NordMetrik 2018 🌿 Abstracts

Thursday 13 September

Location: University Campus

	Plenary session
	Room B4 Södra huset (Main Building)
12:45–13:45	Furuseth, Sissel University of Oslo **"The hammer blows in the mountain came":** **Tomas Tranströmer interpreting Edvard Grieg** Music is one of the key topics in the works of the Nobel Prize winner Tomas Tranströmer. Many of his poems have titles associated with music, and some are biographical commentaries on composers such as Schubert, Liszt, Wagner, and Grieg (cf. Bergqvist 2013). In "An Artist in the North" (Bells and Tracks, 1966) it is as if the poet is putting a mask on his face pretending to be Edvard Grieg. By doing so the poem explicitly points at a connection between poetry and music. The lecture will address the question of how this connection may be traced in the very structure of the poem. The observations will provide a basis for a theoretical discussion of how readers attribute meaning (or not) to sound patterns in versified text.
13:45–14:00	Break

	Session 1
	Room D499 Södra huset (Main Building)
14:00–14:30	Skulacheva, Tatyana Russian Academy of Sciences (Moscow) Molina, Maria Russian Academy of Sciences (Moscow)

Rudik, Nadezhda

Georg-August-Universität (Germany, Göttingen)

Sideltsev, Andrey

Russian Academy of Sciences (Moscow)

How to study Rhyme and Rhythm in Sumerian and Hittite?

Differentiation of systems of versification, Hittite verse, Sumerian verse, rhyme

Irrespective of a considerable amount of works trying to reconstruct all-Indo-European or even all-world source of existing metrical systems the most important real oldest examples of verse (Sumerian, Akkadian, Hittite) remain, to our point of view, not fully studied. Our close analysis of "Gilgameš and Aga" (Sumerian verse, 23–22 centuries B.C. attested in 19–18 centuries B.C. copies) in comparison with Sumerian prose («Letter from Puzur-Šulgi to Ibbi-Suen about Išbi-Erra's claim on Isin», «Letter from Šarrum-bāni to Šu-Suen about keeping the Martu at bay», 19–16 centuries B.C.) provides new information, which can change our view on verse development on the earliest stages of its history. The results obtained enable us to suggest that long chains of assonance rhyme are typical of Sumerian verse in contrast with prosaic texts (for prose endings of clauses were analyzed). This may mean that the period of occurrence of rhyme in verse should be moved from Middle Ages to a much earlier period — 22 century B.C. Our data support the suggestion made earlier in Sumerian studies that Sumerian had final stress (as assonances occur in the final syllables of lines). Our data show also that when choosing between *e-* and *i-* reading in Sumerian *e* is more probable as it occurs in assonance chains in *-e,* and not in *-i.* Hittite presents a bigger problem in respect of rhyme study as the division of Hittite verse into lines (not represented in real texts as they are not divided into lines) needs serious discussion: we think that the division into lines applied now is not the only possible one. We analyzed Hittite verse ("Song of Ullikumi", KBo 26.58+/CTH 345.I.1.A, 13 century B.C.) and prose ("A Letter From Queen Puduḫepa to Ramses II of Egypt", KUB 21.38/CTH 176, 13 century B.C.). Hittite seems to have it's way of marking line endings, same as in Akkadian - vowels marked as long ones (plene spelling) occur at one but last syllable from the end of a line four times more often than at the same position in prosaic clauses. We also developed a procedure of determining meter in such vaguely organized verse and have so far calculated syllabic length of lines in comparison with prosaic clauses in Sumerian and Hittite. The calculations show, that if Sumerian demonstrates some syllabic tendencies in verse in contrast with prose, Hittite does not have such tendencies at all. This may mean, that the fact that syllabic system (or syllabo-metric, as it also shows syllabic regularities) on the one hand and accentual system on the other both existed in the oldest verse available for analysis, that the choice of a system was from the very beginning determined by the structure of a language and that the source of present day metrical systems should not necessarily be confined to only one system.

14:30–15:00	–

| 15:00–15:30 | Maslov, Boris |
| | University of Oslo |

Rhythmic figures and Wortmetrik-effects in Pindar

Meters employed by Pindar, whose datable work falls between 498 and 446 BCE, are famous for their complexity. Each of Pindar's epinikia (victory odes) uses a uniquely designed metrical schema (sequence of heavy [H] and light [L] syllables), which in most cases conforms to one of the two well-established verse-making techniques: (1) Aeolic versification (employing irregular sequences built around choriambic core, HLLH) and (2) dactylo-epitrites (characterized by constant shifts between a dactylic sequence, HLLHLLH, coinciding with the beginning of dactylic hexameter up to the penthemimeral caesura, and quasi-iambic sequence XHLH, where X is either L or H). Most research on Pindar's meter has focused on derivation of less usual syllabic sequences from more customary and widely employed metrical elements, such as the glyconic (XXHLLHLH).

The paper takes a different approach to Pindar's meter and proposes to focus on rhythmic figures, which operate within a single poem and, as I argue, represent the most striking prosodic events in Pindar's verse. I borrow the term "rhythmic figure" from Marina Tarlinskaya's work on English meter to refer to recurrent and memorable sequences that stand out from the metrical flow of the poem, rather than conforming to metrical expectations. Most of the epinicia are composed in triads (each triad comprising strophe, antistrophe, and an epode), so that the special designed metrical schema is multiply iterated within the compass of the poem, with each strophe and antistrophe being shaped identically, and all epodes being identical. This rule of iteration concerns not only the metrical units employed, but also the resolutions of H syllables into two L syllables, which have been applied on the unit's first occurrence and fixed for the rest of the poem.

One of the most spectacular features of Pindar's prosody is his use of extended sequences of L syllables, not known to occur in other poetic media and indeed extremely infrequent in prose or contemporary verse (see Table 1). For example, in Olympian 1 the sequence of seven L syllables (e.g. ὅθεν ὁ πολύφατος, μετὰ τὸ ταχύπotμον) is introduced as part of the strophe, and repeated 8 times in the course of the poem. Such prosodic events generate very strong metrical expectations, which, however, operate solely within the compass of one poetic text.

Beyond the recurrence of H/L sequences, it can be demonstrated the Pindar emphasizes such rhythmic figures by word boundaries. This additional effect, whereby the lexical unit is seen to coincide with and thus as it were to generate a prosodic unit, can be conceived of in terms of Wortmetrik, a term proposed by Jerzy Kuryłowicz to account for types of versification in which the prosodic shape of a word dictates the metrical characteristics of the text. For example, in Pythian 11, the rhythmic sequence of five L syllables, on its first occurrence, coincides with the hapax compound (a word used only once in the extant corpus of Ancient Greek) ὁμοθάλαμε 'sharing the same chamber'. On further occurrences, a rhythmic figure can relinquish its word-boundaries frame. Once attention has been drawn to the prosodic shape, it becomes permissible to have word boundaries override it.

Based on a thorough review of evidence, I argue for a functionalist approach to Pindar's meter as a system that widely employs marked, aberrant structures.

Table 1: Occurrence of L sequences in two Pindar odes and contemporary corpora (frequency per 1000 words); differences marked in bold are statistically significant

Sequences of L	Pindar P. 8	Pind. O. 1	Thuc, Bk 8	Plato, Lysis	Aesch, iambi	Eur, iambi	Eur, lyr
5L	**19,41**	0	11,94	8,61	1,27	0,2	8,64
6L	0	0	3,63	3,69	0	0,6	5,49
7L	0	**11,76**	1,55	1,23	0	0	2,35

15:30–16:00

Nikitina, Tatiana

French National Centre for Scientific Research

Maslov, Boris

University of Oslo

Rhyme and rhythm in Shakespeare's sonnets

The study develops a method of statistical analysis of nuanced correlations between the quality of rhyme and the strength of rhythm that was previously applied to Russian syllabo-accentual verse (Nikitina and Maslov 2015; Maslov and Nikitina 2019). It has been shown that complex stanzaic forms, such as Lomonosov's odic stanza and Pushkin's Onegin stanza, display functional relatedness of meter and rhyme. In particular, in both Lomonosov and Pushkin, rich rhymes are used more often in lines that omit at least one ictus (i.e. are not fully stressed). The degree of faithfulness to the metrical template thus stands in a compensatory relationship with rhyme quality. Another key finding of previous studies concerns the likelihood of lines with the same stress configuration to be linked by a rich rhyme. Rhyming is not restricted to phonological identity of the line's endings; it can also be reflected in the identity of the lines' rhythm. Moreover, some of such effects have only been observed in Pushkin, not Lomonosov, suggesting that they occur only within well-established literary traditions.

This study attempts to apply a similar kind of analysis to English verse, in particular to the corpus of Shakespeare's sonnets. Preliminary results suggest that the concluding couplet is more rigidly structured, both with regards to rhyme quality and the realization of the metrical template. This is surprising seeing that in Lomonosov parallel rhymes are less likely to be conjoined with a rich rhyme.

A new methodology will be proposed that could be applied to work by English poets. In particular, rhyme quality needs to be assessed based not on richness (the onset of the rhyming syllable coincides), but on the degree of "exactness" (the number of consonants following the rhyming vowel that coincide). Finally, the study addresses the crucial question of assessing objectively faithfulness to the metrical template exhibited by a line of English iambic pentameter. Whereas Russian syllabo-accentual verse is characterized by few departures from the canonical rhythm (basically, non-realization of ictuses), English poets

	integrate such metrical licenses as inversions, extrametrical syllables, heteroaccentual rhyming words. We explore this difference by assigning relative weights to these violations; thus, an inversion in the third position can be described as doing more harm to the line's rhythm than multiple inversions in the first position. Works cited: Nikitina, Tatiana and Boris Maslov. "Verse structure and literary tradition: Correlating rhyme and stress in the Onegin stanza." *Style* 49.4 (2015): 439-469. Boris Maslov and Tatiana Nikitina. "Rhyme in European Verse: A Case for Quantitative Historical Poetics." Forthcoming in *Comparative Literature*.
16:00–16:30	Coffee Break

16:30–17:00	Aroui, Jean-Louis
	
	University of Paris 8
	
	A Template for the Serbo-Croatian Epic Decasyllable
	Keywords: Serbo-Croatian, epic, decasyllable, meter
	
	The Serbo-Croatian traditional epic verse had the chance to survive in folk poetry until the middle of the 20th century. Many scholars worked extensively on this tradition, recorded the guslari, and left us primitive data as well as empirical analysis. As a consequence, the traditional serbo-croatian decasyllable is one of the best documented folk metrical traditions from the 20th century.
	    Departing from these empirical data and analyses, this paper proposes a template for this meter. A binary structure opposing a weak colon to a strong colon, and weak feet to strong feet is supposed. Together with its correspondence rules, this template succeeds to explain the alignment of clitic groups with the meter, the caesura and the bridges, the trochaic structure of feet, and justifies the quantitative properties of syllables 7, 8 and 9.
	    The eventual musical aspects of this oral tradition are not examined.
	    The theoretical background of this paper is generative metrics. A metrical ability independent from language is assumed.

17:00–17:30	Whelan, Julia
	
	Fresno State University
	
	Dactylic hexameter isn't Dactylic
	
	Latin is well-known for *dactylic hexameter*, a meter with six feet of the form HLL or HH:
	
	   (H LL)(H L L)(H H)(H H) (H L L) (H H)
	   Arma virumque cano:, Troiae quī: prīmus ab oris
	   arms man-and I.sing Troy's who first from mouth Vergil, *Æneid* 1.1

5

Based on a full count of the 59,202 feet in Vergil's *Æneid,* I show that the meter is more spondaic (HH) than dactylic (HLL). It is generally assumed that HH is somehow derived from a basic HLL. This traditional assumption leads to empirical problems.

First, there are significantly more spondees (55%) than dactyls (45%) in the *Æneid*. This is clear evidence for the meter being spondaic. **Second**, despite much variation within lines, the sixth verse foot is *invariably* HH; the fifth is usually HLL, but only the sixth foot is invariant and it is spondaic, not dactylic. A common claim in metrics is that meters are looser early on in the line and stricter later on: e.g., "left edge rules specify metrical freedom and right edge rules metrical strictness" (Hayes 1989:255). If this is true, the fact that the rightmost foot is *always* HH suggests this is spondaic hexameter. A dactylic analysis has to explain why HLL *usually* shows up *near* the end but the derived foot *always* shows up at the *very* end. **Third**, if the meter were really dactylic HLL, the ratio of L/H should be close to 2/1. But my examination of the ratio of H/L in the *Æneid* reveals a 63/37 ratio *in favor of H* (Fig. 1). To check if the skewing in the meter towards HH could be due to a surplus of heavies in Latin words, I randomly sampled 1000 words and found that the language has no surplus of heavies (Fig. 2).
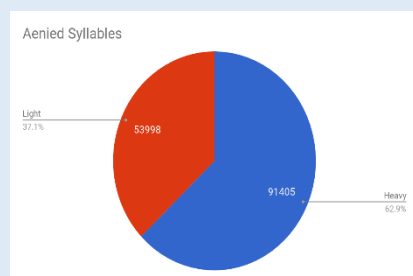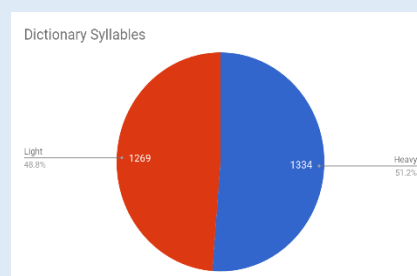

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2

If Vergil's goal had been to make the ratio of H/L equal in *Æneid*, to facilitate use of the whole vocabulary (= FIT, Hanson & Kiparsky 1996), he would have needed twice as many dactyls as spondees: #(H)/#(L) = (2x + y) / 2y = 1 = 2x = y. Thus, a skewing by the 50/50 ratio of H to L in Latin would yield twice as many dactyls as spondees in *Æneid.* But we find significantly *less* dactyls than spondees (40/60), showing that the meter cannot be based on HLL.

If Vergil's hexameter is basically spondaic, it is basically arhythmic, perhaps even clash-inducing. This questions the claim that meter is inherently rhythmic (Halle & Keyser 1968, *et alii multi*) and supports the contentious claim that rhythm is not fundamental to poetic meter (Fabb & Halle 2008; Golston & Riad 2000, 2004).

Works cited:
Fabb & Halle 2008. *Meter in Poetry*. Cambridge.
Golston & Riad 2000. The phonology of Classical Greek meter. *Linguistics* 38.1, 1-69.
Golston & Riad 2005. The phonology of Greek lyric meter. *Journal of Linguistics* 41, 77-115.
Halle & Keyser 1971. English stress: its form, its growth, and its role in verse. New York.
Hanson & Kiparsky 1996. A parametric theory of poetic meter. *Language* 72.2, 287-335.
Hayes 1989. The prosodic hierarchy in meter. In Kiparsky & Youmans (ed.), 201-60.

17:30–18:00	Bastman, Eeva-Liisa & Kati Kallio
	Finnish Literature Society
	Hybrid Poetics: Early Modern Finnish Verse at the Intersection of two Poetic Systems

	Keywords: metrical systems, kalevala-metre, early modern poetry, oral poetry, hybrid poetics
	There are two main metrical systems in Finnish poetry: Kalevala-metre, based on the length and stress of syllables, and the accentual system based on word stress only. Kalevala-metre poetry lacks stanza structure and rhyme, which are central poetic features in the accentual system. Rhymed, stanzaic and stress-based metrics were taken into use in Finnish verse during the Early Modern period, along with the creation of vernacular Lutheran hymns and the introduction of oral songs and poems, such as ballads, composed according to Scandinavian and German metres. In this paper, we discuss examples on oral and literary poems that combine features from both poetic systems. What kind of poetic forms and metrical practices emerge when Kalevala-metre and rhymed stanzaic forms meet and interact? We focus on hybrid forms and ambiguous poetic patterns and, via the analysis of some early 20th century sound recordings, on their uses in performance.
18:00–19:00	Happy hour – D389

	Session 2
	Room D389 Södra huset (Main Building)
14:00–14:30	Li, Shuang Sorbonne University **The Metric Structure of a Long Chinese Ballad** Keywords: "Southeast fly the peacocks", pentasyllabic, prosodic and metric structure, foot, medieval Chinese The metrical and prosodic discussion of Chinese versification in the West was first spotted in Jakobson's analysis of the regulated verse ("lüshi" of the Tang Dynasty 618 A.D.-907 A.D.) and its tonal system in the 1960s. The mystery of the classical Chinese poetic form was not thus solved, and after that we saw many other phonological explanations (Chen 1979, Yip 1980, Napoli 1989, Duanmu 1990 and many others), especially on the tonal distribution of the verses which constitute the pentasyllabic or heptasyllabic regulated octave. Our attention here is paid to a category of folk poetry "Yuefu" that occupied an important position prior to the regularization of Chinese verses. By the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-220 A.D.), the dipodic and the flexible caesura prosody in Chinese were gradually replaced by syllabic fixed patterns, including pentasyllabic structure which became the dominant form. Many pentasyllabic poems and songs were created and circulated during this period. This paper proposes to treat one of the longest Yuefu anonymous ballads, "Southeast fly the peacocks", interpreted and subject to syntactic and prosodic tree-matching theory in Chinese versification (Chen 1984). Some issues such as the metrical unit of "foot" and "sequencing lines" based on rhyme will also be discussed.

14:30–15:00	Mehl, Scott
	Colgate University

The "Chance" Invention of a New Japanese Meter: Kanbara Ariake and the *dokugen-chō*

Keywords: Japanese poetry, meter, chance/aleatory, translation

Years after publishing his 1903 poetry collection *Dokugen aika* (Laments on a single string)—a collection that included a number of poems in a new meter, with lines of 17 morae (in three clauses: 4+7+6 morae)—Kanbara Ariake gave different, conflicting accounts of what inspired him to create this new rhythm, which he called the *dokugen-chō* (the single-string meter). He claimed variously that (1) he had found a similar meter in earlier Japanese translations of Christian hymns; (2) he had found a similar meter in an earlier poet's translations of poems originally written in European languages; (3) he stumbled upon the meter "by chance" ("*hashi naku mo*"). Ariake placed greatest emphasis on the role of chance in his invention of this meter.

    In light of what Ariake's contemporaries and later critics in Japan would write about chance in literature—I am thinking in particular of writers and thinkers such as *Watsuji Tetsurō* and Nakagawa Yoichi—I want to examine what it would mean to devise a meter casually, by chance. I argue that Ariake's insistence on the fortuitousness of his discovery was, in part, calculated to appeal to readers who sought an escape from the perceived rigidity of more familiar poetic meters (e.g., the *shintaishi* or new-style poem and its iterations of lines in 5-7 or 7-5 morae). It was also, I conjecture, shaped by pressures of the literary field: chance could underwrite Ariake's claim to having written unprecedented poetry. My presentation will introduce the main questions that I would like to pose about Ariake's experiment—an unrepeated one, I should add—in devising a new meter.

15:00–15:30	Marchenko, Valentyna
	Igor Sikorsky Kyiv Polytechnic Institute

Emotional-and-Pragmatic Potential as the Basis for Poem-to-Music Alignment

Keywords: speech, music, intonation, emotional-and-pragmatic potential

Speech and music, whose deep connection has been undeniably proved by multiple researches, might be most effectively studied in light of their integrated functioning within a song. Among various kinds of speech-music synthesis in a song, the most complicated seems the one produced by adjusting music to the already existing poetic work. So the question is what exactly helps the composer to sense the key points in a poem and to aptly convey the poet's original intention.

    Attempting to figure out what makes poem-to-music alignment successful, we conducted a research which we based on the idea of *emotional-and-pragmatic potential* (hereinafter – EPP) [1]. The EPP concept was developed within Speech Energetic Theory, introduced by the Ukrainian phonetician Prof. A. A. Kalyta and being further advanced by the representatives of Kyiv School of Phonetics. Compiled by aptly selected language means, EPP is believed to convey the general emotional and pragmatic message of a poem and serve as a reference point for the composer when setting the poem to music.

	Inspired by this idea, we ran an experiment in which we compared EPP of poems by T.S. Eliot, Robert Burns, Emily Dickinson, E.E. Cummings and songs based on those poems. The EPP level was firstly determined perceptively by the informants and afterwards verified instrumentally by using specifically developed formula for EPP evaluation: $$K = \frac{F_0 \times t \times I_0}{1000 \times I_3}$$ in which: K – criterion of the level of EPP actualization; F0 – fundamental frequency (Hz); t – syllable duration (msc.); I0 – amplitude of F0 (dB); I3 – amplitude of F3 (dB); 1000 – milliseconds to seconds conversion factor. The formula helped us unmistakably determine the level (low, medium, high) of EPP actualization in a poem and compare it with the EPP of its song variant. The results indicated that EPP of the same fragment in a poem and a song do not always correlate, which might suggest that a poet's idea was not quite captured by a composer or there is something in a poem's structure which hinders successful speech-to-music alignment. Thus our further task was to explain why it happens and identify the prosodic or other language means, which actually make the textsetting possible. Overall, the pattern of the results proves the importance of rhythmic and metric structure of a poem for textsetting. The high level EPP correlation was observed in poems by T.S. Eliot and songs from Cats the musical based on Eliot's works, where strong parts of poetic stanza (stressed syllables) absolutely correlate with the strong beats of the music part. On the other hand, the examples of EPP disagreement and therefore unsuccessful textsetting show the incongruity of prosodic pattern of the verse phrase and the rhythmic and intonational organization of the musical one. Good examples in this matter are the songs created by setting Emily Dickinson's poems to music. It is well-known that the rhythm of her poems is mostly mixed due to the slant rhyme, which greatly complicates the choice of music component. That's why although Dickinson's poems get high EPP level, the songs based on her poems obtain mid or even low EPP level. 1. Kalita, A. A. 2007. *Actualisation of emotional-and-pragmatic potential of an utterance: monograph*. Ternopil', Ukraine: Pidruchnyky i posibnyky.
15:30–16:00	Hanson, Kristen University of California, Berkeley **Handel's Art in Setting English Words to Music** In their seminal article bringing a generative perspective to textsetting, Halle and Lerdahl (1983, p. 9) outline some basic principles, then explain why they undertake to explore them through popular forms of group singing: "Our inquiry might now continue in several directions. One possibility is to test and refine a system of textsetting rules based on compositional practice. We shall not explore this approach here, since in creating vocal music, composers are often interested in exploring unusual textsetting possibilities." In this paper, I take a step down this road not taken. I explore some rhythmic aspects of the textsetting of George Frideric Handel, and show that although neither the generalizations formalized in Halle and Lerdahl (1983), nor the developments of them in Halle and Dell (2009) or Proto (2013), are adequate to describe Handel's techniques, they do describe

precisely the intuitions that underlie some of Handel's extraordinary dramatic effects. They thus give technical substance to critical impressions like that of Lang (2011), that "it is truly remarkable how felicitously Handel sets English words to music."

For example, assuming that the rhythmic intuitions underlying the relevant music can be represented by the grids developed in Lerdahl and Jackendoff (1983), Halle and Dell (2009) define one basic principle of textsetting as "stress to beat matching", which requires a syllable that is stressed relative to another syllable in the same word to be associated with a strong metrical position. What exactly defines a strong metrical position, however, is complicated. On the one hand, because beats are always differentiated in prominence, even at the most basic ("tactus") level some beats are stronger than others; on the other hand, because beats are always divisible, whenever a beat is split, which can happen at any level, the one that coincides with the beat at a higher level is the stronger of the two. Halle and Dell (2009) observe that for English speakers, this latter option produces a beat to which stress can be acceptably matched.

Here I show that Handel uses this option to create contrasts between rhythmic consonance, in which stress is matched with beats that are strong at the tactus level as in the setting of *sweetest* in (1), and rhythmic dissonance, in which they are matched with beats that are weak at that level, as in *saddest* in (1). In all instances of the latter, however, they are still matched with a beat that is strong at its own level as a result of the way beat splitting produces new contrasts in prominence. The example is from his l'Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato, based on poems of Milton; and a bit more of the text is given for context:

(1)   'less Philomel will deign a song; in her sweetest, saddest plight, smoothing the rugged brow of Night

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                        x
                        x               x
        tactus:  x       x      x      x
                 x  x  x  x   x  x   x  x
                 x x x x x x x x x x x x x x

                        in   her  sweetest saddest    (plight)
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For clarity, this example is a rather modest (though beautiful) one; but I will show that Handel does something similar in triple meters, in 1/32 notes, and more; and that however extravagant he gets, he always remains principled. I conclude by showing how his setting of "Hallelujah" is the exception that proves the rule.

Works cited:
Händel, George Frideric. 2005. l'Allegro, il Penseroso ed il Moderato. Vocal Score. Basel: Bärenreiter Kassel.
Lang, Paul Henry. 2011. George Frideric Handel. London: Dover.
Halle, John and Fred Lerdahl. 1993. A generative textsetting model. Current Musicology 55: 3-23.
Lerdahl, Fred and Ray Jackendoff. 1983. A generative theory of Western tonal music. Cambridge: MIT Press.
Halle, John and François Dell. 2009. Comparing musical textsetting in French and English songs. Towards a typology of poetic forms, ed. by Jean-Louis Aroui and Andy Arleo. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
Proto, Teresa. 2013. Prominence matching in English songs. Signa 22: 81-104.

16:00–16:30	Coffee Break
16:30–17:00	Rodríguez-Vázquez, Rosalía University of Vigo **Delving into the connection between prosody and text-setting rules in Romance languages. The case of Galician** Keywords: text-setting, prosody, phonology, Galician, Spanish This paper deals with the connection between the prosody of a language and the text-setting rules of vocal music in that language. The underlying hypothesis states that the rhythmic structure of a language will be reflected in the musical setting of texts arisen spontaneously in that language. Research on linguistic rhythm relies on a three-fold classification, according to which languages may be syllable-timed, stress-timed or mora-timed [5; 1]. The notion of rhythmic classes has been questioned by those who favour the distribution of languages along a rhythmic continuum [3; 2]. Whatever view is taken, there is a general tendency to regard Germanic languages as stress-timed, while Romance languages are commonly placed at the syllable-timed end of the continuum. English is thus classified as a stress-timed language, while Spanish is viewed as totally syllable-timed by some [4] and as less syllable-timed than French by others [6]. This paper aims at determining the connection between the prosodic characteristics and the text-setting rules of Galician, a Romance language spoken in the northwest of the Iberian Peninsula which stands between Portuguese and Spanish, showing a mixed type of rhythm. Despite the fact that Galician and Spanish are Romance languages spoken in the same territory, text-setting in Galician and in Spanish show diverging characteristics which are arguably derived from the prosody of the languages. Galician and Spanish show no reduction of prominent vowels. However, in Galician there is reduction and sometimes even deletion of unstressed vowels, a feature shared with European Portuguese but not with Spanish. In Spanish song, the key issue is the preservation of syllabic rhythm even if this entails 'musically conditioned stress shift' [7]. In Galician song, this type of stress shift is disfavoured, as it would result in the misplacement of reduced unstressed syllables. A theoretical an empirical analysis of a corpus of 150 Galician folk songs is undertaken in order to determine the extent to which Galician and Spanish differ with regard to the structure and function of stress. By looking at how a text is set to music we can shed some light on the connection between vowel reduction, the realisation of stress and the structure of stress-groups in Galician, comparing the results to those obtained for Spanish [7]. The prosodic characteristics of the languages analysed here get reflected in text-setting rules. The definition of a musically conditioned stress shift in Spanish responds to syllable-related constraints, whereas it is linked to stress and vowel reduction in Galician. Stemming from that, the agreement between linguistic stress and musical beat is prevalent in Galician, not in Spanish. Works cited: [1] Abercrombie, D. 1967. *Elements of General Phonetics*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. [2] Bertinetto, P. M. 1989. Reflections on the Dichotomy 'Stress' vs. 'Syllable-timing'. *Revue de Phonétique Appliquée*, 91/93, 99-130.

[3] Dauer, R. M. 1983. Stress-timing and syllable-timing reanalysed. *Journal of Phonetics*, 11, 51-62.

[4] Navarro Tomás, T. 1918. *Manual de pronunciación española*. Madrid: Gredos.

[5] Pike, K. L. 1945. *The Intonation of American English*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

[6] Pointon, G. E. 1980. Is Spanish really syllable-timed? *Journal of Phonetics*, 8, 293-304

[7] Rodríguez-Vázquez R. 2010. *The Rhythm of Speech, Verse and Music: A New Theory*. Bern: Peter Lang.

17:00–17:30

Proto, Teresa & van Eer, Farida

Leiden University

Rhythm and rhyme in Dutch rap music

Keywords: hip-hop, Dutch, Maroc-hop, rhyme, textsetting

Since its introduction in the 1980s, rap has become a popular musical genre in the Netherlands. Originally modeled on the American hip-hop and rap scene, it soon developed into a full-fledged genre now termed *Nederhop*. It has been suggested (Gazzah 2008) that in *Nederhop* two styles can be distinguished, namely the 'native' variant, and the specific style created by Moroccan immigrants at the beginning of 2000s. The latter is termed *Maroc-hop* and is represented by artists like Ali B, Raymzter and BOEF. Both styles employ the Dutch urban youth vernacular for the lyrics, however only *Maroc-hop* makes use of occasional Arabic or Berber expressions, and of Moroccan traditional instruments such as the *ghaita* and the *bendir*.

The aim of this talk is to illustrate further structural elements that differentiate the 'heritage' from the 'native' style. In particular, it will be shown that the two styles differ as to 1) the types of rhythmical patterns employed; 2) the way lyrics are set to music, and 3) the preferred types and locations of rhyme.

All songs selected for this study meet the requirement that lyrics are clearly set to an underlying 4/4 metrical pattern, as represented in Fig. 1 (Adams 2009). Songs exhibiting a speech-like rhythm were not included in the study.
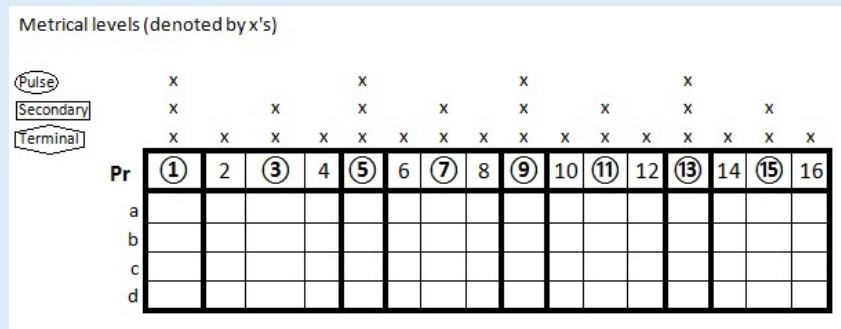

Fig. 1: 4/4 metrical pattern

The analysis carried out on twenty metrical grids has revealed that 'native' rap style makes use of complex rhythmical patterns, such as tuplets, far more than the 'heritage' style does. In turn, Maroc-hop rappers allow stress-beat mismatches at locations and in parts of speech usually avoided in Dutch textsetting (cfr. DeCastro-Arrazola 2018). They also show a different 'feel' for rhyme, evident not only in a distinct pairing of the relevant phonetic

	features but also in the distribution of the rhyming words within and across the linguistic and musical constituents (Katz 2016). Works cited: Adams, K. (2009). On the Metrical Techniques of Flow in Rap Music. *Music Theory Online* 24(1). http://www.mtosmt.org/issues/mto.09.15.5/mto.09.15.5.adams.php Anderson, V.B. (1992). The rap of Young MC: A case study of eurhythmic textsetting. Los Angeles:UCLA. Condit-Schultz, N. (2016). MCFlow: A Digital Corpus of Rap Flow. Dissertation: Ohio University. deCastro-Arrazola, V. (2018) Typological tendencies in verse and their cognitive grounding. Dissertation: Leiden University & Meertens Institute. Gazzah, M. (2008). Rhythms and rhymes of life. Music and identification processes of Dutch-Moroccan youth. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. Katz, J. (2016). Hip-hop rhymes reiterate phonological typology. *Lingua* 160. 54-73.

17:30–18:00	deCastro-Arrazola, Varun
	
	Meertens Instituut
	
	Experimental testing of sensitivity to textsetting rules: a case-study in Dutch
	Keywords: textsetting, Dutch, experimental metrics
	
	From a methodological point of view, most analysis of textsetting rely on corpus data. Combinations of linguistic and musical features which are statistically rare or fully absent from a given corpus are considered ill-formed (e.g. a stressed syllable in a relatively weak metrical position). Nevertheless, a well-known limitation of corpora is that they can only provide positive data; that is, absent or under-represented patterns are hard to interpret (Schütze 2011). This is particularly evident in smaller datasets, where it is likely to find accidental gaps with no statistical implications.
	    We present a novel experimental approach which can complement current textsetting studies by overcoming these shortcomings. Unlike corpus-based studies, the materials used in experiments can be designed so as to cover an exhaustive range of linguistic and musical patterns. This gives the researcher finer-grained control over the hypotheses to test. Hence, experiments can potentially provide positive *and* negative data, narrowing down the characterisation of textsetting intuitions.
	    Our proposal assumes that textsetting intuitions are gradual rather than binary, as it is claimed for metrics more generally (Ryan 2011). Hence, we apply a suitable methodology to derive a ranking from the most preferred to the least preferred textsetting patterns: a two-alternative forced-choice task (Thurstone 1927). Thus, instead of asking to rate the well-formedness of individual settings, subjects are asked to choose one out of two minimally-differing trials.
	    The robustness of the method is validated through a case-study on the alignment of linguistic stress and metrical prominence in Dutch. A total of 135 native speakers took part in the experiment, where they were asked to listen to 36 pairs of short audio clips. Each recording consisted of a sentence (subject+verb+object) and a simultaneous drum sequence in the background. Participants were asked to select one of the two recordings based on how well the words fitted the background metrical pattern.

The sentences in each pair differ minimally, with a critical change in the alignment of stress and prominence on the verb. Figure 1 illustrates the four experimental conditions with the sentence 'Willem supplies/orders nice clothes', with two possible verbs in the critical part of the sentence: one iambic (*be-stélt*), the other trochaic (*lé-vert*). Iambic verbs show an increasing stress (s+) contour (i.e. first syllable is unstressed, second is stressed), while trochaic verbs show a decreasing stress contour (s−). In our manipulation, each verb contour can be aligned to an increasing or decreasing metrical context (p+, p−). This 2x2 design yields the four experimental conditions listed in Figure 1: (1) s−p−, (2) s−p+, (3) s+p−, (4) s+p+.

A Thurstone-Mosteller test on the participants' responses reveal that parallel contours (1 and 4) are preferred over opposing contours (2 and 3). This preference for a congruent alignment is unsurprising and predicted by previous literature; yet, it provides support for the validity of the methodology employed. More interestingly, we also show that the the two types of opposing pattern are not equally dispreferred: an iambic verb set to a trochaic pattern (3) is more heavily dispreferred than its mirror setting (2). We further discuss potential explanations for this asymmetry, on the basis of the phonological properties of Dutch, and on more general principles of how prominence is parsed in temporal sequences.

The contribution of the paper is twofold: (a) to further our understanding of Dutch textsetting, (b) to describe a simple yet effective methodology which can be employed to uncover the textsetting intuitions of a community of speakers of a given language.

Figure 1: The four experimental conditions illustrated with one sample sentence: 'Willem supplies/orders nice clothes'. In each sentence the verb section is manipulated in order to generate four textsetting alignments, which are then tested in a pairwise manner. The number of stars in each column indicate the relative metrical prominence evoked by the invariant drum pattern played as a background to each sentence.

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18:00–19:00	Happy hour – D389

	Session 3
	Room D480
	Södra huset (Main Building)
14:00–14:30	Akimova, Marina
	M.V. Lomonosov Moscow State University

Polymetric poems by Mikhail Kuzmin and European poetic cantatas: verse structure and theme

Among polymetric compositions of Mikhail Kuzmin (1872-1935) there is a group of poems whose genre is uncertain. They usually have mythological or quasi-mythological character, elevated style and a high lyric expression instead of any narration. The paper examines the origins of their genre, and French and Italian cantatas of the 17th and 18th centuries are the candidates to be considered as precursors and models of Kuzmin's poems.

In the paper I will observe, with the help of existing special literature, the French and Italian classicist cantatas, either purely poetic or musical, by the following plan: volume, theme, plot, images and characters, and verse structure. The type of polymetry is the main my concern. Secondly I am interested in coordination between verse structure and theme. This review will allow me to find possible genre and verse equivalents to Kuzmin's polymetric poems. Their verse and subject description is the second part of my paper. Kuzmin sets his plot in the Ancient Egypt, Greece, or imaginary world. He prefers not to divide these poems into clearly separated fragments, as it happened in baroque musical cantatas or dramatic cantatas with their arias and recitatives. His narration is very lyrical, that is he does not tell a story consequently, but makes some episodic remarks in Present tense, marking some characteristic features of images and their bright movements. He is very experimental in the verse design of the poems. And this experiment is typical of (music) cantatas. At last I will offer some concrete models of European cantatas that would be closer to what Kuzmin created.

The points to be discussed are the very fact of identifying some Kuzmin's poems as the evolved old classical cantatas, the separation of this group of his polymetric poems from another type of his polymetry (mostly narrative or dramatic), and the role of archaic models in searching for the innovation of standard metrics.

14:30–15:00 Tverianovich, Ksenia

Saint Petersburg State University

Rhythmical and grammatical stereotypes in Russian odic stanza

Keywords: rhythm and grammar in verse, 18th century Russian verse, odic stanza, stanzaic composition, rhythmical-grammatical clichés and formulas

In Russian verse studies, the odic stanza is one of the few strophic models, where the accentual rhythm of units bigger than lines was studied extensively. However, in most cases, the rhythmical composition of stanza was considered independently from its grammar.

	Session 3
	Room D480
	Södra huset (Main Building)

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	M.V. Lomonosov Moscow State University
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	Meanwhile, studying correlations between various levels of rhythm in verse, including those of accents and grammar, are among the priorities of modern verse studies.

The proposed paper considers rhythmical tendencies in distribution of various parts of speech between the 10 lines of Russian odic stanza, including types and distribution of rhythmical-grammatical clichés and formulas within the stanza, and other relevant peculiarities of stanzaic composition.

The material comprises odes by several 18th century Russian poets, particularly M. V. Lomonosov and A. P. Sumarokov, the total of over 400 stanza, i.e. over 4000 lines. Each line was described in regard to all the relevant rhythmical and grammatical parameters including accents and pyrrhics, word boundaries, clausulae, parts of speech, their forms and syntactic relationships, positions in stanza etc.

Both rhythmical and grammatical parameters were analysed using statistical and comparative methods. As a result, a list of rhythmical-syntactic clichés most typical of the Russian odic stanza was composed, and a number of observations were made in regard to the rhythmical composition of the Russian odic stanza at different rhythmical levels, including the following.

Within the stanza, rhythmical-syntactic clichés tend to occupy the least stressed lines. Lines marking borders of stanza and their parts, bearing more accents [Taranovsky 2000], are also more diverse grammatically. The most popular clichés are those equal to a sentence, i.e. comprising a subject, predicate and object or attribute in one line. A substantial number of clichés are structures that are manifestly "bookish" in style.

Formulas, i.e. structures where rhythmical-syntactic clichés are additionally supported with repetition of whole words [Gasparov 2004], can be found in about 10% lines. In some cases, formulas also include synonyms, in addition to repeated words, which makes them even more obvious. In Sumarokov's odes, which make the most considerable share of the material, 50% lines with formulas represent the idea if the state through a limited circle of images. Those images are introduced with the same words that repeat again and again. Thus, in Sumarokov's odes formulas are key lines in respect to ideology.

In many cases, lines of certain rhythmical-grammatical structures tend to occupy a fixed position in stanza. Thus, the odic stanza itself tends to become a cliché – in terms of rhythm, grammar and even ideological content.

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| **15:00–15:30** | Cronquist, Ulf

Gothenburg University

Brandt, Per Aage

Case Western Reserve University

The Poetics of Hallelujah. Semio-Metric Blending of Music and Meaning

Keywords: Semiotic blending; enunciation; song lyrics and metrics; deixis |

In analyzing poetics and metrics, generally, there is an enunciative tension between what is said and how it is expressed, depending on spatio-temporal aspects of embodied deixis. The verse line and the stanza belong to somebody somewhere but it is usually not clear where the intersubjective *Gestalt* resides. But there seems to be a universal human musical body that makes us want to listen, dance and sing, in joyful, collective celebrations of creativity.

One such universal human shared experience is Leonard Cohen's song "Hallelujah", first published on the album *Various Positions* in 1984. It remained largely unnoticed for a wider audience until John Cale, Jeff Buckley and k. d. lang performed it, the latter at the Winter Olympics Opening in Vancouver 2010 to three billion viewers. It is presently one of the world's most appreciated songs in popular music.

In this presentation, we focus on metrics and song lyrics in a semio-cognitive poetics perspective. We briefly introduce the Aarhus school cognitive-semiotic blending (conceptual integration) model, which in contrast to the Fauconnier & Turner model builds on phenomenology, and apply it to the *semiotic and metric structure* of Leonard Cohen's "Hallelujah", thereby showing how the singular value of the key word is built up through a process that blends erotic and religious content, and which places the music of the song in a decisive position as a stabilizing input to the semantic blend of erotic and religious love. The musical and verbal auto-referential deixis is shown to play an important role in this process of meaning construction, typical of the way songs proceed (I sing *that* I sing…). The analysis and its dynamic approach may, we hope, be able to inspire research on the poetics of songs, especially in popular music, and the under-researched area of song lyrics and metrics more generally.

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15:30–16:00	Pilschikov, Igor & Polilova, Vera
	Lomonosov Moscow State University

A New Online Information System on Comparative Poetics and Comparative Literature as a Tool for Studying the History of Russian and European Verse[1]

Keywords: Comparative Metrics, Digital Humanities, History of Verse

In 2017, a research project started to conduct the work on the selection, processing, systematization, as well as digitization and database storage of available knowledge in comparative poetics and comparative literature. The aim of this project is to organize large-scale research work in order to fill numerous gaps in scholarly views on the functioning and interaction of poetic language in different languages. Within the framework of this project a beta version of the Information System on Comparative Poetics and Comparative Literature (IS CPCL) was filled with samples of content and opened for public online access: cpcl.feb-web.ru. The goal of this paper is to present the structure of the IS CPCL and demonstrate how it functions as a digital tool for studying the history of Russian and European versifications in their interaction.

IS CPCL contains poetic texts translated into Russian, their original non-Russian sources, scholarly literature on comparative poetics and comparative literature, as well as a "thesaurus" (structured glossary) of the terms used in the these research areas. Within the current project, the data is limited to Russian-Romance literary contacts, and the formal description of texts is limited to metrics and stanza. The system comprises now three interconnected subsystems: the Corpus (a parallel corpus of primary texts), the Library (a digital library, containing the editions of primary texts as well as secondary literature), and the Thesaurus (contains terms found in secondary literature). The interface and descriptions are currently in Russian, and very soon they will be available in English. In future, they will also be available in French, Spanish and Italian.

The Corpus subsystem includes the poems translated into Russian from the Romance languages (French, Italian, Spanish or Portuguese) and their originals as well as Russian and non-Russian intermediary translations, and, in addition, the texts which are sources of Romance originals (if the latter are, in their turn, imitations or translations of earlier texts).

One of the most important functional capabilities of IS CPCL is full-text lexical search and specialized attribute search focused on the prosodic (metrical) features of the poetic texts. The two main groups of attributes are metrical and stanzaic features. Metrics describe the properties of the poetic verse (verse meters) and are constituted by two parameters: Meter and Verse Length. Stanza refers to the properties of verse sequences (i.e. properties of stanzas and fixed forms) and is constituted by three parameters: Stanza or fixed form, Clausula (the sequence of line endings in a stanza / strophe or a strophoid) and Rhyme (the rhyme sequence in strophe or strophoid). Other aspects of catalexis and rhyming do not apply to the stanza. This approach is similar to the one implemented in the Poetic subcorpus of the Russian National Corpus.

The search results are presented as short titles and full bibliographical descriptions of the relevant texts with hyperlinks to full texts. The parallel texts in the Corpus subsystem are presented in two scrollable windows. The texts displayed in the windows are set from the windows' own toolbars or from the main toolbar. By default, Window 1 displays the relevant text. Window 2 displays one of its parallels. The connections of the text form a cluster. They are visualized in two alternative forms: a graph and a list. Meta-information can be invoked from the toolbar.

	Intertextual relations are represented in the form of *a tree of links (fig. 1)*, i.e. a relational graph linking the different types of texts found in the Corpus subsystem (generated automatically on the basis of the relevant metadata). The toolbar also lets you jump, using hyperlinks, to research literature related to a particular poetic text and annotated editions of this text. [1] The work is supported by the Russian Science Foundation grant 17-18-01701.
16:00–16:30	Coffee Break
16:30–17:00	Lotman, Mihhail & Lotman, Maria Kristiina University of Tartu **Accent and quantity in Estonian binary tetrameters** keywords: verse rhythm, Estonian binary meters, quantity in verse, syllabic-accentual verse Up till the 20th century, Estonian literary poetry was prevailingly syllabic-accentual and hence, the syllabic-accentual verses are the ones most researched. Thus far, the studies of the rhythmical structure of Estonian literary verse have been focused mainly on the analysis of accentual pattern, including, first of all, the most common binary verse meters, but also different classical verse meters. In the case of some verse meters (dactylic hexameter, trochaic tetrameter, iambic tetrameter) the quantitative structure has been studied as well. As regards the relationship between accent and quantity in syllabic-accentual verse, until now, there has been no research focusing on it. Our analysis will focus on the two most important Estonian traditional verse meters and deal with the interrelationship of accent and quantity from the viewpoint of verse rhythm. We will demonstrate the formation of two main rhythmical types in Estonian verse: the „Traditionalist" type, exhibiting roughly the same tendencies which can be seen in the rhythm of random verses selected from prose, and the „Modernist" type, where a different rhythmical profile evolves.

17:00–17:30	Bolotov, Sergei

M. V. Lomonosov Moscow State University

M. Červenka – P. Plecháč – R. Kolár's Licence, Kalevalamitta and ... basis Aeolica

The relationship between meter and phonology, Typology of metre, Cultural and linguistic in¬flu¬ence on versification traditions

Keywords: Comparative metrics, Czech iamb(ic verse), Fin¬nish choree (choreus) [Fin¬nish tro¬chee (tro¬chaic verse)], Kalevala metre [Kalevala(n runo)mitta], Aeolic base

1. According to [P. Plecháč, R. Kolár 2017: 39], «Ударная реализация W-позиции рассмат-ривается как нарушение метра. Исключение составляют первые две позиции (WS) в ям-бе, а также S-позиция в конце ямбической и хореической схемы, ударные и безударные реализации которой рассматриваются в качестве конституирующих метр [ср.: Červenka 2006]» ("The stressed realization of a W<eak>-position [W-slot] is considered (as) a violation of the [given] metre. The exceptions are the two first positions (W<eak-> S<trong>) in an iamb(us), as well as an S-position [S-slot] in either an iambic or a trochaic coda, its both stressed and unstressed realizations taken as metre-constituing ones [cf.: Červenka 2006]") ⟨the un-derlining is mine — *S.B.*⟩, that means that the first iambic foot in Czech is in a sense "idle" [the *4*-foot line is given due to the exemplified verse by K. H. Mácha, probably the most quoted poetry in Czech: *Byl pozdnj wečer – prwnj mág – / Wečernj mág – byl lásky čas. / Hrdliččin zwal ku lásce hlas, / Kde borowý zawáněl hág.* (modernized: *Byl pozdní večer – první máj – / večerní máj – byl lásky čas. / Hrdliččin zval ku lásce hlas, / kde borový zaváněl háj.*); transl. (by Edith Pargeter): *Late evening, on the first of May— / The twilit May—the time of love. / Meltingly called the turtle-dove, / Where rich and sweet ⟨the⟩ pinewoods lay.*]:

$$\overset{(\omega)}{\underset{}{\times}}\overset{(\omega)}{\underset{}{\times}}|W\grave{S}|W\grave{S}|W\grave{S}\underset{m\ \ f\ \ \delta}{\overset{(\omega)}{S}}(w(w))$$, or just $$\overset{(\omega)}{\underset{}{\check{O}}}\overset{(\omega)}{\underset{}{\check{O}}}|W\grave{S}|W\grave{S}|W\grave{S}\underset{m\ \ f\ \ \delta}{\overset{(\omega)}{S}}(w(w))$$

instead of what is traditionally expected for a (")classical(") syllabotonic iambic pattern:

$$W\grave{S}|W\grave{S}|W\grave{S}|W\grave{S}\underset{m\ \ f\ \ \delta}{\overset{(\omega)}{S}}(w(w))$$ [up to here graves denoting *metrical* stresses],

thus avoiding the very first slot to be obligatorily unstressed (certainly not counting for mono-syllables traditionally accepted as "legal" extrametrical stresses), as well as the second one obligatorily stressed — what may be seen as a quite natural "trick" for an initial-stress language phonology, which "trick" I call "M. Červenka – P. Plecháč – R. Kolár's Licence".

1a. A concurrent explanation of the numerous violations of Czech iambic scheme is what I call "Natalia Štakeľberg's Law". According to her observations, these are (absolutely) predominantly three-syllabic word forms that break the iambus. This is anyway true for non-first feet not covered with M. Červenka – P. Plecháč – R. Kolár's licence. The viotating character (more due to initial foot or to dactylic words) and its degree (from the strong avoidance to the great freedom thereof) differs much from one author to another, but both principles seem to cooperate: the attraction of non-schematic two-syllabic words to the initial position, from one hand, and the predominance of three-syllabic words in non-initial position if crossiambic, on the other hand, is out from any doubt.

2. In *Kalevalamitta*, "In the second, third, and fourth foot of a line, a strong syllable can occur in only the rising part ⏷...⏸The first foot has a freer structure, allowing strong syllables in a falling position as well as a rising one ⏷...⏸ In the second, third, and fourth feet, a weak syllable can occur only in the falling part ⏷...⏸ Again, the first foot's structure is more free, allowing weak syllables in a rising position as well as a falling one ⏷...⏸ In the first foot, the length of syllables is free. It is also possible for the first foot to contain three or even four

syllables" [here I quote Wikipedia (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kalevala#Metre), as a representative of (")common knowledge(") data]. Now too, the first foot appears (as) "idle":

X́X̆|H́Ĺ|H́Ĺ|H̆X̆, or just ÓŎ|H́Ĺ|H́Ĺ|H̆X̆ [up to here acutes meaning *real* stresses]; "H̆X̆" is for "H́ or X́", "Ĺ" for "Ĺ or X̆"], as compared to (")traditional(") syllabometric trochaic line: H́L|H́L|H́L|H̆X (or H́L|H́X|H́L|H̆X, in case of Graeco-Roman type dimetre) [' standing for ictûs].

Kalevala metre is certainly a unique juncture of syllabometrics and syllabotonics in one and the same verse structure.

2a. Unlike Finnish *Kalevala*, Estonian *Kalevipoeg*, though often claimed to do, does *not* demonstrate such a construction.

3. Many Aeolic metres begin with the so called Aeolic base (X X or O O), namely:

Pherecratean	ŎŎ|H́LLH|H̆
Glyconic	ŎŎ|H́LLH|ĹH̆
[Priapean	ŎŎ|H́LLH|ĹH̆‖ŎŎ|H́LLH|H̆]
Lesser Asclepiad	ŎŎ|H́LLH‖H́LLH|ĹH̆
Greater Asclepiad	ŎŎ|H́LLH‖H́LLH‖H́LLH|ĹH̆
Hipponactean	ŎŎ|H́LLH|ĹH̆H
Aeolic tetrametre	ŎŎ|H́LL|H́LLH|ĹH̆
Aeolic pentametre	ŎŎ|H́LL|H́LL|H́LLH|ĹH̆

The (non-initial) feet division and the (non-initial) ictus positions are by now the matter of a great debate (as well as the verse nature itself being it rising, ascending vs. falling, descending), but the "idle" initial foot is what just interests us. And the most striking feature of the Aeolic Greek is its quasi-initial, recessive accent (*barytonēsis*) which is responsive for the leading double-*anceps* in a set of Aeolic verse models.

3a. A step aside the initial / recessive word stress — and the *Aeolic base* becomes a simple spondee (or, debatedly, a spondee / trochee), as by, e.g. Horace:

Pherecratean (the second)	H́H̆|H́LLH|H̆ (or, debatedly, ...|X̆)
Glyconic	H́H̆|H́LLH|ĹH̆ (or, debatedly, ...|ĹX̆)
Lesser Asclepiad	H́H̆|H́LLH‖H́LLH|ĹH̆ (....|ĹX̆)
Greater Asclepiad	H́H̆|H́LLH‖H́LLH‖H́LLH|ĹH̆ (....|ĹX̆)

[where "H̆X̆" is for an "X" as discussed for being instead of a "H"]

4. So, different kinds of *basēs Aeolicae* as verse line features, or "idle" feet, are produced by (differently organized) *leftmost* accent / stress positioning in given languages.

5. Expecting very much from (currently unavailable for me) [Kerék 1971]...

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P. Plecháč, R. Kolár 2017 — Петр Плехач, Роберт Колар. *Точные методы в чешском стиховедении* [Formal Methods in Czech Theory of Verse] // Труды Института русского языка им. В. В. Виноградова . XI . Славянский стих⍰. Ч. I⍰ [Proceedings of the V. V. Vinogradov Russian Language Institute . XI . Slavic Verse⍰. Pt. I⍰] / Российская Академия наук . Институт русского языка имени В. В. Виноградова [Russian Academy of Sciences .

	V. V. Vinogradov Russian Language Institute] / Главный редактор А. М. Молдован [Editor-in-Chief Alexander M. Moldovan] . Москва [Moscow] ⏻: Издательство «Нестор-История» [“Nestor-Historia (-History)” Publ.]⏻ . Pp. 31–43. (In Russian, transl. from Czech.)
17:30–18:00	–
18:00–19:00	Happy hour – D389

Friday 14 September

Location: University Campus

	Plenary session
	Room *De Geersalen* Geovetenskapens hus (Geography Building)
9:00–10:00	Dell, François CNRS Paris Benini, Romain Université Paris-Sorbonne **The relationship between grammatical structure and metrical structure in Jean Racine's verse** Like other poetic traditions, classical French verse shows a strong tendency for metrical boundaries to coincide with grammatical ones. This tendency, which the French call 'concordance', was strongest in 17th century poetry. We report on concordance in *Britannicus*, a play by Jean Racine (1639-1699) that consists of 884 rhymed couplets in alexandrine meter. Although our discussion deals with alexandrine couplets, our conclusions should in principle carry over to the other metrical forms of classical French verse. In our analysis, concordance has two components which we call cohesion and congruence. Cohesion constraints impose limitations on the kinds of grammatical constituents that can straddle metrical boundaries. Congruence apply to the location of a constituent's right edge when that constituent straddles a metrical boundary. Assuming that grammatical structure includes two kinds of constituent structure, syntactic structure and prosodic structure, we show that the grammatical constituents that play a central role in concordance are those of prosodic structure, although reference to syntactic structure cannot be completely avoided. Concerning cohesion, we propose a principled explanation for the fact that the grammatical breaks that are allowed at the end of a line are a subset of those allowed at the mid-line caesura. Concerning congruence, we state two empirical generalizations encompassing all three metrical constituents (half-line, line, couplet) and we argue that a violation of congruence is actually a stress mismatch between the syllable at the metrical boundary where the violation occurs and the rightmost stressed syllable in the smallest grammatical constituent that straddles that metrical boundary. Works cited: Cornulier, 1995: *Art Poëtique. Notions et problèmes de métrique*. Lyon: Presses Universitaires de Lyon. Cornulier, 2000: 'La place de l'accent et l'accent à sa place', in Michel Murat, ed., *Le vers français. Histoire, théorie, esthétique*, 56-91.

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10:00-10:30	Coffee break

	Session 1
	Room Y22 Geovetenskapens hus (Geography Building)
10:30–11:00	Cooper, Andrew Stockholm University **Three-digit numbers in Old English metrical verse** This talk addresses the metrical status of long numbers in OE verse and, by extension, other syntactic phrases longer than two prosodic words, when they extend over metrical structures larger than two verse feet. Old English metrical verse is typified by lines comprising four prominent metrical positions identified by stresses and joined by alliteration. Unstressed positions are arranged around the stressed positions. A point in the middle line features a syntactic break, with two prominent positions in each half-line. Aside from these key features, lines vary dramatically in length, in the relative position of prominent syllables and in alliterative patterns. These variations are produced by the interaction of metre, syntax and vocabulary choice. The interaction between syntax and metre has been seen as a key problem in determining both the metrical and the syntactic rules of OE verse composition (e.g. Pintzuk, 2001). This has been compounded by the fact that stressed words come from classes which allow a much flexibility in synonymy, and therefore it can seldom be argued why one word should be chosen above another. This problem is avoided by using numbers. As a closed class, numbers can be heavily compounded, but not replaced. As numbers of this kind do not appear in *Beowulf*, their metrical structure has not been heavily studied. *Genesis A* includes close translations of bible sections which include these large numbers. In prose, the order of numbers is very fixed (von Mengden, 2010). However, in *Genesis* and other poetic texts, various arrangements of the elements of these compound numbers are found. This variation can be shown to be the result of accommodating interacting metrical and syntactic constraints.

	It is shown that units and tens remain together, as these as a unit always produce a viable verse. Hundreds have the metrical value of a compound and can therefore occupy one foot, or the prominent positions of two feet. From the divergence between the source and target text, several solutions for how numbers are rearranged are revealed. These are shown to reflect the rearrangement of other large syntactic structures, such as coordinated noun phrases. Other features of verse are highlighted by this treatment. In particular, there appears to be a strong dispreference for identity alliteration in *Genesis A,* so that the age of Methuselah, at 969 is rendered *nigonhund och seofontig to* ('near to 970'), while Lamech's age 777 is not rendered at all.
11:00–11:30	Minkova, Donka University of California, Los Angeles **The interaction of prosodic, metrical, and cultural influences in early English meters** Keywords: generative metrics, prosodic change, variation in literary poetics, cultural influence Early English verse offers the closest approximation to the poets' and audiences' intuitions about the properties of the linguistic structures mapped onto a metrical template. Saintsbury's characteristically arch statement: 'every language has the prosody it deserves' (1923: 404), is an early articulation of the relatedness of linguistic properties to the choice of metrical form. The principle of 'fit', as articulated in Hanson and Kiparsky (1996: 294) states that 'Languages select meters in which their entire vocabularies are usable in the greatest variety of ways.' Poetic compositions thus attest to the speakers' untutored, intuitive knowledge of how their language can be tailored to fit various verse designs, allowing them to replicate existing forms, adopt, or generate new ones. My proposed presentation addresses the transition from alliterative to syllable counting and rhyming versification in English, spanning roughly the 8th to the 14th century, culminating in the Chaucerian iambic pentameter. The goal of the study is to assess the relative weight of three distinct factors affecting that early stage in the history of English verse: phonological change, the typological stability and continuity of the basic elements of meter, and the impact of external, culturally imposed metrical templates. One prosodic factor in this triangulation is the increased predictability of vowel quantity affecting the stress-to-weight relations as manifested in the meters, inviting a comparison in the treatment of resolution in *Beowulf,* to, *possibly,* the Middle English *Poema Morale* (Fulk 2002), and its absence in that form in post-13th century templates. A second factor is the status of stress assignment, and specifically the increased tolerance for violations of NON-FINALITY, traditionally (Lehmann 1956/1971) linked to the switch from alliteration to rhyme as the parametrical organizing principle of the verse line. Taking its cue from this is the third section which covers the early history of isosyllabicity and rhyming in Britain, exploring the legacy of Bede (672- 735) and Aldhelm (d. 639 - 709) as early conduits of "external" metrical models, paving the way for the rapid adoption and straightforward modification of some Continental templates after the 12th century. Ultimately, while the prosody-meter connection remains beyond doubt, the study offers an alternative to a historical account relying heavily on 'the damage inflicted on the meter by language change' (Russom 2017: 130) by bringing to the fore elements of continuity and innovation unrelated to language change.

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11:30–12:00	Russom, Geoffrey Brown University **Reconstructing a Dead Performance Style** Keywords: generative metrics, cognitive poetics, metrical performance Old English alliterative poetry was sometimes accompanied by a round lyre with six strings. This instrument has been excavated from archaeological sites in the West Germanic area and good modern replicas are available for experimentation. We have no other information worth mentioning about the original performance style. Reconstructing the Old English pitch collections seems hopeless, in part because the lyre has a high bridge. With a few minutes' practice, a guitarist can play any desired scale by applying pressure to a string as necessary between the bridge and the tailpiece. We have better evidence for reconstructing the Old English performance rhythm. First and most obviously, there is metrical evidence. Alliterative meter imposed special linguistic constraints on the poetic line, and we would expect a traditional performance style to be influenced in some way by these constraints. Research on prominent rhythmical trends can also provide useful guidance (Lerdahl and Jackendoff 1983). If independent metrical evidence points toward duple rhythm, for example, it will be worthwhile to try a reconstructive thought experiment in a widely used time signature like 4/4. The alliterative line consists of two verses (or half-lines) separated by a caesura. Verses are normally realized as natural syntactic units. Each verse has two metrical feet, and each

	foot has the pattern of an Old English word (Russom 1987, 1998, 2017). The verse has no regular linguistic rhythm. Its extremely diverse phonological contours are secondary consequences of constraints on morphology and syntax. There is one strongly preferred verse pattern, however, and it is a promising candidate for the rhythmical norm. It consists of two feet with the most common morphological pattern, the trochaic pattern created by a long stressed root syllable followed by an unstressed inflection. This verse pattern, appropriately called "type A1" by Eduard Sievers, is a metrical analogue of 4/4 time.

    We can define 4/4 time as a sequence of four beats with the prominence contour 1/3/2/4, 1 being highest. The evidence of alliteration, which is universally associated with linguistic prominence, points toward a similar prominence contour in type A1. Alliteration is obligatory on the first metrical position, optional on the third, and ruled out on the second and fourth. For my reconstructive thought experiment, I assume that type A1 is the most direct realization of the performance rhythm and that other types are aligned with a 1/3/2/4 pattern of rhythmical beats. The general rule for performance is quite simple:

Maximize alignment of metrical prominence with rhythmical prominence.

The main body of this paper explains how the performance rule applies within each of the attested verse patterns. I conclude by reciting a brief passage from *Beowulf* that includes a good sample of patterns.

Lerdahl, Fred, and Ray Jackendoff. 1983. *A Generative Theory of Tonal Music.* MIT Press.
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12:00–13:30	Lunch break (see homepage for campus food outlets)
	Room E319 Södra huset (Main Building)
13:30–14:00	Skulacheva, Tatyana Russian Academy of Sciences Kruglova, Anastasia Russian University for Humanities Smirnova, Olga Moscow State University **Syntax and Pauses in a verse line (English, French, Spanish, Russian)** Keywords: linguistics of verse, syntax of a verse line, pauses in a verse line, prosodic breaks

When Shwarzenegger tries to show that he is not a human being but a robot or cyborg, he starts to speak with similar pauses between words, and people immediately realize, that this is not a human being. The length of pauses between words is different in human speech and is dependant on syntax. We have found regularities which determine strength of syntactic ties and the length of pauses in different parts of a verse line. It has been proven statistically that the strength of prosodic breaks differs in different parts of a verse line. We use classification of syntactic ties by Gasparov-Skulacheva, made specially for this type of work. Stronger syntactic ties occur closer to the beginning and, especially, the end of a line, and the weakest ties occur in the middle of a line. Same happens to the pauses, as they are strongly dependent on syntax: short pauses or no pauses closer to the beginning and end of a line, longer pauses in the middle of a line. The loosest syntactic ties and longest pauses occur between lines. Pauses between lines mark the division of verse into lines – the main, most stable difference between verse and prose. Words are tied stronger close to the beginning and especially the end of a line in order to produce contrast between close connection of words near the borders of a line and loose connection between lines. Also, as in classical verse length of a line doesn't vary seriously throughout the text it is unlikely that we will mistake a long pause in the middle of the line for a break between lines, while it is much easier to tear away a word at the beginning or the end of a line when reading if it would be separated by a long pause from the rest of a line. So the distribution of strong and weak syntactic ties on the one hand and short and long pauses on the other hand serves to preserve a line as one unity, which is very important for verse as division into lines is the most important peculiarity of verse structure which differs it from prose. These regularities are almost similar for verse lines in four European languages (English, French, Spanish, Russian) which we have studied by now, occur in syllabic-accentual, syllabic, accentual, free verse of 18-20 centuries irrespective of period or literary trend. There are also minor peculiarities of distribution of ties in a verse line, typical of particular languages, periods, literary trends.

The functioning of pauses at the end of the verse line is also described: syntactic pauses typical for a particular tie are predictably lengthened between lines, and the extent to which they are lengthened depends on the type of the tie.

14:00–14:30	DeSisto, Mirella Meertens Institute **Typology of Romance Renaissance meter. Phonology explaining poetic variation** Keywords: Romance Renaissance meter, meter and phonology, poetic variation, typology of meter During Renaissance, a new poetic trend spread among different European poetic traditions. The way of implementing the new meter varied from language to language. Even within the poetry of Romance languages, poetic forms varied significantly from each other. The aim of this talk is to make a typology of Romance meters and to give a phonological account of metrical variation. The focus will be on phenomena contributing to language variation and processes determining the prominence of the phonological phrase domain, such as resyllabification and stress culminativity.

Typology. A typology of Romance Renaissance meter reveals a great deal of variation and divergences. Only two are the aspects, which are common across the poetic forms, namely the presence of some sort of mid-line break (usually after the 4th or the 6th position) and an obligatory line-final prominent position (the 12th in French alexandrine and the 10th in every other tradition). The number of differences, instead, is much larger. Regarding the mid-line break, only French and Catalan present an obligatory and strongly marked caesura; while in the other traditions the mid-line break is not as strongly marked and, in Italian and Spanish, in particular, it can be either after the 4th or the 6th position. In addition, the correspondence between mid-line break and syntactic break varies too: it is very strict in French, less strict in Italian, Spanish and Portuguese; in Catalan, instead, the correspondence does not seem to be obligatory (Duffell 1994). The tendency towards either isosyllabism or iambic rhythm divides the poetic forms in three groups, namely, purely isosyllabic poetry of French alexandrine (Dinu 1993), meter tending towards iambic rhythm of Italian and Spanish endecasyllable (Nespor & Vogel 1986, Piera 1980, Gasparov 1987) and the one tending towards isosyllabicity of Catalan and Portuguese decasyllable (Duffell 1994, Spiaggiari 2003, respectively). The picture further complicates when including other varieties, such as Italian dialects.

Proposal. Starting from the assumption that meter needs to be adjusted to the language phonological structure, I propose a phonological account for the investigation of variation. It has been observed that there is some kind of correspondence between the syllable-timing vs. stress-timing distinction (Ramus et al 1999) and the poetic choices of a language. This correspondence can somehow account for the cases of French, Spanish and Italian: syllable-timed languages (Ramus et al 1999) with a strong syllabic element in their poetry (the difference between the French and the other two forms being due to the lack of word stress in French (Féry 2001)). It can also explain why stress-timed languages like English and Dutch implemented Renaissance meter into a quite different meter from the one of their syllable-timed sources, namely a strictly iambic foot-based one. However, it cannot account for the fact that Catalan, with a rather mixed system (Ramus et al 1999) and Portuguese, which went from being syllable-timed to stress-timed (Parkinson 1988), present an almost isosyllabic type of poetry. The same situation is attested in Neapolitan poetry, which does not have a strong iambic rhythm, while being written in a stress-timed language (Ledgeway 2009). We would expect, instead, to find a meter similar to the one developed in stress-timed languages like English and Dutch. The answer to this issue, I argue, is to be found by considering the environment of action of two elements, resyllabification (Nespor & Vogel 1986) and stress: the former occurs and the second is culminative within the domain of the phonological phrase (Dell 1984, Nespor 1988, Hayes 1995). The prominence of the phonological phrase in Romance languages preserves their difference from other stress-timed languages. A typology of Romance meters in relation to phonological characteristics of the languages contributes to the understanding of variation across poetic traditions.

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14:30–15:00	Lotman, Mihhail

University of Tartu, Tallinn University

Meter, prosody and poetic licence

keywords: prosody, poetic licence, system of versification

A typology of verse forms usually either draws from the qualities of metre or prosody or treats these factors without differentiation. I offer a typology which distinguishes between metrical systems, prosodic systems and systems of versification. The latter concept is not often used in Anglo-American versification studies. According to my definition, systems of versification are sets of rules, which match elements and units with linguistic structures. Ideally, metrical and linguistic elements are harmonized in verse and the ideal of the 19th century Romanticist poetry was that from the viewpoint of language, metrical composition is as natural as possible. Nevertheless, the perfect harmony is seldom achieved, already the mandatory division to verses and stanzas is a certain violence toward language. However, first of all, it applies to the so-called poetic licences. |
| 15:00–15:45 | Coffee Break |
| **15:45–16:15** | Kazartev, Evgeny

National Research University

Typology of Prosody in Iambic Verse

Keywords: Iambic verse, prosody and meter; Dutch, Flemish, English, German, Russian and Ukrainian poetry

Iambic versification was established in several European poetry traditions in the early modern period. It first developed in England and then on the Continent, above all in Brabant and |

Flanders. The iamb was perceived there as a new form of syllabo-tonic poetry, based directly on models from antiquity, in contrast to mediaeval purely syllabic or purely tonic verse. Flemish and Brabantian poets elaborated new forms of iambic verse which were later to serve as models for verse reform in other countries, in Northern Netherlands and later, in the 1620s-40s, in Germany. The main meters developed in the Netherlands and then exported to neighboring countries were the iambic tetrameter and hexameter.

The use of English iambic pentameter became a tradition on the European continent much later, at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth. The English iambic verse differed from the Dutch not only in the use of pentameter, as opposed to tetrameter and hexameter, but also in a higher degree of the rhythmical freedom. The form of iambic verse that developed initially in the Netherlands and then in Germany was characterized by a more exact metrical structure than in England. The Continental iambic verse (*our term, E. K.*) rejected a fair number of the "liberties" permissible in English verse. Unlike the English, the Continental iamb adhered to the metrical scheme more strictly, maintaining a consistent syllable count per line.

The further development of iambic verse in the Netherlands imposed a ban on metrical accent shifts, and poets during the Golden Age of Dutch literature avoided them entirely. However, some light forms of stress shifting were also possible in later Dutch poetry. Among German poets any stress shift was prohibited. German iambic verse is the best example of Continental syllabo-tonicism with an emphatic, very pronounced cadence of strong and weak positions. The prosodic realization of ictuses becomes more nuanced, in part because differing degrees of stress fall on rhythm-forming elements—chiefly with the help of semi-stressed syllables (secondary stresses) in compound words and in verbs with separable prefixes. Omissions of metrical stresses occur rarely, although omissions on the last ictus are allowed.

Iambic versification spread over all of northern Europe, initially in Silesia, East Prussia, and Riga, as well as in Denmark and Sweden. On the whole, a stricter type of this versification arose on the Continent. German iamb can be considered as the apex of such versification. Amidst the significant changes that took place in Northeastern Europe in the aftermath of the Great Northern War, Russia entered the sphere of Baltic culture. Russia's expansion to the Western Europe fostered an environment conducive to importing new forms of versification into Russian literature. Their advent and dissemination in Russia significantly influenced the composition of Polish and Ukrainian iambic poetry.

The Russian iambs, in its initial stage, built on the experience of the Continental (German) syllabo-tonic tradition. But then, the using this model went in quite a different direction. Ultimately, having completely overcome the influence of German type of iamb, the Russian verse becomes more rhythmical freedom. Ukrainian iamb, like Russian, developed a high level of freedom in realizing meter. The percentage of fully-stressed lines is very close to that of Russian verse. But the Ukrainian iamb, unlike Russian, in certain cases also allowed shifts of metrical stress, and because of it, its prosody looks more like English iambs.

| 16:15–16:45 | Ekgren, Jacqueline Pattison

Ekgren Musikkinstitutt

When music adapts to the text: two stresses in a half-line provide a flexible pattern governing the living oral tradition of Norwegian stev

Keywords: two-stress half-line, dipod, rhythmic flexibility, accentual verse, oral tradition |

Text-setting i.e. the alignment of text to music, is an interesting topic. In performance of Norwegian stev one finds that a stev-melody is elastically fitted to various texts of accentual verse. A key to this flexibility seems to be the predominant metric pattern of two stresses in a half-line, sometimes referred to as "dipod" or a "two-pulse".

Norwegian stev are one-stanza songs sung throughout centuries especially in the regions of Setesdal and Telemark. This living oral tradition is now thought to connect over a millennium in an unbroken line with Old Norse poetry. Texts abound while melodies are few: 20 000 nystev use 43 melodies, and 5 000 gamalstev use 5 melodies. The stev stanza has four lines, with four stresses per line in nystev, whereas gamalstev have a pattern of 4-3-4-3 stresses ("ballad meter").

Norwegian stev when sung-recited, kveding , have great flexibility which may be a key to the survival of the tradition through centuries:

1. The stev performer, a kvedar , has only a handful of traditional melodies to choose from, but which fit an abundance of texts. Melodies and texts are interchangeable.
2. Stev-performance has an irregular rhythm, yet a predictable stress pattern.
3. The performer can stretch out the melody to emphasize the text and also to accomodate any extra syllables in a half-line.
4. Within each half-line, the phrasing and duration of the melody may vary considerably.

Stev-performance can be perceived as accentual poetry with a complex meter, closer to free verse than to rigid meters. The phenomenon of two stresses in a half-line may be useful for performing poetry where the oral tradition is lost, such as the visuorð in Old Norse poetry, and possibly in Old English such as epic poetry like "Beowulf". The two stresses in a half-line seem also to thrive today in musicals and jazz standards such as "Summertime" and "September Song".

The flexibility of expression in Norwegian stev is readily demonstrated through performance. Stev will be performed.

16:45–17:00	Break

	Session 2
	Room Y23 Geovetenskapens hus (Geography Building)
10:30–11:00	Arjava, Heini University of Helsinki **Clashes of segment length in the textsetting of Finnish songs** Keywords: textsetting, syllable length, quantity language, song corpus The first notable subfields of music linguistic study included ethnomusicology and abstract comparisons between language and music (e.g. Lerdahl & Jackendoff 1983). Empirical approaches, including experimental phonetics and corpus linguistics, which focus on the

composing and the textsetting of song texts, are a more recent development (see Literature for references).

Studies of the rhythmic alignment in songs have often focused on misalignments of stress-accent prominence in weight-sensitive European languages, but in a musically less studied quantity language like Finnish, the length distinctions may play an even more important role in the perception of meaning and well-formedness. In Finnish, segment length is both phonemic and phonologically independent of stress (although Suomi and Ylitalo (2004) found some phonetic extra lengthening on the syllables with primary stress); therefore, it seems probable that Finnish song writers will pay special attention to the length alignment in music, which typically features a wide range of length distinctions.

Using a manually collected corpus of Finnish song translations representing different genres of post-medieval Western art music, I study the prosodic clashes between music and text, focusing on the clashes of segment length (i.e. lengths of notes, sound segments, and syllables). Clashes are clearest in the cases where the rhythmic range of music exceeds that of the prototypical binary feet of poetry. A linguistically neutral rhythm with binary musical length positions is presented in the Liberman- 1975-style metrical grid (1a), where syllables of different length do not create conspicuous clashes. On the other hand, the grid (1b) features clashes with short syllables on notes that are longer than a neutral half-beat, and (1c) clashes with very long (three-moraic) syllables on particularly short notes.

(1a)
```
x
x                               x
x               x               x               x
x       x       x       x       x       x       x       x
Ta      tan     tan     ta      tan     ta      taan    ta
```

(1b)
```
x
x                               x
x               x               x               x
x       x       x       x       x       x       x       x
ta      _       _       _       ta      _       _       _
```

(1c)
```
x
x                                       x
x                       x               x               x
x           x           x           x           x       x           x           x
x x     x x     x x     x x     x x     x x     x x     x x
Taan taan taan taan taan taan taan taan [...]
```

Short syllables (CV or V) represent over 40% of standard Finnish syllables (Hakulinen et al. 2004), but the preliminary analysis of my pilot data (ca. 1300 song syllables) shows a notably lower 28% proportion ($p < 0,05$). At the other end of the singability scale, on the other hand, the most extendable syllables with two nucleus vowels and no coda consonant ((C)VV) show a slight bias when compared to that of non-musical Finnish (17% to 14%, $p < 0,05$). These comparisons give tentative support that musical length and avoidance of clashes affect the choice of syllable length in Finnish songs.

I will extend the discussion to possible correlations between the length, stress prominence, and sonority hierarchies of segment chains in the songs. The music linguistic

study of a quantity language in general can give intriguing insights on how stress and length interact and compete in cases of conflicting pressures.

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11:00–11:30	Premat, Timothée
	University Paris 8 and CNRS
	Match it like a trouvère! Alignment between text and music prominences in the trouvères' writing
	Keywords: textsetting; prominence setting; trouvères; prosodic, metrical and musical constituency; medieval French music and metrics.
	The *troubadours* and *trouvères'* music represents the first corpus containing vernacular texts with scores in the Gallo-Roman area. These were written in medieval Occitan and northern

French (*oïl*) respectively. Therefore, the *trouvères'* corpus provides us with the opportunity of studying the first occurrence of textsetting in the French tradition of song poetry.

One of the key features of medieval French prosody and metrics is the treatment of the schwa placed after the accent. Atonic schwas at the end of a word are regularly deleted before an initial vowel inside a metrical constituent, while at the end of a metrical constituent they are declared 'extra-metrical'. Extra-metrical syllables are pronounced but not 'counted' for the establishment of the isosyllabism of the line (CORNULIER 2010). This behaviour provides the lines of medieval French with an alternating length. For instance, a *décasyllabe* may be composed of 10, 11 or 12 pronounced syllables but only 10 ten of them can be metrical ones. Ergo, metrical (and prosodic) constituents are either oxytonic or paroxytonic.

By default, the music of the *trouvères* doesn't get an equivalent extra-metrical possibility. Indeed, the modal musical theory requires the final note of a piece to indicate the pitch on which the harmony is built. To a lesser extent, this is also applicable to the last note of any musical sentence. Such a final note is called *finalis*. Adopting some features from LERDHAL & JACKENDOFF's (1987) generative analysis, a *finalis* always gets the higher hierarchical status and the higher prominence. Consequently, musical constituents are, at an underlying level, always oxytonic.

It has been demonstrated in other corpora that text and music have a tendency to associate their prominences. Such a tendency is even sometimes a rule (DELL & HALLE 2009). As musical constituents are oxytonic, this condition is fulfilled when textual constituents are oxytonic also. But what happens when a paroxytonic textual constituent is aligned with a musical oxytonic one? This is the question I aim to answer.

Based on a systematic annotation of musical and textual prominences of 16 songs, this work provides a clear typology of the different configurations of alignment and non-alignment of the prominences at the end of the line and of mid-line constituents. It also provides elements about the derivation from an underlined oxytonic musical structure to a surface paroxytonic structure. Statistical analysis on the distribution of these configurations will serve to establish a constraints-based theory of the prominences setting.

The results of this work (cf. fig. 1) are that the constraint mentioned is naturally fulfilled in 62% of the musico-textual lines, because these lines are oxytonic. It is also fulfilled in 16% of the musico-textual lines because the music derives its underlying oxytonic structure into a paroxytonic surface structure to match with the presence of paroxytonic lines. However, 23% of the musico-textual lines shows a conflicting situation, in which the prominences are not associated together. At the level of the half musico-textual lines, this constraint fades off and only 48% of the associations are not conflictual. We analyse it as a sign of the ongoing weakening of the structural analogy between a mid-line cæsura's prominence and a rime's prominence.

Our corpus is given by:
ROSENBERG, S., SWITTEN, M. & LE VOT, G. (1998). *Songs of the Troubadours and Trouvères: an anthology of poems and melodies*. New York et London: Garland.

Figure:

Fig. 1: statistics about prominences alignment

	Rime's alignment	Mid-line alignment
☐ Alignment ipso facto	☐ Alignment by derivation	☐ Conflict

| 11:30–12:00 | Delente, Éliane

Normandy University

Concordance between rhythm and meaning in French poetry

Keywords : rhythm and meaning, concordance, discordance, metrical forms, enjambment

This study scrutinizes the relationships between regular rhythm (metrics) and language in French poetry. Although metrics and meaning are independent principles, we notice that they tend to develop together in a consistent way, which is called concordance -variable according to the period and the poets. This study focuses specifically on French poetry but there is no reason why it could not apply to other poetic traditions.

We notice that current works do not deal with the function of concordance. They only consider enjambment -when rhythm and meaning are discordant. Most of this research, mainly conducted within the generative framework, neglect the different levels of metrical regularities and are limited to identifying the type of linguistic boundary at the end of the verse. Although this is necessary, this proves to be just one parameter at one metrical level. Moreover, taking into account this single parameter leads them to identify a number of questionable enjambments due to an overgeneration. Finally, they are unable to explain a number of regular phenomena at the scale of the entire poem, such as those mentioned below. This research is not satisfying because it is based on units of a linguistic nature -either syntactic or phonological (Kiparsky 1977, Hayes 1989, Blumenfeld 2016).

In contrast to this linguistic approach, we defend a rhythmic approach. We assume that all expressions that are perceived / built by the reader as equivalent are metrical expressions. A "metrical expression" is neither the only metrical structure nor the only syntactic or phonological structure but a section of discourse already rhythmic. Metrical expressions are perceived over the reading, in time and occur at different levels -hemistich, verse, stanza's module and stanza (Tsur 1998, Cornulier 1982, 1995, 2000). These are these metrical expressions that make up the object of metrics. Instead of describing enjambment in terms of linguistic boundary, we try to describe the metrical expressions themselves, according they are convergent or divergent.

We put forward the hypothesis that concordance between rhythm and meaning is necessary for the reader to perceive metrical regularities. This hypothesis allows us to predict a number of outstanding characteristics of versified writing.

First, we must expect that concordance is massively represented whereas, in comparison, discordance must be a rather limited phenomenon. Since this is what we observe, end-

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stopped lines and run-on lines cannot be simply viewed as if they were two optional types of verses.

Secondly, we must expect that discordance is constrained. Indeed, we observe that frequency and strength of enjambments are related to the metrical level where they occur. All things being equal, the higher the level, the more enjambment is avoided.

Thirdly, after a discordance, we must expect that concordance is most of the time restored in a non-random way. Indeed, whatever the metrical level considered, we notice that, in compound metrical expressions, initial metrical expression -and medial one, if any- may be quite trivially divergent at its end whereas terminal metrical expression is most of the time convergent. Sometimes, enjambment may even suggest a concordant interpretation with specific semantic, pragmatic or rhetorical effects.

To conclude, enjambment cannot be reduced to a minor poetic phenomenon that is to be pointed out and to be described locally. It must be studied in the framework of concordance that appears to be a fundamental issue of any versified writing. This issue may be developed as part of a theoretical discussion between generative metrics and cognitive poetics.

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12:00–13:30	Lunch break (see homepage for campus food outlets)
	Room E487 Södra huset (Main Building)
13:30–14:00	Belousova, Anastasia National University of Colombia **Without Petrarchism: Notes on the Reception of Italian Verse Forms in Russia[1]** Keywords: Comparative Metrics, History of Verse, Verse Semantics The influence of Petrarchism on the history of European poetry is well known: the evolution of European love lyrics of the 16th - early 17th century is determined by the reception of the *Canzoniere*. Pietro Bembo and his supporters in Italy, the poets of the Pléiade in France, Thomas Wyatt and Henry Howard in England, Juan Boscán and Garcilaso de la Vega in Spain represent only few examples of this large cultural movement. In Russia, however, Petrarch got fame much later, and it's generally accepted that there was no real Russian Petrarchism. It can be easily explained in the context of the particular characteristics of the Russian literature history: until the middle of the 17th century Russia knew only oral poetry, book verse culture did not exist. On the other hand, poetic culture of the 18th century was differently oriented, and Petrarch got remarkable attention only during the Golden Age of Russian Poetry[2]. Speaking about Petrarchism, we are speaking not only about themes and meanings of the Petrarch lyric poetry, the repertoire of metrical forms and their connotations in European poetic traditions are also determined by this major influence. Petrarchism determines the presence of Italian verse forms in general (including *ottava rima* and *terza rima*, for example), not only the forms canonized in the *Canzoniere*. In the situation of the absence of the Petrarchist movement Russian poetry met and received Italian verse forms much later and through mediation of other European traditions, which means that they are modified by a series of overlapping influences. As a result the semantics and the use of Italian verse forms in Russia differ significantly from other European tradition, and the present report will discuss these features with examples of sonnet, *ottava rima* and *terza rima*. [1] The work is supported by the Russian Science Foundation grant 17-18-01701. [2] On history of Petrarch in Russia see: I. Pilshchikov, 'Petrarka v Rossii: (Ocherk istorii vospriiatiia)', Petrarka v russkoi literature, Moscow 2006, kn. 1, 15-40.

14:00–14:30	Brandt, Per Aage Case Western Reserve University Cronquist, Ulf Gothenburg University **Metrics and the Blending Mind** Keywords: Semiotic metrics, blending, verse and enunciation In versed poetry, the line is a complex basic unit. It comprises *linguistic* structures stemming from the sound profiles of words and phrases, possibly cut off by the line end but grounded in the sequence of its syllables, long or short, stressed, unstressed or medially stressed, its vocalic and consonantic qualities, and even the semantic weight of its words and phrases. These sound-and-meaning qualities of the verse then create patterns from verse to verse that overdetermine the profiling *Gestalt* of each verse. Among these overdetermining patterns there is one which is reinforced by the *musical* dispositions of the human ear, namely the rhythmic resonance. Linguistic structures often give rise to forms of non-linguistic resonance, such as those that make rhetoric an esthetic art; in poetry, this phenomenon is even stronger in that the non-linguistic, *metric* scaffoldings of rhythm, as unfolding in the formal profiles (*Gestalts)* that are carried over between verses, are foregrounded by their repetitions and deviations and eventually feed back into the linguistic domain as requirements for subsequent worded filling of new lines. This process, as forceful in free verse as in classical genres of poetry, can be described as a cognitive *blending* of linguistic and metric inputs – separated in the minds of writers, performers, and hearers – that map beats onto syllables and the feeling of singing onto the feeling of speaking. The blend of metric and intonational sequenceing in verse-after-verse creates a momentary fusion of these feelings: the flow is both musical to some extent and argumentative to some extent, but neither entirely. Blends of this kind are stabilized by the projection of meaning from the situational instance of poetic performance (and writing or reading, as mental simulations of such performance). The stabilizing supplement of meaning is a *schematization* of the intrinsically unstable blend as a symbolic act of some kind. Poems are thus schematized as declarative acts, acts of admonition, regret, confession, emotional expression, etc. The complex affective meaning of poetry can therefore be understood as the result of the processes of cognitive blending that determine poetic enunciation.
14:30–15:00	Paterson, David Matsuyama University **Stepping to the music of a different drummer** Keywords: text-setting, song, music, Japanese, English In a year when the hosts of the conference are celebrating cultural connections with Japan, this paper will compare musical text-setting of the Japanese language with that of English and the challenges posed by differences between them for writers and performers working in both. The presenter will draw from his experience in composition (setting Japanese lyrics as

a non-native speaker), song-writing in translation (rewriting Japanese lyrics in English) and phonology (coaching Japanese singers in their pronunciation of English), as well as his ongoing research as applied linguist and EFL lecturer into the myriad connections between music and language.

Taking the correlation between linguistic intonation and stress and musical melody and rhythm as a starting point, specific examples from various genres will be introduced, illustrating contrasts in the setting of mora- and stress-timed languages (Japanese and English respectively) and the problems that can arise from the application of the accepted norms of one to the other. What may be considered natural and thus minor details can have a surprisingly significant effect on the ease of both oral production for the performer and aural comprehensibility for the listener. Word division, the presence or absence of syllabic stress, and incompatible phonetic transcription represent some of the potential pitfalls that will be identified and subject to brief analysis.

With the habitual use of English within the lyrics of J-pop songs, the resurgence in popularity of karaoke, and the appeal of English-speaking popular culture nearing saturation point, there would appear to be numerous areas in which the conflation of text and music is of particular interest in the Japanese context, and that the insights gained from its study may have a variety of implications for success or failure in the work of all those participating in it, whichever drummer's music they originally step to.

15:00–15:45	Coffee Break

15:45–16:15	Radhakrishnan, Mahesh

Universidade de Lisboa

Sri Lanka Portuguese straight *báyla* verses

Keywords: Sri Lanka Portuguese, báyla, singing, Portuguese Burghers

This paper provides a description of Portuguese Burgher song verse based on a current language and music documentation project on Sri Lanka Portuguese (SLP), an endangered creole language now largely spoken only in the east of Sri Lanka. In particular, this paper examines a range of sung verses within a format commonly known as "straight báyla", one of the central and prototypical formats within the Portuguese Burgher performance repertoire. Performers of straight *báyla* as well as other song formats possess a knowledge of canonical verses, sometimes called *kantiiyas,* or "songs", which typically (though not obligatorily) appear in performance. Some of these *kantiiyas* have been dated back to the mid-late nineteenth century (Jackson 1991). Following is one example of a commonly encountered verse sung in straight *báyla* with its translation:

A: ááltu murungeera, nóóna, inchiidu verduura,
B: avóórasu niinas tudu, inchiidu gurduura.
A: The drumstick trees are tall, and they are full (of fruit),
B: Nowadays girls all, (are) full of fat
(slp038_1, 26:52-27:42)

As in the above example, straight báyla verses are almost always couplets. Each line is typically heptameter, often with either thirteen or fourteen syllables, with some exceptions. Assonance in the final syllable of each line is the norm along with occasional alliteration and

repetition of words or phrases. *Báyla* songs cover a range of topics including love and marriage, food and drink, places, everyday life and humorous themes (Jackson 1991, Smith 2010). In performance the couplets are performed ABBA or sometimes AABBA, in other words the lines are sung one after the other (with the first line sometimes repeated) and then again in reverse order. Canonical verses can be subject to textual variations including single-word substitutions, contrasting parallel structures and other kinds of transformations which give the verses a different meaning. The thematic material and poetic elements of the canonical material of straight báyla verses have been traced back to late medieval Portuguese poetic traditions such as the corridinho (Jackson 1991) but within the SLP these elements have been transformed to reflect the realities and concerns of local life (Jackson 1991; Cardoso 2012)

There are particular musical parameters of harmony, melody and rhythm for "straight báyla" though there is a degree of flexibility. The harmony conforms to a specific primary chord pattern and the overall rhythm is six-eight. The melody and textual rhythm employed can vary though it also conforms to a certain set of commonly used melodies and rhythms.

Like the SLP language, Portuguese Burgher song formats such as "straight *báyla*" are highly vulnerable. However, the role of "straight *báyla*" within Burgher cultural life and awareness about their influence on the nationally significant and popular genre of Sri Lankan baila (typically in Sinhala) gives it a potentially enduring quality. This paper will present and analyse several examples of verses of straight *báyla* encountered in sung performance during current fieldwork with the Portuguese Burgher communities in eastern Sri Lanka including canonical verses, some transformations of canonical verses and innovations.

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16:15–16:45	Barwick, Linda
	University of Sydney
	Delivery instances of the Tuscan ottava: the Italian endecasillabo in performance
	Keywords: textsetting, Italian endecasillabo, performance

In the 1990s I undertook ethnographic and musicological documentation of the *maggio garfagnino*, a form of sung popular theatre then performed widely in the Garfagnana valley of northwestern Tuscany (Provincia di Lucca) (Venturelli, 1992). Written in standard Italian (with rare dialectal features) by local authors on chivalrous or epic themes, scripts consist of up to 200 stanzas, read to singers a line at a time by an on-stage prompt. The singer then extemporises a sung performance of the line delivered by the prompt, set to conventional melodies corresponding to the three metrical forms used in the scripts. These comprise the default form 'stanza a maggio' – 4 or 5 ottonari (octosyllabic lines), and two special forms:

the 'arietta' -- quatrains of settenari (heptasyllabic lines); and the 'ottava' – 8-line stanzas of endecasillabi (hendecasyllables) rhyming ABABABCC. Syllable counts are strictly observed in the written texts. My corpus of some 47 Maggio performances (and 25 related musical events) provides a rich pool of over 6000 delivery instances of maggio stanzas.

Systematic heavy use of rubato and extensive melisma mean that, unlike other sung forms analysed by scholars of metrics (Hayes & Kaun 1996, Kiparsky 2006, Proto & Dell 2013), rhythmic delivery cannot be mapped to isochronous musical measures: duration of syllables is influenced by lexical stress, metrical position and requisite scope of the melodic section.

Since the 'Italian endecasillabo' has been of interest to scholars of metrics (e.g. Nespor & Vogel 1986, Hanson 1996, Helsloot 1997, Piera 2008, Versace 2014) as well as Italian literature and music (Abramov-van Rijk 2009, Adamo 2003, Praloran & Tizi 1988), this presentation will focus on the ottava. While each line is always spoken by the prompt without hiatus, the singer delivers it with a mid-line caesura, usually placed at a phonological phrase boundary, in most instances between consecutive vowels (for example: 'Trafiggi con la spada / il mio costato', or 'Licia diletta / è grande lo sconforto'). The former 'a maiori' partition (7+5 syllables, in this case) is far more common than the latter 'a minori' partition (5+7), which is adopted only by a few experienced singers, even when the prosody seemingly demands it.

For example, the following line has a releatively unusual stressed 7th syllable:

Io	non	ti	chié-	do	di_u-	sár-	mi	cle-	mèn-	za
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11

'I don't ask you to render me mercy' (st. 142.7, 'Re Eronte' by Giuseppe Coltelli, 1992).

This challenge represented by this line was tackled differently by two experienced performers. Both eschewed the 'a minori' option 'io non ti chiedo / d'usarmi clemenza' (5+6). One (AB) broke the phonological phrase by inserting the caesura after the 6th syllable 'Io non ti chiedo d'u- / -sarmi clemenza' (6+5), while the other (SF) produced an ametrical version of the line 'io non ti chiedo di_usare / a me clemenza' (8+5). While AB's rendition suggests attention to the melody at the expense of the prosody, SF recasts the line to preserve the phonological phrasing, and the dramatic import of the line, at the expense of the meter.

My primary data provide a wealth of further evidence of the flexibility of Dante's *celeberrimum carmen*, demonstrating that a line can be subject to different metrical and melodic treatments, and hence give rise to diverse delivery instances (Menichetti 1993).

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16:45–17:00	Break

	Session 3
	Room Y21 Geovetenskapens hus (Geography Building)
10:30–11:00	–
11:00–11:30	–
11:30–12:00	–
12:00–13:30	Lunch break (see homepage for campus food outlets)
	Room D389 Södra huset (Main Building)
13:30–14:00	Kolár, Robert Czech Academy of Sciences **Variability of free verse** keywords: free verse; Corpus Verse Studies; stylometry; Czech poetry – 19th and 20th century

There is no free verse in general, but rather its different types which could also differ from one literary tradition to the other (French vs Czech free verse). The presented paper will focus on possibilities of differentiating free verse. In Czech, for instance, we distinguish free verse with/without rhyme and/or with/without stanzas and/or with long/short/heterogeneous (mixture of short and long lines in one poem) lines.

However the presented paper will focus on Czech poetry of the late 19th and beginning of 20th century, especially on poetry of Jaroslav Seifert (1901–1986, Nobel Prize winner in 1984), it will discuss general questions as well.

In his youth, Seifert wrote several polemic poems against another great Czech poet S. K. Neumann (1875–1947). The polemic was rather ideological. If we examine Seifert's free verse used in this period and compare it with Neumann's one, we shall see similarities. It means that Seifert escaped from the influence of his predecessor in one way, but not in the other, which is perhaps less evident.

We should proceed from these observations and examine if these similarities are coincidental. For this purpose we shall build a corpus of texts written in free verse and compare its authors. If we measure the variability of lines' length (counting the number of syllables), we shall see that some authors use very variable free verse, while some others less variable. Then we could for example examine if there is a relation between less variable free verse and stanzaic form of a poem.

But measuring just the variability of lines' length is not sufficient. Based on the variability of lines' length, Seifert's verse is not only close to S. K. Neumann's but also to Otokar Březina (Czech symbolist poet who was, by the way, eight times nominated for the Nobel Prize), whose poetics is very different from Seifert's. Hence, we need another parameter which would enable us to distinguish between Seifert and Březina: the number of syllables in line.

If we take into account all these parameters (variability of lines' length, number of syllables in line, rhyme, stanza) we could distinguish well between the free verse of various authors.

| 14:00–14:30 | Chisholm, David |
| | University of Arizona |

Metrical, Lexical and Semantic Aspects of German Knittelvers

Keywords: Knittelvers, verse form, lexical, semantic, syntactic

German *Knittelvers*, a verse form consisting of 4-stress rhyming couplets, is often described by adjectives such as *holprig* and *höckerig*, which refer to its simple, uneven and seemingly awkward construction, and *komisch, derb, obszön*, referring to its often comical and sometimes obscene or vulgar content. Wolfgang Kayser refers to this verse form as *bieder, volkstümlich, deutsch*. An exact definition of *Knittelvers* is complicated by the fact that descriptions of this verse form since the seventeenth century have been based not only on its metrical structure, but also on some of its lexical, semantic and syntactic characteristics.

In this paper I trace the evolution and development of varying manifestations of German *Knittelvers* from the late eighteenth to the early twenty-first century and give examples of its use in dramatic and non-dramatic literature as well as in advertising, political chants and slogans, rapping, protest songs, and other social contexts such as personal letters, *Faschingsreden* and speeches for special occasions. I will also explore and provide examples of the various means by which Peter Schneider's new allegorical musical revue *Die Drei*

	Billionen Dollar Oper oder Rette sich, wer kann (in which an influential banker named "Meph" uses *Knittelvers* to tempt, mislead, and "infect" a young idealistic stockbroker) blends prose with *Knittelvers* and other verse forms to create a highly ironic, satirical and critical commentary on the world of finance in the early twenty-first century.
14:30–15:00	Frog University of Helsinki **The Finnic Tetrameter (or Kalevala-Meter') as a Metrical Creolization** Keywords: Finnic tetrameter, Old Germanic meter, language contact, cultural influence This paper argues a new theory for the origin of the common Finnic tetrameter (or so-called 'Kalevala-meter'). Historically, the form was syllabic with a trochaic rhythm yielding verses of normally 2–4 words. A distinctive feature is a dual constraint on stressed syllables: lexical stress is on the initial syllable; long stressed syllables should be placed in metrically strong positions and short stressed syllables in metrically weak positions. The latter metricalized contrast between metrical and lexical stress seems counter-intuitive (Ross & Lehiste 2001: 116), and has never been satisfactorily explained. A second distinctive feature is that line-internal alliteration is conventional but not metricalized or mandatory. Current theories of the poetic form's origin focus on the trochaic tetrameter and secondarily seek to explain its distinctive features, brought into focus here. Korhonen revealed the speciousness of earlier theories of a Baltic origin (1994: 82–84; cf. Kuusi 1994) and proposed a language-driven theory that is widely accepted: the levelling of contrast between stressed and unstressed syllables in the transition from Middle Proto-Finnic (MPF) to Late Proto-Finnic (LPF) "created sufficient conditions for the spontaneous emergence of a new metric system" (1994 [1984]: 85). The trochaic rhythm is construed as a more or less automatic formalization of language prosody. An inherited poetic form evolving through language change is incompatible with Korhonen's language-driven theory: MPF phonology reconstructs an accentual meter, excluding any historical relationship to Mordvin syllabic meters (1994: 77–82). The LPF levelling of contrast between stressed and unstressed syllables was likely a precondition for metricalizing contrastive stress (1994: 86), but this extreme language-driven approach is unsound. Contrastive stress is justified as a metrical solution to using words with an odd number of syllables: priority of trochaic rhythm over variable stress placement is presumed (1994: 86). The effect of performance mode on elocution (Collinder 1946: 38), which Leino (1994: 69) links to the emergence of contrastive stress, is overlooked, as is the idiom's conventional solution for meeting metrical needs of modifying words' syllabic structure using diminutive forms, verb affixes, particles, etc. (On the problem of Raivala's theory that contrastive stress emerged to distinguish vowel length in sung performance, see Leino 1994: 61–62.) Leino proposed instead that a preference of long syllables in strong positions led to the metricalization of the opposite, justifying the outcome rather than identifying its motivation. Comparing the Finnic tetrameter with Northern Samoyedic shamanic song meter, Helimski proposed continuity of the trochaic tetrameter from Proto-Uralic, attributing its survival in these languages versus others to their conservative syllabic structure and continuity of ritual use (e.g. 1998: 44–45). His comparison bundles four metrical features as an *a*) isosyllabic, *b*) eight-position, *c*) tetrameter with *d*) trochaic rhythm. Trochaic prosody has been considered common for Uralic languages (Aasmäe et al. 2013: 31), octosyllabic verse has a wide areal distribution for relevant parts of Eurasia (Leisiö 2001), and isosyllabism may

have deep roots in PF (Rüütel 1998). Helimski's theory thus aligns with expectations. A 4-millennium continuity of the four-feature bundle remains speculative; isosyllabism is most confident, while eight-positional, tetrametric and trochaic structure are less certain. Helimski's theory does not address the distinctive features of the Finnic tetrameter.

The transition to LPF (ca. AD 200) coordinates with the assimilation of a massive quantity of North Germanic vocabulary (*LägLoS*). This 'superstrate' (Kallio 2015: 26) suggests that the linguistic impacts may have extended to poetics. Old Germanic meters have a tetrametric base. Its accentual rhythm requires a heavy syllable or two light syllables undergoing 'resolution' in strong positions, and metrical alliteration links its half-lines across a caesura. If the PF metrical ecology maintained a principle of isosyllabism in analogous genres, this would exclude 'resolution': short stressed syllables would be excluded from metrically stressed positions. Whether or not the tetrametric structure was inherited or results from the assimilation of the Germanic model, 2–4 words per verse would mandate all long stressed syllables in stressed positions while eliminating any regular caesura. Without a caesura alliteration loses its metrical function, and could not be metricalized without superseding rules governing syllabic structuring of verses. This theory of metrical creolization accounts for the distinctive features of the Finnic tetrameter as an integrated part of the history of language contacts.

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15:00–15:45	Coffee Break
15:45–16:15	–
16:15–16:45	–
16:45–17:00	Break

	Plenary session
	Lecture Theatre *Hörsal* D9 Södra huset (Main Building)
17:00–18:00	Myfany Turpin University of Sydney **Why are songs difficult? Evidence from Aboriginal Australia.** A common feature of poetry and song is that they can be difficult to interpret (Fabb 2015, Evans 2010). They can be what Sperber and Wilson (1995: 59-10) call 'weakly communicative', where a wide range of inferences can be made but there is no strong guide as to which is intended. This contrasts with speech which tends to be 'strongly communicative' by virtue of guiding the hearer more clearly to the intended meaning. Traditional Australian Aboriginal songs are renowned for their interpretive difficulty (Clunies Ross et al 1987, Barwick et al 1995). In a society with little material culture, art is manifested in song, which combines with body painting and dance into a single form: Ceremony. The non-verbal aspects can both facilitate and hinder linguistic interpretation. Interpretive difficulty arises from a number of reasons: (a) it can be hard to hear or take in the linguistic signal due to its delivery (cf. Kiparsky 2010), (b) to process it due to the provenance and modification of words, and (c) to derive meaning from it due to the uncertainty about which inferences should be used to make sense of it. In this talk, these sources of difficulty will be illustrated with examples from central Australian Aboriginal song. I consider how such 'difficulty' goes hand-in-hand with a separate tradition of song exegesis, which was restricted to elder members of society of a particular social category.

Why should interpretive difficulty be a feature of poetry and song? I suggest that difficulty and poetic form together index language and action not as communication but as art (cf. Jakobson's poetic function (1987)). Difficulty is a highly-valued aesthetic quality in much art (Corner 2016). Art is described by anthropologist Howard Morphy as "a mode of action—a means of intervening in the world" (2009:6) and Aboriginal songs can be likened to what Austin (1975) calls performatives (e.g. 'I name this ship…') as they are prototypically used to *do* things. For example, to initiate a boy, bring about rain, heal the sick. Hence there may be a relationship between interpretive difficulty and how 'tool-like' a song is.

It has been argued that interpretive difficulty was a way of keeping power in the hands of elder members of traditional Aboriginal society (Strehlow 1971). This is compatible with anthropologist Alfred Gell's view of art as the "technical means whereby individuals are persuaded of the necessity and desirability of the social order which encompasses them" (1992:44).

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18:00	Conference dinner at the **Faculty Club**, Frescativägen 22. Pay at the restaurant.

Saturday 15 September

Location: Börshuset (Swedish Academy Building, Gamla Stan)

	Plenary session
	Room *Börssalen* (Trading floor)
9:30–10:30	Bye, Patrik Nord University **The End of the Line: The Relation between Meter, End-stopping and Enjambment** The meter of a line of verse and the strength of its right boundary (that is, whether it is end-stopped or run-on with the next) are generally thought of as independent aspects of verse design. In this talk, I show that trimeter lines show a systematic bias against enjambment compared with tetrameters. The corpus is drawn from The Norton Anthology of Poetry (Ferguson, Salter and Stallworthy 2005) and supplementary sources in the (New) Oxford Books of Verse series, and runs to over 100 English poems (over 4000 verse lines) written between 1500 and 2000. I propose the reason for the asymmetry is that trimeter lines are structurally tetrameter lines with a catalectic verse foot as in (1), or catalectic strong metrical position, not the structure in (2), which has a degenerate half-line. This intuition is not new. Adams (1997: 53), for example, observes that "[i]ambic trimeter is most often treated with end-stopping and an implied pause, like the trimeter lines in the ballad stanza". Catalexis is also invoked in work on the ballad form in Attridge (1995), Hayes and MacEachern (1998), and Kiparsky (2006). I argue that the trimeter is necessarily incomplete — not just in the otherwise tetrametric context of the ballad quatrain. This necessary incompleteness is an essential element in explaining the trimeter's 'cadential' function. The necessary incompleteness of the trimeter follows from two assumptions. First, metrical and prosodic/phonological representations are generated by different modules, or grammars (cf. Hayes 1989; Minkova 2009). Second, since metrical representations are then unfettered by prosodic considerations, they evince, to the fullest extent, emergence of the binary unmarked (cf. Prince 1989; Riad 2017), making the tetrameter the basic 'ground plan' universally. Purely metrical variation, on this view, is highly constrained, and must be motivated by general requirements of form-function fit. Left-adjunction of a verse foot to one or both half-lines of a tetrameter respectively gives the pentameter and hexameter, but this is only motivated as an enhancement of iambic structure at the level of the verse foot. This explains why trochaic pentameter is negligibly attested in the English verse tradition, and is marginal generally. Adjunction of a half-line to a full line results in different hexameter structure (cf. Kiparsky 2018). The tetrameter ground plan also helps elucidate differences in the distribution of the caesura in the iambic (verse foot adjoined) and dactylic (half-line adjoined) hexameters. Other, traditionally recognized, meters such as the 'dimeter' or 'octameter' are typographic/prosodic variants of the metrical tetrameter. In a pragmatic metrics, where verse exploits prosodic representations as (mimetic) ostensive stimuli to metrical ones (cf. Sperber & Wilson 1995), regulations may be conceptualized as recoverability thresholds. Diagrams showing the alignment of prosodic material (e) with consecutive metrical verse lines under the end-stopped condition are shown in (3) (trimeter) and (4) (tetrameter). Given (1), a run-on trimeter verse line entails temporal overlap between the metrical representation of the line and prosodic material of the following line, blurring perception of the end of the first line (5). A run-on tetrameter line, on the other hand, does not entail such overlap (6), and so the perceptual costs of enjambment are lower.

This predicts that enjambment in trimeters should be dispreferred relative to tetrameters. Poets should, in composition, disproportionately avoid a weak syntactic boundary at the right edge of a trimeter, since this would tend to make an end-of-line pause unnatural. Although prosodic structure is the more direct measure of end-stopping and enjambment, the advantage of a syntactic approach is that boundary information can be inferred from the text without making assumptions about performance. Verse lines are coded as ending in a clause, phrase, lexical or functional head, or a word-internal element, and assigned a boundary strength on a scale from 1 to 5, where 5 is the strongest (clause-level) boundary (cf. Leech 1969). The results are broken down into 50-year periods.
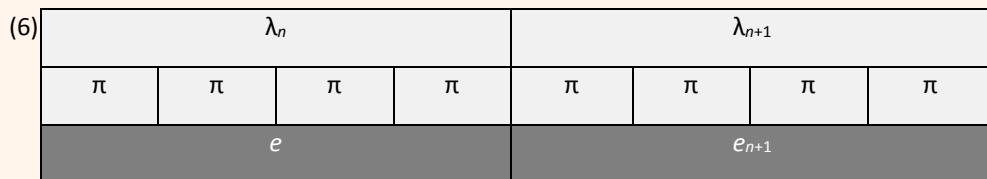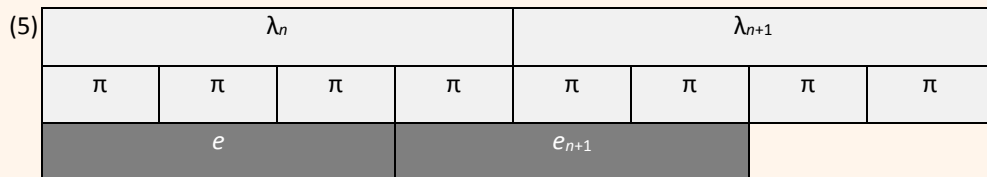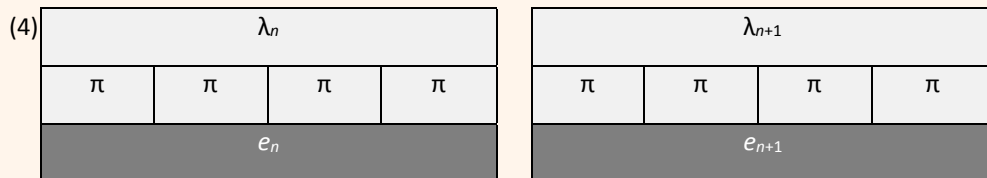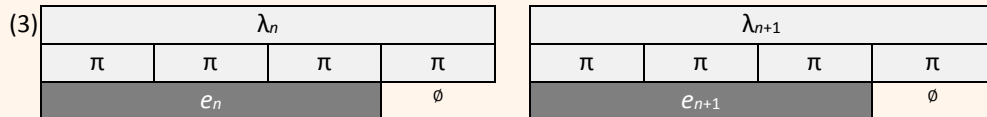
In summary, the results are as follows. In each period, tetrameter lines have on average weaker boundaries than trimeter lines (A), as well as permit greater variation (B). In addition, across all periods, trimeter lines far less frequently end in a head (C) or (even more strikingly) a functional head (D). From 1751 to 2000, average boundary strength in each period progressively weakens for both meters, not just the tetrameter (E). The tetrameter leads the change, and the trimeter lags behind. While (A–D) are expected given (1), the general decline of boundary strength is not predicted by either (1) or (2). Other factors are involved, and we will give a brief indication of what these are in the last part of the talk. Once these are accounted for, the end-of-the-line asymmetry between tetrameter and trimeter verse lines supports the view that meter and prosody are separate modules.

Examples
[π = verse foot; δ = half-line/dipody; λ = verse line; XYZ = phonological material; e = prosodic exponent of verse line.]

(1) $(_\lambda (_\delta (_\pi ...X...)_\pi (_\pi ...Y...)_\pi)_\delta (_\delta (_\pi ...Z...)_\pi (_\pi \emptyset)_\pi)_\delta)_\lambda$

(2)   * $(_\lambda (_\delta (_\pi ...X...)_\pi (_\pi ...Y...)_\pi)_\delta (_\delta (_\pi ...Z...)_\pi)_\delta)_\lambda$

(3)

λ_n				λ_{n+1}			
π	π	π	π	π	π	π	π
e_n			∅	e_{n+1}			∅

(4)

λ_n				λ_{n+1}			
π	π	π	π	π	π	π	π
e_n				e_{n+1}			

(5)

λ_n				λ_{n+1}			
π	π	π	π	π	π	π	π
e				e_{n+1}			

(6)

λ_n				λ_{n+1}			
π	π	π	π	π	π	π	π
e				e_{n+1}			

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10:30-11:00	Coffee break

	Session 1
	Room *Börssalen* (Trading floor)
11:00–11:30	Lilja, Eva University of Gothenburg **The Free Verse of T.S. Eliot. Signification patterns in "Ash Wednesday"** Keywords: Cognitive economy, signification, gestalt, TS Eliot, Reuven Tsur Eliot points at ordinary speech as the most important field of study for exploring the rhythm of free verse. In "Ash-Wednesday", some lines have a subtle pentameter, and some are written in the four-beat line. Others are patterned with the help of spondaic figures, and still others are weak gestalts. So here we may trace several origins of free verse - Old German free verse emanated from Greek colon versification where spondee and enjambment are significant traits. German free verse by Heine had its form elements from Middle Age forms, the four-beat line, stylized speech phrases. Here I will discuss strong and weak *gestalts* and how they signify in the rhythm of a poem, after an idea from Reuven Tsur. He differs between convergent, rapid and strong patterns that are easily understood, and divergent, slow and weak *gestalts* that need more time to be accessible. The iambs of the 18th century are good examples of convergent and coherent texts that are easily read - divergent are many lines in Milton as well as much of Modernist free verse. The cooperating devices of strong patterning should help to make meaning cerebral and explicit, but weak gestalts will blur the understanding of a poem making it emotional according to Tsur. I would say that relations between devices of form and their significations are more complex than Tsur suggests. Strong gestalts – in form and meaning - can be very emotional. For example, an infuriated person tends to use distinct stresses and marked tactus. In the opposite, weak gestalts are typical of the unrhythmic language in bureaucracy – motion- as well as emotionless. Eliot's poem exemplifies all these devices, where they cooperate beautifully.
11:30–12:00	Tapio, Pauli University of Helsinki **Free verse and terza rima in Tuomas Anhava's *36 Poems*** Keywords: free verse, intertextuality, Finnish modernism Tuomas Anhava was a leading figure in defining the strongly imaginistic strain of modernism that took root in Finland from the late 1940s onwards. He worked initially as a critic and later as a poet and translator, these areas of activity being closely intertwined in his work. Anhava was known as an especially persuasive critic of the rhymed and metered poetics that, coupled with a conservative worldview, were dominant in prewar and early postwar Finnish poetry. He was not, however, an avantgarde writer striving for a complete break with past poetic practices but rather a rethinker and intellectual archeologist in the Eliotian vein, who endeavored to use tried and tested poetic devices and structures in fresh contexts and couple

them with new thematics and subjectivities in order to open fresh horizons for interpretation, thus reinventing and reinvigorating old traditions.

My paper will take a look at a key text from Anhava's seminal 1958 collection *36 runoa* ("36 Poems"). In this poem he appropriates the italian terza rima form in an interesting way – he adheres to the rhyme scheme and stanza structure of the terza rima within a free verse poem. This single use of a well established poetic form creates an echo that reverberates through most of the other poems in the collection: Anhava is constantly approximating the terza rima whether by using the same typographical layout and verse structure as the regular poem or by alluding to various stylistic features implicated in the Dantean tradition.

In this sense the whole collection becomes a sort of echo chamber for the terza rima, and the reader is constantly sensing tantalizing signs of this form in different texts, even though the formal requirements are only fulfilled by one poem in the whole collection. This is a very particular case of the "ghost of meter", which T. S. Eliot and Annie Finch (among others) have searched for in the English language poetic tradition. In Anhava's texts meter is present as a purely historical, intertextual echo.

My paper will look at three things. Firstly, I will look at how the terza rima works in Anhava's poem and how it interacts with the poem's nonmetrical grammatically and semantically complex language. Secondly, I will look at the hermeneutic possibilities which this intertextual connection opens up. Thirdly, I will look at what effect this has on the "purity" and "naturalness" of the free verse in the poems – these two words were often used to idealize the new, open forms practiced by Finnish modernists.

This paper is a part of my ongoing phd research into the relations between metrical poetry and free verse within the modernist movement of the 40s and 50s in Finland.

| 12:00–12:30 | Svenbro, Jesper |
| | Swedish Academy |

On the absurdity of metric translation

Comments on Simonides, fr. 37 Page, translated into Swedish

The writer of *Dinggedichte*, Francis Ponge says, accepts the impossibility or absurdity of description but discovers in the very absurdity of his undertaking a wonderful resource and publishes his *échecs de description*, his "failed descriptions".

By an analogous way of reasoning I would like to take the following stand:

The translator of Greek lyric poetry realizes the absurdity of translation, in particular of metric translation (it is really impossible to clone the original) but will reveal this absurdity as a wonderful resource and publish his "failed translations".

My example will be Simonides, fragment 37 Page, with Gentili's text as printed in *Maia* 16, 1964. I will tell the tale of my translation and point out "the profit and loss" that Simonides undergoes when passing from ancient Greek (tone-oriented) to contemporary Swedish (stress-accent oriented).

	Session 2
	Ljusgården (Courtyard)

11:00–11:30	Golston, Chris
	California State University Fresno
	
	A foot in the poem is worth two in the prose
	
	The term foot is used both in metrics and in phonology to mean something like *a group of syllables.* I show here that a foot in the poetry of a given language is never a foot in the phonology of that language. The idea comes from Golston & Riad 2000, but I show here that it is much more general and covers Arabic, Greek, Latin, English, Old English, Sanskrit, and the meters of Romance languages and Japanese.
	
	    English *iambic pentameter,* for instance, pairs syllables of any weight, but usually of two moras:
	
	ʃæl aɪ kəm pɛɹ ðiː tuː eɪ sʌ məz deɪʔ
	(μμ μμ) (μμ μμ) (μμ μμ) (μμ μ) (μμ μμ)
	
	The phonology of English, however, is built on feet that are maximally bimoraic (Kager 1989). So a foot in English poetry is worth two in English speech. Ancient Greek shows the same thing in more variety. The basic feet in the meter are iambs (LH), trochees (HL), dactyls (HLL), anapests (LLH), and spondees (HH) but the phonology is built on feet that are minimally L and maximally LL or H (Allen 1973). Again, one in the poem is two in the speech.
	
	    The neatness seems to break down for Japanese and for Romance languages like Italian, French, and Spanish, but I'll argue here that the generalization is true, just harder to see. Italian meter is based on quantity-insensitive feet but there's experimental evidence that Italian phonology is quantity sensitive (all speakers stress penultimate *heavy* syllables, Krämer 2009); so a heavy syllable in the phonology would form only half a foot in the meter, in line with the main claim here. Spanish stress is well-known to be quantity sensitive (final syllable is stressed if heavy), so it fits in the same way. French stress is not quantity sensitive but is *phrasal* rather than lexical, so there's no evidence for or against the claim made here. Japanese phonology uses LL and H (Poser 1990), but it's not clear what the feet are in Haiku, Tanka, etc., where lines are extraordinarily short (5 or 7 moras). I propose a model of Japanese meter in which verse feet are composed of two phonological feet; a line of Haiku or Tanka then has 24 morae, exactly the same size as a line of dactylic hexameter in Greek or Latin.
	
	    The idea that all meters are built on quantity-sensitive feet parallels the claim by Alber (1997) that quantity-insensitivity is not a parameter in language, but the result of constraint interaction. This essentially means that all languages are built on H and LL feet. Meter is too.
	
	Works cited:
	Alber 1997. Quantity sensitivity as the result of constraint interaction. *HIL Phon Papers* 3, 1-45.
	Allen 1973. *Accent and rhythm*. CUP.
	Golston & Riad. 2000. The phonology of Classical Greek meter. *Linguistics* 38.1, 1-69.
	Krämer 2009. Main stress in Italian nonce nouns. *RLLT 2006*, 127–141. Benjamins.
	Poser 1990. Evidence for foot structure in Japanese. *Language* 78-105.

| 11:30–12:00 | Kiparsky, Paul |
| | Stanford University |

Micro-parametric Typology: Correspondence Constraints

Like phonological constraints, metrical constraints come in stringency hierarchies. For example, the exclusion of stressed syllables from metrical W(eak) positions, categorical in some accentual meters, context-dependent and/or frequentistic in others, is always more rigorously enforced for polysyllabic words than for monosyllables. This is modeled by adding to the general constraint against stress inW a constraint against polysyllabic word stress in W. Similar stringency hierarchies underlie the typology of accentual-quantitative meters (Ryan 2017) and purely quantitative meters (Kiparsky 2018). Here I generalize this asymmetry to unstressed syllables, and show that the resulting system of correspondence constraints generates a typology that matches the attested varieties of English meter.

Stress is a hierarchical syntagmatic property. Stressed and unstressed syllables of polysyllabic words (here notated as ´P and ˆP) contrast syntagmatically with each other in the smallest prosodic domain. I argue that this is what makes them more sensitive to prominence-regulating constraints than stressed and unstressed monosyllables are (´M, ˆ M, the latter class consisting of function words). Putting the constraints on stressed and unstressed syllables together, we obtain a prominence hierarchy ´P> ´M >ˆM > ˆP, from which constraints that penalize prominence in W positions pick out a subsegment from the left, either *´P, *(´P, ´M), or *(´P, ´M, ˆM), and constraints that penalize non-prominence
in S positions pick out a subsegment from the right: *ˆP, *(ˆM,ˆP), *(´M,ˆM,ˆP). I demonstrate that the empirically attested constraints on W and S positions in English verse obey this hierarchy.

Extrametrical syllables are more strictly regulated than regularWpositions. EarlyMarlowe allows only unstressed syllables of polysyllabic words in them *(´P, ´M, ˆM), (1a). Later he adopts the less restrictive *(´P, ´M), which allows also monosyllabic function words (1b). Shakespeare's plays allow stressed monosyllables of compound words, as in (1c). Jacobean dramatists (1d) allow even phrasal stresses there, though not in polysyllabic words (Kiparsky 1977, Schlerman 1994: 200 ff.)

(1)   a. To in/jure or / suppresse / your wor/thy ty**tle** (Marlowe, *Tamburlaine* 1.1.183)
      b. This sport / is ex/cellent; / wee'l call / and wake **him** (Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus* 1281)
      c. Quite o/verca/nopied / with lus/cious wood**bine** (*MND* 2.1.251)
      d. Ten pound / to twen/ty shil/lings, within / these **three weeks** (Fletcher, *TWP* 1.1)

For anacrusis in trochees, I have found *(´P, ´M) (Blake, Shelley, Housman), and *´P (Yeats). In Strong positions, most ternary meters have *(ˆM, ˆP), and Hopkins's Sprung Rhythm has *ˆP.

A particularly intricate manifestation of the hierarchy involves peaks in phrase-final Weak positions. The descriptive generalization is that a stress peak in W is degraded when it is phrase-final (when the phrase lies athwart the iambic foot), and after a non-prominent S (back-to-back mismatches). Some poets prohibit phrase-final peaks after ˆP, others after ˆP and ˆM, others after ˆP, ˆM and ´M, others (such as Pope) everywhere, reflecting the prominence hierarchy exactly:

$$
\text{(2)} \quad
\begin{array}{c}
S\ W \\ | \quad | \\ \acute{P}\ \acute{P}\,]
\end{array}
>
\begin{array}{c}
S\ W \\ | \quad | \\ \acute{M}\ \acute{P}\,]
\end{array}
>
\begin{array}{c}
S\ W \\ | \quad | \\ \check{M}\ \acute{P}\,]
\end{array}
>
\begin{array}{c}
S\ W \\ | \quad | \\ \acute{P}\ \acute{P}\,]
\end{array}
$$

My analysis also explains Hammond's (2006) hitherto mysterious observation that vernacular anapestic meters categorically disallow stresses in Weak position after an unstressed syllable.

I conclude with evidence that monosyllabic words with phrasal stress fall in the prominence hierarchy between ´P and monosyllabic words without phrasal stress, as the theory predicts.

Works cited:

HAMMOND, MICHAEL. Anapests and anti-resolution. In Bezalel Elan Dresher and Nila Friedberg (eds.), *Formal Approaches to Poetry: Recent Developments in Metrics*, 94-109. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

KIPARSKY, PAUL. 1977. The rhythmic structure of English verse. *Linguistic Inquiry* 8(2): 189–247.

KIPARSKY, PAUL. 1989. Sprung rhythm. In *Phonetics and phonology. I. Rhythm and meter*, Paul Kiparsky and Gilbert Youmans (eds.), 305–340. San Diego: Academic Press.

KIPARSKY, PAUL. 2018. Indo-European origins of the Greek hexameter. In Dieter Gunkel and Olav Hackstein (eds.) *Sprache und Metrik*.

RYAN, KEVIN. 2017. The stress-weight interface in meter. *Phonology* 3: 581-613.

SCHLERMAN, BETTY JANE. 1989. *The meters of John Webster.* New York: Peter Lang.

12:00–12:30

Piperski, Alexander

Russian State University for the Humanities

Kuhkto, Anton

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

The effect of meter on the memorability of Russian accentual-syllabic verse

'What is learnt in verse is longer retained in memory,' writes Isaac Watts in the preface to his *Divine Songs Attempted in Easy Language for the Use of Children*, first published in 1715. The knowledge that verse is generally easier to memorise than prose probably wasn't much of a surprise even in the beginning of the 18th century.

Our paper addresses the influence of meter on the memorability of verse in Russian accentual-syllabic poetry. From the 18th century on, Russian poetry has mostly relied on accentual-syllabic verse (Gasparov 2000), which persists to this day, especially in lay poetry. Accentual-syllabic poetry is also almost exclusively studied in primary and secondary schools and is familiar to most speakers of Russian.

To assess the question under discussion, we ran an online-based experimental study with speakers of Russian. Its participants were asked to memorise 10 quatrains and reproduce them as neatly as possible. The stimuli were presented in written form on a screen; participants were asked to read each quatrain as long as they needed to memorize it and then to type in their recollection of the quatrain they have just learned.

The pool of stimuli was automatically extracted from the Poetry subcorpus of the Russian National Corpus (www.ruscorpora.ru). It included randomly selected quatrains from each poem that satisfied the following constraints: (1) composed in 1820 or later; (2) accentual-syllabic meter; (3) rhyme scheme aBaB (a being a feminine rhyme, and B a masculine rhyme); (4) no less than 6 and no more than 11 syllables per line. Constraints (2)–(4) yield 10 distinct meters, five of them disyllabic (trochees and iambs) and five trisyllabic (dactyl, amphibrach,

anapaest). The lengths of the quatrains range between 26 syllables (containing lines of 6 and 7 syllables) and 42 syllables (containing lines of 10 and 11 syllables).

Syllables per line	Syllables per quatrain	Type of foot	Number of feet	Scheme	Number of quatrains in the stimuli pool
6 / 7	26	Iamb	3	× x́ × x́ × x́ (×)	483
6 / 7	26	Anapaest	2	× × x́ × × x́ (×)	106
7 / 8	30	Trochee	4	x́ × x́ × x́ × x́ (×)	2198
7 / 8	30	Dactyl	3	x́ × × x́ × × x́ (×)	189
8 / 9	34	Iamb	4	× x́ × x́ × x́ × x́ (×)	4774
8 / 9	34	Amphibrach	3	× x́ × × x́ × × x́ (×)	862
9 / 10	38	Trochee	5	x́ × x́ × x́ × x́ × x́ (×)	942
9 / 10	38	Anapaest	3	× × x́ × × x́ × × x́ (×)	785
10 / 11	42	Iamb	5	× x́ × x́ × x́ × x́ × x́ (×)	1621
10 / 11	42	Dactyl	4	x́ × × x́ × × x́ × × x́ (×)	117

Table 1. Stimuli pool

For each participant, 10 quatrains representing one meter each were randomly selected from the stimuli pool; their order of presentation was also random. A total of 382 participants started the experiment; however, only 138 of them completed it and submitted responses for all 10 quatrains. Only the results from these 138 participants are considered.

Table 2 presents median time required for a successful memorisation (i.e. a memorisation followed by an exact reproduction) of quatrains of different length.

Syllables per quatrain	26	30	34	38	42
Median learning time (sec)	27	37	44	48	61.5

Table 2. Median time required for a successful memorisation

Median learning time (t) can be approximated as linearly dependent on the number of syllables per quatrain (s): $t = 2s - 24.5$ ($R^2 = 0.9712$). With five datapoints only, this is not surprising; however, an approximation by a polynomial of a higher degree does not yield any substantial increase in R^2, which makes it reasonable to speak of a linear function.

The results broken down by meter are given in Table 3. Pairwise comparison shows that there is no difference in memorisation between disyllabic and trisyllabic meters with the same syllable count, the only exception being trochaic tetrameter vs. dactylic trimeter. In fact, trochaic tetrameter is memorizable 1.5 times as quick as its trisyllabic counterpart (31 sec vs. 46 sec) and comes closer to shorter meters. The exceptional status of trochaic tetrameter calls for further investigation; however, it is probably not a coincidence that *chastushka*, the most popular genre of Russian oral poetry, most commonly employs exactly this meter.

Type of foot	Number of feet	Scheme	Memorized successfully	p_1	Median learning time (sec)	p_2
Iamb	3	××́××́××́(×)	112 (81%)	0.460	28.5	0.487
Anapaest	2	×××́×××́(×)	106 (77%)		24.5	
Trochee	4	×́××́××́××́(×)	95 (69%)	0.034*	31	0.023*
Dactyl	3	×́×××́×××́(×)	77 (56%)		46	
Iamb	4	××́××́××́××́(×)	87 (63%)	0.802	50	0.124
Amphibrach	3	××́×××́×××́(×)	90 (65%)		42	
Trochee	5	×́××́××́××́××́(×)	70 (51%)	0.613	47.5	0.227
Anapaest	3	×××́×××́×××́(×)	81 (59%)		51	
Iamb	5	××́××́××́××́××́(×)	65 (47%)	0.459	61	0.545
Dactyl	4	×́×××́×××́×××́(×)	59 (43%)		65	

p_1: difference between memorization rates (proportion test);
p_2: difference between median learning times (proportion test); *: $p < 0.05$
Table 3. Experiment results by meter

Further directions in analyzing the results of the experiment may include a more detailed study of errors made by participants and of specific rhythmic, syntactic, and semantic patterns that influence memorisation. However, we can already be reasonably confident that the memorisation of Russian accentual-syllabic verse is most heavily influenced by line length, and that trochaic tetrameter has an exceptional status with respect to the ease of memorisation.

Works cited:

Gasparov, Mikhail L. 2000. *Očerk istorii russkogo stiha* [A history of Russian verse]. Moscow: Fortuna Limited.

12:30–	**Closing session**
	Room *Börssalen* (Trading floor)
12:35–	Lunch (sandwiches provided)
13:00–	Guided tour of the Swedish Academy Building with Odd Zschiedrich
14:00–	Business meeting