elements of sound and the motif of song. Rhymes, alliterations, and assonances foreground sound and perform the poetic function, while the invitations to sing underline the thematical importance of song as a motif. In addition to being an actual song and being about song, the hymn also features figures of sound and speech which, in the lyric tradition, are conceived as a voice or as subjectivity.

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Jonathan Culler (2015: 35) differentiates between *voice* as the concept referring to the illusion of a speaking persona, and *voicing*, which refers to phonetic elements in poetry. In other words, a poem can represent sound, as when creating the illusion of someone speaking or singing, but it can also use sound as means of representation. As David Nowell Smith (2015: 3) notes:

> Voice is figured *as* speech sound, as persona, as subjectivity […], as an authentic self, or as an individual or collective identity […]. But it is also figured *through* the prosodic and rhetorical repertoires available to poetry: figures of sound such as alliteration and assonance; figures of speech such as interjection, prosopopoeia, apostrophe […].

These two dimensions of sound also affect each other: the way the poem uses figures of sound shapes our understanding of the poem's representation of voice and speech – or, as in the case of the Orimattila hymn, song.

The type of voice represented in 'Weisatkat, weisatkat' is communal singing, expressing communal joy, and the speaker in the hymn can be characterized as a representative of a community. This is one of the characteristics of the type of poem Northrop Frye calls 'poems of community' (Frye 1957: 294–295). These poems are formal expressions of praise, and their features are reminiscent of charms: they rely on rhythm, sound, and repetition, and their content and form require participation or some kind of response from the reader or the listener. Frye (1957: 295–296) refers to this response as 'participation mystique'. Central in his description of this tradition of poetry is the way repetition, rhythm, and sound are used to affect the listener: they make participation both possible and necessary.

These are the kind of elements which Jonathan Culler calls performative elements of poetry. Performative elements can be defined as elements that encourage participation, such as rhythm, sound, and address to the reader or the singer. What especially characterizes the lyric is the play between performative and fictional elements. (Culler 2015: 125–131.) Fictional, in this case, does not mean imaginary or unreal, rather, it refers to elements which are used to create a fictional world, a reality markedly separate from the world of the reader. These elements include a plot or a narrative, or a speaker who is also represented as a character in the poem. Fictional elements increase the distance between the reader and the text, whereas performative elements have the opposite effect. Essential in the concept of performativity is the idea that words have actual consequences and make things happen (i.e., perlocutionary effects). What 'Weisatkat, weisatkat' tries to make happen is persuading the listener to join the community of singers.

Elements of sound are present on many different levels in the hymn, as sound patterns, as the motif of song, and as voice and address. However, there is no illusion of a speaking person. According to Culler (2015: 176), 'the more a poem foregrounds vocal effects, the more powerful the image of voicing, oral articulation, but the less we find ourselves dealing with the voice of a person'. More relevant in the hymn is whether the reader or the listener finds himself inspired to join in. This has to do with the fact that in texts like 'Weisatkat, weisatkat', the performative dominates over the fictional. Even

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though the original poem was composed for a Pietist wedding in Stockholm in 1724, it does not represent actual events and is not located in historical time. On the contrary, the hymn resists temporal definitions altogether by paralleling Pietist song with representations of heavenly singing. The hymn has no characters, no narrative, no descriptions or explanations, no teaching of doctrine. Instead, it expresses communal joy and belief, collective values, and a shared understanding of the future.

Making Meaning of Sound Repetition

Rhyming and sound repetition are basic elements of poetry, used in lyric across language areas, verse cultures, and times. Their forms and uses are, however, historically mutable, and partly dependent on factors like genre. In their use of sound repetition, 18th century hymns follow the general poetic practice of the time but are also affected by the previous history of the genre and its more recent developments. In 'Weisatkaat, weisatkaat, weisatkaat ain Herral', rhyme, alliteration and assonances function separately and together in different ways. They enhance the general poetic qualities of the text, highlight central concepts, and create linkages between words and their meanings. Different forms and degrees of sound similarity, both weak and strong, were used and accepted in alliteration and assonance as well as in end rhyme. Writers of Pietist hymn poetry – who could be educated clergymen but also peasants or crofters with often no education at all – clearly thought that stanzaic poetic structures required sound repetition at the end of the line, but not necessarily the kind of sound repetition that the literary institution recognizes as rhyme.

The advantage of studying rhyme together with other forms of sound in poetry is that it gives us a more comprehensive view of how sound works and how it relates to other poetic elements, such as voice. When rhyme and other elements of sound and rhythm are understood as performative elements, our understanding leads us to consider *how* these elements mean instead of *what* they mean. As a genre of Christian literature, hymns have didactic and spiritual aims, which means that they need a reaction or participation from the reader or the listener. The performative elements of poetry, which also include rhyme, assonance, and alliteration, have aesthetic value, but they also serve these objectives.

Performative elements foreground the social rather than the individual and the ritualistic rather than the representational or fictional. This creates an interesting point of contact between the sound of poetry and the kinds of communal elements of poetry which have been difficult to deal with in lyric theories emphasizing voice as the embodiment of the individual and the personal. 'Weisatkat, weisatkat' is filled with voice, from invitations to sing to sound repetition, but void of individuality. In this hymn, sound is fundamentally communal, and voice is, in accordance with Pietist conceptions of song, represented as an earthly echo of heavenly singing.

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Maria-Kristiina Lotman
https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3106-1976

Rebekka Lotman
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1147-5277

Rhyme in Estonian Poetic Culture

In Estonian versification and poetry critique, the issue of rhyme has been a recurrent problem and evoked passionate and sometimes heated debate, to the point of personal insults between authors. The main problems pertain to three aspects: First, what is (proper) rhyme? Second, what are the rhyming possibilities of the Estonian language? And third, ever since the problems of Estonian rhyme were first addressed, the opposition between 'self' and 'other' or Estonian 'own' and 'foreign' has been maintained, based on the observation that Estonian folk song used alliteration, and that end rhyme entered into Estonian literary poetry from German poetic culture. This opposition is even strengthened by the fact that the term "rhyme" has been used in Estonia for both alliteration (*algriim*) and end rhymes (*lõppriim*).[1]

The aim of this paper[2] is to offer an overview of the history of end rhyme in Estonian poetry from the emergence of rhymed poetry in the 17th century to the present-day. Along with various theoretical approaches to the Estonian rhyme over time, we will supplement the outline with statistical case studies of rhymes in different authors and periods. The paper focuses on rhyme from the perspective of its sound structure; questions of the semantics of rhyme are not within the limits of this study.

1 Alliteration and assonance have two meanings in Estonian literary theory. Jaan Bergmann, the author of the first treatment of poetics in Estonian, has defined them by location. According to him, alliteration is the initial rhyme, in the case of an assonance, the repeated sounds are in the middle of the word, and in the case of the rhyme, the repeated sounds occur at the end of the words (Bergmann 1878: 41). However, in later Estonian literary studies, it is common to define alliteration as a repetitive initial consonant in a verse-line and assonance as a repetitive vowel of stressed syllables in a verse-line (compare, for example, Põldmäe 1978: 238). In this paper, the term 'alliteration' is used for sound repetitions of the initial letters of words.

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Problems with Estonian rhyme firstly arise because of multiple objective linguistic causes. The abundance of Estonian vowels is an important factor; moreover, a significant cause is the abundance of diphthongs – their number varies based on interpretation. For example, according to Tiit-Rein Viitso, there are a total of 25 different diphthongs in the original vocabulary, and an additional 11 diphthongs which appear in loanwords (Viitso 2003: 22; 2008: 185; about the occurrence of diphthongs in the phonetic corpus of Estonian spontaneous speech, see Teras 2012). This renders the occurrence of full rhyme pairs already statistically less likely.

Another constraint is the three different degrees of duration in the prosodic system of the Estonian language: in addition to short syllables, there are long syllables without suprasegmental length and overlong syllables with suprasegmental length. Often the quantities cannot be distinguished in a written form of single words (for instance, 'laulu' can be both of the second and of the third duration), but they become manifest by the duration ratio of the sounds within a sequence of stressed and unstressed syllables (for more details, see Lippus 2001; for the Estonian quantity in poetry, see Lotman & Lotman 2013). If rhymes of the same duration are advisable, then three different degrees of duration do not encourage the abundance of potential rhyme pairs. Consider this verse pair from Karl Eduard Sööt: 'Homme ootab sõjapõrgu! / Aga mees ei kohku, tõrgu' [Tomorrow the war hell awaits! / Yet a man is not frightened, obstinate[3]] ('Pääliku hüüd' [The shout of the chief]). While 'põrgu' and 'tõrgu' are indeed full eye rhymes, they are not of the same duration. Some Estonian poets fundamentally avoid this type of rhyme. Poet, translator, and critic Ain Kaalep for example, wrote in a poem dedicated to his friend, a poetry translator Harald Rajamets: 'Üks asi on meil kahel väga klaariks / koos saanud küll: ei tohi eesti riim / kaht eri väldet ühendada paariks!' [One thing has become very clear to both of us: Estonian rhyme cannot join two different durations into a pair] ('Harald Rajametsale' [To Harald Rajamets])[4]. 'Klaariks' and 'paariks' are both of the same duration, that is, of the second duration. Ain Kaalep even condemns near rhymes formed with syllables of different durations because, in his words, near rhyme 'allows greater liberties for the poet only if there is some correspondence between the qualitative features of sound' (Kaalep 1959: 115). At the same time, in Estonian versification this has not been an absolute rule. In fact, various renowned poets throughout the different periods have rhymed syllables of different durations. Here, one can indeed differentiate between the so-called ear rhyme, which perfectly rhymes in verbal performance, and eye rhyme, which becomes more notable in written form.

3 All translations provided in the paper are by the authors of the paper.

4 In fact, it is not entirely true. Rajamets is not so strict in this matter, for him, rhymes such as 'rahvale : tee', 'sõnatu : suu', etc. are completely acceptable, although they cannot be considered to be full rhymes. Furthermore, in the same article Rajamets expands on the definition of Estonian rhyme suggested by Paul Maantee with the modification that rhyme is not merely based on the artistic repetition of words, but also that of the syllables carrying the secondary stress in accordance with certain rhythmic principles (Rajamets 1959: 1578).

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Morphological structure constitutes another source of difficulty. Although it is sometimes claimed that the Estonian case system presents an advantage in creating inflectional rhymes, it nevertheless does not work so in practice: inflectional types and phenomena like consonant or suffix gradation result in too large a variation of possible endings. Furthermore, one can emphasise the difficulties pertaining to vocabulary. Here, one must note the circumstance that Estonian literary poetry is fairly young, and while on the one hand, the proportion of poetry without rhyme has grown, on the other hand, the repertoire for rhyme has had a limited time to develop, as compared to the 'old' European poetic cultures. This connection is even more apparent once one acknowledges that the situation with the rhyme lexicon is better in some more common thematic areas, as in nature poetry. This thematic limitation of the sonnet lexicon is confirmed with statistical analysis: among the 9253 rhymes found in original Estonian sonnets published between 1940–1968, the most frequent lexeme is the word *tee* (60 times), which means 'path'. It is telling that its homonym which means the drink (tea), has not been used once in this way in the sonnet rhymes of the period. The word *rada*, synonymous to *tee* (path) is seventh in frequency of the rhyme words (35 times) (Lotman 2004: 50). This example clearly confirms the priority of meaning in rhyme over its phonemic composition, as well as the significance of particular themes in poetry of this period.

Considering these circumstances, it is quite expected that ever since the beginnings of Estonian rhyme culture, new solutions have been searched for to expand the scope of rhyme.

17th Century Rhyme

The origin of Estonian rhymed poetry dates back to the 17th century, when the first Estonian literary poems were composed, and when a number of church songs were translated into Estonian in syllabic-accentual forms, and with the end rhyme. The examples of 17th century rhyme can be seen already in the first Estonian secular poem, 'Carmen Alexandrinum Esthonicum ad leges Opitij poeticas compositum', written by Reiner Brockmann (1609–1647), and also in many translations of church songs of this period (see also Lotman 2016: 233–235).

See the rhyming verses of Martin Luther's 'Wir glauben all an einen Gott' [We All Believe in One God], translated by Georg Salemann (1597–1657), which was printed in the church song collection *Neu Ehstnisches Gesangbuch* (1656: 8):

Mah nink Taiwa Lohja sisse, /.../	In the creator of the world and the sky,
Meit kaas Lapsex kutsup isse.	Who himself calls us his child

Typographically *sisse : isse* is a full rhyme, but in Estonian prosody the first syllable of the word *ise* [the modern spelling of the word *isse*] is of the first duration, while the first syllable of the word *sisse* is of the third duration. We find similar conformities in many other surviving 17th century translated

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poems. It may well be that the reason for this licence lies in the fact that native German writers did not perceive the Estonian quantity contrast well enough to reflect it in their versification. At the same time, one cannot rule out the possibility that this was an intentional liberty taken in order to expand the range of potential rhymes; however, considering that Martin Opitz himself also derides rhymes that utilise different lengths, this is a less likely explanation.

Affected by the prosody of the German language, another type of rhyme appears in Estonian poetry texts, which, on the contrary, does not function as an 'eye rhyme' but rather as an 'ear rhyme'. We encounter this in the following verses of the above-mentioned Georg Salemann's translation: 'Se meit tahhap ickas teuta, / Hing' nink Ihho hehsti hoida' [It wants to still feed us, to cherish our soul and body]. Here, the word *toita* is influenced by German orthography so that it is spelled *teuta*, but the vocal nucleus of the rhyme remains *oi*, meaning that it is almost a full rhyme.

Thirdly, we see greater liberties taken and deviation from full rhyme in the case of the Estonian umlauts (ä, ö, õ, ü), for example, *keip : woip* (in Estonian orthography, *käib : võib*; Ross 2013: 523), and also rhyming pairs developed under the influence of German pronunciation, where, for instance, syllables that contain *ä* and *e* in their rhyme nucleus are rhymed.

19th Century Rhyme

During the 18th century, as a consequence of the Great Northern War and the resulting political situation, there was a disruption in Estonian culture. The first Estonian rhyme theory came from the Baltic German author Peter Heinrich von Frey, whose article 'Ueber die Ehstnische Poesie' [About Estonian Poetry] was published in 1813. In this paper, Frey laid the foundation for the understanding that Estonian language is poor in rhymes (and this claim became growingly popular during the next century). For this reason, Frey claimed that, unlike in German poetry, 'impure' rhymes should be allowed in Estonian poetry, for instance, *käes : mees*, *ütled : kiitled*, *arm : koorm*, *kulen : tullen* (see also Põldmäe 1978: 10). Thus, according to Frey, for the Estonian rhyme the congruence of all sounds from the first stressed syllable is not required, as it was insisted on in German poetry; moreover, in Frey's opinion even syllables of different durations could be used in Estonian rhymes.

The systematic development of the Estonian rhyme canon began in the middle of the 19th century, when the tradition of Estonian literary poetry began to form. At that time, it became even more apparent how, due to the mentioned qualities of the Estonian prosodic system, end rhyme posed a challenge for authors. Thus, from early on, besides the full rhyme, different licences were becoming accepted. According to Harald Peep (1969: 433–434), ca. 80% of all late 19th century poetry had been written in syllabic-accentual trochaic tetrameters, with the vast majority of its stanzaic composition in cross-rhymed quatrains.

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The first rhyme treatment in Estonian dates from the year 1878, when translator and poet Jaan Bergmann (1856–1916) published the first Estonian *ars poetica*, a paper titled 'Luuletuskunst' [The Art of Poetry]. The author defines end rhyme normatively, by defining its requirements:

> A rhyme is a line ending with completely identical sound, where only the initial consonant of the last rise is different – and that it has to be – while all the other sounds towards the end, vowels as well as consonants, are completely identical in regard of their length, stress and pronunciation. If one of these conditions is absent, the rhyme is at once obscure and poor. (Bergmann 1878: 44).

With these four rules – the complete matching of the pronunciation, duration, and stress of the rhyming sounds, as well as a difference in the initial sound of the stressed syllable, – the author clearly relied on Martin Opitz's approach in his *Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey* (1624)[5]. It is important to note, however, that these requirements did not correspond to the actual state of affairs in rhymed poetry at the time; on the contrary, according to poet and critic Henrik Visnapuu (1932a: 579ff), Estonian poetry was quite far from this ideal at the time.

Alongside the definition of the end rhyme, a second important aspect is apparent in Bergmann's poetics: the opposition between the 'own' and the 'foreign'. According to Bergmann, alliteration is the 'true gem' of Estonian poetry and he recommends the wider usage of this figure of sound, so that poetry could 'find good ground in the heart and soul of the people'. A fundamental difference surfaces in the perspective of these two figures of sound – unlike the normative approach undertaken with end rhyme, alliteration is observed descriptively: 'Assonance refers to that similar independence of sound and verse, which is born thereby that the vowels, not the beginning consonants, are the same.' As more a suggestion than a prescription: Bergmann concludes that assonance ought to be used with alliteration in order to achieve the most beautiful sound (Bergmann 1878: 43). Therefore, unlike the case with end rhyme, these instructions are not about the technique of what can be paired, but alliteration is recommended to be used more abundantly together with combining consonant and vowel (final-) rhymes in order to achieve a better effect. Furthermore, the same paper can be considered the prologue to the statistical studies of Estonian versification, since Bergmann presents here numerical data on how alliteration has been used in the Estonian national epic *Kalevipoeg* [Kalev's

5 Martin Opitz writes: 'In addition, the final syllable of masculine rhymes and the two final syllables of feminine rhymes (as we will soon be categorising them) must not match letter-by-letter. /---/'; therefore, according to him, rhymes such as *zeigen : erzeigen* are forbidden, while *erzeigen : zueneigen* (Opitz 2016: 150) are allowed. The demand that the first sounds of the rhyme partners' last stressed syllables has to be different is later encountered in Visnapuu's approach, to whom *sine : sine* is not a rhyme, but a rhyme play (1932b: 313), but later a contrary interpretation becomes common, according to which the identical and homonym rhymes are subspecies of the full rhyme (for example, Põldmäe 1978: 260).

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Son] by Friedrich Reinhold Kreutzwald[6]. The questions about pure and native Estonian rhyme and its foreign influences later arise multiple times during the 20th century.

As concerns rhyme partners with different durations, this is an accepted poetic licence in the 19th century. They are encountered even in the poetry of the great figures of the era, for example, in the following poem by Anna Haava (1864–1957):

Sa näitasid, et kangem **oled**	You showed that you are stronger
kui kõik maailma väed,	than all the powers of the world,
et eluks muudad surman**ooled**:	that you transform the arrows of death
täis armu Sinu käed.	into life;
(Anna Haava (1924: 7): 'Nõder inimene'	your hands are full of grace.
[A weak human])	

However, mostly the rhyme partners of different durations were either of the first and second duration or of the second and third duration, whereas the rhyme pairs which are of the first and third durations in the manner observed in the 17th century (for example, 'ise' and 'sisse') were not common. The use of different durations in rhyming words had fallen out of fashion by the 1930s, but it did not disappear from poetry entirely and we still encounter it today both in original and translated poetry.

In addition, the rhyme pairs using vowels with umlauts never fully disappear from Estonian verse culture, for example, this rhyme by Lydia Koidula (1843–1886): 'Kaks kuningalast kord **köitnud** /…/ Veevahet neil meri **heitnud**' [Two king's children once bound /…/ the sea separated them]. Other similar vowels can also rhyme with each other, for example, in the next poem by Anna Haava:

Kes ei unda iial näinud,	Who has never dreamt,
aateriigis iial käinud,	Never been in the land of beliefs,
sellel kalk ja kale s**ilm**	Has a harsh and hard eye,
sui või tali – ikka k**ülm**.	Be it summer or winter – it is still cold.
Anna Haava (1924: 45): 'Ei iialgi ja alati'	
[Never and always]	

Next, we present the results of a case study based on one of the leading poets of the period, Karl Eduard Sööt (1862–1950), and for this, we compiled a sample of 212 rhymes from his poetry. In our rhyme statistics, we have distinguished between

6 Jaan Bergmann's analysis shows that the verses in *Kalevipoeg* contain mostly two-part alliteration (61%) (for example, *kana kaissu*, *leina lepituseks*), with three-part alliterations found in 26% ('jooske jõudsamalt, jõgedad') and four-part alliterations found in 8% of verses (for instance, 'Wõtab wihu wölsi-wallast'). 5% of verses lack alliteration altogether (for example, 'Lesk läks aita waatamaie') (Bergmann 1878: 42–43).

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(1) full rhyme**,** where the only difference lies in the onset of the stressed syllable (*valgus : kalgus*)**,** and
(2) the deviations from full rhyme:
(a) differences in the vowel of the stressed syllable (*laheneb : läheneb*),
(b) the vowel of the non-initial syllable (*ikka : ikke*),
(c) the syllable-end consonants (*king : pilt*), durations (*ta : kodumaa*),
(d) so-called semirhyme (in which one of the rhyming words has an additional syllable: *vist : pistma*), and
(e) identical rhyme, in which case the phonemic structure of the rhyme pairs matches completely.

In addition, in the case of a few authors, we encountered

(f) orphan rhymes, that is, verses found in a rhyme context that lack a rhyme partner, and
(g) identical holorhymes where the entire verse line was repeated. We based our footing of rhyme words on the prosodic rules of the Estonian language (compare, for example, Lotman & Lotman 2018: 71–72).

If we take a look at the statistics of rhyme types in Karl Eduard Sööt's poetry from the end of the 19th century, we see that full rhymes are strongly preferred, thereby largely corresponding to Bergmann's ideals of rhyme, for example *südame : lõkkele*, *kumad : õnnetumad*, *vari : kari*.

Full rhyme	84,4%
Identical rhyme	3,8%
Difference in durations	7,5%
Different vowels in stressed syllable	3,8%
Identical holorhyme	0,5%
Total	100,0%

Table 1. Rhymes in the poetry by Karl Eduard Sööt

At the same time, about 10% of the cases are near rhymes, where we mostly encounter differences in duration, for example 'ilmam**aa** : teret**a**'.

During the following decades, the conventions established by Bergmann are indeed implemented in rhyme practice. For example, in 1907 Johannes Aavik, a language innovator and one of the most active members of the influential literary group Noor-Eesti [Young Estonia], pointed out that Estonian poetry was not yet ready for free verse: in the poetry of great European cultures**,** rhythm and rhyme had become trivial over a long period of their history; in Estonian literature, where 'there are yet so few poems impeccable in form', there was still a need to cultivate the correct rhymes and verse metres. (Aavik 1907: 2.)[7] And, although at the beginning of the

7 Aavik later published a thorough criticism in his meticulous study of the verse technique of his contemporary poets and found it to be, among other things, in respect of the rhyme technique even more flawed than 19th century poetry (Aavik 1921).

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20th century the Modernist movement reached Estonia, affecting the entire poetic culture and enriching poetry with new genres, unused poetic forms, fresh verse metres and stanzaic structures, etc., nevertheless the canon of traditional rhyme lasted until the second decade of the 20th century.

Modernist Rhyme

The situation started to change in the 1920s, when the traditional principles of rhyme came to be perceived both as outdated and obsolete. The more the possibilities of full rhyme appeared to have exhausted themselves, the more they began to be judged as outdated by the new generation of authors, who were influenced by modernist authors, particularly by Russian writers. Several poets and poetry translators started to work on the new models of rhyme in order to expand the Estonian rhyming vocabulary. Johannes Semper (1892–1970) and Henrik Visnapuu (1890–1951) were the first authors to begin to consciously experiment with different opportunities of near rhyme. Their poetry of the early 1920s contains multiple heretofore impermissible rhymes, for example,

(i) assonance rhymes, such as *riided : ristteed*, *kõvved : nõu et*, *tuppa : nurka*, *piserdab : niserdaks*,
(ii) near rhymes, such as *kardan : parda*, *südamaia : vaiast*, and
(iii) semirhymes, such as: *märgade : puusärk : märkki*, *mähit : lähidalle*, *hulka : pulkade*, *punane : kuna*, *kitsuse : litsu* (Kruus 1962: 658).

Whereas the canon of full rhyme evolved through the influence of German poetics**,** in contrast, the sources of these new rhymes lay in Russian contemporary poetry. Oskar Kruus (1962: 658) assesses that Visnapuu and Semper used these so-called 'new rhymes' not simply after the example of Vladimir Mayakovsky's poem '150 000 000', but after earlier works too, foremost on the example of Aleksandr Blok's poems. The following table gives an overview of Henrik Visnapuu's types of rhyme of the mid-1920s, based on 309 rhyming units.

Full rhyme	72,8%
Identical rhyme	3,9%
Difference in durations	1,9%
Difference in vowels of stressed syllables	0,3%
Difference in vowels of unstressed syllables	0,6%
Difference in syllable-end consonants	8,1%
Difference in durations and syllable-end consonants	0,6%
Difference in syllable-end consonants and in vowels of unstressed syllables	0,3%

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Semirhyme	6,1%
Rhymed stressed and unstressed syllables	0,3%
Orphan rhyme	1,9%
Combined rhyme	2,9%
Total	100,0%

Table 2. Rhymes in the poetry by Henrik Visnapuu

Although full rhyme makes up the majority, here too its proportion has diminished in comparison with Sööt's poetry – from 84.4% to 72.8%. As for the rest of the rhymes, we can see a far more diverse picture. The incidence of identical rhymes, for example, *teed : teed* is relatively high (3,9%). The most common type of near rhyme has differences in syllable-end consonants, occurring in ca. 8% of the cases, for example *rääbatus : kääbastub*. Semirhymes, non-existent in earlier poetry and marginal in later poetry, were encountered in about 6% of the total sample, for example *tunda : lund*, *rooste : soost*, *rist : pistvad*.

This novel type of near rhyme, abandoning the standards that were established in the 17th century, was first addressed on a meta level by poet and literary scholar Valmar Adams. In 1924, his new collection of poetry *Suudlus lumme* [A Kiss onto the Snow] was published, which acted as a manifesto for a new type of rhyme, as Adams called it 'new rhyme'. The new rhyme is demonstrated by the poems of the collection and the principles are outlined at the end of the book. Adams promotes rhymes such as *janu : anum*, *pikad : plika*, *mardus : madrus*, *puurin : suurim* etc., that is, rhymes where the vowels coincide, but divergence is allowed for syllable-end consonants. The reception of his ideas was rather controversial, and a series of authors publicly condemned such rhyme[8]. Still, there were poets who embraced this liberty[9] and we can find this type of rhyme in both original poems and poetry translations up to this time.

During the next decade, 1930s, a new trend developed which sought to cast aside foreign influences. With regard to rhyme, this meant Russian and German models were rejected and instead, poets started to look for a rhyme that was particular to the Estonian language. Once again, Henrik Visnapuu figures as an innovator here. In his words, the new age demanded

8 For example, traditionalist Anton Jürgenstein wrote: 'In accordance with this principle, one could "justify", for example, such phenomena as kleptomania, alcoholism, sadism and all kinds of criminal tendencies. Because they do really exist. And one could scribble these in pervert verses, where pure rhymes seem repulsive and where /…/ they will be replaced by the „refined melody of new rhymes", where the so-called "oblique rhymes" flourish: laip — lai, Hiina — piinad, janu — anum, pikad — plika, mardus — madrus, puurin — suurim jne.' (Jürgenstein 1925: 3).

9 According to the study by Udo Otsus, Valmar Adams's poetry collection *Valguse valust* [About the pain of the light] is the first poetry book in the Estonian culture where near rhymes are prevailing over full rhymes (58,82%; Otsus 1971: 268–269).

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new rhymes: the pure rhyme *raju : saju* is, by his assessment, too sweet and feminine for the ruling masculine age. 'The psyche of the age demands something stronger, rougher in verse instrumentation, too.' (Visnapuu 1932b: 322). Thus, according to him, one of the most proper Estonian rhyme types is a type of consonant rhyme, which was based on alliterative folk song – *kulda : karda*, *kopli : kupli* (1932b: 311ff), that is, a rhyme with the difference in the vowels of stressed syllables. Similar ideas were reiterated in the same year by journalist and teacher Eduard Pertmann. He penned an apology for rhyme, in which he demanded that poems must contain rhyme: 'Poetry and rhyme are inextricable and modern poetry cannot exist without rhyme.' However, he conceded that the Estonian language does not offer many opportunities in the case of the full rhyme requirements imported from German. Pertmann proposed the solution to draw on the Estonian folk songs: 'The most proper Estonian rhyme is alliteration and assonance because old Estonian folk songs knew only these rhyme forms.' He thus recommended solving the poorness of rhyme by introducing alliteration and assonance into end rhymes, for instance, *sulg : selg*, *laastu : aastal*, *tunde : unne* (Pertmann 1932).

Yet another trend developed in the mid-1930s, which was to cast aside the experiments of verse technique under the influence of the Western Modernism. As a contrast, a completely puristic tradition started to develop in the versification of some members in the literary group named Arbujad [The Sorcerers]. Their poetics is on the one hand opposed to that of traditional poetry in the 19th century, but on the other hand it also refutes contemporary poetry, which allows for artistic liberties. They developed the rhyming technique that consists in completely pure and almost universally full rhymes. See, for example, the sonnet with rhyming couplets in its quatrains by one of the most outstanding poets in the group, Betti Alver (1906–1989):

Jäägu teistele alandlik jaatus:	Let's leave humble consent to others,
tahta võimatut on meie saatus,	our fate is to desire the impossible,
sina mu teejuht, kellega koos	you are my guide, with whom
matkan ruskelt auravas soos.	I hike in the rust-colored steams of swamp.
Milliseid lahinguid siin ka ei lööda,	Whatever battles are fought here,
ikka sa manitsed mind: mine mööda!	you still urge me: go past them!
Kõik mu ihad ja armud on põrm,	all my passions and affections are dust,
kui mu rinda riivab su sõrm.	when your finger touches my breast.
Iial ei võida sind ükski sõdur,	Never a soldier will win you,
kuigi su ihu on vermeis ja põdur,	although your flesh is wounded and weak,
ning su vabadus jumalast neet.	and your freedom is cursed by the gods.
Usklik sind nähes kõik uksed suleb,	Upon seeing you, a believer closes all doors,
aga su juurde kui koju tuleb	while a longing heretic and a proud ascetic
igatsev ketser ja uhke askeet.	comes to you as if it were their home.

(Betti Alver (1989: 439): 'Vabaduse deemon' [The Daemon of Freedom])

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As compared to the rhyming canon of the 19th century, we see completely different aesthetics. Here, the rhymes are not empty concurrences of non-lexical words (*mind : sind* [me : you]), but they become strong stem rhymes. In her poetry – and the poetry by the members of Arbujad in general – we no longer encounter apostrophes in the rhyming words that in traditional poetry marked the shortening of words used to create additional rhyming possibilities. Instead, when composing rhyme, rather the means of natural language are used in such a manner that does not distort or even deform the language itself. Rare words or even new words become preferable to omitting word endings. For this paper, we analysed Betti Alver's original poem 'Pähklikoor' [Nutshell], which contains 201 rhyming units. The data are presented on Table 3:

Full rhyme	97,5%
Difference in durations	2,0%
Different vowels in stressed syllable	0,5%
Total	100,0%

Table 3. Rhymes in the poetry by Betti Alver

We can see that Alver's rhymes are almost always full rhymes: there are some exceptional cases of different durations or different vowels in rhyming words, but there are no instances of Valmar Adams's new rhyme.

Rhyme Following World War II

After the loss of Estonia's independence, socialist realism became the official literary doctrine, and experimental trends disappeared from poetry: as censorship appeared, poetry became more mono-dimensional not just lexically and thematically, but also from the perspective of versification. Thus, for example, sonnets that had evolved towards diversification in the preceding modernist period became traditional again and were written in the form of iambic pentameter with classical rhyme schemes. (Lotman 2017: 87.) Experimentation with different rhyme types disappeared as well – full rhyme became predominant again in the published poetry. However, a so-called underground poetry started to develop, which was conceptually connected with the poetry of both the independent pre-war Estonia and the writings of the Estonian diaspora authors. Two influential authors of the era wrote as so-called inner refugees – Uku Masing and Artur Alliksaar. Their writings spread orally in cafés and in manuscripts**,** becoming one of the driving forces behind the already public renewal of poetry in the 1960s. The following table presents an overview of rhyme types in Artur Alliksaar's (1923–1966) poetry, based on 300 rhyming units:

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Full rhyme	71,8%
Identical rhyme	3,5%
Difference in durations	8,8%
Difference in syllable-end consonants	13,2%
Difference in durations and syllable-end consonants	0,4%
Difference in vowels of stressed syllables and syllable-end consonants	0,9%
Orphan rhyme	0,4%
Combined chain	0,9%
Total	100,0%

Table 4. Rhymes in the poetry by Artur Alliksaar

Here we see that the proportion of full rhyme is somewhat smaller than in Alver's poetry, but nevertheless it occurs in more than 70% of the cases. A divergence second in frequency constitutes rhymes with differences in duration, which are found in 8.8% of poems. It is a characteristic of Alliksaar to form a near rhyme with a syllable of the third duration carrying the main stress and an inflectional syllable carrying a secondary stress, for instance, *m**aad** : kõndij**ad***, *s**aab** : üle**t**ab*, *muinasjutum**aa** : hävi**t**a*.

Postmodernist Rhyme

By the 1990s, free verse was predominant in Estonian poetry and even though end rhyme was not widely used, there were still poets who experimented with rhyme boundaries and proposed new models. One of these poets is Mats Traat (b. 1936). See, for example, his heteropalindromic experiment:

Mis väiklaste ja õelate inimeste riik	What a country of petty and malicious people
täis jaburust kõik suhted ükskõiksuse sammal	all relationships are fraught with idiocy the moss of indifference
karm tihe hingel Tuhm veikleb lootuse kiir	hard and dense on the soul A somber ray of hope opalesces
vaid kiibitseja silmis kes kohkvel kui lammas	only in the eyes of a kibitzer who being frightened as a sheep
arg huntide käes keelepäral pelk heakskiit	a coward held by the wolves a sheer approval on the back of the tongue
uut määgib hosiannat et kõrvadel valus	bleats a new hosanna so that the ears hurt
Saab triiki täis solki ka puhastatud tiik	the cleansed pond will be filled with sewage to the brim
heitmõtteist haisevhaljaks kasvab vesi sulav.	the melting water will grow from exhaust thoughts to stinking green.

(Mats Traat (1993: 31): 'Porikuu sonetid I' [October sonnets I])

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Every rhyme word in this sonnet is the exact mirror image of its rhyming partner: *kiir : riik*, *sammal : lammas*, *kiit : tiik*, *valus : sulav*, and so on. It is remarkable that while using this unique sound device the poet has not made any concessions on the semantic level of the poem.

Other types of experiment are conducted by Contra (b. 1974), who also plays with different devices of instrumentation. See, for instance:

jõe peal nägin kolme sõpra	I saw three friends on the river,
keerasid nad sõlme kopra	they tied a beaver into a knot,
kasutades niidijuppe	using the bits of yarn,
küll ma tean neid juudi nippe	oh, I know these Jewish tricks.

(Contra (2000: 19): 'Kolm sõpra' [Three friends])

This poem describes three friends, who are knotting a beaver on the river, using bits of thread, while the theme about entangling and tying knots carries over to the entangling of the rhymes. In this way, Contra has constructed an interplay between the semantics and rhyme structure.

The poet Kivisildnik (b. 1964), one of the founders of the ethnofuturist group**,** has undertaken an extensive deconstruction of the sonnet by using regiverse and rhyme in his poetry collection *Nagu härjale punane kärbseseen* [Like a Red Amanita to a Bull] (1996). Specifically, he constructs from runosong verse two heroic crowns, that is, *sonnets redoubles*, works containing 15 sonnets 'Osmi haigusest' [About Osmi's disease] (Kivisildnik 1996: 648–663) and 'Igas pisipeos kanarbik' [A Heather in Every Small Palm] (Kivisildnik 1996: 664–679). The poet has chosen from the old folk song collection *Haljala Vana-Kannel II* 14 lines for each sonnet on the basis of their end sounds, so that they would form a Petrarchan rhyme scheme. The rhyme scheme is defined by transcribing the scheme not by position, but by the rhyming phoneme, whereby the rhyme is defined as the final vowel of a verse: 'eaae.eaae.aie.aie' (Kivisildnik 1996: 807). Therefore, this constitutes a truly postmodern action that deconstructs both the sonnet as well as rhyme as its constituent element (compare, for example, Lotman 2019: 339).

Rap Rhyme

While the idea about the exhaustion of Estonian rhyme that emerged already in the mid-20th century has taken root in the subsequent poetic culture, there is a genuine turn now occurring in popular culture. Along with novel music platforms (most notably SoundCloud), rap is increasingly gaining popularity among the youth. While this musical genre had already been present in the alternative scene since the beginning of the 1990s, it has now become mainstream[10]. As with the rap cultures of other languages (compare, for example, Bradley 2009: 49–83, Rose 1994: XIV), the main

10 Rapper nublu won six awards at the Estonian Music Awards 2021 and he was also nominated for the Estonian Ministry of Education and Research prize Estonian Language Deed 2020.

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device of instrumentation in the Estonian rap is rhyme and for this paper we have analysed it using the example of two artists. The following table gives an overview of the rhyme types used by hip hop band Toe Tag (active 1996–2011); the sample encompasses 313 rhyming units:

Full rhyme	20,8%
Identical rhyme	7,3%
Identical holorhyme	3,2%
Difference in durations	2,6%
Difference in vowels of stressed syllables	2,2%
Difference in syllable-end consonants	22,0%
Difference in durations and syllable-end consonants	0,6%
Difference in durations and in vowels of stressed syllables	0,3%
Difference in vowels of stressed syllables and syllable-end consonants	1,9%
Difference in syllable-end consonants and in vowels of unstressed syllables	0,3%
Unaccented rhyme	2,2%
Semirhyme	1,6%
Orphan rhyme	28,4%
Cross-rhyme	4,2%
Combined chain	2,2%
Total	100,0%

Table 5. Rhymes in the poetry by Toe Tag[11]

Here we can see how popular song lyrics introduces many new rhyming possibilities. It is remarkable that in their own particular way the Estonian hip hop poets are not in conflict with the rules of pure rhyme advocated by Ain Kaalep and other purists. Kaalep considered rhymes violating the requirement of the same duration in rhymes to be flawed and his main argument against them was that the similarity in spelling does not excuse rhymes of different durations, 'because rhyme has to, in all cases, transmit something to the listener's e a r.' (Kaalep 1959: 115). In rap poetry, one often encounters the tendency that, in order to achieve a flawless rhyme in Kaalep's sense, with two rhyme partners of the same duration, the pronunciation of the natural language is altered. For instance, the short and unstressed non-initial syllable in the word *vajagi* has been modified and it is pronounced as a syllable of the third duration to function as a rhyme partner to the word ***saagi*** *: vaj****aagi*** (Toe Tag, Pankrot, 2004). It is characteristic as well that the rhyme partners are closely adjacent to each other. That is, the most common rhyme scheme in rap is coupled rhyme, and in this aspect, they are similar, for instance, to Finnish freestyle rap (for more details, see Sykäri 2017: 140).

11 The source of the analysis are the texts in Toe Tag's album 'Legendaarne' [Legendary] (2004), which in addition to the front man of the group G-Enka were authored also by several featured guests: Kozy, Quest, Metsakutsu and Põhjamaade Hirm.

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As regards the structure of rhymes, here a fundamentally different aesthetic of rhyme in comparison with literary poetry can be observed. While even the most experimental literary poets have a preponderance of full rhyme, such rhyme only makes up ca. 20% of Toe Tag's rhymes, with preference given to near rhymes. Especially widespread are deviations in syllable-end consonants (ca. 22%), which contain both occasional deviations, for example, *pihta : vihka* (Toe Tag, A.N.T.S. 2009), as well as assonance rhymes found in the rhyme innovations of the 1920s, such as *renessanss : elegants*. It is also notable that the song 'Värsiarhitektuur' [Verse Architecture] draws attention to assonance rhyme in the metapoetic level: 'familija fucking riimid, kaifige me assonantsi!' [fucking *familija* rhymes, enjoy our assonance][12]. However, there are also differences between the vowels and duration of stressed (for example, *hommik : ummik*, *saagi : kartagi*; Toe Tag, Pankrot, 2004) and unstressed syllables (in this case, the rhymes are often pronounced as of the same duration, for example, *kuul**ab** : s**aab*** (Toe Tag, A.N.T.S, 2009). While for the most part, literary poetry has avoided identical rhyme, rap poetry uses it comparatively frequently (over 10% of the entire sample). Of the sampled lines, 28% do not have a rhyme, that is, they are orphan rhymes – this is, however, usually compensated with the internal rhyme (and other devices of instrumentation, especially alliteration), for instance, 'Ole **usinad**, et tööle panna m**asinad**', 'seega kõik mu pats**aanid** ja d**aamid**, rõõm on minupoolne kui su käele markeriga oma nime kr**aabin**' (Toe Tag, Legendaarne, 2004).

We chose Metsakutsu, who started his activity as a musician in 2000, as the other rap artist to study. His sample encompasses 248 rhyming units and the results of the analysis are as follows:

Full rhyme	8,9%
Identical rhyme	6,5%
Identical holorhyme	3,6%
Difference in durations	0,0%
Difference in vowels of stressed syllables	2,8%
Difference in syllable-end consonants	40,3%
Difference in durations and syllable-end consonants	3,6%
Difference in durations and in vowels of stressed syllables	0,0%
Difference in vowels of stressed syllables and syllable-end consonants	4,4%
Difference in syllable-end consonants and in vowels of unstressed syllables	0,8%
Unaccented rhyme	1,2%
Semirhyme	0,8%
Orphan rhyme	9,7%
Cross-rhyme	14,5%
Combined chain	2,8%
Total	100,0%

Table 6. Rhymes in the Poetry by Metsakutsu

12 The importance of assonance rhymes has been pointed out in the case of Finnish hip hop texts as well, see Sykari 2014.

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Metsakutsu's rhyming technique further deepens the same trends that we observed in Toe Tag's texts: the proportion of full rhyme has diminished even more (only around 9%) and the absolutely dominant type of rhyme is the one with the difference between the rhyme partners with syllable-end consonants (ca. 40%), for example, *imelik : piletit* (Metsakutsu, Ära mine närvi, 2016), *kõrgem : võlgnen* (Metsakutsu, Valed on valed, 2013), and so on. This results in the prevalence of assonance rhyme. A rather frequent type of rhyme is the so-called cross rhyme (more than 14%), where line and half-line endings rhyme with each other, for example:

ja torm tõusis ja ladvad m**urdusid**,	and the storm burst, and the treetops broke,
krantsid **ulgusid**, ükskõik, mis t**ulgu siit**.	the dogs were howling, may whatever come from it.

(Metsakutsu (2015): 'Huntide kasvatatud' [Raised by the wolves])

In this couplet, the following rhyme chain is formed *murdusid : ulgusid : tulgu siit*, while the latter rhyme pair constitutes a compound rhyme. On the other hand, in Metsakutsu's lyrics, noticeably less orphan rhyme can be found than in Toe Tag's (nearly 10%). As with Toe Tag, Metsakutsu's rhyme is characterised with the abundance and diversity of devices; end rhymes may also appear as combined chains, in which different deviations from full rhyme are found; additionally, the end rhyme is enriched with internal rhyme and other devices of instrumentation.

Summary

Rhyme has been an issue of dispute ever since the first theories of Estonian poetry were developed. Throughout the entire history of Estonian poetry, a bidirectional movement can be observed: on the one hand, fostering the norms of full rhyme, on the other hand, the emergence of counter-reactive movements and groups, which in different ways try to widen the concept of end rhyme.

In our analysis, we distinguished between five periods, when different trends in solving the issue of rhyme can be identified.

(1) In the 17th century there were no Estonian theories of poetics yet, but it was the period when the first Estonian end rhyme poems were composed by German and Swedish authors. Thus, we can see the poetic licences brought about by the mother tongue of the poets, including the relaxed rhyming of syllables with different umlauts and disregard for syllable quantity.

(2) In the beginning of the 19th century, the first Estonian rhyme theory was published, authored by a Baltic-German cleric Peter Heinrich von Frey. He proposed an approach according to which it is not possible to practice Opitz's strict rules in Estonian rhyme; thus, the full rhymes, where all sounds of rhyme partners from the first stressed syllable are congruent, are not required. In the second half of the 19th century, the question of rhyme was first addressed in Estonian-language treatise, and concurrently, the distinction between alliteration and end rhyme was articulated; furthermore,

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the first was perceived as the Estonian 'own', the second as 'foreign'. The author of the treatise, Jaan Bergmann suggested that the rules of the end rhyme should strictly follow Opitz's norms – the end rhyme had to be made up from syllables of the same kind of stress, quantity and sound composition starting from the second sound of the stressed syllable, while in the case of alliteration he grounded his account on the actual Estonian poetry practice. Our statistical analysis based on the poetry by Karl Eduard Sööt revealed that although Bergmann's instructions are not fully followed, the majority of Sööt's rhymes are indeed full rhymes, although there is a proportion of rhymes with difference in durations, difference in vowels in stressed syllables as well as identical rhymes.

(3) In the beginning of the 20th century, when modernist trends began to appear in Estonian poetry, the possibilities of end rhymes were expanded both in theory and in practice, allowing for assonance rhymes as well as different types of near rhymes. This freedom is partly reflected in the rhyming practice of the period too: our study revealed the decline of full rhymes in the poetry of one of the leading poets of the era, Henrik Visnapuu, while the repertoire of different rhyme types has grown, especially on the account of different new kinds of near rhyme. However, there is also a counter-reactive movement, which is especially pronounced in the poetry by Betti Alver, who belonged to the poetry group Arbujad. In her poetry, we can see the reverse process, where instead of developing new playful rhymes, the rhyming standard is almost completely reduced to full rhyme rules.

(4) After the World War II the abundance of rhyming models receded, and social realism became the official standard. However, in the middle of the century, the underground poetry began to flourish, which constituted the liveliest part of the poetry of this era. We analysed the poetry of Artur Alliksaar, who was the most outstanding author at the time, and once again observed the increased diversity in his rhyming practices: together with full rhymes, he uses rhyme partners with differences in duration, stressed vowels and syllable-end consonants, as well as identical rhymes, orphan rhymes, and chains of combined rhyme types.

(5) The richest rhyming repertoire can be seen in the rap poetry of the 21st century. We analysed the texts by two rap poets, Genka and Metsakutsu, and identified the drastic decrease of full rhyme, as compared to literary poetry. The prevailing rhyme type in their poetry is the rhyme with difference in syllable-end consonants; there are also quite abundant cases of cross-rhyme as well as various types of near rhyme.

We observed that in literary poetry, the Estonian rhyme culture has developed as a result of trying to find ways to fit the poetic requirements to the linguistic reality, as well as from the clash of different aesthetic orientations and preferences: there are both convinced supporters of full rhyme and those to whom the 'mechanic jingling' of full rhyme appears to be worn-out and old-school; the latter authors see near rhyme as a solution and an escape from the sound inertia of traditional rhyme. However, such a perception has evolved even further in rap poetry.

Already in literary poetry, changes in rhyme practice relate to resistance to automatization, or so-to-say worn-out rhymes, and there have been

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various strategies to renew rhymes and expand the rhyming possibilities. A notable factor in creating new approaches has been the counter-reactive creation with regard to some earlier standard or prescription. Rap poetry does not have these tendencies: we cannot speak of a direct opposition to earlier Estonian canons, but rather an adherence to Western models, on which the aesthetic of Estonian rap rhyme heavily relies.

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Rhyme's Characteristics, Established Forms, and Variation II

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Nigel Fabb
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4820-7612

Rhyme and Alliteration Are Significantly Different as Types of Sound Patterning

In this paper I argue that rhyme and alliteration are significantly different as types of sound patterning. They differ in more than their position within the syllable or word. This difference emerges when we look at different kinds of verbal art in which rhyme or alliteration are used systematically. I suggest that there are possible psychological reasons for the difference, relating to memory and attention.

Rhyme is a pairing of two or more words (or sometimes word sequences) which end in a similar way but usually begin differently, and alliteration is a pairing of two or more words which begin in a similar way but usually end differently. This is quite a loose way of differentiating rhyme from alliteration in terms of the beginning vs. the end of the word, and does not for example refer to the syllable or the components of the syllable. Reference to the parts of the syllable is used by Leech (1969) to differentiate six types of sound patterning, so that for example repetition of just the onset is differentiated from repetition of the onset and nucleus by Leech. But it is not clear that any distributional generalizations are captured by these more specific definitions (see the discussion in the introduction of why we differentiate kinds of poetic form); for example alliteration just of the onset appears to have the same distributional characteristics as alliteration of onset+nucleus (in Finnish, for example).

Alliteration and rhyme are found in everyday speech, including stereotyped expressions, and both are found in verbal art. This paper focuses on verbal art, both spoken and written, which use systematic rhyme and systematic alliteration, where 'systematic' means that the text is subject to rules which control for the presence and location of the rhyming words or the alliterating words. The rules might be conventional in the sense that they hold for a whole poetic tradition, or the rules might hold in just one poem where the rhyme or alliteration involves what Klima and Bellugi (1976: 57) call an 'innovative poetic structure'.

The conventional rules might for example include the rule which is common in English poetry that every line of a poem must end with a word which rhymes, or the rule in Old English that each half of a long-line must have a word which alliterates with a word in the other half. Systematicity requires the text to have structural units relative to which the distribution

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of the rhyming or alliterating words can be regulated. This means that systematic rhyme and systematic alliteration are found almost exclusively in poetry (including song), because poetry and song are divided into lines and other sections. Without the framework provided by lines, systematic distribution of words is hard to control, and though rhymes appear outside lineated poems they can normally not be sustained over a long stretch of prose, as we see for example in Arabic 'rhymed prose' where the rhyming is sustained for a time but not throughout (Beeston 1983).

English poetry often has systematic rhyme. In contrast, English poetry has not had systematic alliteration since the mediaeval period, after which alliteration has been common but unsystematic. Alliteration is used systematically in older Germanic poetry including Old English, and is still used in Icelandic, in Irish, in Finnish, Karelian, and Estonian, in Mongolian, and in Somali. Rhyme is used systematically in the poetry of modern Indo-European languages, in Arabic and related traditions, in Chinese, in Indian languages, South East Asian languages, and in other traditions. Both alliteration and rhyme are used systematically in poetry in Icelandic, mediaeval Irish, and Mongolian.

Rhyme and alliteration have various facets, in some of which they are alike and in some of which they are different.

(1) Both rhyme and alliteration relate to a particular part of the syllable: rhyme relates to the end of the syllable, and alliteration to the beginning. Sometimes this is all that needs to be said; in English, the rhymes within the same poem can vary so that some involve the nucleus and the coda while others involve the nucleus (if there is no coda). In Finnish, a poem can vary in whether the alliteration involves just the onset, or just the nucleus (if there is no onset), or both the onset and the nucleus. But sometimes a tighter control on variation is exerted and constitutes a typology: in mediaeval Irish (Knott 1994: 10), rhyme can involve the nucleus and coda (*comhardadh*), or just the nucleus without the coda (*amus*), or just the coda without the nucleus (*uaithne*), and which is used depends on the genre of poetry.

(2) The whole word is the basic domain for both alliteration and rhyme. Alliteration is a similarity between beginnings of words, and rhyme is a similarity between ends of words. The relevance of the word is also clear when we note that both alliteration and rhyme fail in many traditions if two fully homophonous words are paired, as I discuss below.

(3) A word which participates in alliteration or rhyme must be located relative to the line or other poetic section, such as half-line or couplet. For example, in most English rhyming poetry, the rhyming word is located relative to the line (i.e., it is the last word in the line). In Old English alliterative poetry, the alliterating word is located relative to the half-line (i.e., because each half-line must contain an alliterating word).

(4) The location can be fixed, or free, or a mixture. As a simple example, if the rhyming word must come at the end of the line, then it is therefore fixed in location. In Vietnamese 6-8 metre, one of the rhyming words falls inside the line but it is always on the sixth syllable of the 8-syllable line, and so fixed in location. And, in Tamil, there is a distinct kind of rhyme holding between the second syllables of adjacent lines. If the rhyming words can be located

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anywhere in the line, then they are free in location (this is rare, but there are mediaeval Irish examples, as we will see). It is more common for one of a pair of rhymes to be free and the other fixed, usually in the order fixed>free; so for example, the first rhyming word may be line-final and hence fixed, while the second rhyming word is line-internal in no fixed location and hence free. For example in the Irish genre *séadna(dh)* the last word of the third line (i.e., fixed) rhymes with the stressed word preceding the last word in the fourth line, which is in no specific location and hence free. Alliteration tends to be fully free, though there are some possible counterexamples to this. Note that 'free' here refers to specific locations within the line, usually involving counting syllables. Even if they are in principle free in location, the rhyme or alliteration may be restricted to stressed syllables, which may in turn constrain the sound patterning.

(5) The sets of words which form a rhyme or alliteration pattern are distributed in a pattern across the text, such as an aabbcc (couplets) pattern, or an intersecting abab pattern, with many other possible variations. Here again there is a characteristic difference between rhyme, which allows many kinds of intersecting patterns, and alliteration, where intersecting patterns are very rare (as claimed by Fabb 1999).

(6) A pair of words which participate in a sound pattern must resemble one another in a sub-sequence of the sounds which make up the word. This resemblance is strict phonetic identity in some traditions, which we refer to in the introduction to this book as 'identical rhyme', which is identity between the final parts of the words. But in other traditions, or in the practice of specific poets, looser kinds of similarity are accepted, which we call 'non-identical rhyme', as a nonidentical similarity between the final part of the word. This looser similarity often involves a difference in phonological features between sounds (e.g., different vowel heights, or voiced agreeing with voiceless consonants). Both alliteration and rhyme allow for looser similarities in various traditions, but rhyme is generally much more accepting of loose similarity than alliteration; more concretely we can say that while loose similarity is sometimes encouraged in rhyme, it seems only ever to be intermittent in alliteration. While not a strong difference between alliteration and rhyme, this is nevertheless a difference.

(7) Rhyme can involve a sequence of words, but it seems that alliteration never does. For example Byron in *Don Juan* rhymes 'poet' with 'show it' and 'below it', and he rhymes 'Trecentisti' with 'this t' ye', and there are many other examples in this poem. The likelihood that alliteration does not similarly involve word sequences might be explained by the fact that alliteration rarely involves more than one syllable, while rhyme can easily involve more than one.

(8) Rhyme generally involves the end of the word. But in some cases, the word is split across the line boundary, and the rhyme involves the end of the newly created sub-word. For example Ben Jonson has a pair of lines 'To separate these twi- / Lights, the Dioscuri' where the sub-word 'twi-' rhymes with 'Dioscuri'. Examples of this in English are fairly rare, and might not express any underlying generalization. I know of no examples like this of alliteration, though given that 'twi-' is a stressed syllable this is a bit like the

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way that the so called three-Rs, 'reading, writing and arithmetic', are treated as alliterating on [r], though the final [r] is not word-initial, but is the onset of a stressed syllable. (I thank a reviewer of this chapter for drawing my attention to the differences described in this and the preceding paragraph.)

To sum up, in poetry, rhyme and alliteration differ in three ways: (i) rhyme location tends to be fixed, but alliteration location is almost always free, (ii) rhyme pattern can intersect, but alliteration pattern requires adjacency, (iii) rhyme is more capable of permitting loose similarity between sounds than is alliteration. There is in addition a known difference between rhyme and alliteration in ordinary English, which is that alliteration is more common than rhyme in the idioms and binomials of ordinary speech.

In this paper, I examine systematic sound patterning, and I draw on two types of evidence to differentiate alliteration from rhyme. My main source of evidence comes from descriptions of poetic practice in different verbal art traditions. Systematic rhyme is more commonly found than systematic alliteration, which presents a methodological problem because there is a narrower range of evidence for kinds of systematic alliteration. But this in itself might be significant: why is systematic alliteration so typologically rare? The second source of evidence is experimental psychology. There is a large amount of experimental work, usually examining memory, which uses words which alliterate or rhyme, though often based on written forms, and for alliteration usually restricted to CV alliteration (i.e., not just the initial consonant and so not the most common kind of poetic alliteration). Most of this work is not on poetry, and is criticized for this reason by Rubin and Wallace (1989), but uses word lists, and sometimes invented words, and for the purpose of studying memory and processing. There is also a small amount of experimental work relating to rhyme in poetry, and a very small amount of experimental work on alliteration in poetry, and I briefly refer to some of this at the end of the paper.

The Word

In this section, I discuss the role of the word in rhyme and alliteration. I have defined alliteration and rhyme as relations between words. But this is not the view taken in his foundational stylistics textbook by Leech (1969: 93) who says that 'alliteration and rhyme in English are not to be defined with reference to words'. While it is clear that alliteration and rhyme are defined in part in terms of the structure of the syllable (which was what Leech sought to emphasise), I will now show that Leech was wrong to exclude the word from consideration.

First, a pair of identical vowels can be treated either as an alliteration or as rhyme, if for example the syllable consists just of the vowel. Whether this pairing counts as alliteration or rhyme depends on whether the vowels are at the beginning of the word or at the end of the word, and so the word is relevant.

Second, two identical words in many traditions cannot rhyme or alliterate, even though they will inevitably be similar in sound, and so in principle

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should be candidates for rhyme or alliteration. This shows that rhyme and alliteration are both sensitive to the presence of the word as a relevant constituent. In all the various languages' examples of verbal art familiar to us, two instances of the same word cannot rhyme. In some languages, such as English and German, even two different but homophonous words cannot rhyme; Wagner and McCurdy (2010) explain why homophonous rhymes are possible in French but not in English and German. In Somali, two instances of the same word cannot alliterate; Orwin (2000: 209) notes that the only apparent counterexample is a foregrounding use of the repeated word for a specific stylistic effect. Aðalsteinsson (2014: 49) shows that when words are repeated in the Icelandic line, the repeated words are not counted as alliterating and so multiple repetitions of this kind do not violate the strict limitations of how many alliterations are allowed. Cooper (2017) notes that identical words do not alliterate in Old English. The prohibition on using two instances of the same word in both rhyme and alliteration shows again the relevance of the word.

Third, rhyme in some languages, or as used by particular poets, can be sensitive to word-level characteristics, including word class, the presence of suffixes, and kinds of morphology (Worth 1977). Interestingly, alliteration does not seem to be sensitive to word-level characteristics such as word class or the presence of prefixes, and this is another difference between alliteration and rhyme, and another illustration of how alliteration is often much more limited in how it works than is rhyme.

Fourth, neither alliteration nor rhyme seem to hold between two parts of the same word. This is hard to prove, because the situation would rarely arise: it would depend on the word being long enough, and also depend on permitting rhyme on nonfinal syllables, or alliteration on noninitial syllables; it might in principle be possible only in compounds. One place to look for word-internal sound patterning would be Germanic poetry which is both alliterative and has plenty of compounds. Andrew Cooper (personal communication) notes that *Beowulf* (line 395) 'Nu ge moton gangan | in eowrum guðgeatawum' has a potential word-internal alliteration with two instances of [g] in the same word in the second half-line. But he also notes that if this were indeed alliteration then it should be forbidden by the rules which allow only one alliterating word in the second half-line. This suggests that the repetition within the word is not counted as alliteration, and this in turn fits the generalization of there being no word-internal sound-patterning in regulated systems. This again shows that sound patterning is sensitive to the word.

Rhyme and alliteration are thus defined in terms of the word as well as the syllable structure. In constrast, there are other types of sound patterning system which do not refer to the word, such as the various Welsh *cynghanedd* (harmony) systems, in which a sequence of sounds in the first half of the line is repeated in the second half; words are irrelevant to the rule (as indeed are syllable structures). However, this distinctive rule system might perhaps best be analysed not as a type of alliteration or rhyme but as a type of sound-sequence parallelism (as Fabb 1997: 119–120 argues; see Rowlands 1976 for extensive list of types of harmony in Welsh).

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Location Relative to Domain

Fabb (2015) argues that each word in a rhyme or alliteration pattern is always stipulated to appear within the boundaries of a relatively small section of text, often a line, sometimes a couplet, and sometimes a half-line. This is true even in mono-alliteration or mono-rhyme poems where the same sound is repeated throughout, but in which the words must still be contained within sections of a specific size. For example, Banti and Giannattasio (1996: 108) cite an example of a Somali song where uniform alliteration throughout would be expected, but in which one whole line switches to a different alliteration. This indirectly demonstrates the relevance of the line as a domain relative to which sound patterning is placed.

In some cases, it is not just one word in the pattern, but all of the words in the pattern which must be contained within a set domain. For example, the rules of English heroic couplet verse require both rhyming words to be within the couplet. Similarly, Germanic and Finnic alliterative traditions require all the alliterating words to be in the same line.

These are commonalities between rhyme and alliteration. However, the interesting difference between rhyme and alliteration is in whether the word is fixed or free within the domain in which it is placed. Broadly speaking, rhyme tends to be fully or partially fixed (often placed at the end of the line), while alliteration tends to be free. Fixity and freedom here are defined in terms of whether the rhyming syllable is in a specific metrical location (e.g., line-final or a specific numbered syllable in the line). 'Free' alliteration or rhyme may still be restricted to fall on a stressed syllable, but the freedom is that it does not have to be a specifically located syllable.

Fixed or Free Rhyme

In many traditions, all rhyming words are fixed in place at the ends of sections, usually the line. Rhyme can also be fixed at the end of the half-line (depending on how one defines line and half-line), as in mediaeval Latin (Sidwell 1995), and in Swahili *shairi* (Harries 1956). In some English four-line song stanzas, only the second and fourth lines rhyme, and so the rhyme falls at the end of a couplet (pair of lines).

In some traditions, rhymes are line-internal, though this is often an accompaniment to other line-final rhymes. A possible exception arises in Tamil and Malayalam and other Dravidian poetry where in some poems rhyme falls only on a syllable early in the line and not line-finally, but in general this poetry shows a great deal of variation in where rhymes are placed, and so rhyme is not always systematic. In a few cases, the line-internal rhyme is fixed relative to the metre. Thus Vietnamese 6-8 metre has alternating lines of 6 and 8 syllables. As part of the rhyme pattern, the final syllable of the six-syllable line rhymes with the sixth syllable of the following eight-syllable line; this is a line-internal rhyme which is fixed in place (Balaban 2003).

In other traditions, the line-internal rhymes are free, though they are still sometimes associated with a fixed line-final rhyme. The Thai *khlong* metres mix free and fixed line-internal rhyme (Cooke 1980). For example, *khlong song suphap* has a two-line stanza of 5+12 syllables, where the final syllable

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of the first line rhymes with the fifth of the second (fixed internal rhyme). However there is some freedom: the final syllable of the second line rhymes with a word at the beginning of the next stanza, this being the first or second or third syllable (i.e., freely placed) of the five syllable line. Mediaeval Irish poetry (Knott 1984), which is highly regulated for form, allows rhyme to hold between line-final words. But it also has rhyme between a line-final word and a word internal to the next line (hence partially free). And in Irish it is also possible to have rhyme between freely placed line-internal words in adjacent lines (hence fully free). Mediaeval Breton poetry (Hemon 1962) has rhyme between line-final words, but each line also has rhyme between words inside the line. This is sometimes one rhyme pattern within a line. There are sometimes two rhymes in a line but if there are two separate rhyme patterns in the line, they do not intersect. An example is 'E-n tan manet hep guelet doe' [to stay in the fire without seeing God], from *Buhez Mab Den,* (Hemon 1962: 88) where a rhyme in 'an' is followed by a rhyme in 'et'. The Breton line-internal rhyme is free in the sense that the syllables are not fixed in specific places. In mediaeval Welsh *englynion* poems, a nonfinal word in the long line rhymes with final words in the short lines (Williams 1953). As one example of this, the Welsh *englyn penfyr* metre has a free line-internal rhyme preceding a fixed line-final rhyme, this being a cross-linguistically rare case in which the free rhyme precedes the fixed rhyme.

Fixed or Free Alliteration

Whereas fixed rhyme is very common in the world's traditions, fixed alliteration is very uncommon (though in a limited range, because systematic alliteration of any kind is rather uncommon). Mongolian offers the clearest example, because it often has line-initial alliteration: Kara (2011) says that 'Mongol alliteration may be line-initial or line-internal; some verses have both.' However it can be seen that in most of the examples he cites, an alliterating word is at the beginning of the line; occasionally there is a line without initial alliteration. In many examples, there is in addition to line-initial alliteration a freely placed alliterating word inside the same line. In his paper there are few if any examples of lines which have alliteration only fixed at the beginning at the line and not elsewhere.

Mongolian is also unusual in that it deploys alliteration between adjacent lines rather than within the line. The only other tradition that has been widely described which uses alliteration between adjacent lines is Somali, in which a single alliteration is continued throughout an entire poem. In Somali, the alliterating words need not be line-initial, and in fact are not in any fixed position in the poem, an example of fully 'free' alliteration.

Free alliteration is also found in the alliterative traditions of Germanic and Finnic verse. In these traditions, alliteration holds within a single line (or couplet, in some Icelandic poetry). The alliterating words are not in predictable (fixed) positions within the line, and again this is fully 'free' alliteration. Mediaeval Irish tends to mix fixed and free, often with a final word (fixed) alliterating with a preceding word in the line (free).

In conclusion, in contrast to rhyme which tends to be fixed, alliteration tends to be free – a generalization which is however subject to various counterexamples.

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Pattern

When two or more words rhyme or alliterate, they are distributed in sequence across the text, in a pattern which involves adjacency or intersection, or both. For example, a rhyme scheme in couplets, for example in the pattern aabbcc, involves adjacency, such that a pair starts only when the preceding pair finishes. In contrast a rhyme scheme such as abab cdcd involves intersection, where a pair starts before the preceding pair has finished. A whole stanza, sometimes quite long, can have a single coherent pattern. It seems that there is no principled constraint on the upper size of the domain over which a rhyme pattern can be defined. Patterns are usually predictable (repeating), but they can also be unpredictable as for example in the unpredictable rhyme pattern of Matthew Arnold's 1867 poem 'Dover Beach' (Fabb 2002).

Rhyme is commonly found in both adjacent and intersecting patterns in the world's verbal art, and both types are widely used in English. For example, couplet verse shows adjacent rhyme, while sonnets and many stanza-based poems have intersecting rhyme.

In contrast, alliteration seems always to be in adjacent patterns, as suggested by Fabb (1999). Adjacent alliteration is characteristic of traditions which have line-internal alliteration such as Irish, Germanic and Finnic (indeed, given the shortness of lines and the fact that the alliterative sequence is line-internal, adjacency is what we would expect). Somali poems can have the same alliteration throughout, so again this is adjacent alliteration (every line or every half-line). Adjacent alliteration is also found in Mongolian, where the beginnings of adjacent lines alliterate with one another. In Mongolian, there are occasional counterexamples of intersecting alliteration, but in the critical literature we have seen that they are so rare that they are 'exceptions to the rule' which reinforce the general principle; for example Kara (2011) cites one example of line-initial abab alliteration in a Mongolian poem from 1959.

Another characteristic difference between patterns of rhyme and patterns of alliteration is that for rhyme, it is usually possible to say how many rhyming words there will be, but for alliteration it is often less easy to say how many alliterating words there will be. This is true for alliteration within the line in older Germanic, seen for example in *Beowulf*, where the first half line can unpredictably have one or two alliterating words (but predictably only one in the second half line). It is true for Finnic, where unpredictably two or three alliterating words might exist in the line. In Mongolian stichic verse, the length of an alliterating sequence is not necessarily predictable. The major exception is Icelandic, which strictly controls how many alliterating words there can be inside a specific domain.

It is possible that there is a connection between the more limited patterns of alliteration and the free placement of alliterating words; it may be that when the words are freely placed, a complex pattern is dispreferred, perhaps because it makes keeping track of the pattern cognitively more difficult. In support of this, we might look at freely placed rhyme, and note that patterns of freely placed rhyme (i.e., line-internal rhyme) tend to be fairly simple. In middle Breton, all the rhymes are line-internal and if there are two patterns

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they do not intersect. In many hook-rhyme traditions, the internal rhyme is line-adjacent to a preceding line-final rhyme, so that the rhymes are adjacent and in a small domain. However, there is some intersection involving freely placed rhymes, notably in Irish, for example *rannaigheacht mhór*, where a word midway through a line rhymes with a word midway through an adjacent line, and where there is also line-final rhyme (e.g., forming an ab/ab pattern over the two lines). Though this is an intersection it is quite limited, and is in adjacent lines, so it may still be the case that when the word is freely placed, the pattern is more limited. This may then explain why alliteration, with its freedom of placement, generally appears in limited patterns.

Looser Similarity: Nonidentical Rhyme and Alliteration

Two words which alliterate have a similar sounding beginning, and two words which rhyme have a similar sounding ending. Similarity sometimes means identity, using the same sounds, and usually the same tone or stress (if these factors are relevant). I call this identical rhyme or identical alliteration; sometimes the term 'perfect' is used instead of identical, but this is avoided here because of the implied value judgment associated with the word 'perfect'. Sometimes looser similarity is allowed, which I refer to as nonidentical rhyme or alliteration (avoiding the term 'imperfect'). Looser similarity usually holds between vowels, or between consonants, which are similar in some features but differ usually in just one feature. A one-feature difference might be vowels which differ only by one degree of height, or consonants which differ only in voicing. Sometimes there are phonological generalizations to be made, such that the two sounds are underlyingly the same, before phonological rules differentiate them (Kiparsky 1981 [1973]; Worth 1977; Malone 1982; 1988; Fabb 1997: 125–132). Sometimes how the sounds are written plays a role in allowing them to be counted as similar (see Cooke 1980: 426 on Thai rhyme).

Nonidentical Rhyme

Zwicky (1976) describes various kinds of nonidentical rhyme, rhyme where the rhyming part of the word involves sounds which are not identical. His article focuses particularly on nonidentical rhyme in rock lyrics, but he notes that all these types of rhyme are found also in English art poetry and popular poetry.

(i) A stressed syllable is matched with an unstressed syllable. It is worth noting that this can be forced by the singer in performance, even if it is not found in the text; Bob Dylan does this in the final line of the first sung stanza of 'Highway 61 revisited', where he sings 'down on highway sIXty-one' (in a stanza where a stressed rhyme on '-on' has been dominant).

(ii) One word has extra material at the end. One possibility is to add a syllable (face : places). Another is to add a consonant (refuse : amused); the most common option in rock lyrics is to add an alveolar obstruent (d, t, z, s).

(iii) Vowels are different but consonants are the same. Zwicky found that in rock rhymes, the vowels could be defined in linguistic terms as one phonological feature apart, often one degree in height.

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(iv) Vowels are the same but consonants are different. Zwicky also found that in rock rhymes, the consonants tend to be one feature apart, differing in position, manner or voicing. In these songs the most common pairings are nasals which differ in position of articulation such as [n] paired with [m], followed by pairings of d/z (differing as plosive vs. fricative), then t/k (differing in position), s/z (differing in voicing), p/k (differing in position), etc.

Nonidentical rhyme is preferred by some poets and in some traditions. Thus, Wilfred Owen makes his rhymes nonidentical in some of his poems, including for example the poem 'Strange meeting'; Kiparsky (1981 [1973]) describes Owen as allowing any vowel to rhyme with any other but that any coda consonants must be identical. Worth (1977) notes that in Czech, rhymes were formed by words which had vowels differing only in length as a deliberate poetic device, and that in Norwegian, rhymed words had deliberately different tones. Zwicky (1976) and Zwicky and Zwicky (1987) show that for rock songs, nonidentical rhyme is preferred. Some singers deliberately manipulate stress and pronunciation to force rhyming nonidentities in performance, where the nonidentical rhymes are not obvious from the song text alone. So, for example, in her 2009 song 'Everyone's at it' the British singer Lily Allen rhymes 'certain' with 'curtain' which in principle should be an identical rhyme, but in performance she glottalizes the middle of the second but not the first word to create a non-identical rhyme. In the next rhyme pair she rhymes 'bed NOW' with 'HEAD now', shifting the stress to produce a nonidentity from a text which on the page would seem to have identical rhymes.

Nonidentical Alliteration

Traditions with systematic alliteration sometimes allow nonidentical alliteration, where the alliterating part of the word involves different but similar sounds. Unlike rhyme, there are almost no clear cases of traditions in which nonidentical alliteration is preferred.

In Germanic verbal art, alliteration requires identity of the whole onset, so that for example [s] and [sk] will not alliterate. An indirect consequence of this constraint is discussed by Hagåsen (2011) who says that while there is a strong tendency to avoid alliteration between the two parts of a dithematic personal name (hence dispreferring names like **Kvarnkvist* and **Rönnrot*), this holds only when onsets are the same, so *Sundstrand* with mismatched onsets is fine, because this does not count as alliteration. Thus there is usually identical alliteration involving onsets, but nonidentical alliteration is sometimes allowed, for example between equivalent palatal and velar consonants; Tristram (1995) describes some alliterations in *Beowulf* with this pattern, and Aðalsteinsson (2014: 32) notes this also for Icelandic. However, while alliteration between consonants is usually identical, alliteration between word-initial vowels allows nonidentity: any initial vowel can alliterate with any other initial vowel. This is a clear case of phonetic non-identity of alliteration. It is however possible that in the underlying representations of the words, identity is still adhered to, if the identically empty onsets of the words (structurally present but not pronounced) are what is being alliterated, as argued by Jakobson (1963) and Aðalsteinsson (2014).

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In Finnic verbal art, alliterating consonants are required to be identical. Frog and Stepanova (2011, and personal communication) note that alliteration between /s/ and /ʃ/ is possible in the Viena dialect of Karelian, reflecting a relatively recent phonological development in that dialect, and perhaps only in that dialect. Nonidentical alliteration is allowed between vowels, which are included in the alliteration system of Finnic verbal art, whether the word begins with CV or begins with V. Krikmann (2015) shows in a statistical account of Estonian runosongs that the vowels need not be identical, but the preference is for vowels which differ in one phonetic feature, and the most common pairing between nonidentical vowels is between vowels differing only in height (mid and low).

In mediaeval Irish verbal art, both alliteration and rhyme are allowed to be nonidentical. Words which differ in 'eclipsis' (a sound change which involves voicing or nasalisation) alliterate: 'when a word is eclipsed, the radical initial counts for alliteration, e.g., b and mb alliterate; t and dt' (Knott 1994: 11). (The spelling indicates mutation of the consonants; eclipsis is the nasalization of a voiced plosive as in the first example, or the voicing of an unvoiced plosive as in the second example.) Words which differ in some forms of lenition can also alliterate (on the whole this pairs a plosive with a fricative). The full set of rules are complex, and are listed by Knott (1994: 11).

In Mongolian, Kara (2011) says that consonants can alliterate if they differ in voicing, and that alveolar and alveopalatal fricatives /s/ and /ʃ/ can alliterate (as in the Karelian dialect noted above), though none of his examples show this type of alliteration, which suggests that this is rare. Kara also says that vowels can alliterate if they vary in height between mid and high (o and u can alliterate; ö and ü can alliterate, e and i can alliterate).

In Somali, consonants which alliterate must be identical (Martin Orwin personal communication).

The Difference Between Nonidentical Alliteration and Nonidentical Rhyme

Many verbal art traditions with systematic alliteration allow specific nonidentical alliterations, and similarly many verbal art traditions with systematic rhyme allow specific nonidentical rhymes. There may however be a difference, which is that nonidentity of rhyme can itself be systematic, while nonidentical alliteration appears not to be systematic. As noted, some traditions and some poets favour nonidentical rhyme. On the whole this is not true for alliteration. One exception is claimed for Irish by Bergin (1921–3: 83), who quotes a mediaeval Irish tract, where 'reference is made to a metrical fault ... [from which] it is clear that a sequence of alliterating words unrelieved by lenition or eclipsis [various nonidentical alliterations], was displeasing to the ear'.

There is thus a typological generalization that it is nonidentical rhyme (but not alliteration) which can be systematic, and this might fit with an experimental finding relating to rhyme by Knoop et al. (2019). The authors find that nonidentical ('imperfect') rhymes are more likely to be accepted as rhymes if they are in structurally predictable positions, for example at the ends of poetic lines. Knoop et al.'s finding may be paralleled by a finding

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by Noordenbos et al. (2013), who show that children with dyslexia find it harder to identify partial rhymes, and suggest that the children without dyslexia are using an analytical strategy possibly involving conscious effort. The connection may be that both structural predictability and conscious effort involve attention, and it may be the increased attention which allows nonidentical rhyme.

It is not straightforward to extend Knoop et al.'s finding to match the typological patterns, but it is worth briefly considering how this might be done. For example, it may imply a principle that nonidentical rhyme or nonidentical alliteration are more acceptable (and hence more likely to appear) if the words are in structurally predictable positions. If this were true then it would explain why alliteration, which tends to be free in position, is less likely to be nonidentical.

Further questions arise. First, we would expect fixed alliteration to be more tolerant of nonidentity than unfixed alliteration. The clearest case of fixed alliteration is Mongolian, with line-initial alliteration, and indeed (according to Kara 2011) Mongolian does allow extensive nonidentical alliteration. Mongolian also allows line-internal alliteration, and it would be interesting to test a prediction that nonidentity is more likely in the line-initial than in the line-internal alliteration.

The second question relates to the typology of rhyme. Rhyme is often in a fixed position (usually line-final). Line-final rhymes can certainly be nonidentical. But rhyme can also be in an unfixed position: are such unfixed rhymes less likely to be nonidentical? Some tentative support for this comes for example from Knott's (1994: 14) account of rhyme in Irish *rannaigheacht mhór*: (there are four lines a, b, c, d)

> b and d rime [rhyme], and a c consonate with them [note that nonidentical rhymes are generally allowed in final position]. There are at least two internal rimes in each couplet [free], and the final word of c rimes with a word in the interior of d [partially free]. The internal rimes in the first couplet need not be identical, *comhardadh briste* [same vowels, related consonants], or *amus* [same vowels, unrelated consonants] will do. In the second couplet, the rimes must be identical. ... In the more ornate style, the [internal] rimes are identical in the first couplet as well as the second.

In this tradition, therefore, fixed (line-final) rhymes are more likely to be nonidentical than free (line-internal) rhymes, which are more likely to be identical. This dispreference for nonidentical free rhymes is stronger in more ornate verse.

The Aesthetics of Nonidentity

There is a widely proposed aesthetic principle that our aesthetic judgments favour intermediate levels of complexity, neither too simple nor too complex. Drawing on Wundt's (1874) hedonic curve, this notion is particularly associated in psychological aesthetics with Berlyne (1960: 200; Kammann 1966; see also Zyngier et al. 2007).

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The various kinds of regular poetic form – rhyme, alliteration, metre and parallelism – often involve rules or patterns which only partially determine the linguistic forms of the poem. Consider for example the rules for iambic pentameter, a metre which defines a periodic template against which the rhythm of the line is often somewhat aperiodic (i.e., lines of iambic pentameter do not generally have all and only even-numbered syllables stressed). Rules for rhyme and alliteration are always like this, in that they stipulate that two words must be similar but not identical. All these kinds of regular poetic form thus produce intermediate levels of complexity, and this may be part of their function in poetry.

A further layer of 'intermediate complexity' arises when the rhyme and alliteration are nonidentical. Tristram (1995) argues that these and other nonidentities are part of the aesthetics of mediaeval verse from Ireland, Wales and England.

Phonological Similarity, Enhancement and Attenuation, and Attention

Gupta et al. (2005) summarize and reinterpret a long tradition of experimental work, mostly on lists of words, which show that recall of a word is enhanced by the proximity of a word which sounds like it, but also is attenuated by the proximity of a word which sounds like it. These can both be called 'phonological similarity effects' or PSEs, though usually the term is used specifically to describe effects where recall is worse because of phonological similarity. For example, to demonstrate the attenuation effect, they show that in the immediate serial recall of a list of words, recall is worse when the list includes words which sound the same (both in how they begin and in how they end), and recall is better when the words sound different. The positive effect of enhancement comes from the possibility that words which sound alike are stored in memory in similar positions; on the other hand, the negative effect of attenuation may arise because the words are so similar that they interfere with each other when recalling them.

In poetry, phonological similarity appears to have only an enhancement effect (and not an attenuation effect), perhaps because in poetry the phonological similarity is attended to. This is shown for rhyme by Nelson et al. (1982, 1987) and Rubin (1995), and shown for alliteration by Boers et al. (2014). Jakobson (1960) argued that attention to language is the defining characteristic of language in its poetic function. This suggests that we attend to rhyme, and to alliteration, when they are in poetry, particularly when they are systematic. If attention contributes to the way that sound patterning enhances recall, then rhyme may have an advantage in poetry. This is because rhyme is more easily attended to in poetry than alliteration, because rhyme is more likely to be fixed in place, and so expected, and also because rhyme is characteristically line final, and so in a salient position. The end of a line is a salient position for various reasons, including that the line-final word often has strong stress, the final or penultimate syllable may be lengthened, there

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might be a characteristic pitch level or contour at the end of the line, and there may be a pause after the end of the line. These structural distinctions give rhyme an attentional advantage over alliteration.

Rhyme has an advantage in poetry, in terms of enhancing recall. But in ordinary speech, alliteration may have the advantage. This may relate to the finding that, in contrast to poetry, in word lists rhyme reduces recall: thus Johnson et al. (2014: 18) say 'rhyme enhances recall in contextual settings [such as poetry], but decreases recall in isolated word conditions.' But alliteration does not seem to decrease recall in ordinary speech. Thus, Praamstra et al. (1994) find that attenuation is greater for words which end alike (and so like rhyme) than for words which begin alike (and so like alliteration). Thus in ordinary speech, alliteration appears to have an advantage because it enhances recall without also decreasing recall. This may explain why alliteration is more common than rhyme in speech, at least in European languages. For example, alliteration is much more common in English word sequences such as idioms, binomials, etc. as argued by Lindstromberg and Boers (2008: 200): 'Our casual monitoring of language encountered in day to day reading and listening has resulted in a list of approximately 1,400 current alliterative sequences but only 110 ones that rhyme'. Williams (2011) notes that in European idioms, alliteration is common but rhyme is very uncommon.

Conclusion

Three major differences between rhyme and alliteration are: (i) rhyme location tends to be fixed, while alliteration location is almost always free, (ii) rhyme pattern can intersect, while alliteration pattern requires adjacency, (iii) rhyme is more open to loose similarity than alliteration. I have suggested that the first of these differences may explain the second two. That is, if alliteration is more freely placed, then complex patterns are dispreferred, and nonidentity is also dispreferred.

A further major difference is that rhyme may be more salient than alliteration, meaning that rhyme is more easily attended to. In some traditions this is because rhyme is more likely to involve a vowel (a more prominent sound). But generally, it is because rhyme is more likely to be in a salient structural position, at the end of a section, such as a line, and in that position may be made additionally salient prosodically by lengthening or raising the pitch, or by preceding a pause. Because rhyme is more likely to be attended to than alliteration, and attention improves memorization, this gives rhyme an advantage in poetry, when poetry needs to be memorized. If rhyme is easier to attend to, this favours rhyme as a poetic form, given Jakobson's (1960) proposal that the poetic function depends on our attention being drawn to the language of the text.

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Venla Sykäri
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2487-8657

Rhymer's Microcosm

Variation and Oral Composition of the 19th Century Finnish *Rekilaulu* Couplets

The Finnish 'long 19th century's' oral *rekilaulu* singing culture is a typical example of the internationally wide-spread, multifunctional genre of rhyming couplets. I[1] will refer to this genre as 'couplets', whether conceptualized as a unit of two long lines or four short lines (a quatrain), on the basis that its chief genre-identifier is the semantic construction of two equal parts: (1) a priming part and (2) an argument part. The semantic two-part construction characteristically manifests as an inverted semantic hierarchy – the unit's central idea, its message, is disclosed at the end. (Sykäri 2017.) The relation of the priming part to the argument part varies from it being an integral part of the message, or a thematically coherent introduction, to simply priming the argument part with a line that provides a suitable end rhyme, as in the following *rekilaulu* couplet:

> Sataa lunta, sataa vettä, | sataa rakehia.
> Kaikki turhat puheet ovat | ämmäin valehia.
>
> (Laihia 1888. Juho Kotkanen 33.)

> It snows, it rains, | it is hailing.
> All groundless talks are | lies of old hags.[2]

Other characteristic aspects of the couplet unit are: (a) it encloses a self-dependent lyric image or statement; (b) the performed unit may be memorized or extemporized, (c) a standalone couplet can be performed as such or several units can form a loosely bound thematic chain, and (d) in singing events and oral communication the units are typically performed by taking turns or reciprocally, sometimes competitively, between individuals or groups. In the past oral cultures the performance contexts covered a large variety of conventional or impromptu communicative instances and in many rural areas they were sung to accompany dance, in particular ring games and round dance.

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2 All translations are by the present author.

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In Finland, the couplet format in oral song was first documented by the end of the 18th century. Rhymed and stanzaic forms entered Finnish oral poetry late and first coexisted with the alliterative, iterative runosong tradition (Kallio; Bastman; Frog, this volume). Different forms of rhymed poetry had replaced this older tradition in western Finland by the 18th century, and during the 19th century, couplets first coexisted with the runosong and then gradually replaced it also in eastern parts, becoming the most popular type of Finnish oral song until the last collective singing cultures declined during the mid-war period. During this mid-war period, the hubristic attitudes and humoristic styles characteristic of the *rekilaulu* were adopted by many professional singers and song-makers to their repertoires (Hako 1981; Henriksson 2015). Melodies and songs at the lyrical end of the stylistic continuum early became part of published song books and were largely used in youth community events, schools, and by choirs. Today, many Finnish people know several couplets deriving from oral cultures as fixed songs, but very few know anything about the past oral singing cultures, or the versatility of the form.

Despite the pervasiveness of the couplet form in the world's pre-modern oral cultures and its central place in contemporary vital oral cultures and popular music lyrics, astonishingly little attention has been given to it in international, cross-cultural research. Early German research (Meyer 1885) addressed the *Schnaderhüpfel*[3] tradition of the Tirol, and early French research the structure of the French 'dance couplet' which shares the medieval history of the round dance *carole* (esp. Verrier 1931). Basing on this French tradition, Swiss ethnomusicologist Samuel Baud-Bovy (1936: 313–394) examined in his dissertation on Greek oral song also the rhyming couplets of the Dodecanese islands. His research combined the analysis of literary sources with fieldwork, and since the textualized, chiefly dance song material analysed reflects an oral tradition accessible to most people in the 19th century and early 20th century oral communities, his observations give a good starting point to analyse the archival material disposable for the *rekilaulu*.

Even if similar oral traditions had by that time disappeared from central Europe, they continued far longer in the 'margins' – e.g., Balkans, many areas of Spain and Portugal, Russia, Karelia, and the Mediterranean islands. The communicative oral traditions of the Mediterranean areas became one central focus of the performance-centred research during the 1970s and 80s.[4] The role of these short forms nevertheless remained marginal in research on oral poetry, compared to narrative genres, such as ballads or epic. When considering how end rhyme has been conceptualized as a poetic device until the early 20th century, and in many areas much longer, short forms of oral poetry with their related productivity have certainly impacted the aesthetics attributed to its quality and role much more widely than the literary elite cultures.

3 For contemporary performances, see Europa-bat-batean 2016: Schnaderhupfel.

4 For an overview, see Sykäri 2011: 26–34.

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The purpose of this chapter is to study the role of rhyme and its relation to other structural constituents and rhetoric in order to approach the 'aesthetics of versatility' of the rhyming couplet mould. I will examine the textual microcosm of the archived Finnish *rekilaulu* couplets with a selected corpus of 150 couplet texts that begin with the same formulaic hemistich. This corpus includes popular crystallized forms, their minor and major variations, as well as couplets that employ the opening formula or the whole priming line for the creation of new arguments. Because the material comes from written archive cards, it has undergone a process of memorization, selection, and textualization and is liable to represent the crystallized rather than the situation-sensitive aspect of the stylistic continuum of verse units. However, the large amount of material allows a view to the deployment of the poetic resources provided by the tradition and readily employed by singers and composers. My analysis is also informed by many years of research on rhyming couplets and improvisation in contemporary contexts (Sykäri 2009; 2011; 2017; 2019). In particular the Cretan analogue shows us to pay attention to how the textual aesthetics of this compact format may in fact lie in the emergent textual network: in the continuation, not stability.

The Culture, Collection, and Research of the Rekilaulu

Information on the collective Finnish *rekilaulu* singing culture and the ways of composition is scarce, since these questions were seldom raised at the time when collective singing cultures were vital. During its peak time, the latter half of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century, *rekilaulu* couplets were sung and created throughout the Finnish speaking area. Productive singing traditions emerged in particular in two areas, where villages were densely situated and a strong group identity prevailed: the Ostrobothnia in the west and Karelian Isthmus in the east. Ethnographic accounts, descriptions given by late 19th century self-taught authors, as well as people interviewed later in 1950s and 60s about their youth experiences uniformly note that new songs came up constantly; they were often produced on the spot, but it was also common for groups of girls and boys (separately) to gather to compose new songs to be performed in upcoming events (Asplund 1981: 95–112; 2006: 152–159; Laurila 1956; Paulaharju 2010 [1932]: 321–336; Virtanen 1965: 392–395, 408–428; 1973).

In the Karelian Isthmus area, young unmarried woman were the chief public performers of the new rhymed songs. On Sundays and holidays, they gathered at a huge village swing, the *liekku*, which had been the central performance context already for earlier generations who sung in the runosong meter (see Kallio 2013: 236–243). Young men joined them around the swing, yet rather sung their songs within their own groups. The ring games dance was normally accompanied by singing, since there were seldom instruments available. (Virtanen 1965: 408–428; 1973). In western Finland, young people gathered on Sundays and other holidays for village swings and ring games, and even if instrumental folk dance music from Sweden had become established in these areas, also here young women accompanied

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Image 1. 'Juhlasyöminkien jälkeiset leikit' [Games after feast eating]. Kokemäenjoki, Harjavalta. Photograph by U.T. Sirelius 1906–1908. Finnish Literature Society. SKS KRA. SKS 7676.

the dance by singing. While performance of dance songs required large repertoires of established couplets, communicative situations focused on presentation of new songs and compositional skills. Collective journeys to dance places are especially mentioned as situations particular to male group performance. (Paulaharju 2010 [1932]: 321–336.)

Rekilaulu song texts were noted down throughout the 19th century but first sparingly, because the Finnish folk poetry collectors opted to note down the more archaic runosong texts rather than these 'new' rhymed songs. As discussed in this volume by Kallio, the new device of rhyme was at first valued and used by intellectuals due to its religious connection. But with the emergent national romantic movement, rhyme was no longer in favour of the 19th century's scholarship, to whom the overwhelmingly popular rhymed forms of oral poetry appeared only as a threat to the more archaic runosong tradition. Moreover, the schism between many collectors' idealized ideas of 'folk' and the provocative singers of the *rekilaulu* was deep (Asplund 2006; Karhu & Kuismin 2021).

The 'new' rhymed song format indeed had become emblematic of the change of the society, where during the 19th century young and working-class people increasingly laid claims for new liberties and freedom of

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expression. The great majority of the song texts which have been saved to us express young people's interests and concerns: making and untying relationships, longing for and complaining about love and lovers, boasting of independence and protesting against gossiping and the village women's control. Some themes, like drinking, railway work, and roguery, specifically relate to the male gender, but in general both young women and men are equally rebellious. Nevertheless, in addition to stating real positions and voicing personal messages, Anneli Asplund (1981: 106) reminds that many couplets conform to the young people's chief performance environment, round game dancing, which include a constant exchange of partner during the dance. The commonly expressed argument of untying old and making new relationships, also represented in this chapter's material, is therefore highly dramatized and does not correlate with the 'high number of bastard children', as assumed by some critical voices worried about these songs' morality (Asplund 2006: 149; see also Karhu & Kuismin 2021). Mocking songs are very characteristic of the genre, but it can be assumed that the products of these more ephemeral and improvisatory practices were much more seldom textualized than they were performed (examples are given in Paulaharju 2010 [1932]: 321–336; Virtanen 1965: 408–410).

For structural analysis, the textual collection of estimated 65 000 exemplars[5] located at the Finnish Literature Society's (SKS) archives (Archive Materials on Traditional and Contemporary Culture) provides many possibilities, even if this material is currently accessible only manually in cardboard cards organized both alphabetically and thematically in boxes on the archive shelves (the process of digitizing the material has begun in October 2022 – in contrast to the runosong texts, which have been digitized and were published in 2014 as a free, public database; http://www.skvr.fi; Harvilahti 2013; Sykäri 2020). The main part of the *rekilaulu* collection was formed during the last decades of the 19th century, when the rhymed songs began to receive a more positive response and the communicative oral practices were very vital, and the mid-war period. Individual laymen and students were important collectors of the song texts. A significant amount of texts also came into the archives as a result of the first open collection call made by the SKS in 1935 (at the 100 years' anniversary of the old *Kalevala*) for people to send in any kind of folklore material.

In addition to many songs being regarded as obscene, unchaste, immoral and rude, *rekilaulu* song texts and their rhymes were generally considered to be void of poetic value by 19th century Finnish folklore collectors, who compared them unfavourably to the runosong poetry. Melodies, however, were appreciated as they varied much more than the archaic runosong melodies (cf. Kallio, this volume). Altogether 4847 folk songs with melodies were notated and published in four volumes between 1904–1933 by musicologist Ilmari Krohn (Suomen Kansan Sävelmiä, Toinen Jakso, 1904–1933, http://esavelmat.jyu.fi/), and 47,7 %, 2068 pieces, of these represent

5 The rhymed folk song card index contains approx. 130 000 cards, but this number contains cards organized in both thematic and alphabetical order (SKS archives 2021).

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the *rekilaulu* genre (Laitinen 2003: 214–215). Basing on this collection, musicologist and singer Heikki Laitinen (2003) has carried out a detailed analysis of the *rekilaulu*'s song structure. A wide collection of recorded songs resides at the Finnish Literary Society's archives, and the singing and interviews recorded and notated by Erkki Ala-Könni in 1940s–1970s provide another large and so far little researched collection situated at the University of Tampere.

While the musical value is unequivocally acknowledged, when it comes to the poetic values, the lack of them has also been a subject of complaint in current musicological research. Compared to the rich musical expression, themes are limited, texts are simple, and may seem artificial on the basis that in the short two-part structure, the first priming-part may be entirely irrelevant to the second argument-part. The oral *rekilaulu* songs do not offer obvious literary virtues – the couplet aesthetics is elsewhere: the popularity of these short units and the large micro-variation that appears in contrast to the relatively limited number of central themes tell that, in addition to the significance of the attitude, message, and symbolic value of these songs in the context of singing, there must also be a level of significance in the variation itself.

The Rekilaulu Form and Meter

The *rekilaulu* poetic meter is stress-based and metrical stresses have to coincide with the linguistic stress of the Finnish words. In Finnish, the first syllable of a word is always stressed, and words that are longer than three syllables receive a secondary stress on the third syllable, or in some long inflected words, on the fourth, and after this every second syllable. Each word in a compound word receives stress on the first syllable. The third, last syllable of a three-syllable word is 'prominent' (Leino 1986), which means that it can be stressed in poetry to fill a stressed metrical position, even if it does not have linguistic stress. This prominence is widely deployed when foreign melodies originally composed for texts in iambic meters are used since there are very few monosyllabic words in the language (see also Bastman and Kallio, this volume). However, the rekilaulu rhyme is always two syllables long, which means that the rhyme words either have to be bisyllabic or tetrasyllabic (or longer), and conform to the primary or secondary linguistic stress:

> Keitä kultani kahvia | ja keitä sä koko ***pan****-nu*
> Kun sinä olet niin monta kertaa | mun mieleni pa-hot-***tan****-nu*
>
> Brew, my darling, coffee | and brew the whole pot
> Since you have so many times | my feelings – hurt (= hurt my feelings)

This rhyme pair *pannu* : (pahot-) *tannu* has an identical rhyme, with the rhyming part (*an-nu*) beginning on the stressed vowel of the stressed syllable *pan-/tan-* and the final syllable *nu* being exactly the same. But as several other

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examples below will show, the concept of rhyme allows many dissimilarities, to which I will return after the examples.

The *rekilaulu* 'text' is commonly described (eg. Laurila 1956: 59, note 1; Asplund 2006: 146) as a couplet of two seven-stress lines that rhyme. Each long line breaks into two hemistichs of 4 + 3 stresses. The first hemistich of each line has a strict caesura in the middle (Laitinen 2003). The people of the Karelian Isthmus named[6] the unit according to their conceptualization of it as a unit of two lines, as expressed in the name *kakssananen* ('of two words', with the word 'word' meaning a line or a larger content unit, as is common in oral communities)[7]. This naming is reported by Virtanen (1965: 409–410; 1973: 148) for the parish of Rautu, and was also made explicit by Larin Paraske (1833/4–1904), a famous singer born and living in the Ishorian villages in North Ingria and Karelian Isthmus, whose metacommunication has been noted down extensively (Timonen 2004: 238–252). Paraske dated the 'two-word', the new rhymed couplet model, as having been used in the area from 1860s–1970s, and differentiated it from the 'one-word', the old iterative, unrhymed, alliterative runosong verse (Timonen 2004: 262.) My use of the term 'couplet' to depict the *rekilaulu* thus is also congruent with these oral singers' emic usages that point towards the significance of the major semantic organization of the unit.

However, when the *rekilaulu* is sung, the textually shorter second and fourth hemistichs that rhyme receive additional length from the lengthening of the penultimate, stressed rhyme syllable, as well as the last rhyme syllable, so that all the hemistichs are sung to the same length of melody. Because of this musical division of the hemistichs into equally long four lines, the rekilaulu is today chiefly referred to as a quatrain. The rekilaulu is sung to a four-line melody or two-line melody that is repeated twice. With repetitions, refrains, and trolling, the song may end up being sung to five-, six, or seven melody lines, or more commonly, to an eight-line double stanza. Despite the musical four-line structure, both Laitinen (2003: 286–287) and Asplund (2006: 149) also stress the two-part structure in the musical outcome: *pairs of lines*, rather than single lines, are central, because the boundary within the pair is fluid. (In the examples below, I have maintained the distribution of the original texts written in four lines, because that helps my focus on formulaic textual units. Yet that distribution often does not conform to how the words in the boundary areas are actually sung.)

The metrical ground structure is very clear, even if it allows very different melodies and singing styles in performance. In addition to the penultimate syllable, which is the always stressed rhyme syllable, the final syllable is also accented, giving the characteristic melodic structure to the *rekilaulu* meter.

6 These rhymed songs were elsewhere referred to as 'songs' until the term *rekilaulu,* deriving from the German *Reigenlied*, 'a round dance song', became established by early 20th century.

7 The 'word' in the oral singers' poetics can mean a half line, line, a couplet, or a formulaic unit; in general a unit that expresses something. John Miles Foley (2002: 11–21) discussed this largely with regard the epic singing, and for example the Seto singers use this expression (Virtanen 1987; Kalkun & Oras 2014), see also Ekgren & Ekgren 2022: 132.

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Laitinen (2003) who in his musical analysis speaks of song metre and *song feet* finds that both rhyme syllables represent rising feet, the penultimate being a fall-less rise, which can be filled anytime, and sometimes does. According to his analysis, all song feet except the rhyme feet can have 2–4 syllables, in special cases 1–5. The rhythm can thus be trochaic, dactylic, or a mixture, including paeonic feet. In his four-line division, there is a non-crossable song-foot boundary at the beginning of each line as well as in the middle of the first and third lines. Lines can begin with anacrusis, yet they never turn into iambs. As a result of his analysis, Laitinen (2003: 294) presents the song feet of the basic structure (excluding the possible anacrusis) as follows:

	2–4	2–4		2–4	2–4	
	2–4	2–4	1 =	1	
	2–4	2–4		2–4	2–4	
	2–4	2–4	1 =	1	

The couplet is a very common unit in the world's oral poetries, whether written in two long lines or four short. Paul Verrier (1931: 48) explains that the *couplet de dance* [dance couplet] sung by young maidens when they dance is either constructed of two long lines (*grands vers*) with a caesura in the middle, or four short lines (*petits vers*), always as two pairs. In Crete, where I have carried out a field study of the living couplet tradition (Sykäri 2009; 2011), the local couplet (*mandinadha*) is based on two iambic fifteen-syllable lines, which is the dominant verse form in all Greek poetry. Yet in most cultures, the couplet units are conceptualized as quatrains. This is so in Finland's neighbour areas, Scandinavia and Russia: as found in the historical Norwegian *gamlestev* [old stave] and the metrically revised *ny stev* [new stave], as well as the Swedish and Danish *enstrofing* [one-strophe] (Åkesson 2003; Ekgren 2009), and the Russian chastushka (Sokolov 1950; Adonyeva 2004), along which several Finno-Ugric language groups (e.g., Karelians, Setos) in the area have modelled their corresponding couplets. Scandinavian meters derive from Old Germanic meters (Ekgren & Ekgren 2022; Frog, this volume) and in Romance and Slavonic languages the quatrain form is proposed by Gasparov (1996: 107–108) to be due to the split of Latin poetry's trochaic fifteen-syllable line into eight or/and seven syllable lines. Instead of the typical couplet rhyme scheme (aa if written in two long lines and abcb if in four lines), in many of these languages, all lines can rhyme (abab or abba). Another influential model is the Persian originated quatrain *ruba'i*, which spread along with Islam to wide areas of Middle and Far East and is based on a long line and its four hemistichs rhyming aaba; therefore also referred to as a couplet, *dobait*, rhyming aa, if counted in full lines (Hämeen-Anttila 2008; 189–190; Lewis 2012: 1227).

Various reasons ranging from the history of versification, primary focus on melody lines, or singing or naming conventions in each case explain why the unit is described as a couplet or (and) a quatrain. Nonetheless, the semantic unit of improvised composition may more generally be the long line. For example, Cuban improviser Alexis Díaz-Pimienta (2014: 432, passim) explicitly states that the unit of textual creation of the eight-

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syllable line *décimas* (rhymed abba-ac-cddc) is 16 syllables, two short lines, and Mallorcan improviser Mateu Xuri recently verified the same two-line cognitive unit for the Catalan seven-syllable lines (lecture at the University of Balearic Islands, Palma, April 5, 2022). Moreover, as a *genre* these structurally self-dependent units to which I refer here as rhyming couplets normally differ in their semantic hierarchy and rhetoric structure from the exact same metrical models when used as stanzas in narrative songs, such as ballads.

Balanced Structures, Distributed and Inverted Strategies

In 1936, Samuel Baud-Bovy made an extensive analysis of the grammatical structures of the formulaic rhyming couplets of the Greek Dodecanesian islands and discussed the method and means of their oral composition, which he refers to as improvisation[8]. When it comes to the couplet structures, he found the principle of *balancing* central to them: according to him, balancing takes place between the two parts (the two long lines), as well as between the two hemistichs within a line, and between the two halves of the hemistich. We already saw that this structural principle of balancing works exactly the same way in the *rekilaulu*.

Here, I refer in particular to his analysis of the means of improvisation of the couplets. Baud-Bovy pointed to two central 'assistants' (*auxiliaires*) for the improviser: formulas and 'stock rhyme pairs'. He (1936: 341) claimed that 'the tradition's poetic lexicon' – common rhyme words and formulaic elements, such as stereotypic epithets, word pairs, and 'all-purpose hemistichs' – can be deployed in the composition of the couplets to the degree that the whole unit is crafted upon these. By word pairs he refers to common binary expressions (day–night) and to local culturally crystallized metaphors, such as the lemon tree and cypress for bride and groom. He concluded that because rhyme words govern the second hemistich, formulas and formulaic structures are chiefly located in the first hemistich.

Baud-Bovy (1936: 340) further claims that as the singers commonly start by singing just the first hemistich and only after the repetition of the choir complete it into a full line, the composition must therefore take place in hemistichs. He assumes that this performative division also means that the rhymer (always) begins to create his second line, the line that accommodates the chief meaning and argument, only once he has uttered the first line and its end rhyme word. Baud-Bovy did not take into account the inverted semantic hierarchy of the couplet structure and that in improvised composition this would mean an inverted order of composition of the two parts of the couplet: in order to know what s/he is going to say the composer has to formulate his or her argument in the mind and pick up the rhyme word *before* beginning to compose the priming line. Baud-Bovy was not an exception, since when I began to detect during my own fieldwork in Crete that linear proceeding

8 Baud-Bovy (1936) explicitly speaks of improvisation, also noting that it is not possible to research this unlimited material in the way his contemporary Milman Parry researched the Homeric epithets.

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could hardly produce good results, I had never (at that time in 1999) seen the inverted order explicitly discussed in research[9]. For example Leea Virtanen (1965: 410, translation by present author) notes about the *rekilaulu* couplets that 'the second lines often seem to have been born due to the impact of the end rhyme. On the other hand, the second lines can be created [first] and the beginning be matched with them'. Most of the examples she gives point to the latter and she also notes that 'important was indeed the latter verse line', but she does not discuss the evident consequences of her observation further.

Linear proceeding is a possible but not the most common or successful strategy when the target is to say something witty, amusing and striking *at the end*. When improvisers began to publish research on their own practice of lyrical improvisation at the turn of the Millennium, first chiefly in Basque, Spanish, and other Romance languages but then also in English, their work verified that when the couplet unit (or, more commonly in this literature, a unit of 8–10 short lines) takes form on the spot, an experienced rhymer normally first thinks up the message and finds the ingredients for the last long line or pair of short lines and the respective rhyme words (Garzia et al. 2001; Egaña 2007; Zedda 2009; Díaz-Pimienta 2014; see also Goikoetxea 2007: 180–181).[10] An opening formula may of course be chosen by an improviser to provide time in case s/he must begin the utterance without yet knowing what to say. An improviser may certainly also reach the first end rhyme word without still knowing where that will lead him/her. Yet in the improvisation of an argumentative utterance in a genre characterized by end rhyme, the most common method by far is the method of inverted composition.[11]

We may assume that in a 'folk' genre like rhyming couplets, which are sung and created in recurrent communicative situations and during dance by people with very different compositional competence, it is indeed for the inverted method that the formulaic expressions and 'stock rhymes' are commonly chosen for the priming line. Yet in such cultures repetition can also be deliberate and serve aesthetic functions: it creates intertextual links between utterances and speech events (see e.g., Tarkka 2005; 2013; Kallio 2010). I have argued elsewhere that active Cretan oral composers in the rhyming couplet genre see the textual artefacts simultaneously as entities and incentives for new creation (Sykäri 2011: 79–80). On the other hand, it

9 When writing this paper, Nigel Fabb gave me a reference written in 1958 on tonal riddles in Efik (Simmons 1958) which shows that the second part must precede the first in composition. It is clear that many fieldworkers have understood this and certainly more people have written about it. Yet in general it seems that oral composition has been a truly foreign land to researchers coming from literary cultures, and their trust on oral composers' cognitive skills has not been very high.

10 For bibliography and discussion on improvised traditions in English, see also Armistead & Zulaika 2005; The Basque special issue in *Oral Tradition* 2007; Sykäri 2017; 2019.

11 In contemporary cultures, the concept of improvisation is not equivalent to 'oral composition' in the meaning given to the practice by researchers of epic (esp. Lord 1960). Researchers who are improvisers themselves or discuss their contemporary improvisation culture, are reluctant towards the idea of recycling formulas (Díaz-Pimienta 2004; Garzia 2005; for a discussion, see Sykäri 2017: 127; 2019: 7–9).

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is often reported for the composition of the *rekilaulu* units that young people gathered purposely to compose new songs for future events (Paulaharju 2010 [1932]; Virtanen 1965), and in these occasions, the composition process was not time-bound. We may thus notice that traditions of rhyming couplets as they appeared in oral communities akin to the *rekilaulu* discussed here do appreciate but not necessarily entail improvisation; these traditions were vital in singing events where a large quantity of units were needed to hold up verbal communication or to accompany dance, and therefore also a large stock of ready made units, common formulas and formulaic structures were needed. Verbal dexterity, then, appears in an array of practices based on variation and reconstruction of memorized units, oral composition based on formulaic structures, pre-composition, as well as improvisation.

'Brew, My Darling, Coffee'

I will analyse the two-part couplet structure, the role of rhyme, the placement of formulas, and the syntactic work needed to accommodate these or to create new messages, by referring to a corpus of 150 archive texts[12] that begin with the same half-line formula 'Brew, my darling, coffee' or its close variants. As explained above, examples are divided into hemistichs according to their original archive format, which serves the textual analysis well but does not necessarily conform to the verse boundaries when sung:

> **Keitä kultani kahvia** | ja keitä (se) katti*lalla.*
> Sillä viimesen kerran astelen | sun kammaris latti*alla.*
>
> **Brew, my darling, coffee** | and brew (that) with a kettle.
> Because it's the last time I step | on your chamber's floor.

Brewing relates to the traditional method[13] of preparing coffee in large copper pots, where water was first boiled, the ground coffee added, then heated again until boiling, and let settle for some ten minutes before drinking. In Finland, drinking coffee was (and is) a major form of socializing at home environment (see Saarinen 2011; Roberts 1989) and this image is here harnessed to depict the end of an relationship as something similarly commonplace. This 'message' intrinsically belongs to the dramaturgy of changing pairs during round dance, which has obviously been the chief performance context for this couplet. At the end of the line, 'kettle' is used instead of the more convenient 'pot' to make explicit that coffee was required in large quantity – or to enhance the pervasive alliteration pattern, or initially, simply to create a rhyme.

12 Finnish Literature Society/ Perinteen ja nykykulttuurin arkistoaineistot (Archive Materials on Traditional and Contemporary Culture) / kansanlaulukortisto (folk song card index) / aakkosellinen rekilaulu-kortisto (alphabetical rekilaulu card index) > Keitä.

13 Copper pots gave way to other materials and forms before electric coffee machines became common in households in the 1970s (Saarinen 2011: 13), but brewing coffee this way was still common in rural and urban households in the 1980s.

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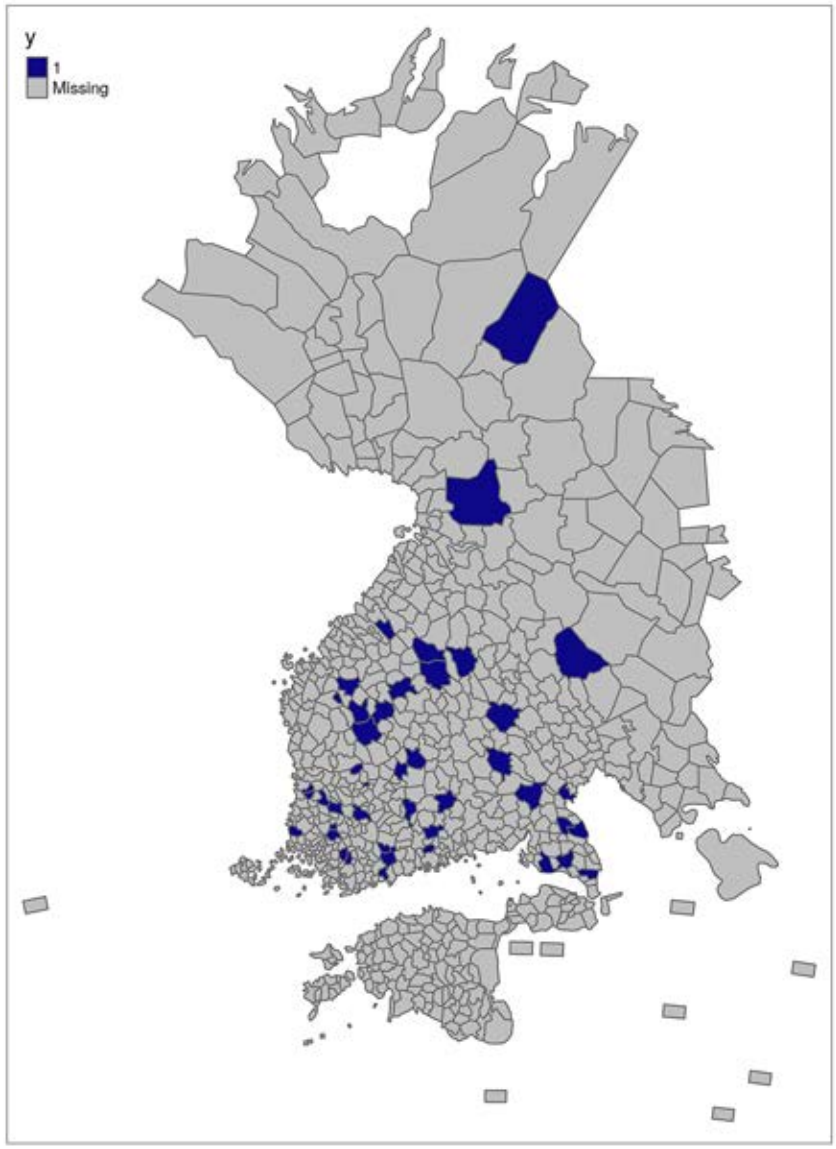

Image 2. The districts of the Finnish speaking area where the 'basic form' has been written down. First documentation is from 1859 and last from 1939. In addition to the Finnish-speaking area and present day Finland, the map covers Karelia in east and Estonia in south (the larger runosong area). Provided by Maciej Janicki, Eetu Mäkelä & Kati Kallio, FILTER project (Academy of Finland, University of Helsinki & Finnish Literature Society).

Of these 150 texts, 50 follow very closely this 'basic form'. In addition, there are some couplets that lean on this priming line but change the argument, three major clusters that maintain the whole half-line opening formula, each providing 4–10 texts, a good number of different couplets that deploy the opening formula but occur once or twice, as well as two variants of the opening formula. The presentation covers a selection of these.

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Even if we can not say much of any individual couplet's occurrences in real life, or how individual, inventive, improvised or well-known any of them were, the numbers give a good perspective on this type of versatile singing tradition: certain crystallized couplets were very widely known throughout the Finnish-speaking areas, certain variants spread more locally, texts with major or minor variation of well-known forms are current, and individual couplets were also widely produced and reported to collectors and in collections.

Variation of the Basic Text

In addition to the common dialectal variation and performative interjections and refrains, which are not considered here, micro-variation of the basic text chiefly means the exchange of substantives and verbs into other similar-meaning or alternative ones, which do not change the meaning.

Keitä (sä) **a) kultani** kahvia | (ja) **b) keitä se** kattilalla
c) Sillä viimesen kerran **astelen** | sun **d) kammaris** lattialla

Brew, **a) my darling,** coffee | **b) and brew it with a** kettle
c) Because it's the last time **I step** | on your **d) chamber's** floor

(a) The first half-line, which contains the chief opening formula, remains very stable, with changes occurring only in the term of address for the (girl) friend, to whom the request of brewing coffee is directed: instead of the non-gendered 'my darling', this may be 'my girlfriend' (*heilini*); 'lass' (*tyttö / flikka*).

(b) The second half-line, which indicates that the coffee should be brewed with a kettle, receives the largest lexical variation in either keeping the verb (brew) or, as the verb already exists in the first half-line, it is substituted with an attribute describing the kettle: 'with that shop's' / 'copper' / 'one-mark coin's' (*tuolla kaupan / kupari / markan*). None of this affects the message, and the word kettle itself, which belongs to the rhyme pair, does not change.

(c) The third hemistich begins the argument part. It consists of a formula that encapsulates the key idea of the message – for the last time – and receives some variation in the verb (step / walk / dance) as well as the largest syntactic variation: the formula 'last time' is mainly situated in middle, but also in the beginning, or at the end: 'I may walk for the last time'; 'It's the last time I dance with you' (*taidan kävellä viimesen kerran*; *viimesen kerran kanssasi tanssin*). A variant which appears three times turns the message upside down simply by changing the formula *last time* to *first time*.

(d) The fourth hemistich, which again contains the rhyme word, is very stable, with the word 'floor' changing to 'hall' (*sali*) a few times.

For a singer accustomed to the *rekilaulu*-rhythm, such changes where a word in a metrical position is replaced by another similar one represent 'sameness', even if a specific toning is intentional: they do not demand any compositional skills. The syntactic modification of the hemistich 'Because it's the last time I step' to 'It's the last time I dance with you' already takes a step further in this sense.

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Couplets that Deploy the Priming Line with a New Argument Line

Hei keitä sä kultani kahvia mulle | kuparikatti*lalla.*
Hei, kyllä mä sinun palkkasi maksan | saunan latti*alla*.
(Kokemäki, 1904. Frans Lempainen 42.)

Hey brew, my darling, coffee to me | with a copper kettle.
Hey I will sure pay your wage | on the sauna's floor.

This variant comes in three examples with minor changes in details ('I' is changed to 'the boy' and 'sauna' to the 'barn'): two, related to the same informant, from Kokemäki (1904) and one from Moloskovitsa, Ingria (1901), two different sides of the southern Finnish-speaking area. Considering that many informants may not have recited it or collectors noted it down due to its open sexual focus, it can be assumed that it has been more widely known at least to male singers (all three informants were young males).

With a change in the term of address, which also appears in one opening formula variant, the following couplet was noted down from a 13-year old female informant:

Keitä muammoni kahvii | keitä katti*lalla*
Vie sinä peräkammariin | ja heitä latti*alle*
(Salmi, 1908. V. Päivinen 92.)

Brew, my mum, coffee | brew with a kettle
Take it to the back chamber | and throw it to the floor

This type of compositions, which intend to create surprising and humoristic utterances by using a familiar priming line and then placing something unpredicted in the argument line, have most probably been very common, perhaps especially for bawdy and obscene lines, but in case of young people and children, who are learning the techniques of oral composition, also just to make fun (cf. Sykäri 2011: 163–164).

The rhyme pair 'kattilalla : lattialla' of the basic unit seems quite fixed: in order to change the message, most rhymers also had to change both rhyme words, as shown below. There is only one couplet in this cluster that rhymes the word 'kattilalla' with something else:

Keitä sä kultani kahvia | keitä se katti*lalla*
Älä sitä mairolla sekota | vaav viinalla maki*alla*
(Tottijärvi 1904. Jukka Rekola 138.)

Brew, my darling, coffee | and brew that with a kettle.
Do not blend it with milk | but with sweet alcohol.

This couplet has as its starting point the actual fact presented in the priming line: brewing coffee. It does not hold to the initial message of separation: brewing coffee at the moment of separation. The rhymer directs the point to

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how that coffee should be served, perhaps by emphasizing his male gender and the connection of alcohol with that, which is a common theme. This new argument line plays with the surprise effect, and leads to the new rhyme word very effortlessly. In fact, the main purpose here may simply be to show relative skills in creating new arguments based on play with the established priming line.

Popular Clusters of Couplets that Deploy the Opening Formula

The following couplet that is documented in western Finland ten times in a very similar form and is often reported together with the 'basic form' also directly relates to the dance context and exchange of partners. It seems to make the point that the 'girlfriend' has or has had so many 'dear ones' that a kettle is no more enough: to serve them all a bucket is needed instead:

> Keitä sä heilani kahvia | ja tua sitä ämpä*rillä.*
> Saa olla uudet ja vanhat kullat | sen ämpärin ympä*rillä.*
> (Alastaro 1911. H. Nurmio 425.)
>
> Brew, my darling, coffee | and bring it with a bucket
> The new and the old loves can stay | that bucket – around (= around that bucket)

In addition, different argument-lines with this rhyme pair are created by utilizing the formula 'for the last time' from the 'basic form' (once also substituted to 'first time'):

> Keitä sä kultani kahvia | ja tuo vaikka ämpä*rillä*.
> Kun taidan mä olla viimesen kerran | sun kahveesi ympä*rillä.*
> (Kankaanpää 1889. Antto Laiho 3 s.)
>
> Brew, my darling, coffee | and bring it with a bucket
> Since I may be for the last time / your coffee – around (= around your coffee)

> Keitä sä kultani kahvia | ja keitä ämpä*rillä*.
> Sillä viimesen kerran käteni mä laitan | sun kaulasi ympä*rille*.
> (Jämsä, 1926. Kalle Nieminen 418.)
>
> Brew, my darling, coffee | and bring it with a bucket
> Since for the last time I lay my hand | your neck – around (= around your neck)

Another popular dance couplet substitutes the 'with a kettle' with the expression 'a farewell pot', to fit the new rhyme partner which ends the new argument line.

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Keitäppäs, kultani, kahvia | keitä ero*pannu*!
Ei meiltä ennen rakkaus lopu | kuin Pohjantähti *sammuu*
(Savukoski 1929. Lauri Koskinen 513.)

Brew, my darling, coffee | brew a farewell pot
Our love will not end before | the North Star will extinguish

The argument line comes with many small syntactic variations that also lead to variance in the meaning:

Keitäppäs kultani kahvia | ja keitä ero*pannu.*
Meidän rakkaus ei lopu | **vaikka** pohjantähti *sammuu.*
(Lapua 1887. V. Palo VK 71 162.)

Brew, my darling, coffee | and brew a farewell pot
Our love will not end | **even if** the North Star will extinguish

Keitä ny kultani kaffetta | ja keitä se ero*pannu.*
Ennenkö rakkaus kylmenee | ja onnen tähti sammuu.
(Loppi 1883. Hels. suom. alkeisopiston konventti 1, XXIX, K. F. Andersson 57.)

Brew now my darling coffee | and brew that farewell pot
Before love gets cold | and the star of fortune will extinguish

There's also a variant which explicitly denies the central message of parting with a simple change in the second hemistich:

Keitä siä kulta kahvia | **vaikkei so** ero*pannu*
ennenkun meitistä ero tulee | niin pohjantähti *sammuu*

Brew, my darling, coffee | **even if that's not** a farewell pot
before we will part | the North Star will extinguish

This cluster, just as the previous, nonetheless makes it very evident that even in this type of oft-used formulaic couplets it is the first hemistich of the argument line that receives the largest syntactic variation.

The word with the rhyme syllables *pan-nu* [pot], either with the determiner 'farewell' or with changing epithets, *iso* [a big] or *koko* [the whole], combined with the idea of parting, turns out to be a very productive rhyme partner as it combines with several different argument lines:

Keitäs kultani kahveeta | ja keitäs se ero*pannu.*
Ennen kuin tuot sitä minulle | niin kaada se hopia*kannuun*.
(Hämeenkyrö, 1889. V. Kievari 10.)

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Brew, my darling, coffee | and brew that farewell pot
Before you bring it to me | pour it to a silver jug

Keitä sä heilani kahvia | ja keitä se ero*pannu*.
Kun sinä olet niin monta kertaa | mun mieleni pahot*tannu*.
(Pöytyä, 1937. Lempi Aalto KT1: 169.)

Brew, my girlfriend, coffee | and brew that farewell pot
Since you have so many times | hurt my feelings

Keitä sä kultani kahvia | keitä se iso *pannu*.
Ja anna niille riijarilles | joita olet rakas*tannu*.
(Orimattila, 1901. E. Alho VK 3: 227.)

Brew, my darling, coffee | and brew that big pot
And give to all your wooers | whom you've loved

Keitä kultani kahvia | ja keitä iso *pannu*.
Koska se tulee olemaan | iloinen ero-*kannu*.
(Eräjärvi 1904. J. Tyyskä 1597.)

Brew, my darling, coffee | and brew a large pot
Because that will be | a joyful farewell jug

All these cases are technically similar in that the composer/singer has as his starting point a fairly complete formulaic priming line, and uses his skills to vary or to create a novel argument line, in these cases in accordance with the message of parting.

Individual Couplets that Employ the Opening Formula

Many single renditions apply the opening formula and continue in the second hemistich with words that somehow relate to the idea of brewing or drinking coffee. They nevertheless build on a new rhyme pair which in most cases seems to be primarily selected according to the argument line and its rhyme word:

Keitä sä kultani kahvia | mutta älä pannua *kaada*
Tarvitsis ne friiarimiehet | punssikupin *saada*
(Siikainen, 1907. Jukka Rekola 918.)

Brew, my darling, coffee | but do not spill the pot
The wooing men would need | to get a cup of punch

Keitä kultani kahvia | sillä kahvia mä *joisin*
Jollet sinä kahvia keitä | niin minä lähden *pois*
(Lammi, 1899. J. I. Lindroth 185.)

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Brew my darling coffee | since coffee I'd like to drink
Unless you brew coffee | I will go away

Keitä kultani kahvia | ja keitä se hyvin *pian*
Et saa antaa erokirjaa | ja hakea uuden *sijaan*
(Lammi, 1899. J. I. Lindroth 205.)

Brew my darling coffee | and brew it very soon
Do not give me the parting book | and take someone new

Keitä sä kultani kahvia | noista Olströmin malta*hista*
Se lopun tekee tuskasta | ja itkun pisa*rista*
(Pyhäjärvi Ul. 1903. Evert Leino 76.)

Brew, my darling, coffee | with those malts made by Olström
That will put an end to the pain | and the drops of tears

Keitä sä flikka kahvetta | ja kaaras sä tilkka *viinaa*
Minä tuon toistet tullen | silkij ja pumpul*liinan*
(Pöytyä 1908. T. V. Lehtisalo 234.)

Brew, lass, coffee | and pour a drop of spirits
When I come again I'll bring | silk and cotton linen

Keitä sä kultani kahvia | sillä kello se on jo *kuusi*
Vai onko sun mieles muuttunut | vai onko sulla jo *uusi*
(Lapua 1911. Aaro J. Vallinmäki 384.)

Brew my darling coffee | since the clock is already six
Or has your mind changed | or do you already have someone new

Keitä sä kultani kahvia | ja keitä kuppija *kuusi*
Keitti se ennen entinen hellu | keitä nyt sinä *uusi*
(Juva 1899. T. Pasanen 1147.)

Brew, my darling, coffee | and brew of cups six
It was my old girl who brewed before | brew now you (who are) new

Mutta keitäs sä kultani kahveeta | ja keitä se sitte *kystä*
Joisin tota kupin, kaks | saa loput ketä *lystää*
(Tyrvää 1936. Aukusti Manner KRK 39:20.)

But brew my darling coffee | and brew that well-cooked
I'd drink a cup or two | anyone who likes can have the rest

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Keitä kultani kahvia | kyllä minä kahveen *annan*
Tuo se pannu kammariin | mutta älä sitä rikalla *kanna*
(Kalvola 1912. Edv. Mikkola 470.)

Brew, my darling, coffee | I'll provide the (coffee) grains
Bring that pot to the chamber | but do not carry it with a brick

These couplets employ the opening formula and continue with words related to brewing or drinking coffee and are thematically connected to relationship: the beginning, or the possible or *fait accompli* end of it, or just the event of the date. Yet they deviate much further from the 'basic form' and other relatively stable dance couplets presented above.

In most cases it is quite clear that the chosen rhyme word(s) lead the composition. Consequently, in most cases it may be interpreted that the composer was aware of his or her argument when formulating the priming line and its rhyme. Many of the rhyme pairs employed in these single renditions are commonplace: *kaada : saada* [pour : get]; *kuusi : uusi*; [six : new]; *annan : kanna* [I give : carry (imperative)]. Two units, both cited by the same informant, feature rhyme pairs, where a bisyllabic rhyme word receives a monosyllabic rhyme mate: *joi-sin : pois* [I would drink : away]; *pian : si-jaan* [soon : instead]. When singing, the monosyllabic words *pois* and *pian* can be split by pronunciation to two syllables (*poi-(j)is; pi-jan*) to conform to the requirements of the two-syllable rhyme. The rhyming of inflected forms such as the rhyme pair malta*hista* – pisa*rista* is a common way of employing the secondary word stress for the rhyme and these provide a significant means to avoid well-worn rhyme words.

Nonidentical rhymes appear in the following ways, beginning from approximately the most common (this list is based on larger material, and also contains examples not presented here):

(1) the lack of final -t or -n in one rhyme partner (*an-nan : kan-na; pan-nu : kan-nuun*);
(2) short vs. long vowel (*kys-tä : lys-tää*);
(3) consonant gemination (*saa-neet : maan-neet*);
(4) different consonants (*pan-nu : sam-muu*); commonly plosives k, p, t (*män-ty : sän-ky; yrt-ti : nyrk-ki*) and liquids l, r (*mär-kä : näl-kä*), also other consonant exchange;
(5) identical rhyme sections including the onset of the rhyme syllables, as part of four-syllable words, whose first consonants or vowels differ (ta-vak-*sen-sa :* pa-hak-*sen-sa*; äm-pä-*ril-lä* : ym-pä-*ril-lä*)
(6) elliptic vocal identity, typically with umlaut, on the final syllable (kat-ti-*lal-la* : lat-ti-*al-le*; äm-pä-*ril-lä* : ym-pä-*ril-le*; also on stressed syllable (*maal-le* : *jääl-le*);
(7) additional i-sound in one of the rhyme mates.

The first two cases (1, 2) are common in Estonian poetry (Lotman & Lotman, this volume) and also Russian poetry (Scherr 1986), and all cases except the case six (6) are typical of contemporary Finnish rap. Especially interesting is the case five (5) where the four syllable words (or longer) can be similar in what comes to all their vowels but with changing consonants.

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Such long vowel rhyme sections, either constituting of long words or several words, would according to the nomination used for Finnish rap rhymes be 'double rhymes' or 'multi-rhymes' and are very desirable as part of a rapper's competence (Sykäri 2017; 2019).

Couplet Structure as a Rhymer's Microcosm

Balancing of its structural parts was proposed above as a significant characteristic of the couplet unit: balancing takes place between the two semantic parts that create the couplet unit, between the two hemistichs of the long line, as well as within the hemistichs. With the examples presented above, it can be further claimed that the principle of balancing is not only an aesthetic solution and musically performer-friendly but for the rhymer it also entails distribution of energy insofar as it provides clear slots that need different amount of attention.

First of all, whatever is the actual order of composition, the second, last of the two equally long semantic parts needs the composer's full attention, because that part discloses the message. In the 'basic form' discussed above and many of the examples that deploy or vary its leading formula, the priming part has an obvious functional role as it coherently leads to the argument part. Yet it does not by itself tell anything about the message: why should coffee be brewed? This is what the composer/performer needs to specify in the couplet's argument line. On the basis of the popularity of the 'basic form' (50 out of 150 mentions) and several other rather fixed variants, it can be assumed that the most oft-used and memorized couplets are likely to be coherent also when it comes to the correlation between their priming and argument line. Established rhyme pairs are also very strong ties. This does not override the fact that even set couplets are subject to minor and major variation. On the other hand, an experienced composer is free to depart from any set images and to use these as raw material. In these examples where the opening formula provided a strong connection with a social event, this appeared to be in explicit or implicit intertextual connection with the given raw material. This is not always so; the priming part can very well be chosen from irrelevant stock lines or varied from one, or quickly improvised simply to provide a suitable rhyme.

Second, the two hemistiches of the long line that together create the semantic clause also have a different role: the second carries the rhyme word and is therefore partly fixed after the selection of the rhyme word. The first hemistich of any line introduces the clause that will end in the second hemistich with the rhyme word. It has more room for formulas, which can be deployed as structural and semantic construction parts. Yet as was evident in these examples, the priming part's formulaic hemistich was very stable, but the argument part's first hemistich, even when assimilating a formula, had a lot of syntactic variation. The formula 'for the last time' (*viimeisen kerran*) was easily situated in different places of the clause according to the needs of the rest of the constituents. The roles of these two 'first' hemistich are thus quite different.

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We may in fact notice that the first hemistich of the argument line is indeed the place where the composer centres his/her energy in syntactic fitting of the message: sometimes this means that s/he constructs a new clause that will lead to the chosen rhyme word, sometimes variation of an existing model. This variation can be purposeful in determining the nuance of the argument, but presumably it can also be an outcome of normal syntactic variation in verbal expression.

In what comes to the types of formulaic expressions listed by Baud-Bovy, the existence of 'all-purpose hemistiches' became very well established as a result of the versatile use of the opening formula, even if these examples, organized indeed according to their beginning, do not yet allow to comment on how such modules appear in other positions. The formula 'for the last time' (*viimeisen kerran*) exemplified another type of formula which could be positioned in different places within the clause constructions and it also provided evidence of the binary word pairs as it was sometimes changed to the opposite, 'for the first time' (*ensimmäisen kerran*) to turn upside down the message.

However, the end rhyme pair is the primary genre marker, and in case the performer does not use a ready made unit which s/he draws from memory, for fluent composition of coherent arguments the selection or creation of rhyme pair needs attention before the respective clauses can be constructed. Due to this obligatory attention, rhymes are the central point of reference even when they do not stand out as especially meaningful or innovative in themselves: rhyming is simply essential. On the other hand, proficient and creative use of rhymes can be expected to be appreciated indeed due to their position as a genre convention, and playing with rhyme expectations is one of the chief means for creating humoristic, clever, as well as bawdy messages. This is one of the significant characteristics of the inverted structure: as the punchline is awaited to come at the end, the semantic game is always also a structural and rhetorical game, and rhymed lyrical registers add to this the possibility of playing with line-final rhyme words.

Conclusions

The opening formula and the general image of brewing and drinking coffee has turned out to be a forceful image with a wide and coherent intertextual field of variation and inspiration for oral composition. This sample was selected as the result of the inspection of the alphabetical *rekilaulu* card index located at the Finnish Literature Society's archives due to its relatively large size, which allowed the examination of many types of variation related to one hemistich-length opening formula. The lack of digitizing currently makes it impossible to combine the results of this study with data on how common, for example, certain rhyme words and formulas are or how they are used elsewhere in the material. A close study of this cluster of couplets, with detailed analysis of how they appear in different villages, regions, and timelines, could help specify explicit intertextual networks between them, just as the study of the original manuscripts would show in what kind of

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repertoires they belong. However, since we do not yet have any kind of analysis of the *rekilaulu* material as regards its structural variation and methods of composition, and studies of oral composition are in general not frequent, my purpose with this study was to analyse a sample with respect to what it can generally tell us of the genre's aesthetics, rhyme, and other significant construction parts. The central epistemological frame for this enquiry was thus to understand the aesthetics of rhyme and rhyming in this type of oral tradition, where many people continuously performed and produced huge amounts of short texts.

The rhyming couplet is a short verse form chiefly identified as a standalone unit, which either directly states an argument or provides an image that reveals one. As poetic language, the rhyming couplet is essentially marked by end rhyme, often one pair of end rhymes, but when the constituent parts are made of four short lines then also it is common to find patterns where all line-ends rhyme. The *rekilaulu* unit has one rhyme pair which ties the two semantic parts together. I have referred to these semantic parts as the priming part and the argument part due to their roles in the rhetorical construction of the couplet. A structural analysis of these two semantic parts which I conceptualized here as two long lines, and their two constituent parts which I correspondingly conceptualized as hemistichs, conformed to the results presented by Baud-Bovy (1936): the structure is balanced by division in equal parts, and since the second hemistichs of the lines accommodate and are thus determined by rhyme words, the first hemistichs are more liable to include formulas.

The analysis also showed that in this sample, the formulas and formulaic phrases in the first, priming part were very stable, whereas in the argument part the use of the formulas and their location within the phrase varied much more. This is connected to the different roles of the priming and the argument part in the outcome as well as the cognitive work of the composer. As was claimed, the opening hemistich or even the whole priming line can be chosen from a selection of stable, existing units, because this priming line only plays an introductory role. The first hemistich of the argument line, in contrast, has the most variation because this is where the composer introduces his/her message: the major syntactic work done to embed the message and the final rhyme word is carried out here.

The end rhyme is the trademark of the compact structure. These couplets were sung by one person or back and forth by individuals or groups over a long stretch of time in the dance and singing events, and many were often quickly improvised. The rhyme aesthetic is equivalent to this: stock rhyme pairs, rhymes which build on inflectional word ends, and several types of nonidentical rhymes were all fine – as long as there is a sound similarity, the couplet is formally appropriate. On the other hand, proficient composers could show their relative skill by producing more variety and by playing with familiar rhymes and rhyme expectations. The constant performance and composition activities and the passing on of this knowledge during generations created the continuum on the ground of which excellence and surprise could peak. Our knowledge of what exactly was appreciated and how much this varied between persons and communities is very scarce, but

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the high percentage of the crystallized forms among the archived material and its high amount of microlevel variation on the one hand, and the versatility of forms that could deploy the same opening formula for a variety of arguments on the other, suggest that repetition and explicit intertextuality closely coexisted with the seeking of novelty.

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Susanne Rosenberg
https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0200-3144

A Tight-rope Walk

Improvising Collectively with End Rhymes in the Style of the Swedish Medieval Ballads

What happens when contemporary folk singers improvise end rhymes in the style of the Swedish medieval ballads? In an ongoing project – Folk Song Lab – folk singers collectively improvised ballads with end rhymes using different methods. How do different improvising methods affect the result? Is it possible to acquire additional skills in rhyming via improvisation? Furthermore – how do the singer's expertise, the number of participants in a session, and the setting in which improvisation occurs affect the result? Can improvisation sessions promote a higher degree of variation in not only the melody but also the storytelling?-These questions are discussed through a presentation of results from two different collective improvising sessions.

Background– What is the Swedish Ballad?

The Swedish medieval ballad is an epic narrative song that is objectively told from a third-person perspective, structured into scenes, and progresses with dramatic dialogue. A ballad is told in strophes, commonly up to twenty or more[1], and the story evolves from scene to scene by *leaping and lingering*[2]. Leaping and lingering means giving more attention to some parts of the story by lingering on them while jumping quickly by big leaps through other parts without making any specific transitions.

The strophes are either two or four lines with end rhymes or assonances, with either one returning refrain (*omkväde*[3]) at the end of each strophe or two returning refrains (*omkväden*) between the lines in the strophes. The

1 Based on transcribed material, the length of Swedish medieval ballads can vary from three strophes up to hundred, and if extended to the whole Norse hemisphere, up to several hundred strophes.

2 In his article 'Ballad and Epic' in the Journal of American Folk-Lore in 1908, W. H. Clawson describes leaping and lingering as the following: 'The characteristic dwelling of the ballad upon these situations, and its swift passage with scarcely a mark of transition from one to another, impart to the ballad movement a peculiar combination of rapidity and slowness, now first pointed out by Professor Gummere, aptly termed 'leaping and lingering' (Clawson 1908).

3 *omkväde* means sing again since *kväda* means sing, and *om* means again.

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omkväde can either comment on the context: 'under the grove so green', or give clues to the overall narrative: 'I know the grief is heavy'

The singer of ballads uses returning expressions or formulas[4] as ornamentations or amplification of expressions. The horse is not merely a horse, instead 'the grey horse' and the maiden's hand is a 'lily-white hand'. These returning expressions or formulas are frequently used regardless of the story itself. Some formulas might indicate an inherited meaning regarding the status of a person. The ballad singer uses *incremental repetition*[5] or parallelism, in which a line is repeated in a changed context or with minor changes in the repeated part; 'through the forest', '…the village', and '…over the plains', or describing three hardships that need to be overcome. The stories told in the ballads are timeless and the melodies often beautiful and 'strong'.

When listening to older traditional singers performing ballads, a high degree of presence is observable in the singing and storytelling and extensive variation in both the melody and the way the stories are told. This is storytelling through singing, varied in the moment. Other researchers have described this in different ways and from different perspectives (Bronson 1969; Buchan 1997 [1972]; Lord 2000) and Bronson's quote on the singing of Mrs Brown gives an idea of how this can be described:

> What was it she had carried in her memory? Not a text, but a ballad: a fluid entity soluble in the mind, to be concretely realized at will in words and music. (Bronson 1969: 71.)

This variation – so common in the oral tradition – where a song can potentially differ significantly from one performance to another in every structural aspect and yet still be considered the 'same', leads to a conceptualization of a song as something variable and intimately linked to performance, in the act of singing. That is to say, in an oral tradition, a song could be viewed as a cognitive framework that gives room for variation rather than an absolute, firm and stable entity. A fluid entity that could be interpreted as holding the singer's unified, tacit knowledge of the song.

The singer's cognitive framework consists of the mode, ways of musical phrasing, lyric formulation style, melodic variations, ornamentation and singing style, rhythmical pattern and narrative style, including rhyming, alliteration, and repetition (Rosenberg 2021). There is no first version of the ballad, only variations, and we can say that the singer is both the interpreter as well as the instant composer of 'the song' in the moment. In the singer's cognitive framework, 'singing, performing, composing are facets of the same act' (Lord 2000: 13).

4 Parry first introduced the concept of formula as 'a group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea' (Parry 1930: 80), cited in Lord (2000 [1960]: 30).

5 'Incremental repetition, a device used in poetry of the oral tradition, especially English and Scottish ballads, in which a line is repeated in a changed context or with minor changes in the repeated part'. See 'Incremental repetition' *Encyclopedia Britannica* 1999.

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Today's Swedish folk singers often have ballads in their repertoire, and ballads are performed by soloists, folk vocal groups, and folk music ensembles, as well as being used at amateur community dancing gatherings (Åkesson 2007). The ballads are usually learnt by oral transmission from fellow singers or by listening to old traditional recordings or reading transcriptions. Old ballads are easy to find in both print and on CD,[6] as well as through simple archive searches.

Today's folk singers also vary their ballads. These variations usually involve omitting strophes and refrains in long ballads, altering the melody line, and adding ornamentation. There is a view amongst today's folk singers that a ballad is often too long for concert performances and should therefore be shortened to avoid boring the listeners.

The practice of varying the melody line could be said to follow the traditional way of singing, where the melody is seen not as having a stable identity, but rather fits a cognitive framework, as mentioned above (Rosenberg 2019). On the other hand, the strategy of excluding strophes and refrains and breaking the habit of end rhymes could, arguably, be said to go against the idea of the ballad, since the incremental repetition and the *omkväde* gives the ballad a good pace, enabling the listener to grasp the storyline even if their attention varies as they listen. Walter Ong argues that repetition is an essential part of storytelling in an oral tradition, helping the listener to follow the narrative, and rhetorical skills are vital in order to succeed in reaching the listener with the story (Ong 1982). Ong (1982: 40) takes the following view:

> Hence the mind must move ahead more slowly, keeping close to the focus of attention much of what it has already dealt with. Redundancy, repetition of the just said, keeps both speaker and hearer surely on track.

Might singers today also be able to use the cognitive framework of the ballad to obtain a freer way of telling the story when it comes to the narrative? Could methods with identified characteristics of the ballad be used as tools when improvising – methods such as returning expression, leaping and lingering, incremental repetition, returning refrain, and the use of end rhymes? Furthermore, might it be possible to sing a story without pre-designated strophes or refrains?

It is well known that improvisatory skills and creativity benefit from the use of returning forms such as a specific tonality, a harmonic sequence, and rhythmic pattern, and that internal tacit knowledge would promote being freer 'in the moment' (de Manzano & Ullén 2012; Pinho et al. 2016; de Manzano, Theorell, Harmat & Ullén 2010; Pinho, de Manzano, Fransson & Ullén 2014). This might suggest that tacit knowledge of a cognitive framework and specific characteristics such as the use of end rhymes, incremental repetition, refrain, and returning expression are useful when

6 Publication of both phonogram with traditional recordings of medieval ballads and the printed collection *Sveriges Medeltida Ballader* in seven volumes (Jonsson, Jersild, & Jansson 1983–2001) has made the repertoire very accessible.

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improvising. Fabb takes the view that there are different cognitive strategies for remembering already created texts: 'It is possible that this section of text is small enough to be held all at one time in working memory, a type of memory which is limited in capacity, and holds material for a very short time' (Fabb 2015: 171). Moreover, he continues:

> Working memory is divided into subcomponent parts. One part – the phonological loop – is limited by the duration of the spoken text, and I show that this cannot be the part that holds the line as a whole unit. Instead, the line must be held as a whole unit in the modality-independent part called the episodic buffer, which can hold the equivalent of up to fifteen words of English prose. (Fabb 2015: 171.)

This implies that there may be small segments such as returning expressions that could be recalled holistically as complete units into the episodic buffer. Psychologist Daniel Kahneman (2013) talks about 'system 1' and 'system 2', the first being fast or intuitive thinking, where you can access your automated skills and tacit knowledge without thinking. The use of 'system 2', by contrast, requires one to reflect on the actions while doing them (thinking slow). In this case system 1 is primarily used. This is also consistent with the phonological loop mentioned above, which could consist of small texts such as returning expressions, or text that fills out space between returning expressions. All of this points to the usefulness of a tacit knowledge of the ballad's cognitive framework for the ability to create in flow.

The Context of the Experiment

In the artistic research project 'Folk Song Lab' (Rosenberg 2014, 2019–2021) the participants, either experienced folk singers and folk musicians or experienced singers within other genres, improvise based on the concept of the cognitive framework as described above.

One of the central ideas of Folk Song Lab is to work with oral transmission and not using written material. Instead, a different kind of input is used to stimulate the oral transmission that is inherited in the folk music genre, promoting the singer's ability to formulate in the moment and keeping the parameter of orality close to the artistic expressions. The primary resources for the methods used in the project are based on the central qualities that can be identified in older folk singing tradition[7] (Rosenberg, in press).

7 Communication: You are always connected with 'the listener,' which could be oneself. Interactivity: You need to interact since oral transmission is the main method for learning. Interlinked: The tradition works like a chain, where every person continues and contributes new links to that chain. Cognition – Perception: The cognitive framework creates space for creativity and requires perception skills. Social Interaction: The context is the interaction on a personal level too. Singing. Listening. Learning. Interpretation: Every person creates their own performance of 'the song'. The act of singing is 'the thing'. Orality: Learning by heart, using oral transmission methods, gives you tacit knowledge to use as a tool.

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Illustration 1. Participants in a Folk Song Lab session in Irland, painting a Story Board as a starting point of a Ballad singing.

The group size can vary from two up to forty participants. A session is not interrupted by breaks, and all instructions are shown or sung during the session. In the session, everybody contributes by singing and listening, either by taking turns or improvising simultaneously. Different methods are tested within that temporal space and physical place in an ongoing process.

In earlier experiments, flow-parameters (Csikszentmihalyi 1990) have been used as creative tools for setting up the context for the improvisation sessions consisting of play – risk – mimicry – reorientation – feedback – real-life-performance (Rosenberg 2013). The improvisatory approach in Folk Song Lab has a lot in common with the methods developed within theatrical improvisation (Spolin 1999), although in this case, the methods are developed from a musical point of view.

When improvising ballads, the session starts by establishing a typical ballad rhythm and pulse. Each singer in the circle attempts the task, improvising a strophe, and when the refrain is established, more attention is devoted to creating the narrative, to telling the story, by taking turns, improvising the strophes, possibly with end rhymes, whilst the other singers collectively accompany in the refrain between strophes. An improvisation session of a ballad with end rhymes lasts between twenty and thirty minutes.

Recordings and the participants' reflections are collected to enable evaluation of the quality of the sessions. The recordings make it possible to transcribe text and melody and analyse the development of the singing over

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time. Spoken and written reflections from the participants provide valuable information about the perception of the task, the conception at the level of the difficulties of execution, or the feeling of flow, as well as participants' thoughts about the mission itself.

About forty sessions with improvising ballads have been performed over a timespan of five years in the project Folk Song Lab. Several methods were tested in those sessions. This article presents two sessions that used three different methods.

The first method is called *Storyboard ballads,* where a visual input is used as inspiration when improvising the storyline. The second method is called *Weaving reuse*[8] and is based on the idea of reusing words or rhyme-words from one sung strophe in the next. The third method is called *End rhyme at any cost*.

In both sessions, the singers were encouraged to use returning expressions and strophes where two narrative lines were interspersed with two refrain lines. The rhyme appears at the end of the narrative lines.

Improvising from a Visual Input – the Storyboard Ballad Method

In the first session, nine female singers participated, improvising from the storyboard method. Five of the singers were more experienced in ballad singing; all of the participants were skilled in folk singing. This experiment was carried out in 2014 and is one of the earliest sessions using the storyboard method[9] as visual input.

The strophes below were transcribed about fifteen minutes into the session. This was the first time the story had coherent continuity lasting for more than three strophes. On some earlier occasions, narrative and end rhyme appeared but not for long.

These seven improvised strophes with end rhymes appear creative, inventive, with spinning associative twists in the storytelling. Notably, these strophes were started by the most experienced singers, who happened to be sitting beside each other in the circle and who are familiar with the ballad form. In the recording of the session a high level of presence is observable amongst all participants: everyone takes part in the story, even when not singing, and there is a lot of laughter when one singer suggests the dragon

8 The Weaving reuse method could be described as a method that promotes the repetition and reuse of words and expression in more than one strophe, also using incremental repetition, which gives the story a slower pace and weaves the storyline together by intertwining old and new words and expressions. Other words that could be used for this method: crocheting, recycling, lingering reuse, spinning, braiding, linking, ballad recycling, story reuse, chain.

9 The Storyboard ballad method: The singers paint a storyboard with a loose storyline that includes the cast of the story (who), the context (where), and indicate the storyline and the highlights in the story (what). The inspiration could emanate from an existing ballad or narrative or be newly invented. When the storyboard has been chosen it is placed within the session circle, providing fuel for the singing to begin.

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Illustration 2. A ballad storyboard showing a storyline created by one of the singers in what is referred to as the first session (Järventaus 2014).

would also like to have a coffee machine. In the rest of the improvisation session, which lasted for twenty-two minutes, some coherent narratives with end rhymes appeared, but not for more than three strophes in a row (illustration 3).

In the second session, in 2019, four professional female folk singers improvised a narrative with end rhymes for twenty-five minutes. The singers used the cognitive framework of a melody already known to the singers beforehand. The storyline was improvised without specific input. Instead, two other methods were used: Weaving reuse and End rhyme at any cost. The Weaving reuse method involves the use of returning expression and incremental repetition – using words or scenes that have just been heard and repeating or slightly altering them in the next strophe, adding a lingering slowness to the storytelling. The End rhyme at any cost method involves rhyming on the end word in the first sentence even if it does not fit correctly into the meaning – in other words, prioritizing end rhyme over narrative. Below are some of the transcribed strophes.

The story in the second session starts by reflecting on the task itself: improvising and rhyming. Then the story continues onward, sailing across the sea and ending up on an island, after which the improvising returns to the difficulty of the task of rhyming, and finally ends up in a long story about a troll (giant) in the mountain and a mission to kill it and steal 'the ring'.

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Ja draken känner sig stor och sliten	The dragon feels big and worn out
Uti gröna lunden	*In the green grove*
Han vill vara jätteliten	He wants to be tiny
Uti gröna lunden	*In the green grove*
Och bära sitt hus på axlarna små	And carry his house on his shoulders small
Uti gröna lunden	*In the green grove*
Med vita knutar och körsbärsberså	With white knots and cherry blossoms ”berså”
Uti gröna lunden	*In the green grove*
”Jag vill också ha en kaffemaskin”	”I also want a coffee machine”
Uti gröna lunden	*In the green grove*
”Att bära runt i mitt skal så fin”	”To carry around in my shell so nicely”
Uti gröna lunden	*In the green grove*
Å draken han söker upp en häxa	And the dragon seeks out a witch
Uti gröna lunden	*In the green grove*
”Jag vill inte växa”	”I don’t want to grow”
Uti gröna lunden	*In the green grove*
”Se där, se där jag har en liljerot”	”See there, see where I have a lily root”
Uti gröna lunden	*In the green grove*
”Den ska du smörja på din stora fot”	”That you should anoint on your big foot”
Uti gröna lunden	*In the green grove*
”För om du vill bli liten så ska du det få”	”If you want to be small, so be it.”
Uti gröna lunden	*In the green grove*
”Så ska du va glad och må”	”Then you will be happy”
Uti gröna lunden	*In the green grove*
Å liljeroten han smörjde på	And he anointed with the lily root
Uti gröna lunden	*In the green grove*
och vips blev han så liten som en liten lillå	And immediately, he became small as a small pinkie-toe
Uti gröna lunden	*In the green grove*

Illustration 3. An excerpt of seven strophes with improvised end rhymes. The end rhymes are underlined in Swedish. Transcribed from fifteen minutes into the session with nine singers. A different singer sings each strophe. On the right is a rough translation into English, to make it possible to follow the storyline.

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Vi **sitter** och **sjunger** i vårat gäng	We sit and sing in our ”gang”
Det blir rätt så bra och fint litet sväng	It creates a pretty good and nice little ”swing”
Ja alla vi **sjunger** ju refräng	Yes, all of us are singing the refrain
Men inte så ska vi nu gå i **säng**	If not, we should now go to bed
Det här det är ett jätteskönt häng	This is a really lovely ”hang out”
Det är också så att det kanske blir ett **sväng**	it is also the case that I may be a ”swing”
Ett **sväng** är just vad vi vill ha	A ”swing” is precisely what we want
Jag tycker det **gungar** ganska bra	I think it sways pretty good
Det **gungar** som **skeppet**, det gungar på hav	It sways like the ship. It sways on the sea
Å **skeppet** det **seglar** nu inte i kvav	The ship is sailing and does not sink
Nej **skeppet** det **seglar** till främmande land	No, the ship it sails to a foreign land
Och där kan jag finna en annan man	And there I can find another man
Det **gungar** härligt med en så’n vind	It rocks wonderfully with such a wind
Det blåser salta stänk mot min kind	it blows salty splashes against my cheek
Så **kanske** vi alla ska **segla** ut	So maybe we’re all going to sail out
Så kanske vi kommer att få ett skjut	So maybe we will all get ”laid”
Vem kan veta vad som händer där	Who knows what’s going to happen there
Vi **kanske** kan hitta någon kär	Maybe we can find someone to love
Ja, oj vilka underbara idéer	Yes, oops, what wonderful ideas
Vi **kanske** är några lycko-feer	maybe we are some lucky-fairies
Ja man kan undra vad man finner där	Yes, you can wonder what you would find there
Det kanske finns flera man kan hålla **kär**	there may be many more that you can love
Att äkta flera det tror jag på	To marry many that I believe in
Man kanske kan få åtminstone två	You may be able to get at least two
Ja, mister du en står det flera **igen**	Yes, If you lose one, there are several again
För pojkarnas ord de är svåra **igen**	For the boys’ words, they are difficult again
Ja ofta vi **sjunger** om unger**sven**	Yes, often we sing about ”young man” [young Sven]
Men vem vill ha en när man kan få många **igen**	But who wants one when you can get many again
Ja, **Sven** o **Sven** det är en härlig vän	Yes, Sven, oh Sven, that is a lovely friend
Han kanske vi också känner **igen**	Maybe we will all recognize him
Att kopiera den som är bra	To copy who is good
Det tror jag nog att jag vill ha	I think that’s probably what I want

Illustration 4. An excerpt of sixteen strophes with improvised end rhymes. The end rhymes are underlined. Transcribed from five minutes into a twenty-five-minute-long session with four singers. The four singers alternate between the strophes in the same order. On the right is a rough translation into English to make it possible to follow the storyline.

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Results

After a session in Folk Song Lab, the participants reflect both orally and by writing down their thoughts. These reflections lead to the observation that the task of improvising with end rhyme is quite demanding, especially when improvising the narrative and rhyme at the same time, and that this could be too great a challenge even for an experienced singer. However, using a known melody and form with returning refrain can be considered as a restriction that helps. This gives the singer space to focus on improvising narrative, with the refrain offering a point of rest for the singer.

The Time Span

In a session, the participants act as both singers and listeners, and it is evident that it takes some time for the participants to become creative when performing the task. In both these cases, it is notable that successful use of narrative with end rhyme is more prominent after a while.[10] In the first session, it took almost fifteen minutes before any coherent inter-participant storytelling appeared, while in the second experiment, it only took five minutes for a story to evolve. A session is a collective creation, and one might suspect that the participants need a couple of rounds of the circle to become familiar with the other participants and establish communication. Regarding this aspect, it is notable that it took around three minutes to complete a circle in the first session, while in the second it took only one minute. One might suspect that this also contributes to the result, as the singers have more opportunities to improvise when there are fewer participants.

Furthermore, the singers in the second session knew each other beforehand and are used to singing together, whereas the singers in the first session did not know each other so well. To conclude, when improvising ballads, an introductory period is also needed to get into the singing, which – in these experiments – took at least five minutes. A time span of about 25 minutes is preferred for the whole session since the most exciting narratives seem to appear after a while. When there are fewer singers there are more opportunities to improvise, which might be a good thing[11].

In these two cases, the group sizes varied between nine and four singers. Unsurprisingly, the session involving four skilled singers resulted in an story that was more coherent overall and constantly used end rhymes.

Improvising in First or Third Person Perspective

The perspective of the storytelling was not stipulated in the instructions for either of these two sessions; even so, it was different in each case. In the first session, the singers used dialogue and third-person perspective throughout the session. In the second session, with four singers, the story was told mainly from the first-person perspective – the singer's own voice – and also including singing about 'us' as a collective but never used the

10 This is also an observation that applies to other sessions when improvising in the style of the ballad.

11 This was also observed in other sessions when improvising ballad singing.

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third-person perspective. This difference might reflect an effect of the use of a ballad storyboard, which may be a more effective method of nudging the singers into the third-person perspective, and seeing the story as something outside of themselves, from a storyteller's point of view.

Improvising the Story

Both sessions used scenes and dialogue as a way to move the story forward. In the first session, the singers kept to the story in the painting; even with detours, the 'cast', (girl, boy, dragon), was used throughout the session. In the second session, the four singers start by reflecting on the task itself: improvising and rhyming. Next the story evolves, travelling by ship across the sea and ending up on an island, then returns to the task of rhyming and concludes with a long story about a troll (giant) in the mountain, and a mission to kill it and steal 'the ring'.

When using the visual input, as in the first session, the story always returned to the painted ballad storyboard. It seemed to create a middle point and an important focal point in the storytelling. The focus in the singing lay in using the painted story creatively, and the storyboard was also something to turn back to when creativity waned.

However, creating the rhyme and the story seemed to be a collective and intuitive process. When the storyline was presented to the singers in the second session at a later stage they could not identify who had improvised which strophe. The story could therefore be considered a truly collaborative creation, and not primarily as a collection of individual contributions.

Improvising End Rhyme

As mentioned above, the use of the End rhyme at any cost method nudged the singers in the second session into using and reusing rhyme words in a creative way throughout the story they created. Some words that are easy to rhyme seemed to lead the way throughout the session.

When the singers are left to find the story on their own, with the narrative taking its own direction off the top of the singers' head, end-rhyming can offer more focus. The rhyming is placed at the centre of the singers' attention, and the story emerges from the rhyme pairs that appeared.

In her research on the cognitive process of improvisation, Venla Sykäri cites the following possibilities for improvised composition of a couplet with end rhyme:

> (a) The performer formulates the second line in advance and adds the first line while performing.
> (b) The performer selects two (or several) rhyme words and formulates the clauses (or a series of clauses) that end with those words.
> (c) The performer selects the first rhyme word, starts creating a clause ending with that word, and when performing the verse line, he or she determines the second rhyme and then creates the second line.
> (Sykäri 2017: 146)

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In the present case, alternative c would be the most plausible action, since all were experienced singers and improvisers, but they were not yet fluent in the oral composition to the degree that they could systematically think up the second line before the first line. When including the method Weaving reuse the singers had to give attention to what happens before they themselves improvise; this gives an opportunity to use and reuse rhyme words from the verse they just heard. It can be suspected that this could give a more alert attention to the rhyme words and the way they could be used again. Still, no indication could be found in the reflections of this being a deliberate strategy.

In the first session, end-rhyming did not receive as much attention; instead, it was relegated to the 'backseat' in the storytelling process. On the other hand, when it appeared successfully, it drew a lot of attention.

It is notable that some words are more prominently used and reused in the second session, and often they are more general words that can be useful without jeopardising the storyline. The Swedish language has a relatively large number of words with multiple meanings. This is very useful when rhyming. Just as an example, the word *gång* can mean both time, point, once again, occasion, walk, and the word *man* is both a preposition and a 'male'. The end rhyme words are plotted in the word cloud below, with size reflecting frequency of occurrence. Where words are larger, they have been used many times. Some word-pairs are used more often: *sjunga* : *tunga* [sing : tongue] / *sång* : *gång* [a song: (ambiguous term, see above)]. The use of the end rhymes in this second session appeared to be very innovative, and end rhymes were reused in a creative way – at several points the participants used the double meaning of the word as an extra challenge. The End rhyme at any cost method did affect the focus of the session, and in the ninety-six strophes that were improvised, there were only a few rare occasions when a singer failed to rhyme.

As mentioned above, the storyline was affected by the End rhyme at any cost method: Some quite odd turns in the story appeared when the singers had to find a suitable rhyme-word that might lead the story in a new direction. It seemed useful for the singers to use the same rhyme-word in the next strophe – instead of inventing a new one, they could use/rest on that one and apply their creativity to the narrative development.

Improvising with the Weaving Reuse Method

Although only the singers in the second session were instructed to use the Weaving reuse method, which emphasises the use of incremental repetition and returning expression, this method was actually used a lot in both sessions. Building a story with the Weaving reuse method appears to be part of the tacit knowledge of what a ballad is. Moreover, one might suspect that when singers are improvising just one strophe each, it is good to repeat and alter parts from strophe the singer heard last. There is a difference between the two groups, in that the four singers applied the Weaving reuse method to a much greater extent, probably influenced by the instruction, which encouraged them to focus on it. The singers 'dared' to stay in scenes a bit longer by using incremental repetition, thereby giving the story a richness

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Illustration 5. A word cloud using the end rhyme words from the session with the four singers. The end rhymes used are plotted in such a way that size reflects frequency of occurrence. Larger words mean that the word has been used many times.

through variation. Returning expression also appeared in both sessions, although it was more prominent in the second.

The Refrain

In both these sessions, the refrain seems to help in the task of improvisation, providing an opportunity to catch up in the story, and giving the current singer breathing space. The alternating role as lead singer and chorus singer keeps everybody occupied all the time and may keep the singer in flow.

Discussion

The more the singer has tacit knowledge about the holistic part of a ballad's cognitive framework, the more focus there will be on creating, improvising, and listening. When improvising, it is an advantage to be familiar with the features included in the cognitive framework: the tonality, the use of incremental repetition, returning expressions, refrain, and end rhymes.

The different methods promote a different focus when improvising, as shown by the results. However, all the methods used in Folk Song Lab are deliberately designed primarily to stimulate challenging aspects such as rapid thinking and automated skills. The singers use their tacit knowledge when improvising and at the same time push the boundaries of their ability using the flow-tools, thereby promoting learning new skills that may increase their ability. The sessions are carried out in a real-life situation, very close to a performance set-up, and train skills in creating new ballads on the spot.

These skills may then become more automated, in line with Pinho et al.'s findings about improvising pianists: 'the greater functional connectivity seen in experienced improvisers may reflect a more efficient exchange of

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information within associative networks of importance for musical creativity' (Pinho et al. 2016). This implies that access to the associative network in the brain is essential when improvising more freely. 'These results indicate that even neural mechanisms involved in creative behaviours, which require a flexible online generation of novel and meaningful output, can be automated by training' (Pinho et al. 2016).

Participants in the sessions show signs of having experiences that are typical for a person in flow and using flow-parameters: the feeling of being in the present and forgetting time. However, participants also comment that it is hard, and they experience no flow, when improvising narrative with end rhymes at the same time. In addition to this, they improvised the melody in the first example, which made their task even more difficult. It seems as if, to a much greater extent than when improvising only the melodies, singers improvising narrative and end rhymes also need to access 'system 2'. This is the system where simultaneous reflection is necessary during the action, requiring slow thinking, and the use of categories and analytical thinking. At the same time, the act of improvising may simultaneously limit the possibility of thinking slowly, resulting in frustration and an absence of flow. The optimal challenge needs to be found.

Improvising collectively in sessions is an act that resembles a tight-rope walk: keeping your balance while moving forward and not thinking of anything else while you do it. Even the more experienced singers will find it difficult to be in the moment and be creative when there is too much to do because they must improvise narrative and end rhyme, sometimes even the melody, all at the same time. To exclude one parameter, such as improvising the melody, makes the task more easy to fulfil.

One participant reflects that '[a]s usual, rhyming with a pulse is difficult and a bit demanding. It requires a lot of concentration, needs to evolve more.'[12] Another one thinks that it is '[a] challenge to sing [improvise] and rhyme with a beat'. Moreover, one participant makes this short comment: 'rhyming is hard'. There are, however, indications that when skills and challenges are met in a (holistic) action of improvising, new skills are obtained – which is consistent with the findings by Pinho et al. mentioned above.

Some participants in these sessions commented that when they do not achieve flow they experience fear of failure, and that in turn prevents them from creating whole-heartedly, and being in the moment, suggesting that the challenge might be too great. On the other hand, one comment also indicates that this balancing act between failure and great accomplishment stimulates and trains one's ability, leading instead to great success. 'Fun with rhythm and rhyme improvisation, it is nice to laugh'. One other singer reflected:

> It is always challenging with rhyming, this time with the ballad form, where we had a little more time to think during refrains. Perhaps it was easier to try to listen and repeat what someone else did [before] – a challenge to try to put together a coherent story. We undertake our own exercises!

12 All quotations from the collected reflections presented are translated by the author.

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Another singer noted:

> Today was perhaps the first time that the rhyming worked [for me]. Usually feels more complicated, in our previous experiments. Maybe it was also easier now because the melody was so familiar […]. Or maybe it is a bit more familiar now after our previous attempts, how to pick up a thread from the previous verse. I heard good rhyme words from others that I thought I could 'spin on', but when it was my turn, new rhyming words popped up instead, [because] the story had been moving forward, or just got some new input, becoming something new.

As said before, the aim of the Folk Song Lab sessions is to promote and provide space for the singers' creativity in a collaborative setting without using any written instruction but instead presenting different methods of collective folk song improvisation 'by doing', through practice and participation. Furthermore, one important perspective is that these sessions include several singers, all with different types and levels of expertise. This promotes a learning experience for all participants in a session. Learning by listening and intuitively improvising in sessions may lead to the acquisition of new skills in the use of returning expression, incremental repetition, leaping and lingering, and end rhyme, if these elements are stipulated as conditions or rules for the session. The participants challenge and give each other inspiration and ideas to create the story together and invent rhyme words.

This study shows that it is possible, in a collaborative setting, to improvise narrative with typical features of the Swedish medieval ballad such as refrain and end rhyme, while using incremental repetition and returning expression. The contemporary folk singers participated in a challenging real-life collective setting both as improvising soloists and listeners, learning by example from the others. The expertise of the singers affected the outcome of the sessions, resulting in coherent stories and more use of end rhymes by the experienced singers. By nudging the singers towards a specific focus, through methods such as Storyboard ballad, Weaving reuse and End rhyme at any cost slightly different results were obtained, and the participants may learn new skills that could be automated in the future and used more freely in subsequent sessions. It can be observed that the focus on using flow-parameters promotes the intuitive, tacit knowledge of the singer, which can in turn result in a collective flow experience. This may be an alternative way of performing a ballad, where it is considered as a fluid entity that must be invented from the cognitive framework every time it is performed. Focusing on ballad singing as an improvisatory action promotes storytelling by singing that is varied in the moment.

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Myfany Turpin
https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0395-6756

End Rhyme in Aboriginal Sung Poetry

This paper[1] describes a type of line-final sound patterning in the traditional songs performed and passed on orally by Aboriginal people of Central Australia. Sound patterning is common in verbal art across the world, yet very little has been written about sound patterning in Aboriginal Australian song. Sound patterning at the ends of lines has been noted by several researchers of Central Australian Aboriginal song (see e.g., Wild 1984: 192; Strehlow 1971; Austin 1978; Dixon & Koch 1996; Barwick 2000), although it has not been systematically studied. Rhyme is said to be absent in some regions of Aboriginal Australia (Toner 2001: 145); however, end rhyme, as described here, is common in Central Australian song, crossing genres, languages, and even linguistic subgroups. End rhyme is the consistent patterning of the same syllable nuclei at the ends of certain lines within a verse.

This article provides a detailed description of end rhyme in a genre of women's ceremonies called *awelye* [awúʌɐ] in the Kaytetye language and *yawulyu* [jawúʌu] in neighbouring Warlpiri (Barwick & Turpin 2016). *Awelye* is performed by groups of women and involves accompanying dancing and body painting. Each *awelye* song celebrates the ancestral beings that reside in their land and with which performers identity. While the genre is relatively well documented in the ethnographic literature (e.g., Curran 2020; Dussart 2000; Bell 1983; Berndt 1950), less has been written about its verse.

End rhyme, as described here, is frequently heard in *awelye* singing from across the region in which it is performed (see map). In this article, however, I restrict my analysis to songs in the Kaytetye, Alyawarr, and

1 I thank the many Aboriginal people who have shared their songs and languages with me over many years. The songs discussed in this chapter are the intellectual and cultural heritage of Alyawarr, Kaytetye and Warlpiri people. The songs should not be reproduced, published or performed without observing the protocols of attribution to the custodians and the sharing of benefits with them. I wish to acknowledge M.K. Turner, A. Ngamperle and the late A.N. Ross whose patience, generosity and talent has enabled deeper understandings of the nature of *awelye* songs. I also wish to thank participants at the *Rhyme and Rhyming in Verbal Art and Song* symposium in Helsinki, 22nd–24th May 2019 for their feedback on a presentation of this material. I thank Elliot Peck for his documentation on the geographic distribution of the *awelye* genre.

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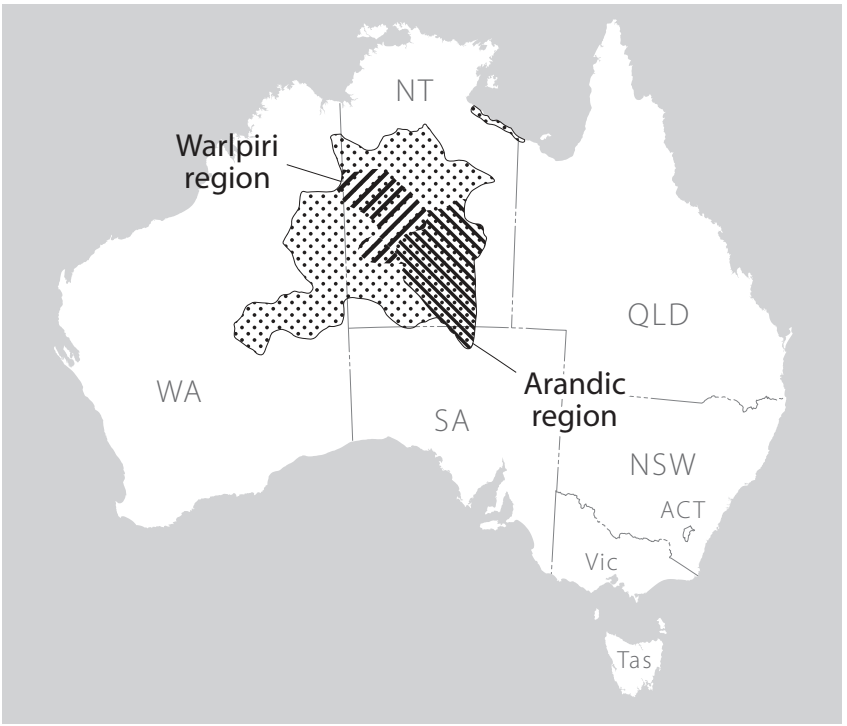

Map 1. Area of Australia in which the yawulyu / awelye *ceremonial genre is performed. Examples in this article are from the Warlpiri and Arandic language regions (diagonal shading). Cartography: Brenda Thornley.*

Warlpiri regions, which have been recorded and documented by the author. Kaytetye and Alyawarr are languages of the Arandic sub-group (Hale 1983: 96; Koch 1997), while Warlpiri, to the west, is a Ngumpin-Yapa language. Throughout this article I use the Kaytetye spelling for the name of this genre, *awelye* (Turpin & Ross 2012). Note that there are minor differences in the orthographies of these languages although their phonetic realisations are similar.

The basic unit of an *awelye* song is the verse, analogous to a stanza. A verse consists of an unordered pair of lines (a couplet) that has a set pattern of repetition. In most verses the lines repeat to make a quatrain stanza, but in some verses only one line repeats before moving on to the next line of the couplet. In Central Australian song the verse is part of a musical scheme. In this article I first describe the stanza structure, end rhyme, and related sound patterning. I then situate the verse within the larger sung units in which they occur.

End Rhyme in Central Australian Aboriginal Song

In many ways the Central Australian sound patterning is typical of rhyme. It occurs regularly in line-final position, marking off each of the four lines of a

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quatrain through an abba or 'enclosed' scheme (Peust 2014: 343; Fabb 2015; 2019). Second, it consists of phonetic identity of an open syllable nucleus: the diphthong [ei] (spelt *'aye'*) at the end of lines 2 and 3 and the front vowel [a] (spelt '*e*') at the end of lines 1 and 4. The enclosed end rhyme schema is represented in Figure 1.

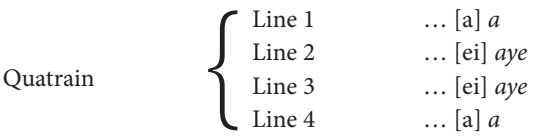

Figure 1. Schematic representation of the enclosed end rhyme schema of a quatrain: lines 1 and 4 end in [a] while lines 2 and 3 end in [ei].

An *awelye* quatrain consists of two different lines (A, B), what I refer to as a couplet. These repeat in an AABB pattern. Other than in the quality of their final vowel, lines 1 and 2 are identical (line pair 'A'), as are lines 3 and 4 (line pair 'B'). This can be seen in Verse 11 of the Kaytetye *awelye* from the Arnerre estate which celebrates a Rain ancestor (Turpin 2007a; 2007b) (note: uppercase letters refer to repeated lines, lowercase letters refer to rhymes):

Verse 11, Arnerre:				
Line 1	A	Aherrkele arrtyernantye	[a]	a
Line 2	A	Aherrkele arrtyernantyaye	[ei]	b
Line 3	B	Larlperr-arlperraye	[ei]	b
Line 4	B	Larlperr-arlperre	[a]	a

In the above quatrain, lines 1 and 4 end in the rhyme *tye* [ca] / *rre* [ɾa] respectively, while lines 2 and 3 end in the rhyme *tyaye* [cei] / *rraye* [ɾei]. Based on the quality of the line-final vowel these pairs can be considered the a-rhyme pair (lines 1 and 4) and the *-aye* rhyme pair (lines 2 and 3). Lines 1 and 3 and lines 2 and 4 have nothing in common, but all other lines are related. The quatrain thus has two cross-cutting binary elements: the pattern of line repetition (AABB) plus the enclosed rhyme scheme (abba), thus making four non-identical lines: A_a A_b B_b B_a. Some lines, such as those in the verse above, are quite brief: Line A has six syllables and Line B five. In other songs the lines are longer, with around 10 syllables being common. Australian languages are highly agglutinative and a morphological breakdown, gloss, and translation of the song texts in this article are given in the Appendix.

The words subject to end rhyme – the words that share the same final vowel quality – are sometimes different and sometimes identical. In the verse just considered, the rhyming words of the couplet differ: *arrtyernantye* and *arlperre*, and thus the onset of the rhyming syllables differ: *tye* [ca] / *rre* [ɾa] in lines 1 and 4; and *tyaye* [cei] / *rraye* [ɾei] in lines 2 and 3. However, in many verses the line-final words of the couplet are the same, and so the rhyming syllables are identical rather than the normal kind of rhyme where the onsets differ (e.g., 'cat', 'hat') (Astley 1969). This can be seen in Verse 9

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of the Alyawarr *awelye* from the Tyaw estate, which also celebrates a Rain ancestor (Turpin et al. 2017):

Verse 9, Tyawe:

Line 1	A	Tyawante mwerrarle alpararre-rnterneke	[a]	a
Line 2	A	Tyawante mwerrarle alpararre-rnternekaye	[ei]	b
Line 3	B	Ngangkare altyerrepenhele atye alpararr-rnternekaye	[ei]	b
Line 4	B	Ngangkare altyerrepenhele atye alpararr-rnterneke	[a]	a

Here the line-final words in the couplet are the same, *alpararr-rnterneke*, and so the onset of the rhyming syllables are identical: *ke* [ka] in lines 1 and 4; and *kaye* [kei] in lines 2 and 3.

In some couplets the rhyming words differ but their final syllable is the same. This can be seen in Verse 16 from a Warlpiri *yawulyu* song set that celebrates the Budgerigar ancestral being of Partirlirri (Turpin & Laughren 2013):

Verse 16, Partirlirri:

Line 1	Parlwangka marlkamarlka	[a]
Line 2	Parlwangka marlkamarlkayi	[ei]
Line 3	Kaninja Yinapakayi	[ei]
Line 4	Kaninja Yinapaka	[a]

Here the line-final words are *Yinapaka* and *marlkmarlka*, and so the rhyme is identical: *ka* [ka] in lines 1 and 4; and *kayi* [kei] in lines 2 and 3 (Arandic *aye* and Warlpiri *ayi* represent the same vowel quality; the difference is purely orthographic). The phonotactics of these languages only allow codas within a word; thus, it is not surprising that the rhyme is always an open syllable.

A cross-linguistically unusual feature of end rhyme in these traditions is that the rhyming syllable is always unstressed. As in most Australian languages, in Warlpiri and the Arandic languages, word final syllables are unstressed, e.g., [má[ɻ]kamà[ɻ]ka], [Yínapàka]. Interestingly, in song, the (unstressed) syllable that hosts the end rhyme is typically set to a long note in comparison to the notes preceding it (Turpin 2007a; 2007b), giving the rhyming syllable a degree of prominence not heard in speech. This is illustrated in Figure 2 which shows the rhythmic setting of the Warlpiri couplet considered previously:

Line A	Párl-wang-ka	márl-ka-màrl-	ka
Line B	Ká-ni-ja	Yí-na-pà-	ka

Figure 2. Long duration of the line-final note which hosts the (unstressed) rhyming syllable

In the musical figures, 'x' represents the clapstick beat that accompanies the singing. Here the final syllable *ka* (an unstressed syllable) is three times the

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duration of any other syllable in the line. Russom (2018: 10) argues that rhyme is associated with linguistic prominence. In Central Australian song, however, it is metrical prominence (a long note which may also coincide with a strong position in the meter, as it does in Figure 2) that is associated with sound patterning. This is because linguistic prominence as marked by stress (which is represented by the accent marks in Figure 2) is not matched with metrical prominence, defined as a combination of stress and duration.

Imposed Rhyme

There is one feature that sets these verses apart from other instances of rhyme: the sound patterning is imposed on the word so that its form differs from that of everyday speech. In other traditions, rhyme usually refers to the selection of a word that has the specific sound required by the rhyme. To help understand the idea of imposed rhyme, we can draw a comparison with the English folk song 'The gypsie laddie' (Bishop & Roud 2012, no. 81). In this song the sound 'o' is affixed to the last word of the second and fourth line, which may be added to non-alike words to create rhyme (e.g., money O / Fingers O) or added to a weak rhyme (e.g., lady O / Gypsies O) to strengthen it, as in the two verses below. It may also be added to words that exhibit true rhyme (e.g., money O / honey O).

She gave them a bottle of wine
She gave them some money O
She gave to them some far finer things
'Twas the gold rings off her fingers O
Fingers O', etc.
...
When her dear lord came home that night
Enquiring for his lady O
The waiting maid made her reply
'She has gone with the black-hearted gypsies O
Gypsies O', etc.

In 'The gypsie laddie', the even-numbered lines end in an unstressed syllable and the O sound is affixed in these lines to create or strengthen the rhyme. In Central Australian song, the lines also tend to end in an unstressed syllable, but the vowel is replaced with [a] or [ei] rather than it being added.

Blohm et al. (2018: 42) argue that parallel structures (such as sound patterning) and deviation (such as the 'tinkering with grammar') are the two central characteristics of poetic language. The imposed sound patternings in 'The gypsie laddie' and *awelye* are both parallelistic and deviant. They are deviant in that they modify (or add to) the final sound of a word and they are parallelistic in that they are applied regularly. In a similar way, we can attempt to represent the end rhyme in a translation of the *awelye* verse, as per the example below, Verse 7 of the Kaytetye awelye from Arnerre:

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Verse 7, Arnerre:	
Arrenye arrenye arrenye	Yonder, yonder, yonder
Arrenye arrenye arrenyaye	Yonder, yonder, yond-ay
Arlangkwe errwenye arrernaye	The bloodwood trees in flow-ay
Arlangkwe errwenye arrerne	The bloodwood trees in flower

A question arising from the sound patterning is whether the imposed rhyme, the diphthong [eɪ], has any lexical meaning or is simply a vocable like the 'O' in 'The gypsie laddie,[2] which replaces the line final [a] vowel. At first glance it may appear that the diphthong is lexical. In Arandic languages the enclitic *-aye* [eɪ] is a vocative and emphatic marker, while in Warlpiri *-yi* is an enclitic that shows extended duration and so it is possible that the line and its repetition is lexically contrastive (albeit minimally). For example, in the above verse *arrenye* 'yonder' may contrast in meaning with *arreny-aye* 'really far away' (note that a word final vowel elides before a vowel initial suffix as vowel hiatus is not permitted in these languages). One reason to think that the diphthong is a vocable is that spoken versions of a verse are always given as a couplet (AB) rather than a quatrain, and that the final vowel is [a] rather than [eɪ]. Additionally, transcriptions by people from within the culture often write the verse as a quatrain without sound patterning, thus representing the verse as two identical lines. Furthermore, singers' interpretations of verses do not suggest any additional vocative, emphatic, or extended duration meaning. Nevertheless, it is possible that the enclitic may have been the source of the very first sound patterning, and once worn in by the singing tradition became void of its lexical meaning.

Vowels in Warlpiri and Arandic Languages

At this point it is worth considering the unusual status of word-final vowels in Arandic languages. First, let us consider the vowel inventories of both Warlpiri and Kaytetye, as an example of an Arandic language. Warlpiri has a typical vowel inventory for an Australian language: a three-vowel system /i, a, u/ with a length distinction restricted to initial position (Nash 1980: 65). The vowel inventories of Kaytetye (and other Arandic languages) have been the subject of much debate. (See eg. Breen 2001; Breen & Pensalfini 1999; Harvey 2011; Henderson 2013; Koch 1984; 2004; Panther 2021; San 2016; Topintzi & Nevins 2017; Wilkins 1989.) It is not possible to cover all the issues here, but the competing analyses range from a two-vowel analysis to a four-vowel analysis. The two-vowel analysis has /ə, a/ with [u] and [i] as allomorphs of /ə/ when adjacent to a rounded and palatalised consonant respectively (Koch 1984; Breen 2001). The four-vowel analysis has /a, ə, i, u/ (Panther 2020; 2021; San 2016; Harvey et al. in submission). Arandic languages and Warlpiri have a number of diphthongs, and these are analysed as vowel-glide-vowel

2 The vocable 'o' also occurs in other English folk songs, such as 'The Keeper' (Among the leaves so green, O') and the Hungry Fox (Bishop & Roud 2012, no. 111 and 110 respectively).

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sequences. For example, [ei] is /ajə/ spelt *aye* in Kaytetye and /aji/ spelt *ayi* in Warlpiri; and [au] is /awə/ spelt *awe* in Kaytetye and /awu/ spelt *awu* in Warlpiri.

Of relevance to this paper, is that all Arandic words end in a non-contrastive vowel /ə/ that has various allophones and free variation, including [a], [ɐ], [ə], [ə̥] or it can be omitted altogether, without any change in meaning (Breen & Pensalfini 1999; Turpin et al. 2014: 55). In fact, it is the non-contrastive word-final vowel that has led some orthographies to write all multi-syllabic words as ending in a consonant. For example, the word for 'echidna' [inápə] (with multiple pronunciations of the final vowel including omission altogether) is spelt *inap* in Anmatyerr and *inape* in Arrernte.

The imposition of sound-patterning on a vowel position where there is no phonemic contrast could be considered evidence of Russom's view that metrical positions are abstracted from syllables (2018: 8). In other words, the rhyme scheme of contrasting vowels with no difference in meaning is reserved for a position that has multiple possible realisations in the language without any change in its phonological category. Furthermore, the rhyme form [ɐɪ], which changes a word for poetic reasons, is also a sound in the language rather than being an introduced sound, suggesting that this is 'tinkering with sound' deviance (Blohm et al. 2018: 42).[3]

Other Types of Line-final Sound Patterning

The quatrain is the most common stanza structure in *awelye*; and it is also found in many other genres of Central Australian song (Strehlow 1971). However, two other verse structures are encountered in *awelye*: a tercet (ABB) and a single line A.[4] Table 1 shows the frequency of these three different verse forms across the verses of three *awelye* song sets.

Verse form		Kaytetye Rain	Alyawarr Kurrajong	Alyawarr Rain
Quatrain	AABB	42 (84%)	72 (93%)	22 (91%)
Tercet	ABB	3	0	0
Single line	A	5	5	2
Total verses		50	77	24

Table 1. Frequency of verse forms in three *awelye* song sets. The number of quatrain forms is also expressed as a percentage of the total number of verses.

The enclosed rhyme scheme is only encountered on verses that are a quatrain. Tercets tend to end in line pair rhyme and/or an identical vowel in all three

3 In addition, minimal pairs differing only in respect to the back vowel and diphthong exist e.g., *arrke* [aˈɾka] 'desert bloodwood tree' vs. *arrkaye* [aˈɾkeɪ] 'faint, dull'.

4 In many cases a single line verse is made up of two units, which can be considered either a hemistich or two non-repeating lines, AB; and in a few cases the verse has three units. The sound patterning in verses of this structure is less systematic and is not considered further here.

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lines. Single line verses tend to end in the same vowel throughout the repeating cycle of the verse (the repetition of the verses throughout a song is discussed further below). For any given verse there is always only one repetition pattern and one sound patterning; and this is remarkably stable across songs and different performances of the song in the oral tradition.

Let us now look at the quatrain verses in the Kaytetye song set to understand the end rhyme sound patterning in more detail. First, it should be noted that within the 42 quatrains (Table 1), 11 verses do not have end rhyme: three verses contrast the final vowel of the couplet while eight maintain the same vowel for all four lines of the quatrain. Table 2 shows the frequency of these different schemes in the 42 quatrain verses of the Kaytetye song set.

Line-final sound patterning	Rhyme scheme	Line repetition + Rhyme scheme	Number of verses
Enclosed rhyme	abba	A_aA_b B_bB_a	31 (62%)
Contrasting line pairs	aabb	A_aA_a B_bB_b	3 (7%)
Identical (no contrast)	aaaa	A_aA_a B_aB_a	8 (19%)
Total number of quatrain verses			42

Table 2. Frequency of line-final sound patterning in the quatrain verses of the Kaytetye Rain song set. The number of enclosed rhyme forms is also expressed as a percentage of the total number of quatrain verses.

Having already considered enclosed rhyme, let us now consider the contrasting line pair scheme of sound patterning. This is seen in Verse 49 of the Kaytetye Rain song set (Turpin 2007a, b):

Verse 49, Arnerre:			
Line 1	A	Layenga pekatya	[a]
Line 2	A	Layenga pekatya	[a]
Line 3	B	Layenga pernini	[i]
Line 4	B	Layenga pernini	[i]

Here the final vowels of lines within a line pair are identical, but each line pair contrasts. Both lines of Line Pair A end in the low vowel [a] while those in Line Pair B end in the high vowel [i], i.e., an A_aA_a B_bB_b pattern. Note that both are front unrounded vowels.

In these other sound patternings (rows 2 and 3 in Table 2), the back vowel [a] contrasts with either [e] or [i], while in the identical rhyme scheme the vowel is either [a] or [e]. The diphthong [eɪ] only occurs in enclosed rhyme. It is not known why a certain verse has a particular sound patterning, for example if there is any symbolic meaning to the verses that depart from the enclosed scheme, or if it indicates a shared origin. It is also not known why the diphthong should be reserved for enclosed rhyme, a sound patterning that contrasts lines within the line pair, creating four distinct lines within the quatrain.

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Line Internal Rhyme

Many of the Kaytetye Rain verses that have enclosed rhyme also have internal rhyme on the penultimate foot of one line: the second line of Line Pair A (A_b). In most cases the penultimate foot is also the hemistich, as most lines have only two feet, however, some lines have three or even four feet. This is seen in Verse 6 of the Kaytetye Rain song set. Here Line A has two feet and Line B three feet. Again, the word/foot final diphthong is imposed rather than selected.

Verse 6, Arnerre:

Line 1	A	Wenngera rrerne	[a], [a]	a
Line 2	A	Wenngeraye rrernaye	[ei], [ei]	b
Line 3	B	Welyela tyenngera rrernaye	[ei]	b
Line 4	B	Welyela tyenngera rrerne	[a]	a

Line internal rhyme occurs in 27 of the 31 verses (87%) that have enclosed rhyme (Table 2). While there are various text lines whose penultimate foot ends in the diphthong [ɐɪ], the rhyme pattern only refers to line pairs that have a contrast between A_a and A_b, in terms of the vowel that occupies this position, as in Verse 6 above. The quatrain stanza consists of two identical lines of rhythmic text; yet imposed rhyme, both at the end of each line of the quatrain and internally in line 2 (A_b) creates four distinct lines. The role of this sound patterning to create differentiation is important when we consider just how much repetition of the verse occurs in performance of Central Australian songs (Ellis 1985). We now look at the larger structures of performance in which a verse occurs.

The Cyclic Verse Structure

So far, we have considered just the verse structure; however, a Central Australian song is longer than a single verse. Performance of a song involves singing a verse repeatedly and without interruption until the longer melody is complete. The melody also consists of repeating elements. This is somewhat akin to the separation of the structural elements of (rhythmic) talea and (melodic) colour in European medieval music. These are independent units that repeat such that each iteration might be melodically or rhythmically distinct (Winn 1981: 103). In relation to Aboriginal song, this single stretch of singing has been referred to as a song 'item' in analysis (e.g., Barwick 1989). An item usually lasts for about 30 seconds and consists of two or more repetitions of the verse, depending on the length of the lines. A typical performance of a Kaytetye Rain verse (an item) is represented below, which shows a repeating stanza (quatrain), with just shy of four complete iterations.

A song item of Verse 21, Arnerre

Iteration 1	Iteration 2	Iteration 3	Iteration 4
$A_aA_bB_bB_a$	$A_aA_bB_bB_a$	$A_aA_bB_bB_a$	$A_aA_bB_b$

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An unusual feature of performance is that the lead singer can start and end with any line of the verse, although most song items tend to begin with either of the line pairs and end midway through a verse cycle, and very rarely do they end AABB. This structure results in different pitch-settings of the same portion of text, as the much longer melody cycles independently. The interlocking of these two structures is visually represented in Figure 3. The specific setting of the verse to melody is realised in the moment of performance, with one singer in effect leading the way. I have referred to this process elsewhere as 'Cantillation' (Turpin 2007a; 2007b) and it is comparable in many ways to what Kiparsky (2010) calls 'delivery instance'. As in the medieval motets described in Winn (1981: 103), this principle for constructing song results in a variety of possible mathematical relations between the verse (talea) and melody (colour).

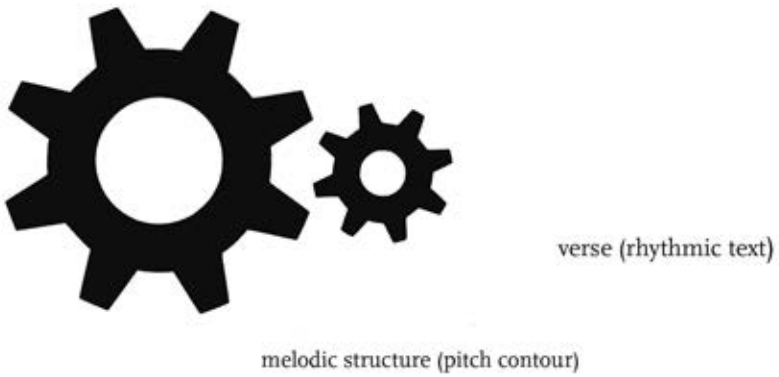

Figure 3. Cogs representing the independently cycling melody and shorter verse, a rhythmic text, which combine in the moment of performance to form a song item.

The repetition of the verse within a song item is not the only repetition that occurs in performance of *awelye*. Before moving on to a different verse, further items of the verse are sung, a process referred to as 'spreading out the verse'. There are always at least two song items of any given verse; that is, the verse is always 'spread out' (*pantyarrenke*) at least twice. When the singing accompanies actions such as dancing or body painting there is often many more items of the verse, as that part of the action or painting must be completed before moving on to a new verse. In this way a verse is closely associated with actions, parts of the body design or even parts of the body or objects. This grouping of song items (multiple renditions of the same verse) has been referred to as a 'small song' in analysis (Barwick 1989). There is usually a short break of a few seconds between song items within a small song where singers may cough or have a drink. The break between small songs, however, is usually longer. Here singers may explain the meaning of the verse and negotiate which verse to sing next. Song items and small songs are the organising units in Central Australian song, whereas the verse or stanza (a pre-existing rhythmic text) is an element of musical performance, just like melody or dance. The structure of a Central Australian performance is shown in Figure 4.

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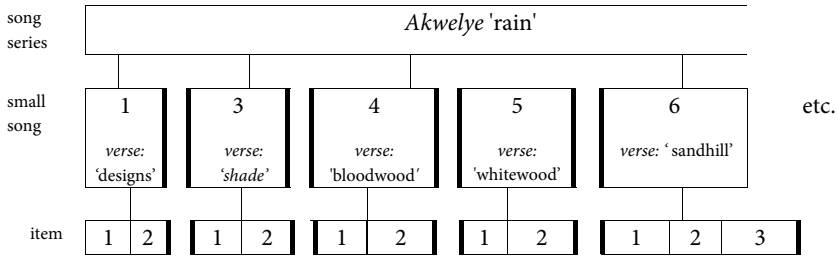

Figure 4. Structure of a Central Australian performance: a song series is made up of small songs which are made up of items. Also included is a translation of a key word from each verse, which performers sometimes use when referring or explaining the verse.

There is a tendency for subsequent song items of the verse to differ in their start and end place. This is shown below for the first two song items of Verse 21 from a performance recorded in 1999. These can be heard on the accompanying audio example, which is from Turpin & Ross 2004, track 43. The text of Verse 21 is shown below this. Note that this verse has both enclosed rhyme and internal rhyme in Line 2.

	Iteration 1	Iteration 2	Iteration 3	Iteration 4	
Song item 1	$A_aA_bB_bB_a$	$A_aA_bB_bB_a$	$A_aA_bB_bB_a$	$A_aA_bB_b$	
Song item 2	$B_bB_aA_aA_b$	$B_bB_aA_aA_b$	$B_bB_aA_aA_b$	$B_bB_aA_aA_b$	B_b

Listen to the audio example of Verse 21. (Turpin & Ross 2004, track 43.)
https://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi-fe2022110965059

It can be seen that the first song item of Verse 21 commences with Line Pair A while song item 2 commences with Line Pair B. Both song items have close to four cycles (iterations) of the verse. The text and rhyme scheme of Verse 21 is shown below:

Line 1	A_a	Ilengera lerterrpa	[a], [a]	a
Line 2	A_b	Ilengeraye leterrpaye	[ei], [ei]	b
Line 3	B_b	Ilengeri ntyerraye	[ei]	b
Line 4	B_a	Ilengeri ntyerra	[a]	a

A comparison of multiple song items of the one verse shows that sound patterning is tied to specific lines, no matter which line starts the song item. For example, in the above two song items, Line Pair B always starts with the diphthong as its end rhyme (B_bB_a) and Line Pair A starts with [a] as its end rhyme (A_aA_b), despite beginning the song item at a different point in the verse.

The cyclic form of a verse is represented in Figure 5. This shows a quatrain, Verse 6. This shows no beginning and end. It also shows that the two cross-

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cutting elements, the pattern of line repetition and the enclosed end rhyme scheme, are both structured AABB/aabb, but the rhyme schema has in effect been rotated anticlockwise by one line so that it is misaligned with the line pair boundaries creating ($A_aA_bB_bB_a$). In this way the four non-identical lines are created. Without the anti-clockwise rotation, the quatrain would have a verse and rhyme scheme structured $A_aA_a\ B_bB_b$, what is referred to as the contrasting Line Pair rhyme scheme in Table 2, row 2.

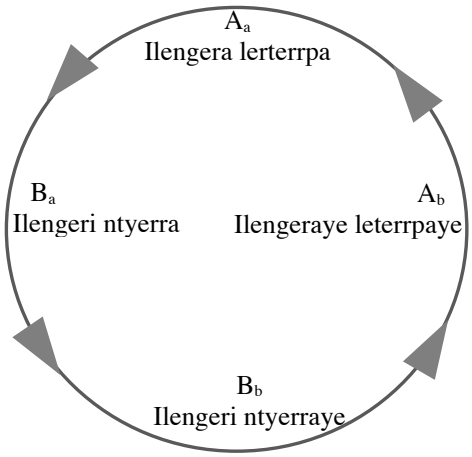

Figure 5. Line internal rhyme in Line AB of the verse; illustrated here with the text of Verse 6 of the Kaytetye Rain song.

Verse competence thus requires knowledge of the couplet (and its rhythm), the pattern of line repetition (AABB, or ABB, or A) and the sound patterning of the end rhyme. In the case of enclosed end rhyme – the vast majority of verses – this also entails knowledge of which line of the couplet forms Line Pair A (starts with [a]) and which forms Line Pair B (starts with the diphthong), as well as knowledge of whether there is line internal rhyme. While this may appear a lot to keep track of in an oral tradition, it is possible that having many small parallelistic patterns aids recall and increases the stability of the verse over time. Rhyme may assist singers to navigate their place in the multi-vocal repeating verse which has no fixed beginning or end and where each syllable has no predetermined pitch. It also means that, rather unusually, end rhyme is decoupled from pitch in this tradition (Schramm 1935).

Conclusion

Both end rhyme and internal rhyme may assist in keeping track of line boundaries, distinguishing these from hemistich and line pair boundaries. The fact that end rhyme is associated with AABB verse structure, but is absent from other verse structures, adds weight to this proposition. Given the relatively short line length, the sound-patterning is pervasive; approximately some 18 instances in a 30 second song item. From a psychological perspective,

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sound patterning is said to facilitate early processing of verbal stimuli, assist memorization and recall. In addition, it leads to aesthetic appeal and emotional impact because we form expectations of what will happen (Blohm et al. 2018: 41; Fabb, this volume; Huron 2006).

The use of a diphthong in both internal and enclosed end rhyme, which is nearly always on a long note, may help to maintain a single pitch. From a physiological perspective, it is difficult to hold a long note without varying the vowel quality (i.e., producing a diphthong) or pitch. Note that while pitch is a feature of the melody, in Central Australian music, duration is a feature of the verse. This offers some explanation of why vowel modification rather than pitch alteration (e.g., glissandi) might be preferred in order to hold a sustained note. The added features of duration and melody in song raises the question of whether diphthongisation and more broadly imposed sound patterning such as the type of rhyme discussed in this paper might be more characteristic of song rather than poetry, just as vocables, particularly vowels, are more prevalent in song than poetry.

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Appendix – Linguistic glossing of the couplets

Verse 6 of the Kaytetye *awelye* from Arnerre (Turpin 2007a, b):

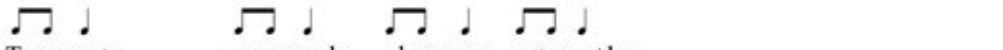
wenngere	arre+rne	'(We) created it(?)'
?	create/put+PST	

welye-le	tyenngere	arre+rne	'In the shade (we) created it(?)'
shade-LOC	?	create/put+PST	

Verse 7 of the Kaytetye *awelye* from Arnerre (Turpin 2007a, b):

arrenye	arrenye	arrenye	
yonder	yonder	yonder	'Yonder, yonder, yonder'
arlangkwe	errwenye	arre+rne	
bloodwood tree	blossom	create/put+PST	'The bloodwood trees in flower'

Verse 9 of the Alyawarr *awelye* from Tyawe



Tyaw-ante	mwerr-arle	alpararre-	rnterne+ke	'The one from Tyaw treated (him/her)'
place.name-only	good-REL	clicking-	pierce+PST	

ngangkare	altyerre-penhe-le	atya	alpararre-	rnterne+ke	'I, a traditional doctor, treated (him/her)'
doctor	good-SEQ-ERG	1sgERG	clicking-	pierce+PST	

Verse 11 of the Kaytetye *awelye* from Arnerre (Turpin 2007a, b):

aherrke-le	arrtye+rnantye	
sun-ERG	shine+IMPF	'The sun is shining'

arlperre	arlperr-arle	
whitewood	whitewood-REL	'Where the whitewood trees (stand)'

Verse 16 of a Warlpiri *yawulyu* from Yinapaka (Turpin & Laughren 2013):

Palwa-ngka	marlkamarlka	
hard.ground-LOC	leaping(?)	'Leaping up from the hot ground'
Kaninja	Yinapaka	
hard.ground-LOC	place.name	'Down (at) Yinapaka'

ERG = Ergative case; FOC= focus; IMP = Imperfective aspect; LOC=Locative case; PST=Past tense; REL=Relativiser; SEQ=Sequential + bound (inflecting) morpheme; - other morpheme

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Kjell Andreas Oddekalv
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4568-4675

Surrender to the Flow

Metre on Metre or Verse in Verses? Lineation Through Rhyme in Rap Flows

The vocal part in rap music is a very particular type of musical expression. Densely packed with semi-spoken lyrics, mostly ignoring the typically prominent musical parameter of melody in the traditional sense, the intricate rhythm of the syllables is the main vessel for rap's musical complexity. The dense and intricate verbal expression of a rap is, however, typically placed within very strict formal boundaries, with a symmetrically organised, looped musical background, colloquially referred to as the beat.

A common understanding of rap's structure is that there is a particular relationship between the musical metrical unit of a bar (or 'measure') and the poetic unit of a line. The two will commonly coincide, indicating a one-to-one relationship between the units, akin to how the graphic layout in printed poetry commonly communicates lineation. Indeed, this is reflected in many common visual representations of rap music, and is argued by some scholars. In this article, however, I will argue that the relationship between bars and lines in rap music is much less straightforward than the most common convergent cases might indicate, and that the complex interplay between bars and lines is central to the aesthetic expression of rap as a musical and poetic form. I will take a closer look at the similarities and differences between the musical and poetic concepts of metre, both as experiential phenomena and as analytical organisational tools. Then, I will argue, using analytical examples, how rhyme has a perhaps more significant role than musical metre in determining lineation in rap, and that this necessitates exploration and clarification of key terms in the musical and poetic analysis of rap.

The Convention of the Line-bar Coincidence

In most styles of vocal music, a single bar is too small a unit to be able to encompass an entire poetic line of lyrics. In rap music, however, it is not uncommon to fit as many as twenty or more syllables within a single bar of music, depending on the tempo of the song. As rap developed, the common way of organising the lyrics crystallised as the placement of simple end rhymes toward the end of each bar of music, on or in close proximity to the fourth beat of the ubiquitous 4/4 musical metre. This tendency is quantified

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quite clearly in Nat Condit-Schultz's (2016a) corpus study of rap, where a corpus-wide distribution of stressed rhymed syllables clearly congregates on or anticipates the fourth beat of the bar. Mitchell Ohriner (2016: 160) duplicates these findings, but through a slightly different methodological approach, looking at 'line endings' and 'phrase endings' rather than strictly stressed rhymed syllables.

Adam Bradley (2009) calls for a formalisation of this relationship between musical bars and poetic lines in the transcription and analysis of 'rap verses in such a way that they represent on the page as closely as possible what we hear with our ears' (Bradley 2009: xviii). According to Bradley, this means that line breaks in transcriptions should be strictly informed by the musical metre of the musical background of the rap. While I agree with Bradley that the musical metre and its relationship with poetic lineation are core to both the structure and aesthetic qualities of rap, I believe that formalising musical metre as an equivalent to graphic line breaks in printed poetry is the wrong way to approach this relationship. While Bradley (2009: xvi) states that 'the beat in rap is poetic meter rendered audible', I will argue that that is, in fact, incorrect. While both music and poetry concern themselves with 'metre', the relationship is more complicated than what Bradley suggests.

Metre – Musical and Poetic, Experiential and Analytical

The cognitive phenomenon of metre is remarkably complex and difficult to pin down to a simple definition. It does not help that there are both striking similarities and irreconcilable differences between the term's application in music and poetry. As for its musical application, Mats Johansson has done an admirable job in exploring different approaches to the term in his aptly named 2010 article 'What is musical meter'.

> […] four different, more or less overlapping, perspectives on meter are discussed: 1) Meter as a measuring device, specifying the temporal relationships between rhythmic units and levels (beats per measure etc.). 2) Meter as an imposed or inferred accentuation pattern (strong-weak-weak etc.). 3) Meter as an emerging property of the listener's engagement with the unfolding music, implying that there is no pre-existing neutral grid in relation to which musical sounds are rhythmically structured. 4) A formulaic conception of meter: a stylistically coded (i.e. culture-specific) notion of sameness resulting from a continuously ongoing process of trying out different, but metrically equivalent, rhythmic designs. (Johansson 2010: 41.)

There is no obvious coming-together of these approaches into a single, unified theory of metre, musical or otherwise, and Johansson argues that some of them might even be mutually exclusive. He also problematizes his own formulaic conception of metre by saying that it might not really describe 'metre' but rather that 'what is referred to would more correctly be termed groove or style'. He concludes with a succinct and precisely formulated common denominator for the different approaches to musical metre: 'meter

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may be seen as a frame of reference within which musical events are made sense of'. (Johansson 2010: 56.)

Metre as a frame of reference is also central to Anne Danielsen's definition of the term, the discussion of which is summed up under the suitable headline 'What Is Metre?' in her 2018 article 'Pulse as dynamic attending: Analysing Beat Bin Metre in Neo Soul Grooves' (Danielsen 2018). If we start at the end of Danielsen's discussion, she defines musical metre alongside rhythm: 'rhythm denotes the *interaction* between virtual structuring schemes and actual sounding rhythmic events. I delimit metre to the virtual schemes that correspond to the relatively regularly recurring pulsations at different frequencies (tempi) in the listener (…)' (Danielsen 2018: 181). To properly understand this definition we need to explore Danielsen's use of certain terms, in particular 'structuring schemes' and the opposing pair of 'virtual' and 'actual'.

Danielsen's theory of rhythmic perception[1] finds its basis in Deleuze's *Différence et répétition* (1968), and specifically in the concept of virtuality. In short, the virtual is opposed to the actual, as in the concrete measurable or physical, but no less real. An object consists of both virtual and actual constituents. Danielsen extends these terms to music and the relationship between reference structures and sounding musical events: 'we might conceive of musical reference structures as virtual aspects of the real music, while the sounding events are actual manifestations of the same reality. The music has a part of itself in a virtual domain' (Danielsen 2006: 47). These reference structures are what Danielsen refers to when using the term 'structuring schemes' in her definition of metre as quoted above. In short: reference structures can be 'everything from general schemes of pulse, metre, and subdivision to the conventional figures of the style or genre [or] […] the identity projected by any given groove['s] unique structural pattern as it proceeds in time' (Danielsen 2018: 180). They can be pre-existing or emergent, cooperative or contradictory. This type of conceptualisation of our cognitive organisation of rhythm is also found in the field of poetry, where Roman Jakobson's (1960: 364) concepts of 'verse design' and 'verse instance' as an opposite to 'delivery instance' could well be thought of as virtual reference structures and their actual counterparts.

Danielsen's definition of metre as a certain regularly recurring and particularly salient type of 'virtual scheme' or reference structure complies with the more traditional musicological understanding of metre. In Justin London's *Hearing in Time* (2004), he lays out a comprehensive theory of musical metre based in traditional music theory and insights from music cognition. While metre is not 'in' the sounding rhythm, it is an emergent property of it, created in tandem with the experience the listener already has. Or, as London (2004: 4) puts it: 'we fit, so to speak, patterns of events in the world to patterns of time we have in our minds (and, as we will see, our bodies)[2]'. Another aspect of metre that London emphasises is that it

1 For a more thorough explanation of Danielsen's theory, see Danielsen (2006, chapter 3, in particular page 46–50).

2 That rhythmic cognition is embodied in the sense that our entire bodies, not merely

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necessitates more than one level of periodicity. Perceiving, attending and entraining to a series of pulsations is beat perception. When we organise these beats into larger periodical units or groups, we have metre[3]. In fact, London (2004: 18) notes that we tend to prefer three or more levels of periodicity 'as this provides an attending framework that allow the listener to track rapid, moderate, and relatively slow event onsets, and these correspond to subdivisions of the tactus, the tactus level itself, and a higher-level ordering of beats into measures'.

This way of defining experiential metre is by no means restricted to music scholars either, and Richard Cureton's definition echoes Danielsen and London perfectly, while also taking other modalities than the auditory into account: 'Meter represents our rhythmic response to (relatively) regular pulsations in a perceptual medium' (Cureton 1992: 123). 'Our rhythmic response' can be thought of as directly analogous to a virtual reference structure, which, as we have established, is no less real than the acoustic signal it responds to. In fact, if one considers the notion of reference structures preceding the sensory signal, which is evident in Danielsen and London's theories, the same concept is present in Cureton's (1992: 7) presentation of traditional foot-substitution prosody, where there is a dichotomy between 'actual prose rhythm', which is the specific structure of the lexical stresses in the poem, and the 'silent metrical rhythm' one imparts to the poem.

Thus far, the focus has been on metre as an experiential phenomenon, but the way that we as scholars, listeners or readers engage with metrical art tends to be through some sort of more or less formalised system or discourse for metrical analysis in addition to the strictly cognitive processes of our physical apparatus. Danielsen makes a point out of separating these two aspects of metre, with the caveat that they are not necessarily easily separable, as the experiential and analytical modes or variants of metre. While the experiential mode of metre is, as we have established, the reference structure or structures we apply to our metrical experiences, the analytical mode is 'the standard with which we measure and map rhythmic events in analytical and compositional representations of music' (Danielsen 2018: 180). This need not be limited to music, of course, and the same holds true for poetry.

Looking at both music theory and poetry, the most common analytical frameworks and discourses in use echo the properties of metre that we have established. Specifically, we find multiple formalised levels of periodicity in both traditional music notation and foot-substitution prosody and related systems of metrics. There are clear parallels as regards both the tactus level events, and the groupings of these events. In musical metre, beats are grouped into a larger metrical span, called a bar, while in metrical poetry, one counts the number of syllables or stresses within a metrical span of a line. These beat-level events are also capable of multiple different ways of subdivision.

our brains, are central for our ability to perceive rhythm is a well-established theory in the field of cognitive psychology. See Shapiro (2011) for an overview.

3 A summary of leading research on the differences of beat- and metre perception in both humans and animals can be found in Fitch (2013).

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However, there are multiple caveats to this parallel between musical and poetic metre. First, while musical metre is reliant on actual temporal beat events, whether those are explicit or implicit, poetic metre exists outside of time. Rather than being a result of entrainment to relatively regular patterns of periodicity like in musical metre, poetic metre is a patterning of stressed and unstressed syllables into groups of roughly equivalent feet. While the outputs of basic metrical units (beats and feet), spans (bars and lines) and subdivisions might coincide nicely, there are questions to be asked about whether the cognitive systems responsible for our different metrical responses are related at all, or work in tandem, or are part of a larger, connected metrical cognitive system.

Metre on Metre or Verses in Verses?

Another question regarding the relationship between musical and poetic metre in rap is at which level of metrical unit there is an actual convergence. If, as Bradley states 'the beat in rap is poetic metre rendered audible', one would expect the metrical units of beats and feet to be converging. While this might be the case sometimes, it is patently not something that is generalisable to all rap, as exemplified in figure 1.

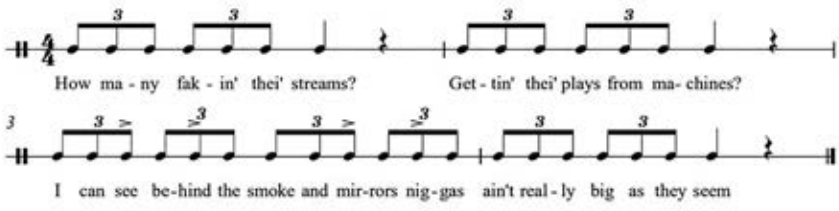

Figure 1. Transcription of bar 1-4 of J Cole's verse on 21 Savage's 'a lot' (2008).

Clearly, there is a different number of feet and beats in bar three. There are six feet and four beats, a duple poetic metre over a triple musical metre. Even though there is convergence in the surrounding bars, the divergence in bar three is common in rap music.

Another reading of Bradley's statement would be to interpret it as limited to the groupings of beats and feet into larger metrical units – the metrical spans of poetic lines and musical bars. This would mean that the poetic line is equal to one bar of music[4] in its temporal duration if not in content, so that that one bar of music equals one line of poetry. Bradley argues that one should transcribe rap lyrics with lines corresponding to musical metre, which might be read as an argument for the line-bar coincidence being a feature of rap's structure rather than a convention. It is true that a good transcription

4 Depending on the analytical framework, this might be conceptualised as a coincidence between multiple bars of music per poetic line. Regular musical metrical groupings of bars is called 'hypermetre', where each regular bar becomes a 'hyperbeat' in a 'hyperbar' (London 2004: 30).

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should attempt to convey our structural experience of the rap, and the musical metre is one of the most salient and explicit reference structures through which we organise our listening experience. However, I will argue that a strict adherence to musical metre as the indicator for graphic line breaks in transcription will often yield results that are both unintuitive and that obfuscate other significant parameters of the poetic structure.

Figure 2 Structure of the metrical spans in bar 1-2 of verse 1 in Lil Wayne's 'A Milli' (2008). Blue brackets indicate musical metrical boundaries (bars of 4/4), red brackets indicate my suggestion for poetic lineation.

In figure 2, we see an example of a part of a rap flow where a transcription conforming to the 4/4 time signature of the musical background contradicts what I would consider to be the more intuitive interpretation of the poetic lines of the text. A strict implementation of line breaks at the musical beats would result in the following transcription:

> A millionaire, I'm a young money millio-
> naire. Tougher than Nigerian hair.

A more sensible transcription could perhaps be:

> A millionaire
> I'm a young money millionaire
> Tougher than Nigerian hair.

Or, if one wanted to preserve an overall shape of the text where the lines are relatively similar in length, the alternative would be to join the two first lines together, creating a longer line spanning five beats, which is closer to the typical average of four beats:

> A millionaire, I'm a young money millionaire
> Tougher than Nigerian hair.

These types of metrical structures are common in rap music, even if the most common relationship between the spans of poetic line and musical metre is the perfectly coinciding one. This pattern of correspondence should not dictate our habits of transcription, because there are options of segmenting rap lyrics into lines that better represent our experience of poetic lines, than what comes from automatically following the musical metrical boundaries. That these segmentations are less clear-cut and obvious than in other types of poetry is both an essential part of the aesthetic expression of rap, and an evident result of both the mode and modality of its expression. The real question when assessing the relationship between the metrical spans of bars

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and lines is whether or not musical metre in itself is or should be treated as actual evidence for lineation.

Fabb (2002: 136) argues that 'lineation, the division of a text into lines, is a kind of implied form, not an inherent fact of the text'. Graphic layout, while a strong implicature for lineation, is only one of many ways a text might communicate potential ways to divide it into lines. Unless it is being triangulated with other implicatures for lineation, like syntax, parallelisms, metrical regularity etcetera, graphic layout is only weak evidence that a text is 'in lines'. Assuming lineation is implied, we infer what we consider the dominant lineation through a combination of various evidence, and while musical metre is an important feature of the musical structure of rap flows, it does not necessarily follow that it is as important for lineation. On the surface, it might seem like musical metre has a similar role of providing evidence for lineation, to that which graphic layout has as lineation evidence in printed poetry, since, like graphic layout, it is a feature that is independent of the text, and we commonly hear bars and lines coinciding. However, I will argue that musical metre is not a particularly strong implicature for lineation in itself, and it is dependent on convention and/or repetition/emergence to function as lineation evidence in rap flows.[5]

If musical metre is not the most significant evidence for lineation in rap, what is? Like in printed poetry, syntax and other linguistic constituents are significant. Some scholars also use the rappers' vocal deliveries to segment flows, by looking at where there are pauses for breathing. However, the most significant boundary marker in rap is the positioning of rhymes. Literary scholar Alexs Pate (2010: 111) notes that 'most times, we can sense line breaks (…), by observing the rhyme', and 'I encourage the readers/listeners who want to investigate the construction of rap/poems to focus more on the rhyme patterns as opposed to the metrical and syllabic computations we use in scansion'. Robert Komaniecki (2019: 80) analyses different 'metrical positions of end rhymes', indicating that 'end rhyme', which in itself is a term indicating a poetic line boundary, is not tied to the boundary of a musical metrical unit. This means that when Bradley (2009: 42) writes: 'The most common rap rhymes are end rhymes, those rhymes that fall on the last beat of the musical [bar], signalling the end of the poetic line', there is a problematic conflation of musical and poetic metrical spans. 'End rhymes' may well signal the end of a poetic line, but the end of a poetic line does not necessarily coincide with the final beat of a bar of musical metre. This is the same conclusion Jonah Katz arrives at after analysing a corpus of '1097 lines of hip-hop', derived from 13 songs from various artists:

> Although musical rhythmic units [i.e. bars of musical metre] tend to align with linguistic constituents [i.e. line endings], mismatch between the two types of constituent is fairly frequent as well. Although rhymes generally do occur at some more or less predictable rhythmic interval, they are not constrained to appear only in this position. (Katz 2015: 57)

5 A thorough discussion of lines and evidence and implicatures for lineation can be found in Fabb (2002: chapter 5).

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All these discussions indicate that the placement of rhyme stands out as the most important indicator of poetic line boundaries in rap, more so than the musical metre. That is, while there is a convention for lines and bars to coincide, it is unproblematic for this convention to be broken. Relatedly, while the most common position of rhyme is towards the end of the musical bar (at or around beat four), this works as an explanation for how lines tend to coincide with bars but does not mean that the bars themselves are what dictates the line endings. That the organising function of rhyme is not tied to specific positions in the musical metre is also an argument for the need to consider musical metrical spans and poetic linear spans as separate interacting parameters when searching for the structuring principles of rap.

Convergent and Divergent Metrical Structure

In Condit-Schultz's (2016b) corpus study we can see some of the trends explaining this divergence from the expected bar-line coincidence in some rap verses. There is clear individual difference between emcees when it comes to rhyme density and rhyme entropy (the musical-metrical placement of rhymed syllables), as well as the clarity and length of phrases. There is also clear evidence for a gradual development of rappers' styles: 'there seems to be an increase in rhyme density until 2002 […] The dramatic increase in rhyme usage in the early 1990s may be associated with the transition between old-school and new-school rap' (Condit-Schultz 2016b: 136). This is also evident in the formalisation of the large-scale structure of rap songs, where the 16-bar 'verse'[6] became dominant around 1995 (Condit-Schultz 2016b: 144). With a formalisation of the larger structural unit as the vessel for rhythmic expression, rappers are free to experiment more with the length and structure of the individual building blocks within this larger formal unit. Once the form was sufficiently regulated, the possibilities of varying from that form were opened up.

To describe these varying relationships between bars and lines in rap, I use the terms convergent and divergent metrical structure[7]. Convergent metrical structure is when the metrical spans of bars and lines coincide perfectly, while divergent metrical structure is when there is some sort of

6 The naming conventions of formal units in rap follows the music vernacular where a 'verse' is the large formal unit similar to a poetic 'stanza'. Content in verses is typically not repeated, and choruses, often colloquially referred to as 'hooks', tend to succeed them. See for instance in Edwards (2009), where the interviewed emcees use 'verse' in this way throughout.

7 Note that while the terminology is inspired by Tsur's (2008: 84–85) convergent and divergent poetry, convergent and divergent metrical structure is not about the relationship between the art and 'strong shapes' (or gestalts), but about two parallel aspects within the art. Divergent metrical structure can be convergent poetry and vice versa.

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divergence between the placement of the boundaries of bars and lines[8]. While convergent metrical structure is the most common one, rappers often employ passages of divergent metrical structure within verses that are mostly convergent. Less common, but not unheard of, are verses with extensive divergent metrical structure throughout. Different types and degrees of divergence in metrical structure are central to different rappers' rhythmic styles and the aesthetic of the rhythms in individual rap verses. The aesthetic effects of divergent metrical structure can be explained with the idea of weak alternative lineation. Fabb (2002: 136) writes that '[b]ecause there are many kinds of evidence for the division into lines, there are usually many competing options for how the text is divided up. In most texts, one lineation is dominant, but […] alternative lineations remain weakly present'. Fabb argues that weak alternative lineations and the even more complex concept of ambiguous lineation, where there is no single dominating lineation, are experienced as aesthetic. Similarly, I believe that the relationship between musical and poetic metrical spans, and the play between convergent and divergent metrical structure is a very significant part of the aesthetic expression in a large amount of rap music.

There are different degrees of divergent metrical structure. Some divergences are quite simple, like the ones in figure 2, where there is one divergence of one beat within a group of two bars, where the line boundary is 'delayed' one musical metrical beat position compared to a convergent metrical structure, resulting in the poetic lines spanning five and three beats respectively. At other times, a section of a rap flow can display fully divergent metrical structure. An example of this latter technique is the first four bars of the first verse of Dizzee Rascal's 'Dirtee Cash' (2011, 0:48-0:57). Transcribing the lyrics of these four bars with line breaks following the musical metre results in an almost unintelligible structure:

(Let's Go)
Everybody wants to be famous. Nobody
wants to be nameless, aimless. People act
shameless. Tryna live like entertainers
Want a fat crib with the acres

Here, the salient reference structures of rhyme position and syntax correspond and stand out as logical triangulated evidence for lineation, a strong evidence for dominant lineation. This contradicts any evidence from musical metre for the lineation as shown in the following example:

8 This categorisation might at first glance look similar to John Mattessich's (2019) concepts of 'derivative and generative flow', where derivative flow is derived from the beat, while generative flow is seemingly independent of the structuring power of the musical background. However, musical metre is but one function of the musical background, and it even exists in a capella rap. Convergent metrical structure is not derivative of the musical background, even though they might display similar features.

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(Let's Go)
Everybody wants to be famous
Nobody wants to be nameless
Aimless
People act shameless
Tryna live like entertainers
Want a fat crib with the acres

If we reduce line 3 and 4 (Aimless / People act shameless) to one line, we arrive at a completely symmetrical, musically polymetric pattern of three over four as illustrated in figure 3.

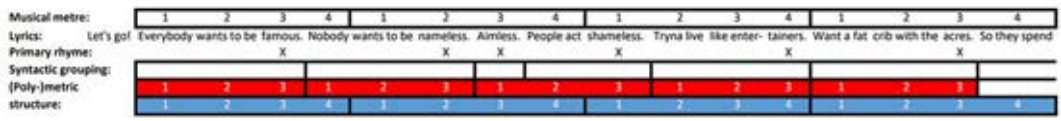

Figure 3. Divergent metrical structure in Dizzee Rascal – 'Dirtee Cash' (2011), verse 1, bar 1-4 (0:48-0:57). From top: Musical metre, lyrics, primary rhyme positions (marked with crosses), syntactic boundaries; Bottom two lines: Poetic span (and the amount of musical beats spanned) and musical (4/4) metre reiterated, showcasing 'polymetric' three-over-four-structure.

The combination of syntactic and phonologic (rhyme) information indicates a metrical structure that diverges completely from the musical metre, but is highly symmetrical in itself, which might be taken as further evidence for this lineation. Intuitively I group the structure into a pattern of 3+3+3+3+3 beats rather than 3+3+1+2+3+3[9]. This pattern creates a polymetric relation between the two ways of sectioning, where the poetic lineation introduces a competing musical metrical framework to the listener[10]. This example also functions to showcase how multiple different types of evidence for lineation will interact and present alternative lineations. If rhyme alone were to dictate the lineation, the dominant lineation would clearly have 'Aimless' and ' act shameless' as separate lines. However, other structuring factors such as symmetry and relative line length (both as regards the individual verse or track, but also the genre) will also impact our interpretation of dominant lineation. While this chapter investigates rhyme's role as an intuitive and clear marker of line endings in rap, it always operates in conjunction with other types of evidence for lineation. The linguistic content, most prominently

9 This symmetric pattern is, coincidentally, a typical feature of what Tsur would consider 'convergent poetry', yet it displays a fully divergent metrical structure (none of the poetic lines coincide completely with the musical metre).

10 This is also a great example of how the two metrical spans have a mutual impact on one another. Due to rap music's often very strongly emphasized 'boom-bap' 4/4 musical metrical structure, one might think that the relationship between the metrical spans is hierarchical in the sense that the musical metre is unfazed by contradictory poetic lineation. This is not necessarily the case.

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syntax, is often of similar importance as rhyme in influencing lineation, and the analysis of rap lines is primarily analysis of the interaction between rhyme and syntax[11].

Rhyme

The structure of 'Dirtee Cash' emphasises the slightly problematic nature of the term 'end rhyme'. While we have established that the 'end' in question is always the end of a poetic line, and not a bar of music, there are still issues with labelling certain common ways that rhyme appears in longer segments of rap. Rather than rhyming pairs, it is common that contemporary rap uses longer chains of rhymes[12], and within these chains some instances of the rhyme class might function as 'end rhymes' while some may not. Adam Krims (2000: 43) introduced the term 'rhyme complex' to describe 'a section of a song in which any one rhyme predominates'. Within such a rhyme complex, the rhyme class that defines it is structurally important, often contributing evidence for lineation. However, every instance need not contribute in the same way, or contribute as evidence for the dominant lineation. In my analyses, I use the term primary rhyme to describe the rhyme classes which define rhyme complexes, and secondary rhyme to describe any other rhymes that are present without providing evidence for dominant lineation or other larger structural units[13]. This does mean that a rhyme instance belonging to a primary rhyme class might not demarcate a line ending however, as is the case with 'Aimless' in the previous example. The main reasoning of distinguishing between primary and secondary rhymes rather than using the established terms like 'end rhyme' or 'internal rhyme' is that these latter categories are often ambiguous or unclear. Secondary rhymes might well rhyme between and across lines, and primary rhymes might present a weak alternative lineation rather than the dominant one[14].

The difficulty with establishing 'end rhymes', and the clear aesthetic function of emergent alternative lineations as the rap unfolds can be heard in the example from figure 4.

As the rap unfolds, the rhyming word 'Kreta' is positioned at the end of the bar. Considering all available evidence at that point, including rap's historical propensity for convergent metrical structure, a listener would expect the line to end at that point. However, we reassess what the

11 For an extensive and more nuanced exploration of lineation in rap, see Oddekalv (2022: chapters A4 and B1).

12 This is another feature of rap that has developed over time, and Condit-Schultz (2016b: 137) notes that 'the usage of longer rhyme chains became much more popular around 1998'.

13 In addition to being evidence for lineation, primary rhymes might structure rap verses in other ways. Most significantly by sectioning the text into rhyme complexes that may or may not coincide with hypermetric blocks (typically duple and symmetrical – 4 and 8 bar blocks are common).

14 For a longer discussion on primary and secondary rhymes see Oddekalv (2022: 86–88).

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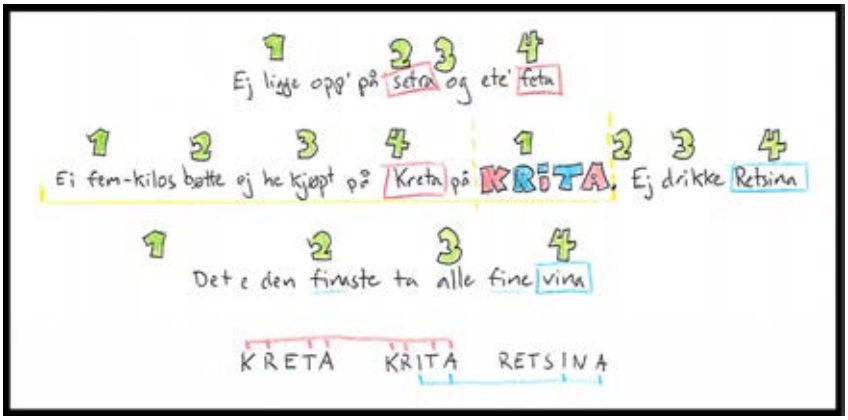

Figure 4. Rhyme position, line segmentation and pivot rhyme in bar 1-4 of verse 1 of Side Brok's 'Setra' (2004). Musical metre is indicated by large numbers and bracket between bar 2 and 3. Dominant lineation is indicated by bracket. Primary rhymes are marked with rectangles. Secondary rhymes are marked with underlining.

dominant lineation is when the syntax and the emcee's phrasing runs on into the following bar, ending on a pivot rhyme. A pivot rhyme is a specific type of rhyme that rhymes partly with the preceding primary rhyme, and partly with a new primary rhyme class. In this case, the word 'krita' rhymes through perfect consonantic consonance with the preceding 'Kreta', only exchanging one vowel sound, and introducing the new primary rhyme class of an assonantic I-a-rhyme. Note that the pivot rhyme itself has a notably weaker rhyme connection to the two different primary rhyme classes than the rest of the rhymes in the respective rhyme chains, as it lacks one of the two vowels in the two-syllable primary rhyme preceding it, and uses both an unrelated consonant sound and a slightly different rhythmic figure from the succeeding one. Nevertheless, the pivot rhyme adds evidence for the resulting lineation indicated by the yellow bracket in figure 3, which does not correlate with either the initial primary rhyme's position or the musical metre[15].

It turns out that the primary rhyme instance of 'Kreta' is not an 'end rhyme', but the way it is initially presented makes it a marker of an alternative lineation that is significant to the listening experience. The listener is first lured into believing the lineation of the expected convergent metrical structure before immediately being presented with another dominant lineation, and this is a significant part of the rhythmic experience of this musical excerpt. One could consider this type of 'false end rhyme' as an example of a 'weak implicature of alternative lineation [that is] experienced as aesthetic' (Fabb 2002: 136).

15 In addition to its role as added evidence for the dominant lineation, the pivot rhyme creates additional structural ambiguity by blurring the boundary between rhyme complexes. By rhyming partly with both surrounding rhyme complexes, the pivot rhyme itself is simultaneously part of both, creating an overlapping boundary between the two.

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I acknowledge now that for a chapter in a book about rhyme, I have spent little attention on discussing 'what rhyme is'. For the rhythmic and metrical roles of rhyme in rap, it is in most cases most sensible to reduce the question of rhyme to a binary 'does it rhyme or not?' The question of whether something is experienced as a rhyme, i.e. a phonologic parallelism between syllables[16], is the significant question in rap, much more so than what type of rhyme it is[17] or whether something rhymes more or less, i.e. the perceived strength of the rhyme. While all these different rhyme types and the different ways of combining them are essential to the aesthetic expression of a rap, their differences are of less consequence to the rhythm. For the analyses in this chapter, it is a question of whether something rhymes or not, and whether each specific rhyme class has a structuring role for lineation or establishing larger rhyme complexes. The annotation of rhyme comes down to the analyst's interpretation[18], as any sort of 'objective' or automated rhyme detection is notoriously difficult[19]. One of the main reasons for this is that it is something of a badge of honour amongst rappers to be able to make something rhyme when it initially might seem not to[20].

Variation in Divergent Metrical Structure

In between the very subtle divergences of figures 2 and 4, and the complete divergence of figure 3, there are all kinds of variations, combinations, and degrees of divergent metrical structure. A fruitful way of approaching the different types of divergences is by comparison to the traditional poetic technique of enjambment. In Frank Kjørup's (2008) exploration of enjambment and enjambment-like techniques, he classifies these techniques as verse-syntax heteromorphies – divergence between verse, meaning poetic line, and syntax. My framework functions similarly, with divergences between poetic line and musical metre, but since poetic line is dependent on other variables, and we lack any visual evidence for the line, the main heteromorphies to explore in rap flows are at least three-faceted. Musical metre, primary rhyme position and syntax are the main kinds of evidence

16 Note that alliteration is also a phonologic parallelism, but it is significantly different from 'rhyme'.

17 'Types' of rhyme in this context are, for example perfect-, slant-, or half-rhymes, assonance- or 'twisted' rhymes, mono- or polysyllabic rhymes etc.

18 One interesting point about rhyme in rap that aids rhyme identification is that the phonologic parallelism is almost always accompanied by a rhythmic parallelism (a 'rhythmic rhyme'). The rhyming pair (or group) share the same rhythmic figure/motive. See Komaniecki (2019: 44–46) for an extended discussion of this phenomenon.

19 The most successful foray into automated rhyme detection in rap is Hirjee & Brown's (2010) probabilistic model.

20 The use of other types of parallelisms in addition to the phonological one (rhythmic, metrical position etc.) is a way of creating the illusion of rhyme where something does not really rhyme. If this 'illusion' is effective, it can have the same role as 'real' rhyme in a rap flow (or perhaps be considered as even more aesthetic).

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for lineation, and they interact in different ways. This creates added layers of complexity and potential ambiguities in the interactions between musical and poetic metre, and as we will see, rhyme stands out as the defining factor in these heteromorphies.

Enjambment in the traditional sense, with syntax spilling over from one poetic line to another can happen in a rap flow. In figure 5, there is a convergence between musical metre and primary rhyme, which is thoroughly emphasised by Snoop Dogg's rhythmical phrasing, while syntax 'runs on'.

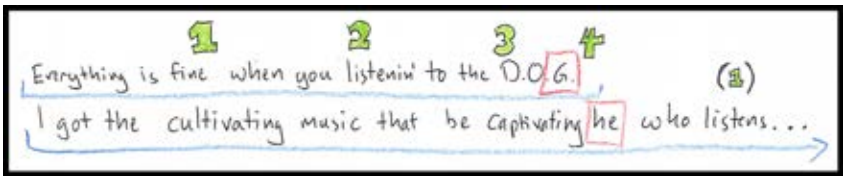

Figure 5. Enjambment in the second verse of Snoop Dogg's 'Gin And Juice' (1993, 1:33). Primary rhyme position is indicated by squares, syntactic units by brackets. Approximate musical metrical beat positions in large numbers.

This specific example also exemplifies how poetic lineation in rap verses cannot simply be tied to syntax, in the same manner that it cannot simply be tied to musical metre or primary rhyme position. The syntax of the second line of figure 5 continues throughout two more full bars: 'I got the cultivating music that be captivating he who listens to the words that I speak as I take me a drink to the middle of the street'. This means that a lineation relying solely on syntax would result in a line spanning twelve beats of the musical background. The primary rhymes, on the other hand, fall predictably and symmetrically on or around the four-beat positions, establishing a convergent metrical structure – the enjambment merely hinting at a potential divergence, creating a strong alternative lineation for aesthetic effect.

Repeated use of variations of a heteromorphy-technique can create quite extensive divergent metrical structure. In figure 6, we see Ms. Lauryn Hill using the one-rhyme technique, where the primary rhyme is displaced from the expected position on the fourth beat – 'the four' – of the bar to the first beat – 'the one' – of the following bar. Ms. Lauryn Hill employs several different variants of one-rhymes throughout one verse, and these variations have different implications for lineation.

Beginning with line 4–5 (the first lines of the figure), there is a simple added one-rhyme, where one extra instance of the primary rhyme is inserted on the one of the next bar after a rhyme on the four. In this case, the syntax is slightly ambiguous, as 'to begin' can be considered as part of either line. A triangulation of evidence for lineation finds both syntactical and primary rhyme position on both the four and the one, leaving the deciding evidence of musical metre to determine the dominant lineation, which creates convergent metrical structure. However, the alternative weakly evidenced lineation introduced by the ambiguous syntax and the added one-rhyme creates a tendency towards divergence within a convergent structure. In lines 7–9 there is repeated one-rhyming, something that creates a consistently displaced metrical structure, a symmetrical type of divergent metrical

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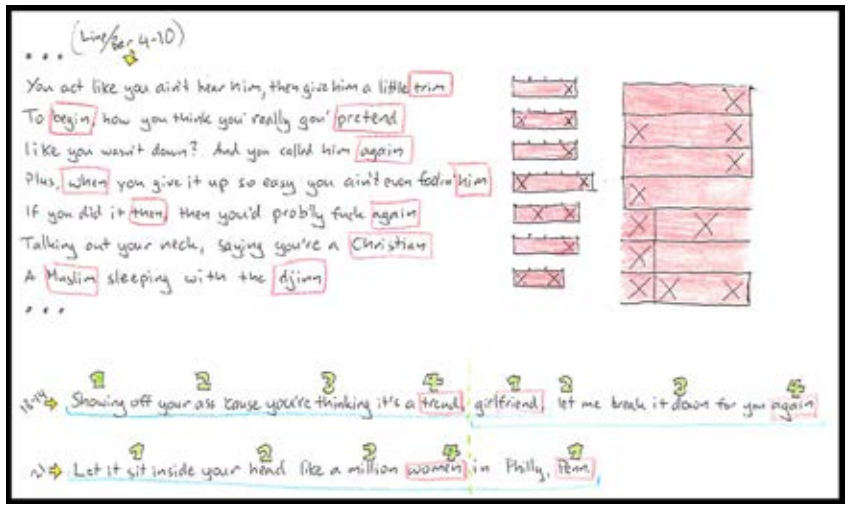

Figure 6. One-rhyming in the first verse of Ms. Lauryn Hill's 'Doo Wop (That Thing)' (1998, 0:35). Metrical structure of line/bar 4–10, primary rhymes marked with rectangles. Added one-rhymes in line/bar 13–14 and line 21 (bar 21–22), syntactic boundaries in brackets, musical metre in large numbers. The bars to the right show the poetic lines superimposed over the musical metre, with the position of the rhymes marked with crosses.

structure. Note how in the rightmost column of figure 6 the lines indicating the line boundaries are displaced, so the lines end after the one-beat of the musical metre. Lines 8 and 9 are the expected four beats long, but due to line 7 being five beats long, lines 8 and 9 no longer overlap with the musical metre. This is a divergent metrical structure, but the musical metre is not particularly strong evidence for lineation, so if any alternative lineation is weakly present, it is very weak evidence[21]. Lines 13–14 show an example of ambiguity along the syntactical axis, as 'girlfriend' can be considered as belonging to either line, and thus to both simultaneously. With the added one-rhyme, there is a combination of evidence that indicates two potential lineations. While one might be considered dominant, these lines are approaching true ambiguity in lineation, and there are several interpretations and reinterpretations of the lineation as the flow unfolds. The verse has a strong internal consistency[22], but it still displays a divergent metrical structure and weak alternative lineation throughout, suggesting that Ms. Lauryn Hill applies these techniques for aesthetic effect.

21 Rather, one is more likely to experience weak alternative lineation in these lines from the 'half-line' boundaries after the three-beats, marked with commas in figure 3. This alternative lineation is strengthened by the extra primary rhyme instance in line 8.

22 Aided by an 'extended monorhyme' (Komaniecki 2019: 99), where a single primary rhyme class extends throughout as much as an entire verse. Ms. Lauryn Hill slightly alters the vowel sounds throughout the verse, making 'trim', 'him', 'djinn', etcetera, rhyme with (and be a part of the same rhyme complex as) 'pretend', 'when', 'again', etc.

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Conclusion

In all music with lyrics, there are two similar, but different realisations of 'metre' that exist simultaneously and interact in various ways. In rap flows, the spans of musical bars and poetic lines will most commonly coincide. This could indicate that musical metre is a strong evidence for poetic lineation in rap. However, as rap's form has developed, variations where poetic lineation does not converge with the musical metre have become quite common. Rather than musical metre being the strongest evidence for lineation, I propose that rhyme is in fact the strongest evidence for lineation in rap.

The joint structure of the musical and poetic metrical spans can be divided into convergent metrical structure, where the spans of bars and lines coincide, and divergent metrical structure, where they do not. Ms. Lauryn Hill (figure 6), for example, outlines lineation that has a similar, but displaced structure to the musical metre, while Dizzee Rascal creates a fully musically polymetric structure (figure 3), where the lineation is symmetrical, but spanning only three beats of the musical background – creating a three-over-four polymetric relationship. Overall, the analytical examples in this article show how rappers utilise different types of divergence in the metrical structure to great aesthetic effect, both in subtle and exaggerated ways, either nudging at our expectations for metrical convergence or creating new, competing metrical structures. Some of these types of divergence or tendencies towards divergence, like one-rhymes and pivot rhymes, are archetypical techniques found in many rap flows.

The relationship and interaction between musical metre and poetic lineation is central to the aesthetic expression of rap, and rather than forcing one onto the template of the other, the ways the two diverge and converge again should be emphasised in both representation and analysis of rap as both music and poetry.

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Sakari Katajamäki
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9031-5887

Analysing Irregular Rhyme Sequences

Methodological Experiments with Lauri Viita's *Kukunor* (1949)

For a scholar interested in rhymes, the Finnish nonsense poem *Kukunor: Satu ihmislapsille* [Koko Nor: A Fairy Tale for Human Children] affords an intriguing methodological problem. This 123-page narrative poem, written by Lauri Viita (1916–1965) in 1949, is almost entirely written in rhyme, but it very seldom follows any regular rhyme scheme. Its rhyme structure, however, intuitively feels natural and functional and gives an impression of skilfully balanced phonetic parallelism. It definitely cannot be truly arbitrary but it is hard to grasp what kinds of formal structures it has.

Any short arbitrary rhyme sequence has hundreds of potential rhyme structures. For instance, a poem of six lines can have 203 different rhyme schemes. If a poem has seven lines, the number of potential rhyme patterns is 877. Every additional line increases this number by leaps and bounds: 4140 (8 lines), 21 147 (9 lines), 115 975 (10 lines), and so on. Mathematically speaking, the number of distinct rhyme schemes for a poem of *n* lines follows the so-called Bell numbers (1, 2, 5, 15, 52, 203, 877, 4 140, 21 147, 115 975, 678 570, 4 213 597 …) (Reddy & Knight 2011: 78). If Lauri Viita's rhyme schemes are irregular, but evidently not truly arbitrary, how would it be possible to analyse and describe them? There are conventional ways of representing regular rhyme patterns but the formal analysis of irregular rhyming has new kinds of methodological challenges.

In the present study, I will experiment with different kinds of analysing techniques and apply them to the irregular end rhyme structure of Viita's *Kukunor*. In the first part, I will study *Kukunor*'s rhyming from the perspectives of rhyme intervals, focusing on the distances between lines ending with the same rhyme. In this part of the chapter, I will use several quantitative approaches that focus on the overall density of rhymes (so-called A–Z value), the general frequencies of rhymes, and their distribution in the empirical data. In the second part, I will focus on the analysis of rhymes in their given order. This rhyme scheme analysis proceeds from rhyme couplets to the sliding window analysis of three-line and four-line sequences.

From a methodological point of view, the objective of this multiphase study is to examine how irregular rhyme structures can be analysed and described from different angles by using various methods. As a case study on *Kukunor*'s rhyming, the aim of this article is to recognise structural features that are characteristic to Lauri Viita's poem and to more closely analyse how

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these features vary in the selected test corpus. Even though short sections of Viita's poem seem to have dozens of different forms of irregular rhyming, my hypothesis is that it is possible to recognize some shared statistical features among them.

Regarding *Kukunor* as a whole, the study of its rhyme structures is important because it deepens the understanding of Viita's verse and its other interconnected features. Viita's long poem consists mostly of lively dialogues that are highly reactive and full of quick associations and all kinds of side-tracks. They often also follow the logic of dreaming since most of the discussions happen in Kukunor's dream. In this context crowded with various anomalies, rhyming is also interconnected with other sonorous features, such as metre, alliteration, assonance, repetition and internal rhymes.[1] If the present article helps to grasp *Kukunor*'s irregular rhyme structures, it offers a good basis for analysing other sonorous and semantic features of the poem.

As part of Finland's history of poetry, Lauri Viita's irregularly rhyming poem is interestingly located between traditional poetry and post-war modernism. In his 1947 debut work *Betonimylläri* [The Concrete Mixer], Viita became an acknowledged master of metre and rhyme. Playful *Kukunor* – one of the first Finnish books that belonged to the genre of nonsense literature – meant a radical change in his style, although it was still written in metre and rhyme. In his essay on rhyming, V. A. Koskenniemi (1951: 47), who was a distinguished poet and professor of literature, raises Viita and especially *Kukunor* as an example of skilful rhyming in Finland at the turn of the 1950s and names Viita as a rescuer of the future of rhyming poetry. In his later poetical works, Viita continued using traditional forms of poetry but also oriented towards free verse. Within this continuum, *Kukunor*'s irregular rhyme structures thus represent one important phase in Viita's oeuvre and in his career as part of Finnish post-war modernism.

The empirical data of my methodological study comprise two samples that are chosen from the beginnings of the first and the last chapters of the poem (see Tables 1 and 2). By utilizing a pair of samples, I can compare the rhyming structures of two discrete parts of the poem and evaluate my analysing techniques. Another advantage of these choices is that both passages are preceded by a clear pause in the continuity of the literary work: the first sample comes after the motto of the poem and the second sample starts the last chapter. Both samples hence have a fresh start in the rhyming and they are from this perspective commensurable with each other. Furthermore, they have one basic difference that can interestingly affect their irregular rhyming: the first sample contains several lines by the narrating voice of the poem whereas the other sample entirely consists of a dialogue.

In the first sample, the narrator of the poem first talks about how two six-year-old goblin cousins, Kukunor and Kalahari (or Kuku and Kala), happily live in the summer house of a professor. Later, in the dialogues[2] between them, they discover that Africa has a desert named Kalahari, and 'Kukunor'

1 On the anomalies in *Kukunor*, see Katajamäki 2016: 79–131, 268–344.

2 In the dialogues, Kukunor's speech is represented with quotation marks and Kalahari's lines with em dashes.

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(in English, Koko Nor) is the name of a salt lake in Asia. The second sample is from the beginning of the last chapter of the poem. There, Kukunor enthuses over her dream, where they have met a Mountain Man and had discussions about a glass cutter. Kalahari, however, does not share the excitement and Kukunor tries to sway him in their epistemological discussions.

Tables 1 and 2. Two samples from Lauri Viita's *Kukunor* (Viita 1949: 7–10, 113–116).

Line Number	Kukunor Sample I	Rhyme Scheme
1	Kuudenvanha peikkopari [A pair of six-year-old goblins,]	**a**
	Kukunor ja Kalahari [Kukunor and Kalahari,]	**a**
	hyvin viihtyy talvellakin [enjoy living in]	**b**
	professorin autiossa [professor's uninhabited]	**c**
5	kesäasunnossa. [summer house.]	**c**
	Puhaltaen oiva takka [With a blow, the excellent fireplace]	**d**
	syttyy ilman halkojakin. [catches fire even without wood.]	**b**
	Leipää, suolaa komerossa, [Bread, salt in cupboard,]	**c**
	hernepussi laatikossa – [a beanbag in a box –]	**c**
10	virsikirja, korttipakka – [a hymnbook, a pack of cards –]	**d**
	hei, ja fortuunakin! [hey, even a bagatelle!]	**b**
	Lautaverhot ikkunoissa, [Boarding in windows,]	**e**
	väki poissa – [people away from home –]	**e**
	mikäs onkaan peikkolasten [isn't it great for goblin children,]	**f**
15	niin kuin tosi kuningasten [like real kings,]	**f**
	leikkiessä siellä! [to play there!]	**g**
	Nyt ei olla suurten tiellä, [Now no one is in the way of the grown-ups,]	**g**
	nyt ei kukaan [now no one,]	**h**
	ison tyhmän päänsä mukaan [following his big stupid head,]	**h**
20	käske eikä kiellä. [commands or forbids.]	**g**
	Mutta vaikka hyvä näinkin, [Although it is good like this,]	**i**

Line Number	Kukunor Sample II	Rhyme Scheme
1	'Niin, ja sitten; kuules, Kala! ['Yes, and then; listen, Kala!]	**A**
	Sitten – voi, kun sinä nukut! [Then – oh dear, you are sleeping!]	**b**
	Kuules nyt, kun sanon mitä [Listen now, I tell you what]	**c**
	sitten tehtiin! Kuules, Kala: [we then did! Listen, Kala:]	**A**
5	tehtiin lasiveitsivala!' [we took an oath regarding a glass cutter!']	**AA**
	– Aikaisinpa sinä kukut; [– How early you wake up;]	**b**
	älähän nyt vielä ala! [do not yet begin!]	**a**
	'Kuules; etkös kuullut sitä: ['Listen; didn't you hear it:]	**c**
	tehtiin lasiveitsivala! [we took an oath about a glass cutter!]	**AA**
10	Se on hyvin tärkeätä, [It is very important,]	**d**
	vaikken yhtään muista, miksi!' [though, I do not remember why!']	**e**
	– Mikä ihmeen veitsihätä [– What a strange cutter emergency]	**d**
	sinun nyt on; näitkös unta? [has caught you; have you dreamed?]	**F**
	'Näitkös unta? – Kala, Kala: ['Have you dreamed? – Kala, Kala:]	**A**
15	tehtiin lasiveitsivala! [we took an oath about a glass cutter!]	**AA**
	Näinkö unta? Juuri siksi [Have I dreamed? That is why]	**e**
	tämäkin on tornikuusi, [we have this tower-like spruce,]	**g**
	tämä oksa, tämä lunta, [this bough, this snow,]	**FF**
	tässä sormi, tuossa suusi – [here this finger, there your mouth –]	**g**
20	juuri siksi istun tässä [that is why I sit here]	**h**
	esineistelmöitsemässä – [lecturing on various items –]	**h**

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	onhan sentään ullakolla	**j**		juuri siksi näen sinut,	**i**
	[in the attic, it is yet]			[I see you, just because]	
	pikku peikkoystäväinkin	**i**		että sinä näet minut –	**i**
	[for the little goblin friends]			[you see me –]	
	kaikkein paras olla.	**j**		sano, Kala, että näet!'	**j**
	[the best of all.]			[say, Kala, that you see!']	
25	Päädyssä on pahvikoppi.	**k**	25	– Sinut – niinkö? Tottakai!	**k**
	[There is a cardboard hut at the end.]			[– See you – you mean? Of course!]	
	'Mikä soppi!'	**k**		Jopa kiersit kummat mäet!	**j**
	['What a rathole!']			[What strange hills you have wandered!]	
	huokaa pieni peikotar.	**l**		'Sitten Vuoriukko sai	**k**
	[sighs the little goblin girl.]			['And then the old Mountain Man cut]	
	– Mikä linna! – Kalahar.	**l**		haavan sormeensa ja minä	**l**
	[– What a palace! exclaims Kalahari.]			[his finger and I]	
	Laudoituskin puuttuu sieltä	**m**		sidoin –. Kala, ethän sinä	**l**
	[There is no even boarding]			[bandaged –. Kala, you are not]	
30	linnuntieltä	**m**	30	ole kovin vihainen,	**m**
	[that would block the straight view]			[very angry,]	
	estämästä ikkunasta	**n**		vaikka minä kiedoin sen	**m**
	[and thus prevent, from the window,]			[although I bandaged that]	
	kauas, kauas katsomasta.	**n**		nenäliinan, jonka sain	**n**
	[to look far, far away.]			[handkerchief, which I received]	
	Taivaanranta, korvenranta,	**o**		joululahjaks, – Vuoriukon	**o**
	[Skyline, edge of the forest,]			[as a Christmas present, – around]	
	järvenranta, valkosanta –	**o**		pikkusormen ympärille?'	**p**
	[shoreline, white sand –]			[Mountain Man's pinkie?']	
35	avaruuden helmikanta	**o**	35	– Vielä mitä! Kiedo vain	**n**
	[bead stock of the space]			[– Never mind! Be my guest, bandage,]	
	helmikuussa	**p**		vaikka nenäs unikukon	**o**
	[in February]			[say, your nose around the dream rooster's]	
	maassa, järvessä ja puussa!	**p**		kaulaan, loppu vyötäisille!	**p**
	[on the land, in the lake and in a tree!]			[neck, and the rest of it around his waist!]	
	'Katso pian aurinkoa;	**q**		Vieläkös nyt tuokin piinaa;	**q**
	['Quickly, look at the sun,]			[How are you still racked with that;]	
	sitäpäs nyt naurattaa!'	**r**		eihän sitä nenäliinaa	**q**
	[it can't stop laughing!']			[we did not even search for the handkerchief]	
40	– Onhan siinä kuutamoa!	**q**	40	silloin edes haettukaan!	**r**
	[– Yes, there's moonlight for you!,]			[then!]	
	Kalahari toteaa –	**r**		'Niin kai kun et tullut mukaan!'	**r**
	[Kalahari states. –]			['Of course not, since you did not join me!']	
	pahus, katse vallan muussa.	**p**		– Sinähän sen hukkasit.	**s**
	[Damn, looking in quite another direction.]			[– It was you who lost it.]	
	Kukunorpa kumman löytää,	**s**		'Niin, niin, mutta kun ei kukaan	**r**
	[Kukunor finds something strange,]			['Yes, yes, but nobody]	
	ja kun kuuluu somaan sukuun,	**t**		tiennyt –' – missä mukkasit –[3]	**s**
	[and, belonging to the prettier sex,]			[knew –' – where you tumbled –]	
45	oitis päänsä sisään töytää	**s**	45	tai ei tiennyt, missä et	**t**
	[straight away sticks her head into]			[or did not know, where you never]	

3 This line is a combination of two half lines (hemistichomythia).

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	ikinaiselliseen pukuun,	**t**
	[that eternally feminine garment,]	
	taivaanvienoon alushameeseen.	**u**
	[faintly sky-blue petticoat.]	
	'Katsos, Kala!'	**v**
	['Look, Kala!']	
	– On se, on se näköala,	**v**
	[– Yeah, it is a scenery,]	
50	sanoo toinen	**w**
	[says the other,]	
	hiiskumatta, kirjalleen.	**u**
	[silently, to his book.]	
	'Aikamoinen!'	**w**
	['What a cad!']	
	toruu sievä rättiläinen.	**x**
	[scolds the pretty one in her finery.]	
	– Kuules, Kuku,	**y**
	[– Listen, Kuku,]	
55	tässäpä on kiva luku:	**y**
	[here is a nice chapter:]	
	minä olen erämaa,	**r**
	[I am a desert,]	
	tietää Iso Jättiläinen! –	**x**
	[knows The Big Giant! –]	
	Kalahari selostaa.	**r**
	[Kalahari explains.]	
59	Mutta silloin Kukunorin	**z**
	[But then Kukunor's]	

	olis koskaan mukannut –	**u**
	[had tumbled –]	
	etkä mitään hukannut.	**u**
	[or lost something.]	
	Mutta jätä tuollaiset,	**t**
	[However, forget that]	
	mitäs niistä hourailet!	**t**
	[kind of lunacy!]	
50	'Enhän minä mitään houri,	**v**
	['No, it is not lunacy,]	
	näen ihan selvää unta!	**F**
	[it is plain dreaming!]	
	Koetapas itse tuota:	**w**
	[Feel that for yourself:]	
	silittele, pöyhi, kouri!	**v**
	[stroke that, fluff that, squeeze that!]	
	Etkös omaan tuntoos luota?	**w**
	[Don't you trust your own senses?]	
55	Etkös sano: Tuo on lunta!'	**FF**
	[Don't you say: That's snow!']	
	– Puraisepas sinä kielees,	**x**
	[– Bite your tongue,]	
	jotta muistuis totuus mielees!	**x**
	[so that truth comes to your mind!]	
	'Ja kun olen puraissut	**u**
	['And having bitten,]	
	vaikka nenän naamastani,	**y**
	[say, the nose off my face,]	
60	näinkös sanon unissani:	**y**
	[do I say it like this in my dreams:]	
	Jopas olen houraillut!'	**u**
	[Gosh, what delirium have I had!']	
	– Jo, jo jouduin joutimiin!	
62	[– Oh, now you caught me with your gibberish!]	**z**

In the samples of Tables 1 and 2, I have included all lines until the rhyme scheme (a b c d, etc.) reaches the letter z. Rhyming lines that end with the same word are marked with capital letters (A refers to 'Kala', AA to 'lasiveitsivala', and so on.). The abstract models representing these lines will vary when I apply different analysing methods. Therefore, each line can be modelled with different letters depending on the context. These letters, which are relative and not absolute labels, will be called rhyme classes.[4]

4 For the purpose of having a statistical benchmark for the methodical study based on two *Kukunor* samples, I have alongside used one artificial sample of 60 lines, here abbreviated as RSS (Random String Sample). Using a random generator, I have made a 59-letter random string with letters from *a* to *y*. Then I have added letter *z* as the last line. These letters simulate different rhyme classes which I have then converted into a sort of rhyme scheme simulation. The statistics of RSP, where neither poetical conventions nor semantic reasons have influenced the 'rhyme structure', helps to understand the structural features of the *Kukunor* samples. When relevant, this reference data will be given in footnotes.

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The minimum requirement of my methodological experimenting is that the analysing techniques applied in this corpus must be able to tell whether the two samples of the *Kukunor* have similar or distinct features of irregular rhyming. If this methodology reveals formal differences between their rhyming, these techniques of analysis can be applied in the comparison of different poets, too. Moreover, in further research these kinds of discoveries could also be applied in a more semantic and content-oriented comparison of the irregular rhyming techniques of Viita or other poets – a topic that cannot be discussed in this article in detail.

Rhyme Intervals

In the first part of my paper, I leave aside the precise order of the endings of rhyming lines and instead try to get an overview of how the rhyme classes from *a* to *z* are represented in the samples. I am curious about how evenly their frequencies are distributed in the data.

My *Kukunor* samples were created based on the method of not having a standard sample length, but instead, to limit the samples by the abstract length of the rhyme scheme by ending them right after the first occurrences of the rhyme class *z* (i.e. 26 different rhymes). This practice enables me to compare the samples and to look at how many lines they need to have until they reach the letter *z*.

I call this number of lines the A–Z value of the irregular rhyme scheme. It is 59 in the first *Kukunor* sample and 62 in the second. These values are rather similar. The poetics of *Kukunor* seems to prefer quick moves towards the next rhyme class. Moreover, it is willing to leave behind rhyme classes that have already had two or more occurrences.

Evenly spread, the average A–Z value of 60 would mean that every rhyme class from A to Z (26 classes in all) occurred two or three times (2.3 times on average). In *Kukunor*, the occurrences of rhyme classes are spread more varyingly, which requires an analysis of their frequencies and distribution. In Table 3 below, we can see the frequency distribution of different rhyme classes ordered by the number of their occurrences. The *Kukunor* samples I and II are very similar, with two exceptions. One exception is that the first sample has four rhyme classes (*b*, *g*, *o* and *p*) that occur three times in the sample (29.3% of all occurrences), whereas the second sample has only two such cases (*r* and *t*) (9.7% of all occurrences). The other exception is that the second sample has one rhyme class (*a*) that occurs seven times, which is due to Kukunor repeating her cousin's name.

As a whole, both *Kukunor* samples seem to strongly feature rhyme classes that occur two times (64.5% of all occurrences). Rhyme classes that occur four times are rare: with the exception of the example already noted, rhyme classes do not have more occurrences than that.

In *Kukunor*, rhyming sometimes conforms to a regular pattern for a while, for instance aabb or abab, but in cases where the rhyme class recurs more

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Table 3. The frequencies of rhyme classes and their distribution

Frequency of Rhyme Classes (RC)	***Kukunor* I (59 lines)** (classes / their occurrences)	***Kukunor* I** (% of all occurrences)	***Kukunor* II (62 lines)** (classes / their occurrences)	***Kukunor* II** (% of all occurrences)	***Kukunor* I & II (121 lines)** (classes / their occurrences)	***Kukunor* I & II** (% of all occurrences)
RC having 1 occurrence (z in *Kukunor*)	1 / 1	1.7%	1 / 1	1.6%	2 / 2	1.7%
RC having 2 occurrences	19 / 38	64.4%	20 / 40	64.5%	39 / 78	64.5%
RC having 3 occurrences	4 / 12	29.3%	2 / 6	9.7%	6 / 18	14.9%
RC having 4 occurrences	2 / 8	13.6%	2 / 8	12.9%	4 / 16	13.2%
RC having 5 occurrences	0 / 0	0%	0 / 0	0%	0 / 0	0%
RC having 6 occurrences	0 / 0	0%	0 / 0	0%	0 / 0	0%
RC having 7 occurrences	0 / 0	0%	1 / 7	11.3%	1 / 7	5.8%

than twice, it creates an impression of spontaneous auditory associations or reactions to other speakers' lines. In the first *Kukunor* sample, for instance, lines 33–35 (the triplet on ooo), uttered by the narrator who describes a beautiful view, give an impression of being a free associative anomaly, in the middle of other, more traditional rhyme structures, especially because these lines overwhelmingly use tautology, rhymes and internal rhymes ('Taivaan*ranta*, korven*ranta*, / järven*ranta*, valko*santa* – / avaruuden helmi*kanta*').

The quantities of different rhyme classes in the samples of approximately 60 lines present the question how the rhyme classes are located in the rhyme schemes. To answer this question, I have analysed the intervals between the first and the second occurrences of all rhyme classes (see Table 4). As part of this interval analysis, I have counted the distance between the first and last occurrences of each rhyme class. As the measure of the interval, I have subtracted the previous line number from the later one. If rhyme class *c*, for instance, occurs on lines 4 and 5, their interval is 1.

Table 4. Average rhyme intervals and their ranges

Rhyme Interval	***Kukunor* I (59 lines)**	***Kukunor* II (62 lines)**	***Kukunor* I & II (121 lines)**
First – second occurrence	1.69 (range 1–4)	2.31 (range 1–5)	2 (range 1–5)
First – last occurrence	3.00 (range 1–19)	4.69 (range 1–43)	3.85 (range 1–43)

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In the *Kukunor* samples, the second occurrence of a rhyme class is always located quite near the first one.[5] The extreme interval from the first to the last occurrence, however, is very flexible, from 1 to 43 (*f* in *Kukunor* II: from line 13 to line 56).

The varying interval of the rhyming lines has various effects in the poetic context of Viita's long poem. For instance, it ties dialogues together and creates bonds between line groups that are distant from each other. In some cases, rhymes that sound monotonous and appear to lack imagination can function better with a little distance than if they were located next to each other. For instance, the rhyme words 'talvellakin', 'halkojakin' and 'fortuunakin' (*Kukunor* sample I, ll. 3–11), which contain the same suffix *-kin* ('too'), would not be satisfying without some extra lines between them.

In the study of irregular rhyme schemes, one elementary challenge is that a very general analysis does not illustrate how different parts of the poem potentially differ from each other. My generic answer to this basic challenge is the so-called sliding window analysis. It is a technique for analysing any series of data in its sequential order by sliding a fixed-size frame forwards in the data and measuring or storing the sequence of every step. This kind of methodology has widely been used in the sciences, economics, and humanities. For my purposes, the sliding window technique provides a tool for analysing the general tendencies of rhyming on a small or medium scale.[6] Furthermore, it is necessary when making statistics of the irregular rhyme schemes in their given order.

On a general level, I have analysed the frequencies of rhyme classes in every (overlapping) ten-line and five-line sequence of my samples. The first suggests that the *Kukunor* samples are rather similar: the ten-line sequences contain an average of 5.5–5.7 rhyme classes, with a range of four to seven classes.[7] It shows that both samples resemble each other in respect of the rhyme class distributions, and in this respect, neither of them has radical changes between their different parts. Hence, looking at the big picture, both *Kukunor* excerpts tend to use the same rhymes quite near to each other but also new rhymes are always introduced as the poem goes on. A much more detailed analysis is provided using the sliding window analysis of five-line sequences presented in Table 5.

On the basis of these distributions, both samples favour having three or four rhyme classes (60% / 32.7% in sample I and 46.6% / 50% in sample II) in five-line sequences. It means that most sequences contain at least one rhyming couplet, but also two couplets are possible. One interesting difference is that in the second sample the cases of three or four rhyme class occurrences are distributed quite evenly whereas the first sample clearly tends to have more often three than four occurrences. It means more interrelated rhymes within five lines, because if you have four rhyme class occurrences (a, b, c, and d),

5 Hence, the first rhyme pair is always rather easy to recognise, especially compared with the RSS, the frequencies of which (+12.1; range 3–48) would be unlikely to create clearly audible phonetic parallelism in a real poem.

6 On other kinds of sliding-window methodologies in literary criticism, see for instance Grayson et al. 2016 and Musaoğlu et al. 2017.

7 RSS differs by having 8.7 rhyme classes, with a range from seven to ten.

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Table 5. Sliding window analysis of the rhyme class occurrences in five-line sequences

Number of Rhyme Class Occurrences in 5-line Sequences	***Kukunor* I (59 lines) (55 window samples in total)**	***Kukunor* I (% of all occurrences)**	***Kukunor* II (62 lines) (58 window samples in total)**	***Kukunor* II (% of all occurrences)**	***Kukunor* I & II (121 lines) (113 window samples in total)**	***Kukunor* I & II (% of all occurrences)**
1	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
2	3	5.5%	2	3.4%	5	4.4%
3	33	60%	27	46.6%	60	53.1%
4	18	32.7%	29	50%	47	41.6%
5	1	1.8%	0	0%	1	0.9%
On average (Range)	3.31 (2–5)		3.47 (2–4)		3.39 (2–5)	

you can have one rhyme pair at the most (for instance aabcd or abcda). Having only three occurrences, instead, you can have two rhyme pairs (for instance aabbc or ababc) or three lines having the same rhyme (for instance aaabc or aabca). In other words, rhyming is denser in the 5-line sequences of the first sample. With other analysing methods, introduced in the next part, these preliminary results can be studied in more detail and by observing the precise order of rhymes.

Less frequent or even absent types of frequencies, too, give relevant information on *Kukunor*'s rhyming, because they specify the range of variation. Firstly, there are no cases of five lines having the same rhyme. According to these samples, *Kukunor* tends to avoid this kind of parallelism and favours more heterogeneous rhyming. Secondly, a few 5-line sequences potentially have either a triplet and a couplet of rhymes (such as aaabb) or two rhyme pairs and one line belonging to either class (such as aabba) or sequences with one dominant rhyme (such as aaaab or aabaa). In the next part, further analysing methods will give more information on these hypothetical scenarios.

The third rare type, presented in the end of the Table 1, shows that *Kukunor*'s poetics of irregular rhyming includes sequences of at least five consecutive lines that do not rhyme with each other.[8] This type deserves a closer look here because it cannot be detected with other analytical techniques used in my methodological survey and, furthermore, these kinds of extreme cases can reveal some essential phenomena connected with *Kukunor*'s irregular rhyming.

This single case is located in lines 40–44 of sample I. Interestingly, in my subjective reading experience, this rather long passage with no interrelated rhymes does not feel particularly anomalous among other lines of these samples. Does it tell something essential about *Kukunor*'s irregular rhyming in general? This ease of reading may be enabled by the fact that all five lines rhyme with lines very close to this five-line passage:

8 In RSS, all 5-line sequences contained either five (79%) or four (21%) rhyme classes.

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helmikuussa	a	(p)	36
maassa, järvessä ja puussa!	a	(p)	
‘Katso pian aurinkoa;	b	(q)	
sitäpäs nyt naurattaa!’	c	(r)	
– Onhan siinä kuutamoa!	**b**	**(q)**	40
Kalahari toteaa –	**c**	**(r)**	
pahus, katse vallan muussa.	**a**	**(p)**	
Kukunorpa kumman löytää,	**d**	**(s)**	
ja kun kuuluu somaan sukuun,	**e**	**(t)**	
oitis päänsä sisään töytää	d	(s)	45
ikinaiselliseen pukuun,	e	(t)	

Moreover, this passage is a good example of how *Kukunor*’s irregular rhyming is related to its dialogue form and narrator’s voice. The above quoted passage comprises several phases where the speakers alternate and the topic of speech changes. Due to these semantic turns, represented below in English, the structural anomalies of rhyming in a sense blend in the poetic speech and the natural pauses in its progression (changes of sentences or topics are marked with an asterisk and changes of speakers with letter S):

[narrator:]	in February	a	
	on the land, in the lake and in a tree!	a	[*] [S]
[Kukunor:]	‘Quickly, look at the sun,	b	
	it can’t stop laughing!’	c	[*] [S]
[Kalahari:]	**– Yes, there’s moonlight for you!,**	**b**	[*] [S]
[narrator:]	**Kalahari states –**	**c**	[*]
	damn, looking in quite another direction.	**a**	[*]
	Kukunor finds something strange,	**d**	[*]
	and, belonging to the prettier sex,	**e**	
	straight away sticks her head into	d	
	that eternally feminine garment,	e	

If I compare my own subjective reading experience of the *Kukunor* samples I and II with the analysis of their rhyming, the most astonishing thing is that they never feel regular, although there are rather long regular parts (i.e., ll. 12–19 and 25–34 in sample I). Furthermore, as I read the excerpt, there is always a feel of rhyming, even if there is one five-line sequence without any rhymes. One reason for the vivid but well-balanced reading experience is probably the varying metrical context of rhyming. Due to metrical irregularities, also regularly rhyming lines feel varied. On the other hand, in the heterogeneous context where anomalies of *Kukunor*’s rhyming, such as *bcade* (ll. 40–44), are located in the middle of speech acts split between different speakers, these kinds of cases are rather hard to notice as structural anomalies.[9]

9 In only one location of these samples, the rhyme structure strongly emphasises the relationship of two speakers: in lines 32–37 of sample II, Kalahari imitates the rhyme structure of Kukunor’s previous lines (*nop* | *nop*). These kinds of effects can be found in other parts of *Kukunor*, too.

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Rhyme Scheme Analysis

The previous statistics can be supplemented with additional analytics that account for the precise orders of the sequences. Next, I will discuss my survey on rhyming couplets and a sliding window analysis of three-line and four-line sequences in the data. Rhyming couplets especially stand out from the more dispersed structures of Viita's irregular rhyming. Table 6 below represents the occurrences of rhyming couplets in each sample.[10] On the bottom line, I have counted the distances between rhyming couplets. For example, if one rhyming couplet starts from line 1 and the next one from line 4, it has been given a distance value of 3.

Table 6. The number of rhyming couplets and the distances between them

Rhyming Couplets	***Kukunor* I (59 lines)**	***Kukunor* II (62 lines)**	***Kukunor* I & II (121 lines)**
Occurrences of starting lines (their percentage)	15 (25.4%)	12 (19.4%)	27 (22%)
Distance to the next one, on average (range)	3.79 (2–12)	5.09 (2–10)	4.29 (2–12)

Kukunor samples show a clear tendency of having successive lines that rhyme with each other. Altogether, there are 27 lines that rhyme with the next line, and they cover as many as 54 lines (54%) of the samples. This feature is more prominent in the first sample, where they are also located closer to each other. Judging from these samples, rhyming couplets are characteristic especially of the narrating voice, although it avoids long sequences of similar structures.

In the sliding window analysis of rhyme schemes of three or four lines, I have moved a frame with a fixed size down the rhyme scheme. During this process, I have converted the rhyme structure of every view to a form that always starts with the letter *a*. For instance, Table 7 demonstrates this procedure regarding the first nine lines of the first *Kukunor* sample, analysed with a window of three lines.

After collecting this data from all samples, I have counted the frequency distributions of the different rhyme combinations in these overlapping three-line sequences. These data are represented in Table 8 and are arranged according to the joint frequency of the *Kukunor* samples.

As Table 8 shows, the rarest rhyme pattern of three-line sequences is the rhyming triplet aaa (0.9% on average). It is used only once as part of the narrative voice in the lines that I have discussed in the previous part.

The most prevalent rhyme combination is abc (39.3% on average); it shows a tendency for diversity in the rhyme structures.[11] The reason it is more prevalent in the second *Kukunor* excerpt is related to the rhyming couplets

10 If a rhyme class recurs continuously three times, it has been counted as one rhyming couplet (actualised only once in lines 33–35 of *Kukunor* sample I).

11 In RSS, 95% of all 3-line sequences represent this maximal diversity (abc).

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Table 7. Example of the sliding window analysis of rhyme structures (three-line sequences)

***Kukunor* Sample I**	**Rhyme Scheme**	Window 1	Window 2	Window 3	Window 4	Window 5	Window 6	Window 7
Kuudenvanha peikkopari	a	a						
Kukunor ja Kalahari	a	a	a					
hyvin viihtyy talvellakin	b	b	b	a				
professorin autiossa	c		c	b	a			
kesäasunnossa.	c			b	a	a		
Puhaltaen oiva takka	d				b	b	a	
syttyy ilman halkojakin.	b					c	b	a
Leipää, suolaa komerossa,	c						c	b
hernepussi laatikossa –	c							b

Table 8. The rhyme structures of three-line sequences (sliding window analysis)

3-line Sequences **(5 different possible combinations)**	***Kukunor* I (59 lines)** **(57 window samples in total)**	***Kukunor* I** **(% of all occurrences)**	***Kukunor* II (62 lines)** **(60 window samples in total)**	***Kukunor* II** **(% of all occurrences)**	***Kukunor* I & II (121 lines)** **(117 window samples in total)**	***Kukunor* I & II** **(% of all occurrences)**
aaa	1	1.8%	0	0%	1	0.9%
aba	8	14.0%	9	15.0%	17	14.5%
abb	14	24.6%	12	20.0%	26	22.2%
aab	15	26.3%	12	20.0%	27	23.1%
abc	19	33.3%	27	45.0%	46	39.3%
In total	57	100%	60	100%	117	100%

that are more typical in the first sample. In Table 8, this basic difference can be seen in the frequencies of the combinations aab and abb, both of which contain one rhyming couplet.

The picture of the rhyme combinations gets more nuanced if we increase the window size with an extra line. Thus there are 15 possible rhyme combinations: aaaa, aaab, aaba, aabb, aabc, abaa, abab, abac, abba, abbb, abbc, abca, abcb, abcc and abcd. Their frequencies in the empirical data are represented in Table 9 and are arranged according to the joint frequency of the *Kukunor* samples.

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Table 9. The rhyme structures of four-line sequences (sliding window analysis)

4-line Sequences **(15 different possible combinations)**	***Kukunor* I (59 lines)** **(56 window samples in total)**	***Kukunor* I** **(% of all occurrences)**	***Kukunor* II (62 lines)** **(59 window samples in total)**	***Kukunor* II** **(% of all occurrences)**	***Kukunor* I & II (121 lines)** **(115 window samples in total)**	***Kukunor* I & II** **(% of all occurrences)**
aaaa	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
abaa	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
aaab	1	1.8%	0	0.0%	1	0.9%
abbb	1	1.8%	0	0.0%	1	0.9%
aaba	0	0.0%	2	3.4%	2	1.7%
abba	1	1.8%	2	3.4%	3	2.6%
abab	3	5.4%	2	3.4%	5	4.3%
abca	1	1.8%	5	8.5%	6	5.2%
abcb	5	8.9%	5	8.5%	10	8.7%
aabb	8	14.3%	4	6.8%	12	10.4%
abac	5	8.9%	7	11.9%	12	10.4%
aabc	7	12.5%	6	10.2%	13	11.3%
abcc	6	10.7%	8	13.6%	14	12.2%
abcd	6	10.7%	8	13.6%	14	12.2%
abbc	12	21.4%	10	16.9%	22	19.1%
In total	**56**	**100%**	**59**	**100%**	**115**	**100%**

If we look at the distributions of both *Kukunor* samples from top to bottom, the rule of thumb seems to be that the more rhyme classes the combination contains, the more frequent it is.[12] This tendency implicates that the rhyming technique is eager to introduce new rhymes within short sequences but is inclined to repeat one or two rhyme classes once (and only exceptionally twice) within a four-line sequence.

An interesting exception to the *modus operandi* is the rhyme combination aabb, which is surprisingly frequent from this perspective. This statistical anomaly largely arises because the first *Kukunor* excerpt has two longer sections of successive rhyming couples, mostly spoken by the narrating voice (ll. 11–19, 25–34). In the sliding window analysis, these consecutive sections contain several overlapping aabb structures. For instance, lines 11–19 contain overlapping sections of eeff, ffgg, and gghh.

12 Strictly speaking, the rhyme combination abcd belongs to the second most common group of combination, but it is nevertheless very frequent. In RSS, abcd (88%) ja abca (5%) are clearly the most frequent combinations.

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It is also interesting that, compared with the structure aabb, the other symmetrical and very traditional ab combinations, namely abba and abab, are clearly less frequent. They are probably too enclosed; repeated more frequently, they would create an impression of stanzaic poetry, whereas so-called heroic couplets (aabbccdd and so on) have historically functioned well in long narrative poems for centuries (Preminger & Brogan 1993: 522–524).

The clearest differences between the *Kukunor* samples concern the combinations aabb and abca. The former combination has eight occurrences (14.3%) in the first sample and only four (6.8%) in the second. As I have mentioned before, from the perspective of rhyming couplets, this difference of 7.5 percentage points can be explained through the differences between the narrating voice that dominates in the first sample and the dialogues of the two goblins.

The combination abca is stylistically more characteristic of the second *Kukunor* sample that contains five occurrences (8.5%), i.e., proportionally 6.7 percentage units more than the other sample. The only abca sequence of the first sample, lines 5–8, also appears to be accidental because the closed pattern is located between two sentences. Instead, in the first and second abca case (ll. 1–4 and 50–53) in the second sample, this pattern corresponds to the natural sequence of Kukunor's speech. Moreover, in the middle of the second sample, there are three overlapping abca sequences that together comprise the end of Kukunor's speech (nop, ll. 32–34) and Kalahari's similar reply to that (nop, ll. 35–37).

The results of the rhyme interval analysis presented in the previous part and the new results of the rhyme scheme analysis of rhyming couplets and three–four-line sequences complement each other. Table 3 and Table 4 that represent the frequencies of rhyme classes and the average rhyme intervals in the samples give information on the overall boundaries of *Kukunors* irregular rhyming and reveal information on the longer spans of rhyming, which cannot be seen with a narrow sliding window. Correspondingly, the rhyme intervals give only indirect information on the precise order of rhymes in shorter sequences, which are analysed in Table 6, 8 and 9.

Tables 5 and 9 both give information on Viita's irregular rhyming in shorter sequences although they use different spans and their perspectives differ from each other.

Table 5 that focuses on the rhyme class occurrences gives the statistics of overlapping five-line sequences of the samples. From these results it can be concluded what the most potential rhyme combinations are, but it does not tell how these pontentialities are realized in *Kukunor*. For instance, the fact that there are 60 cases where a 5-line sequence contains 3 rhyme class occurrences still leaves open what kind of rhyme schemes they actually contain. Table 9 instead gives detailed information on the precise order of rhymes but its scope is only four lines.

As this section has shown, almost half of the lines in the *Kukunor* samples belong to a rhyming couplet, and many of them comprise chains of rhyming couplets. This shows a tendency of condensed rhyming. On the other hand, as an opposite tendency, these two *Kukunor* excerpts contain a significant proportion of abc sequences and even abcd sequences. Moreover, in both of

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them, most four-line sequences contain three or four rhyme classes. As the result of these opposite tendencies, *Kukunor*'s lines always give an impression of a rhyming network that is associative and never follows strict rules but always has clearly audible phonetic parallelism at line ends.

Conclusions

The methods that I have experimentally applied in the analysis of rhyming in *Kukunor* complement each other. With the rhyme scheme analysis, it would be difficult to study phenomena that stretch over distances of five or six lines, whereas rhyme interval analysis is not sensitive to precise arrangements of rhyme classes. Therefore, a hybrid methodology gives the best results, especially if research questions do not concern only certain narrow phenomena. After analysing the formal rhyming structures with this methodology, these results can also be used as a starting point for a new phase of study that combines these results with other kinds of poetic analysis.

The use of several methods of analysis, developed for the challenging case of Lauri Viita's poem, has clearly shown that although *Kukunor*'s rhyming feels extremely free, the order of the rhymes follows certain structural tendencies. The real proof that this methodology gives adequate tools for analysing irregular rhyming is that it has pointed out certain similarities and subtle differences between the two *Kukunor* samples. Furthermore, it has helped to recognise the micro-level changes of rhyming within both excerpts. Thus, these methodological experiments encourage the use of new data in the future. For instance, the *Kukunor* results could be compared with other works that have irregularly rhyming dialogues, such as Henrik Ibsen's *Peer Gynt* (1867), or these methods could be tested with various kinds of freely rhymed texts from different literary periods or genres, such as the poetry of John Milton, William Wordsworth, Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Ralph Waldo Emerson[13], or Brad Leithauser's stanzaic novel, *Darlington's Fall* (2002), just to name some interesting cases from the history of English verse.

Regarding potential future studies with larger corpora or with new kinds of comparative objectives, one challenge of the sliding-window techniques is that the first set from A to Z covers only a limited part of the lines of a long poem and you might be interested in the rhyming after this first set of lines. Fortunately, there are several possibilities for resolving this methodological problem, depending on the objectives of study. For instance, it is possible to have a constant overlap between consecutive sequences of analysis. If I wanted to continue the analysis of the first *Kukunor* sample, I could start the next sequence from line 50, i.e. ten lines before the first line Z. Moreover, it is possible to replace the relative length from A to Z with a fixed number of lines and then proceed with regular sized excerpts from the beginning to the end of the poem. On the basis of the *Kukunor* samples, it seem to be fruitful

13 J. W. Draper (1957), for instance, refers to Milton's 'Lycidas', Wordsworth's 'Ode on Intimations of Immortality' and Coleridge's 'Kubla Khan' and Kathryn Anderson McEuen (1948) has discussed irregularities in several poems by Emerson.

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to have a flexible set of varying spans of analysis from a rhyming couplet to a longer sequence of more than 50 lines.

To conclude my article, I will summarise what have turned out to be the most essential characteristics of the poetics of *Kukunor*'s rhyming, based on the selected samples of Viita's poem. The analysis of rhyme intervals has given important information on the general frequencies of rhyme classes in *Kukunor*, which gives an overall picture of rhyming in longer or shorter sequences. These results support the understanding of such disperse features that are otherwise hard to grasp, and they are also suitable for comparing the rhyming of different works or different sections of the same work.

In *Kukunor*, what I have called the A–Z value averages 60.5 lines, and the other results of rhyme intervals are relative to this length. For instance, within this length of circa 61 lines, approximately 19.5 rhyme classes have two occurrences. This means that 64% of all lines have one rhyme pair. Approximately five rhyme classes have three or four occurrences. In total, these lines comprise 28% of all lines. An illustrative exception is that in the second *Kukunor* sample, there is one rhyme class that occurs even seven times, which shows that the irregular rhyme structure of *Kukunor* also allows for more frequently recurring rhymes.

The interval between the first and second occurrences of a rhyme class is +2 lines on average, with a range from +1 to +5. Hence, the first rhyme pair is always rather easy to recognise. After the first rhyme pair of a rhyme class, the distances to the last occurrence vary considerably. The interval between the first occurrence and the last one is +3–4 lines on average, but it ranges up to +43.

According to this case study, rhyming couplets have turned out to be one characteristic part of the flexible network of several rhyming structures. On average, approximately 21 lines of the *Kukunor* corpus start a rhyming couplet, which means that nearly 35% of all lines belong to a rhyming couplet. Chains of rhyming couplets are, thus, not typical for *Kukunor*'s rhyming, but especially in the lines of the narrating voice, chains of successive rhyming couplets sometimes actualise.

A more detailed picture of *Kukunor*'s rhyme intervals has been achieved with a sliding window analysis of ten-line and five-line sequences. In these samples, every ten-line sequence comprises four to seven rhyme classes. However, there is a clear prevalence of certain rhyme intervals: every five-line sequence comprises two to five rhyme classes, but 95% of them have three or four rhyme classes. Because *Kukunor*'s rhyming only rarely uses long rhyme intervals, it is rather easy to hear that the poem uses end rhymes in principle in every line. However, the listener of the poem cannot have any clear expectations of the following rhymes.

The most sensitive way of studying the irregular rhyme scheme of *Kukunor* has been provided using the sliding window technique for analysing rhyme schemes in sequences of three and four lines. It gives more information about the general statistics of the rhyme density and rhyme intervals of the poem. One general result of the rhyme scheme analysis is that the poetics of *Kukunor*'s rhyming seems to be eager to introduce new rhymes within short

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sequences but is inclined to repeat one or two rhyme classes once within a four-line sequence.

One characteristic feature in the four-line sequences of *Kukunor* concerns the conventional rhyme patterns aabb, abba and abab: only the first of these belongs to the recurring patterns of Viita's poem, used especially by the narrating voice of the first sample. The patterns of abba and abab, instead, are used only occasionally. They form stanzaic structures that are not suitable for a flexibly and irregularly rhyming network of progressive narration and freely flowing dialogues.

Based on the statistical deviations in the rhyme scheme data of *Kukunor*, it is also possible to take a closer look at the exceptional rhyme sequences and to examine their rhyming in the poetic context of the samples. Hence, the general study of the longer sections can be used as a tool for a closer analysis of the dialogues and poetic narration in *Kukunor* from a more qualitative perspective, although the focus of the present article has been in quantitative aspects of rhyming.

In general, *Kukunor*'s irregular rhyming seems to balance between two contrary tendencies: it favours rhyming that tightly ties nearby lines together, but to a slightly lesser extent it favours structures that aim to maximise variations in the rhyme classes in short sequences. Technically speaking, this ambivalence is necessary if the aim is to avoid regular structures but at the same time to create phonetic parallelism that is easily audible. In practice, these opposite tendencies lead to recurrent structures where most four-line sequences contain three or four rhyme classes, and within these sequences, rhyming couplets are common. This kind of tightly interwoven and irregular rhyming supports *Kukunor*'s playful aesthetics and its reactive and associative dialogues where any phonetic or semantic feature can trigger a new topic in the discussions.

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Stefan Blohm
https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0296-9344

Christine A. Knoop
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1481-9207

What to Expect from a Poem? The Primacy of Rhyme in College Students' Conceptions of Poetry

We report results from an exploratory study of college students' conceptions of poetry in which we asked them to name three things they expect from a poem[1]. Frequency- and list-based analyses of their responses revealed that they primarily expect poems to rhyme, but they also identified a number of form-, content-, and reception-related genre expectations, which we discuss in relation to relevant previous research. We propose that rhyme's predominance in college students' genre expectations reflects its perceptual and cognitive salience during incremental poetry comprehension rather than its frequency in contemporary poetic practice. Our results characterize the genre conceptions of the population that empirical studies of poetry comprehension typically investigate, and thus provide relevant background information for the interpretation of empirical findings in this field.

Readers usually have more or less clearly defined ideas of formal and thematic properties that certain text types possess. These expectations form a crucial part of how we conceptualize genre, they influence our choice of reading materials, and help us to mentally structure and group the vast field of available texts. In particular, our previous experience with certain text types leads us to develop prototypical expectations (Beaugrande 1978; Blohm et al. 2021) which usually become increasingly varied and complex with mounting expertise (Hanauer 1996: 374; Stumberg 1928). The genre of poetry is a particularly interesting field when it comes to expectations because it contains subgenres, traditions and individual texts that are very dissimilar on a number of levels: many poems are marked by distinct formal requirements such as rhyme scheme, versification, or overall poetic structure, whereas others not only disregard these artistic requirements, but also take extreme liberties with otherwise mandatory linguistic givens, including grammaticality, orthography, word morphology, and in some extreme cases even the modification or rejection of lexical entities (for instance in sound

1 The German term for 'poem', *Gedicht*, refers to written and recited literary poetry as opposed to sung poetry (German *Lied*) or song and rap lyrics, slam poetry and related performance genres, which prefer the more general term 'text' (German *Text*).

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poetry). Faced with so diverse a genre, what do people actually expect to find in a poem?

The present study investigates contemporary college students' notions of poetry to determine prevalent prototypical conceptions for the genre. This choice of participants is a key element of our study: Empirical studies of poetry reading typically rely on convenience samples of college students because they are readily available and share, at least, the same level of basic knowledge of the canon due to their secondary school education, but are, on average, no poetry experts (for a study of differences between expert and novice readers, see Hanauer 1996; Peskin 1998); they also may have access to contemporary and less canonical poetic practice at poetry slams, public readings, poetry workshops, and, not least, via audio recordings of poetry performances. Despite the fact that nearly all recent empirical evidence on poetry reading stems from samples of college students (but see e.g., Gao et al. 2019), we have little knowledge of how they tend to conceptualize poetry, and of what they expect from a poem.

Previous studies have shown that readers' prototypical genre expectations co-determine their attentional state prior to reading (Blohm et al. 2021), influence how they read and process texts (Blohm et al. 2017; Hanauer 1998; Zwaan 1991, 1994), modulate their text evaluations after reading (Blohm et al. 2017; Gibbs et al. 1991), and have an impact on what they remember from a text (Hanauer 1998; Zwaan 1994). How well readers' expectations are met in the actual aesthetic experience further influences their motivation to keep reading a text or texts of the same type: both the complete detachment of the actual experience from prior expectations (leading to confusion) and a near-complete match between expectations and the actual experience (leading to boredom) have been linked to decreased interest (Graf & Landwehr 2017; Silvia 2010). Rather than focusing on these cognitive and aesthetic effects, the present study examines the genre expectations themselves, using a simple associative naming task in which participants are prompted to name terms they associate with a conceptual domain.

Associative naming tasks are used in empirical aesthetics to shed light on how recipients conceptualize different aesthetic domains. Associative naming has been used, for instance, to examine the aesthetics of objects in general (Jacobsen et al. 2004), of music (Istók et al. 2009), of buildings, cars, clothing, faces, interior designs, landscapes, geometric shapes and patterns, and visual art (Augustin, Carbon & Wagemans 2012; Augustin, Wagemans & Carbon 2012) as well as of literature and literary genres (Knoop et al. 2016). Poetry featured among the genres studied by Knoop and colleagues (2016: 39); their participants overwhelmingly chose the adjective 'beautiful' to describe poetry. Terms common to both poetry and music (e.g., 'melodious', 'rhythmical') and emotion terms (e.g., 'sad', 'boring') also figured frequently in their data, as did some that were common to poetry and landscapes (e.g., 'harmonious'), while the only recurrent descriptions of poetic form were 'rhyming' and 'short'. The authors interpreted the focus on emotion and aesthetic judgment partly as a task effect, since they had specifically asked for adjectives describing the 'aesthetics of poetry'.

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Unlike previous studies, we opted for a more open answer format (Jacobsen et al. 2004; Istók et al. 2009; Knoop et al. 2016, restricted the answers to 'adjectives' only, while Augustin et al. 2012, asked for individual 'words'). We also did not ask for 'descriptions' as the prior studies did, nor did we focus on the aesthetics of poetry only. Instead, we prompted our participants to name 'things' they expect from a poem. However, unlike the previous studies we did restrict the number of answers to three only, hoping to elicit each participant's most prototypical expectations.

Methods

We recruited 224 participants from the University of Frankfurt community, either on campus or at the lab of our research institute, to volunteer as participants in our study. Participation usually took less than a minute; participants received no compensation. All participants were native speakers of German according to self-report (start of acquisition no later than age three); no further demographic data were collected. Each participant received a pen and a sheet of paper containing the instruction to 'please name three things you expect from a poem'[2] as well as three blank lines, leaving sufficient space to respond in phrases or short sentences.

We entered responses into a spreadsheet and manually corrected typos for automatic text processing using the software *R* (R Core Team 2019) and its text-mining package *tm* (Feinerer et al. 2008). After converting responses to lowercase, we removed function words, numbers, punctuation, and whitespaces. Having converted word forms into word stems using Porter's stemming algorithm, we inspected and manually corrected resulting word stems; stemming allowed us to count identical concepts across word forms and word classes, e.g., the responses 'rhyme', 'rhyming' and 'that it rhymes' all count as instances of 'rhyme'.

For each term that was named by more than 5% of respondents (Knoop et al. 2016: 38, 43), we then calculated the Cognitive Salience Index (Sutrop 2001), which quantifies the prototypicality of a concept for a conceptual domain. The Cognitive Salience Index (CSI) corresponds to the relative frequency of a term divided by its mean list rank and is scaled between 0 and 1; the maximal score of 1 indicates that the respective term is what everybody named first (=maximal cognitive salience) whereas the minimal score of 0 reflects that the respective term has not been named at all and thus forms no part of a given concept (=minimal cognitive salience).

2 German instruction: 'Bitte nennen Sie drei Dinge, die Sie von einem Gedicht erwarten.'

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Results and Discussion

Participants mostly provided single-word responses (61%) despite the open response format; multi-word responses were on average 3.2 words (SD = 1.74) long. We obtained 336 unique terms, 15 of which were named by more than 5% of all respondents (see Table 1); on average, each term was named by 1.3% (SD = 2.8%) of respondents. Our set of frequent terms showed considerable overlap with those that Knoop et al. (2016: 39) identified as central to the aesthetic evaluation of poetry. Eight of our 15 most frequent concepts can also be found in their top 18 (Knoop et al.'s CSI ranks in parentheses): 'beauty' (1), 'rhythm' (4), 'sound' (6), 'rhyme' (9), 'feeling' (10), 'emotion' (13), 'aesthetics' (16), and 'brevity' (17).

Table 1. Terms named by more than 5% of respondents (N = 224). Cognitive Salience Index ($0 \geq CSI \geq 1$), relative term frequency in percent of respondents, and average list rank ($1 \geq rank \geq 3$). Frequently named German words and their word classes: N = noun, V = verb, Adj = adjective.

Term	CSI	Frequency	Rank	German original
rhyme	.22	34.38%	1.56	'Reim' (N), 'reimen' (V)
beauty	.08	16.96%	2.00	'schön' (Adj), 'Schönheit' (N)
language	.07	14.73%	2.09	'Sprache' (N), 'sprachlich' (Adj)
sense/meaning	.06	12.50%	2.14	'Sinn' (N), 'sinnvoll' (Adj), 'Bedeutung' (N)
content	.06	12.50%	1.93	'Inhalt' (N), 'inhaltlich' (Adj)
brevity	.05	11.16%	2.40	'kurz' (Adj), 'Kürze' (N)
emotion	.05	8.48%	1.79	'Emotion' (N), 'emotional' (Adj)
word	.05	8.48%	1.84	'Wort' (N), 'Wortwahl' (N)
rhythm	.04	9.38%	2.19	'Rhythmus' (N), 'rhythmisch' (Adj)
theme	.04	8.48%	2.42	'Thema' (N), 'thematisch' (Adj)
sound	.04	8.48%	1.89	'Klang' (N), 'klingen' (V), 'klangvoll' (Adj)
aesthetics	.04	8.04%	2.00	'Ästhetik' (N), 'ästhetisch' (Adj)
form	.04	8.04%	1.94	'Form' (N), 'formal' (Adj)
depth	.04	7.59%	2.12	'Tiefe' (N), 'tief' (Adj)
image	.03	6.70%	2.00	'Bild' (N), 'bildlich' (Adj)
feeling	.03	6.25%	1.93	'Gefühl' (N)

We further conducted exploratory analyses of frequent word-stem bigrams, i.e., two-word expressions that appeared across responses, such as 'provoke thoughts'. Note that only multi-word responses were included in this analysis, i.e., ~40% of the original responses. Consequently, absolute bigram frequencies are quite low (maximum frequency: 8) and estimates of relative frequency and mean list rank are based on too few observations to yield reliable estimates of cognitive salience, which reflects (a) that our instruction ('three things') biased participants towards single-word responses and (b) that we had recruited an insufficient number of participants to conduct proper bigram analyses. We therefore consider the set of frequent bigrams, presented in Table 2 along with their relative frequency, as a mere supplement to the set of most frequent terms.

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Table 2. Most frequent bigrams. Frequency = percentage of respondents who gave multi-word responses (n = 140).

Bigram	Frequency	German original
provoke thoughts	5.7%	'nachdenken anregen'
beautiful sound	5.0%	'schöner Klang'
deeper meaning	4.3%	'tieferer Sinn'
interesting theme	3.6%	'interessantes Thema'
beautiful language	2.9%	'schöne Sprache'
beautiful words	2.9%	'schöne Wörter'
verbal image	2.9%	'sprachliche Bilder'
word choice	2.9%	'Wortwahl'
images [in my] head	2.9%	'Bilder [in meinem] Kopf'

Rhyme (*CSI* = .22)

Rhyme is by far students' primary genre expectation (see Figure 1), named by approximately a third of all respondents. In the vast majority of cases these responses clearly referred to the general expectation that poetry features (systematic) rhyme (e.g., 'rhyme scheme'), but in a few instances, they also expressed the expectation that rhyme is used in poetry with particular ability and originality.

But why is the expectation of (systematic) rhyme so central to college students' conception of poetry? To begin with, we can rule out the simple explanation that 'rhyme' is basically a synonym of 'poetry', which is, to some degree, the case in the English poetic tradition but not in the German one (the only frequent exception being children's poems that are often called *Kinderreime* – but not unless they do indeed rhyme). The predominance of rhyme also does not reflect current poetic practice because the ornamental use of systematic rhyme in German poetry has declined considerably in the past century. But could the salient expectation of rhyme simply reflect its frequency in the poetic canon, some of which college students have been exposed to at school and, possibly, at university? Of course, what readers have been exposed to is what drives genre expectations. For the individual reader, genres are generalizations across one's individual corpus of previously encountered texts. Examining genre conceptions at the population level, e.g., among college students, aims to describe the commonalities of individual readers' generalized genre categories, dissociating idiosyncratic notions from shared ones. What German college students share is a secondary school education during which canonical texts of traditional poetry have been presented to them as prototypical exemplars of their genre, including poems by Goethe, Schiller, Eichendorff, Fontane, and Rilke. But this is, to some degree, also true for more recent but by now canonical poems and poets that have abandoned the strict constraints of rhyme and/or systematic metre, such as Celan, Enzensberger and Fried. However, the more traditional type of regulated verse might be considered more prototypical because of its strong emphasis on sound and form that differs so clearly from literary prose and casual speech. Thus, the apparent focus on canonical poetry is, in fact, an expectable by-product and limitation of random participant sampling in empirical studies that reveal what is common while largely disregarding what is unique. In experimental studies of poetry reading, too,

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Figure 1. Most frequently named genre expectations. Font size indicates cognitive salience; N = 224.

large-enough participant samples help to dissociate systematic responses from idiosyncratic ones.

So we may take for granted that – at the level of the population, not the individual – college students' genre expectations emphasize their shared education and thus highlight canonical poetry. Moreover, their idea of 'canonical' evolves around the strictly regulated verse of earlier periods, since especially distinctive and frequent text features like metre and rhyme are particularly prototypical. But this fails to capture that rhyme is particularly salient, whereas metre has been named by less than 5% of all respondents. This is particularly surprising insofar as metre is even more frequent than rhyme: metred poetry without rhyme is not uncommon, whereas rhymed poetry without metre is fairly marginal. In line with this descriptive generalization, recent neurophysiological evidence corroborates the idea that systematic rhyme is in fact closely coupled with metre, demonstrating that facilitating effects of rhyme on word processing occur only in rhythmically regular verse contexts (Obermeier et al. 2016) . So why is rhyme so much more salient than metre if it does not even work properly without it?

We suggest that rhyme's conceptual salience reflects its perceptual and cognitive salience during poetry comprehension, as well as the effects of rhyme-based expectations on the cognitive processing (e.g., Chen et al. 2016; Fechino et al. 2020; Hoorn 1996; Menninghaus & Wallot 2021) and on the aesthetic evaluation of poetry (Menninghaus et al. 2017; Obermeier et al. 2013; Wassiliwizky et al. 2017) . Its perceptual salience arises from the interaction of (a) the relatively large degree of phonetic similarity between rhyme words (compared to the subtle similarity of prosodic patterns of metre or the phonetic overlap in alliteration or assonance), (b) its periodic recurrence, (c) its occurrence in the concluding positions of verse lines or half-lines (Fechino et al. 2020) , and (d) the melodious recurrence of vowels at the end of intonational units, i.e., verse lines, which resembles the return to the tonic in music (Lanz 1926; Menninghaus et al. 2018; Schramm 1935a, 1935b). Rhyme's exceptional perceptual prominence is substantiated by

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phonetic evidence indicating that rhyme is prosodically highlighted during the oral performance of verse (Breen 2018; Fitzroy & Breen 2019). Its cognitive salience during poetry reception appears to derive from the lexical expectations and predictions that systematic end rhyme permits when its phonological constraints (prosodic and phonemic) combine with mounting syntactic and discourse-semantic contextual constraints to restrict the set of possible continuations during the incremental comprehension of verse (Bower & Bolton 1969; Rubin & Wallace 1989). As mentioned above, the rhythmic regularity that metre provides is crucial for the rhyme prediction because it allows to predict *when* the rhyme will occur. The varying combination of these constraints creates a playground of expectations, predictions, tension, resolution and surprise that captures much of the cognitive resources during the incremental comprehension of verbal art. Metre, on the other hand, is perceptually less salient because it only shares the prosodic constraints of rhyme but not its phonemic identity/similarity constraint. Constraints on word prosody alone are too weak to considerably limit the set of matching words in recipients' mental lexicon, and, thus, to sufficiently restrict the set of possible continuations.

Beauty (*CSI* = .08)

The concept of beauty that clearly dominates the aesthetic evaluation of poetry (Knoop et al. 2016: 41), in line with the primacy of beauty in aesthetic judgments more generally (Jacobsen et al. 2004), ranked only second in the present study. It was named both as a general expectation and as an expected quality of the verbal material and its arrangement, e.g., 'beautiful sound', 'beautiful language' or 'beautiful words' (see Table 2).

Language (*CSI* = .07)

At first sight, it may seem redundant to name language as a property of one particular text type. However, the multi-word responses revealed three facets of distinctively poetic language use: 1) 'beautiful language', a notion which seems to refer to the idea that language in poetry is more than just a vehicle of meaning (cf. Jakobson 1960), 2) 'verbal imagery', which seems to highlight that poetry is expected to convey significance beyond plain sense (Gibbs et al. 1991); 3) 'artistic/ poetic/ lyrical/ unusual language', which underscores the notion that the language of poetry may deviate from the norms and conventions of most spoken and written registers (Mukařovský 1964).

Content (*CSI* = .06)

The concept of content was frequently mentioned as a single-word response, i.e., without modification or explanation, so that it remains somewhat unclear what exactly participants expect from it. However, the multi-word responses revealed a variety of expectable properties of a poem's content, ranging from mere comprehensibility to meaningfulness and even hidden significance. Furthermore, in a few instances, the respondents highlighted the particular relation between content and form in poetry.

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Sense/meaning (*CSI* = .06)
We conflated the terms 'sense' and 'meaning' (German 'Sinn' and 'Bedeutung') into a single category, because they are frequently used interchangeably in everyday speech. Our participants' responses mostly seemed to refer to polyvalence (more than one meaning) and, again, significance beyond plain sense (a 'deeper sense/meaning'; cf. Table 2). Notably, adjectives relating to both 'sense/meaning' and 'content' were absent from the most frequent aesthetic terms collected by Knoop and colleagues (2016: 39). This most likely reflects that readers do expect poems to have non-trivial content and meaning, but do not consider this an aesthetic property.

Brevity (*CSI* = .05)
Readers expect poems to be relatively short; in how far artful conciseness is also included in the notion of brevity remains unclear. This term also features among the most frequent aesthetic terms for poetry and short stories (Knoop et al. 2016: 39), indicating that the mere length is a basic text property that fairly reliably distinguishes some literary genres.

Word (CSI = .05)
Participants expressed their expectations that words in poetry have aesthetic qualities (e.g., 'beautiful words'; cf. Jacobs 2017), that words are carefully selected during verse composition ('word choice'; cf. Table 2), and that individual words may be archaic or newly coined.

Rhythm (*CSI* = .04)
We treated 'rhythm' and 'metre' as distinct terms, as we did not want to impose the assumption that our participants did not distinguish the two concepts; palpable 'rhythm' was a cognitively more salient expectation than the more abstract concept of 'metre' (CSI = .02). However, several respondents mentioned 'rhythmics', i.e., the theory of rhythm, rather than 'rhythm', which seems to allude to the systematicity of rhythmic patterns that is characteristic of metred verse. A few responses explicitly stated the relation between rhythm and reading fluency (German: *Lesefluss*) that has been revealed in empirical studies of poetry reading (Menninghaus et al. 2014; Menninghaus & Wallot 2021); note that rhythmic regularity is also a prerequisite for facilitative processing effects of rhyme (Obermeier et al. 2016). The frequent anticipation of rhyme and/or rhythm, which coincides with the findings by Knoop et al. (2016: 38, 42, 44), reveals that our participants tend to expect a type of poem for which German Romantic lyric may be seen as the prototype; incidentally, that prototype features prominently in German secondary school curricula.

Sound (*CSI* = .04)
The concept of sound was frequently linked to the concept of beauty ('beautiful sound'; see Table 2), as well as to the melodious qualities of poetry ('melodious sound', 'euphony'; for similar findings see Knoop et al. 2016: 38), but also to clear-cut quality judgments ('good sound'). This is interesting insofar as Knoop et al. (2016: 42) did not find any statistically relevant

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judgments of 'good' (or 'bad') throughout their data. This may be due to the fact that, again, our question regarding expectations was less limiting than the task to 'describe the aesthetics of poetry' and therefore allowed participants to include these answers which contain a clearer judgment, but no specifics as to what makes something a 'good' poem (or, in this case, a 'good sound').

Theme (*CSI* = .04)

The concept of theme was sometimes mentioned without further explanation, and therefore, like 'content' remained enigmatic to an extent. However, answers with multiple words suggest that our participants mainly expect poems to feature 'interesting themes' (cf. Table 2) that appeal to them personally – an expectation deemed central to aesthetics since Diderot and Friedrich Schlegel. Hence, while the double meaning of 'expectation' as both normative (what should a poem be like) and descriptive (what will a poem be like) cannot be teased apart for many of the responses, the concept of theme appears to refer near exclusively to desirable appeal dimensions of the poem, i.e., the normative meaning of 'expectation'. Knoop et al. (2016: 41) found very low scores for 'interesting' in their poetry data, while it featured prominently for the narrative and theatrical genres. Apparently, poetry is normatively expected to be interesting, but, evidently, people oftentimes find that it is not. Of course, this may have to do with the apparent focus of participants on prototypical rhymed and metred poetry of a certain length, which regularly goes along with a limited number of conventional themes.

Aesthetics (*CSI* = .04)

Where participants qualified their expectation that poems be 'aesthetic', they referred primarily to aspects of linguistic and poetic form ('aesthetic form/language/syntax/wording'), coinciding with the finding by Knoop et al. (2016: 42) that student participants do not usually subsume semantic aspects of poetry under the term 'aesthetics'. This understanding of aesthetics as merely form-based, while not necessarily in line with aesthetic theory, certainly conforms with everyday uses of the term in contemporary German.

Form (*CSI* = .04)

The expectation of form appears to encompass both linguistic and poetic form. In particular, participants referred to the layout and structure of poetry, including poetic syntax, rhyme schemata, and the organization of verse into stanzas. Somewhat surprisingly, the verse line (German: *Vers*) – arguably the defining formal characteristic of poetry (Fabb 2015) – was mentioned by less than 5% of all respondents (*CSI* = .02).

Image (*CSI* = .03)

The expectation of verbal imagery was cognitively more salient than the expectation of poetic metaphor (*CSI* = .02), which was named by less than 5% of all respondents. Participants indicated that they expect poetry to 'evoke images' and specifically referred to 'images [in my] head' (see Table 2). This expectation is consistent with the observation that the vividness of imagery

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is a strong contributor to aesthetic pleasure during verse comprehension (Belfi et al. 2018).

Depth (*CSI* = .04)
Participants frequently linked the concept of depth to sense/meaning ('deeper meaning'; see Table 2), in line with empirical results indicating that recipients invest additional interpretive effort for poetry (Gibbs et al. 1991; Peskin 1998, 2007), particularly if statements appear semantically incongruent (Blohm et al. 2017). This finding is also consistent with participants' aforementioned tendency to expect several layers of meaning as well as hidden significance in poetry.

Emotion (*CSI* = .05) and feeling (CSI = .03)
Similar to the mention of emotion terms in Knoop et al. (2016: 38), 'emotion' appears to have been named with respect to frequent prototypical poetic themes and subject matters. More specifically, participants expected poetry to 'provoke emotion' and to 'express/convey/arouse feelings'.

Conclusion and Outlook

We employed an associative-naming task to explore college students' conceptions of poetry, asking participants to write down three things they expect from a poem. For the most frequently expressed concepts that were named by at least one in twenty students, we calculated a Cognitive Salience Index which takes into account how often and in which rank of their three-item lists respondents had named the respective terms. We restricted neither the word class nor the length of participants' responses, which required very basic digital text processing before responses could be analysed. We reasoned that multi-word responses are potentially more informative than single words when it comes to recipients' expectations regarding their cognitive and affective responses to poetry. An exploratory bigram analysis partly confirmed this assumption, revealing collocations that would have gone unnoticed in single-term analyses, such as the expectation that poems 'provoke thoughts'. Moreover, multiword-responses revealed facets of meaning that clarified abstract concepts and ambiguous terms named in single-word responses. We conclude that associative naming provides a simple method to explore genre conceptions and expectations of actual readers, allowing, for instance, to contrast different literary genres and to compare populations of recipients (e.g., novices vs. experts); more open response formats may reveal conceptual components that potentially remain obscure in strictly constrained responses.

Contrary to prior findings, our results revealed that rhyme is, by far, college students' primary genre expectation. Further formal expectations included brevity and rhythm, whereas content-related expectations included interesting themes, semantic polyvalence and verbal imagery. College students further suppose that poetry affects them, expecting that a poem

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arouses emotions and feelings, evokes vivid images in their heads, and provokes their thoughts.

We proposed that the predominance of rhyme partly reflects college students' shared reading experience, including compulsory canonical texts read during secondary school education. We further argued that the primacy of rhyme cannot hinge on its frequency in canonical poetry alone, but seems to additionally reflect its perceptual prominence as well as the cognitively salient lexical predictions it permits during the incremental comprehension of poetry.

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List of Contributors

Dwight F. Reynolds is professor of Arabic language and literature in the Department of Religious Studies at the University of California, Santa Barbara. He is the author of *Heroic Poets, Poetic Heroes: The Ethnography of Performance in an Arabic Oral Epic Tradition* (1995), *Arab Folklore: A Handbook* (2007), *The Musical Heritage of al-Andalus* (2021), and *Medieval Arab Music and Musicians* (2022), as well as editor and co-author of *Interpreting the Self: Autobiography in the Arabic Literary Tradition* (2001), *The Cambridge Companion to Modern Arab Culture* (2005), and co-editor of *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music, Volume 6: The Middle East* (2002). His research spans medieval and modern Arabic literature, folklore, and ethnomusicology.

Seppo Heikkinen is a Latinist specialising primarily in Late Latin and early medieval verse and poetic technique. His 2012 doctoral thesis dealt with Bede's treatise *De arte metrica* and its agenda of creating a more Christian metrical practice. His subsequent publications have dealt with the interplay of classical and Christian influences in medieval Latin poetry. He participates currently in an edition of texts pertaining to the relics of Thomas Aquinas. Heikkinen holds the title of docent at the University of Helsinki.

Frog is a researcher of Folklore Studies, University of Helsinki, and editor-in-chief of FF Communications. He received his PhD from University College London in 2010 and a Docentship from the University of Helsinki in 2013. He specializes in oral poetry and mythology, with particular interest in empirically-grounded theory and methodology. For primary materials, he works mainly with medieval Scandinavian and nineteenth- and twentieth-century Finno-Karelian sources, and has more recently been doing fieldwork-based research with Rotenese and Tetun ritual poets in Indonesia. His current project is Materiality, Verbal Art, Mythic Knowledge and the Lived Environment (2021–2025), funded by the Kone Foundation.
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5967-6281

Kati Kallio is a researcher at the Finnish Literature Society (Academy Research Fellow). She is a folklorist interested in historical oral traditions, local genres, performance, and intertextuality, and specialised in Finnic oral poetry called runosong or Kalevalaic poetry. She leads, with prof. Eetu Mäkelä, the consortium FILTER, developing computational means to explore the Karelian-Ingrian-Finnish-Estonian corpus of oral poetry.
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3673-1409

Eeva-Liisa Bastman holds a PhD in Finnish Literature from the University of Helsinki. Her main areas of interest are early modern poetry, lyric theory, historical poetics and literary history. She is currently working as an

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Academy of Finland postdoctoral researcher at the University of Tampere. Her postdoctoral project studies the poetic repertories and social contexts of 17th and 18th century occasional poetry.
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6366-3544

Maria-Kristiina Lotman is Associate Processor at the University of Tartu. Her main research fields are metrics and rhythmics of ancient verse meters, systems of versification, semantics of verse and translation of polycoded texts. She is the coeditor of an international journal 'Studia Metrica et Poetica' and has edited several volumes of papers, including 'Frontiers in Comparative Prosody' (Peter Lang) and 'Semiotics of Verse' (a special issue in 'Sign Systems Studies').
https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3106-1976

Rebekka Lotman holds a PhD in world literature from the University of Tartu. Her main research interest are sonnets, 19th century verse and verse translations, and poetics. She is currently Associate Professor of World Literature in the Faculty of Arts and Humanities at the University of Tartu, and Editor-in-Chief of the Tallinn University Press.
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1147-5277

Nigel Fabb is Professor of Literary Linguistics at the University of Strathclyde, where he has taught since gaining a PhD in linguistics from MIT in 1984. He is an author or editor of twelve books, most recently *A Theory of Thrills, Sublime and Epiphany in Literature* (2022) and *What is poetry? Language and Memory in the Poems of the World* (2015).
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4820-7612

Venla Sykäri is a folklorist specializing in oral poetry, in particular ethnographic study of contemporary genres but also historical genres of Finnish oral poetry. She holds the Title of Docent in Folklore Studies at the University of Helsinki and currently works at the Finnish Literature Society's research department. Her on-going research project, funded by The Kone Foundation (2020–2023), focuses on genres and aesthetics of oral composition. From 2018, she has participated in the making of a digital critical edition of the *Kalevala* by analysing the oral poetry employed by Elias Lönnrot in the creation of his epic (*http://kalevala.finlit.fi)*.
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2487-8657

Susanne Rosenberg is a singer, teacher, and researcher and holds the position as professor of folk singing at the Royal College of Music in Stockholm (KMH). She has been a pioneer in rediscovering traditional Swedish folk singing styles, such as *kulning*, and using them in new artistic environments, with her groups Rosenbergs Sjua and Rotvälta, and project such as Getens horn and Voice Space, and cooperating with contemporary composers and directors, such as Karin Rehnqvist and Quincy Jones. Rosenberg's research focuses on singing style, improvisation and flow. In 2013 she completed her

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artistic doctoral studies, which led to the elaborate research project Folk Song Lab (2014-). Since 2015 she has been a member of the Royal Academy of Music.
https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0200-3144

Myfany Turpin is a musicologist and linguist who conducts research on Kaytetye, a language spoken in Central Australia, as well as on the traditional music of Central Australia. She has published extensively on Aboriginal song-poetry including multi-media publications, as well as in semantics, and ethnobiology. She is the co-author of the Kaytetye to *English Dictionary* (2012).
https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0395-6756

Kjell Andreas Oddekalv has his PhD from the RITMO Centre for Interdisciplinary Studies in Rhythm, Time and Motion and the Department of Musicology at the University of Oslo. His dissertation *What Makes the Shit Dope? The Techniques and Analysis of Rap Flows* analyses the musical and lyrical techniques and structures in rap. Kjell Andreas is also an active recording and performing member of the Norwegian hiphop group Sinsenfist.
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4568-4675

Sakari Katajamäki, PhD, Title of Docent, works as Managing Editor of the unit Edith – Critical Editions of Finnish Literature in the Finnish Literature Society – SKS. His other research topics include Aleksis Kivi, Lauri Viita, avant-garde and nonsense literature and the history of Finnish translations. Currently, he is the PI of research project "Traces of translation in the archives" (Kone Foundation).
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9031-5887

Stefan Blohm currently holds an Excellence Fellowship from Radboud University (Nijmegen), where he works as a postdoctoral researcher at the Centre for Language Studies. Holding a PhD in General Linguistics from Mainz University, he has worked at the Max Planck Institute for Empirical Aesthetics (Frankfurt) and has been a visiting scholar at the universities of Strathclyde and Oxford. His research employs psycholinguistic methods (eye tracking, EEG, sentence judgments) to study how the processing and evaluation of poetry is affected by recipients' genre conceptions and by aspects of poetic form.
https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0296-9344

Christine A. Knoop is a Senior Researcher at the Max Planck Institute for Empirical Aesthetics (Frankfurt). She holds a PhD in Comparative Literature (UCL), and has previously worked at UCL and Freie Universität Berlin. Her research interests include aesthetic emotion, authorship theories, and experimental approaches to literary aesthetics.
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1481-9207

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Abstract

Rhyme and Rhyming in Verbal Art, Language, and Song

Edited by Venla Sykäri and Nigel Fabb

This collection of thirteen chapters answers new questions about rhyme, with views from folklore, ethnopoetics, the history of literature, literary criticism and music criticism, psychology and linguistics. The book examines rhyme as practiced or as understood in English, Old English and Old Norse, German, Swedish, Norwegian, Finnish and Karelian, Estonian, Medieval Latin, Arabic, and the Central Australian language Kaytetye. Some authors examine written poetry, including modernist poetry, and others focus on various kinds of sung poetry, including rap, which now has a pioneering role in taking rhyme into new traditions. Some authors consider the relation of rhyme to other types of form, notably alliteration. An introductory chapter discusses approaches to rhyme, and ends with a list of languages whose literatures or song traditions are known to have rhyme.

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