Frontiers in Comparative Metrics

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A Quantitative Look at a Quantitative Meter in Greek and Sanskrit

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Golston (2017, to appear) combines evidence from Sanskrit (Velankar 1949, Deo 2007, Ollett 2012), Ancient Greek (Golston & Riad 2000), and Old English (Golston & Riad 2001, Golston 2009) to support the reconstruction of a purely quantitative meter for Proto-Indo-European, a 16 mora tetrameter: (μ μ) (μ μ) (μ μ) (μ μ) | (μ μ) (μ μ) (μ μ) (μ μ).

Missing from that work is a detailed look at how the 256 instantiations of that line are attested. We do that here with a closer look at Sanskrit and the anapestic tetrameters of Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides (Brown 1977, Hubbard 1991) and Aristophanes. Results show that the attested line types are not randomly distributed in Greek (G) or Sanskrit (S):

	ds	pa	ss	as	sa	aa	ps	dd	sd	ad	pp	sp	pd	dp	da	ap
sa	S G	G	G	S G	S G	S G	G	G	G							
ds	S G	S G	S G	G	G	G	S G	G								
ss	G	S G	S G	S G	G	S G	S	G								
as	G		G	S G	G	G			G	G		G				
aa	G	G	G	G	G	S G		G								
dd	S G		S		G	G		S		G						
pp	S	S G					S				S					
dp		S						S				G				
sd	G		G	S												
ps	S G						S									
pd	S						S									
da	G				S											
pa		S G														
ad	G				G											
sp			G													
ap																
	ds	pa	ss	as	sa	aa	ps	dd	sd	ad	pp	sp	pd	dp	da	ap

s=**s**pondee   d=**d**actyl   a=**a**napest   p=**p**yrrhic

The 35 light blue cells have 66% of the Greek and 48% of the Sanskrit line types: 14% of the cells account for over half of the types. These are the feet that end in a spondee or anapest, *ie,*

that end with a heavy syllable. The 21 dark blue cells have 42% of the Greek and Sanskrit types: a mere 8% of the cells account for 42% of the types. These cells are the subset of light blues that start with a spondee or dactyl, i. e*, that begin with a heavy syllable*.

Individual graphs of Greek authors (Aeschylus shown here, Smyth 1896) show a similar clustering in numbers of lines, but with some small differences in foot preferences:

	ds	sa	aa	as	ss	dd	sd	ad	pa	ps	pp	sp	pd	dp	da	ap
ds	53	28	23	15	13	5										
sa	44	34	24	23	9	1	2									
aa	24	17	15	14	8	2										
as	16	18	6	6	3		1	1								
ss	12	9	14	8	3	1			1							
dd	3	3	1			1										
sd	1				1											
ad	1	1														
pa									1							
pp																
dp																
ps																
da																
sp																
pd																
ap																
	ds	sa	aa	as	ss	dd	sd	ad	pa	ps	pp	sp	pd	dp	da	ap

The tight packing of line types into the upper left corner of the 256-type space for both the Greek and Sanskrit corpora strongly suggests that they are genetially related. We surmise that the very details of poetic composition, down to a preference for begining and ending metra in heavy syllables and avoiding runs of light syllables, were inherited from PIE, not just the overall meter.

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Musical Beats and Intonational Phrases in French and English Traditional Songs

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Traditional French songs are characterized by a special dialect of the language. In this dialect, words or phrases are "feminine" or "masculine". A feminine expression ends phonetically with a posttonic syllable. In that case, the syllable nucleus is always a schwa. A masculine expression ends phonetically with a tonic syllable. The nucleus of this syllable cannot be a schwa. Some words/phrases are necessarily masculine (for example *été* or *train*). Other words are freely delivered as masculine or feminine: for example, the word "cadette" may be feminine ([ka.ˈdɛ.tə]) or masculine ([ka.ˈdɛt]). Similarly, vie may be pronounced as [ˈvi.ə] or [ˈvi].

It has been argued that, in traditional French songs, the stress-to-beat matching is strictly constrained for a "line ending" (i.e. an intonational phrase ending): if the phrase is masculine, its

last syllable *cannot* match a weaker beat that the penultimate syllable; if the phrase is feminine, its lat syllable *must* match a weaker beat that the penultimate syllables. In other words, there is a strict stress-to-beat matching at the end of an intonational phrase. The only exception would be in case of a *melisma*: in that case, the last two syllables are on strong beats (see Dell & Halle 2009).

Nevertheless, there are other exceptions to Dell & Halle generalization. In this paper, I will show that an intonational phrase with a feminine ending may have its last two syllables on strong beats, even without a melisma. I will propose a new generalization to correctly predict the data. In English a feminine ending is post-tonic as well, and a masculine ending is tonic. The only difference with French is that a specific word or phrase cannot be freely feminine or masculine. For example, *science* or *working* are necessarily feminine, and *reboot* or *orange* are necessarily masculine. I will show that the generalization explaining the stress-to-beat matching concerning the end of an intonational phrase is in English exactly what it is in French. This reinforce the generalization, which, at first sight, might been seen as ad hoc, i.e. made specially to explain the French data.

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European Eclogue: Genre and Meter (from Theocritus to Brodsky)

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Idyll, or eclogue, or pastoral is one of the most important genres of European poetry.

It was created by Theocritus, transferred to Latin soil by Virgil, flourished in the poetry of the Renaissance and survived to the present. However, to give an exact definition of this kind of poetry is not so simple. The title of the book *What Is Pastoral?* by Paul Alpers (1996) is indicative in this sense: the author tries to define the concept of pastoral not even as a genre, but as a mode of literature.

The problems arise in part due to the fact that this form in the history of European poetry allows for variability of metric parameters while maintaining a number of semantic constants. Speaking about the problem of defining a genre, Wellek and Warren talk about the need for two elements – outer form (specific meter or structure) and inner form (attitude, tone, purpose). Though in classical poetry eclogue was written in hexameters, new European poetry did not find a single equivalent to this form, which caused a certain genre uncertainty.

The paper will discuss European variants of the transfer of the genre and form of eclogue in translations and original poems. Particular attention will be paid to *terza rima* as a meter of pastoral poetry (Boccaccio's poems in *terza rima*, "Arcadia" of Sannazaro) and the reasons for the appearance of such a metric equivalent, cases of polymetry (for example, Égloga II of Garcilaso de la Vega) will be also considered. Another European equivalent to discuss is the Alexandrine verse among the French (eclogues of Fontenelle) and Russian poets (Sumarokov, Muravyov). Finally,

Brodsky's experiments with the search for the tonic equivalent will be considered.

An analysis of the history of eclogue from the point of view of meter and genre will allow us to turn to the fundamental aspects of comparative metrics, the specificity of poetic forms in translation and semantics of meter and rhythm.

Measures, Metrics and Rhythm in The Band's *The Weight*

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In our article "Blending in the Poetics of Songs. Leonard Cohen's *Hallelujah*" we introduce the Aarhus school cognitive-semiotic blending model and applied it to the semiotic and semantic structures of Cohen's *Hallelujah*, showing how the value of the singular key word is built up in the blend of the erotic and the religious. We now proceed to analyze another significant contribution to popular music from the 20th century: *The Weight*, a song written and performed by The Band and Levon Helm. The significant key word here, the song's title, is by contrast to *Hallelujah,* never actually sung but referred to metonymically in the chorus refrain of "Take **a load** off Fannie." Strictly metrically the song lyrics don't offer any surprises in its trochaic and/or iambic rhythm; however, the song's five verses offer a progression of events from a first-person narrator's point of view, whereby we propose a cognitive analysis of the narrative spaces and domains that semiotically inform the rhythm and metric measures of the song. Generally, we aim to provide more insights into the under-researched area of song lyrics and the enunciation techniques involved when music invades our ears and other parts of the body.

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Automated Processing of Relationships Between Meaning and Rhythm in French Metrical Poetry

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Whether in theoretical works or automated processing, the most common approach to study the relationships between rhythm and meaning in French versified poetry consists in aligning the syntactical and metrical structures to identify what is usually called "enjambment". We will show that considering the sole syntactic boundary at the end of the line brings limited, even sometime disputable results.

Given that rhythm is a decisive characteristic of metrical poetry, we consider a corpus-based analysis more relevant in which what is systematically observed are the metrical expressions themselves (hemistichs, lines, stanza modules and stanzas).

From the large TEI corpus Malherbə (Crisco), we built-up an exploratory corpus by automatically extracting groups of two Alexandrines using Xquery on Boileau and Chénier's works. Punctuation marks have been used as they provide prosodic and/or syntactic information. In a second step, a case-by-case examination made it possible to obtain a more restricted corpus with lines in which rhythm and meaning could possibly be mismatched.

The observation focused on the metrical expressions: their beginning, their end, and their internal consistency. This method of processing, metrical expression after metrical expression, is an attempt to integrate the mental processing time in the analysis itself; that is, the specific reader's expectations.

This systematic scrutiny shows up some regularities which will be discussed in this presentation.

The Development of a Poetic Tradition.
Automatic Annotation of a Dutch Renaissance Poetry Corpus

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Automatic poetry annotation enables to analyse large amount of data, far beyond the numbers of lines which can be annotated manually. This paper introduces an automatic scansion

machine which was used to annotate a Dutch Renaissance poetry corpus[1] and describes the analysis of its resulting data. The automatically generated annotations allowed to delineate a detailed picture of the development of early-stage Dutch iambic pentameter and alexandrine and to investigate a number of theoretical questions related to them.

The automatic scansion machine uses bidirectional LSTM networks. Two models were trained on two types of manually annotated material: a dataset containing syllable and stress annotation of the corpus 4100 most frequent words and one of 9673 lines, annotated in terms of stress and syllable, without word boundaries.

In order to increase the accuracy of the model, data was augmented by exploiting orthographic variation. Renaissance Dutch was not standardised yet, hence, a number of spelling variants are available in the corpus. An example is the first-person pronoun 'I', for which three variants are available: *ic, ick* and *ik*. Sentences which contained words with different possible spellings were duplicated and included in the training dataset in all possible variants. Data augmentation improved the accuracy of the model. The final tool is able to define the stress pattern of Dutch Renaissance verse. At the current stage, one poetic practice constitutes a problem for the automatic tool, that is, synalepha: the scansion machine seems not to be able to learn it. However, in the Dutch corpus analysed here, only one author makes large use of synalepha, namely, Joost van den Vondel.

The annotations resulting from the automatic scansion were also used to compare the Dutch corpus with the AMI[2], an annotated corpus of Italian Renaissance poetry. The purpose of the study was to investigate the development of the same poetic form in two different poetic traditions. The metrical analysis was elaborated by calculating the deviation percentage from a perfect line of each work of the two corpora. Visualisation helped defining metrical distance and relations among authors and different works.

By comparing the Italian and the Dutch corpus, it is possible to observe the divergences in the evolution of the two poetic forms and to define their phases. On the one hand, the Dutch corpus shows how Dutch metre went from being an unstable form to a fixed and strongly regular one. On the other hand, the Italian corpus only underwent minor changes and preserved its original form.

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[1] The Dutch Renaissance poetry corpus is available at: https://github.com/mirsdev/Dutch_Renaissance_poetry_corpus. The corpus is partially based on some works available on the Digitale Bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse letteren (https://www.dbnl.org), while other works were provided by the Koninklijke Bibliotheek (https://www.kb.nl).

[2] *Archivio Metrico Italiano.* It used to be available open access (http://www.maldura.unipd.it/ami/php/index.php). Currently (27.09.2021), the website is not accessible due to maintenance and reorganization of the platform.

The application of machine learning in the field of metrical annotation allows to extend to a large amount of data a type of analysis which would normally be applicable to limited datasets. This can give us a bigger picture on poetry development which could not be reached otherwise. Furthermore, a similar tool can be potentially adapted to other poetic traditions, both written in other languages or from different historical periods.

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Freedom Bound: A Cognitive Metrical Analysis of Four Poems by Edith Södergran in Metrical Verse

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In Swedish literary studies Edith Södergran is generally regarded as one of the most important early adopters of modernist free verse in Swedish. Her unique use of free verse has been the subject of many studies. However, her metrical, non-free verse has garnered little attention. This study aims to provide a greater understanding of Södergran's use of metrical verse through close study of four of her poems: "Nocturne", "Du som aldrig gått ur ditt trädgårdsland", "O himmelska klarhet", "Ankomst till Hades". The first two are from her early period and the latter two are from her late period.

The study uses the metrical theories of Reuven Tsur and Richard Cureton, together with the cognitive theories of George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, in order to analyse the structure of the poems. Two image schemas, taken from Johnson (1987), are used: balance and power. The balance of the body is here metaphorically mapped to the balance of the metrical structure, where even distribution of stresses represent a body in controlled balance, while the speed of the rhythm is mapped to the force of the body in movement. Cureton's rhythmic components meter, grouping prolongation together with Tsur's version of the concept of gestalt. Tsur's and Cureton's methods of analysis are used in order to map the metrical structure of the poems. The structures can then be

interpreted through the image schemas of force and balance in order to ascertain the effect of the poem's rhythm on the reader.

Through the metrical and cognitive analysis of the poems, the study is able to show that Södergran, contrary to popular opinion at the time of her writing, was able to write rhythmically complex and well formed traditional metrical verse. The early poem, "Nocturne", for example, starts with balanced early lines with a steady metre and even distribution of stresses and gets progressively less balanced and more prone to a faster metre. The poem depicts a night stroll through nature, and what initially appears as a simple poem about the beauty of nature becomes steadily more unnerving as the rhythmic structure becomes less balanced. The later poems show even more obvious play between balanced and unbalanced rhythms which reflects their dramatic depictions of religious imagery and life after death. The study ultimately shows that Södergran used traditional metrical verse in order to produce interesting experiences of uncertainty and unbalance.

A Living Oral Tradition with Viking Roots: Norwegian Nystev Features Found in Old Norse Skaldic Poem "Málsháttakvæði"

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In 1914 researcher Ivar Mortensson-Egnund published a short essay proposing a strong connection between the living oral tradition of Norwegian *nystev*, and *Málsháttakvæði,* an Old Norse thirteenth century "proverb poem", found in Codex regius (GKS 2367.4[to]) which also contains Snorri's Edda. Among the 30 eight-line stanzas in *Málsháttakvæði*, one finds 14 instances of four-lines sharing the distinctive features of *nystev*. Norwegian *nystev*, "new stev", one-stanza four-line folk poetry performed solo in a living oral tradition called *kveding,* "between singing and saying".

Mortensson-Egnund describes similarities between *nystev* and *Málsháttakvæði*: 1) informal poetry of love and sayings, 2) alliteration, and 3) end-rhymed couplets (Old Norse *minztr runhendr)* in the *nystev* order of feminine end-rhyme (two-syllable) followed by masculine (one-syllable). Furthermore*,* he mentions that *Málsháttakvæði* has a special type of Old Norse refrain, a *stef*. In *Málsháttakvæði* the *stef* is four lines and endowed with the *nystev* end-rhyme pattern. Old Norse *stef* and Norwegian *stev* are pronounced the same.

Mortensson-Egnund's essay lacks sources, but deserves closer scrutiny. We review relevant research, and present additional common features. *Málsháttakvæði* and *nystev* are both accentual poetry, with four stresses per line. *Málsháttakvæði* has situational verse, a major feature of *nystev*.

Not only are there metric similarities: despite the differences in language, the 14 instances of *nystev* pattern in *Málsháttakvæði* can be performed in *nystev kveding* style with any *nystev* melody.

Málsháttakvæði is unique compared to other Old Norse poetry. Not only does the poem adhere to the formal skaldic constraints of a *drápa*, but in addition, the nearly 240 lines are end-rhymed couplets. The anonymous poet, possibly bishop Bjarne Kolbeinsson, displays a rich knowledge of poetry.

One may wonder if the *nystev* pattern in *Málsháttakvæði* was the poet's innovation, or an example of older folk poetry.

A common assumption of *nystev* originating in the 1600s may be revised: our findings support that the *nystev* pattern could be at least as old as thirteenth century *Málsháttakvæði.*

Problems in the Aurality of Medieval Written Oral Poetry:
Toward a Theory of Manuscript Performance

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Today's research on the metrics and poetics of oral poetry customarily begins by considering it as performed and heard rather than viewing it exclusively as abstracted linguistic text. Research on medieval texts has engaged increasingly with concepts of performance, but has tended to focus on (*a*) oral performance traditions in the background of the written documents as e.g. 'oral-derived texts' (to use the term of John Miles Foley [1990]); (*b*) the sound, situations or manner of articulation in which the written text or their oral counterparts would have been performed (e.g. Duys 2007; Gunnell 2013); and (*c*) how copyists knowledge of an oral tradition could impact on written transmission in what has been called 'scribal performance' (for a recent survey, see Ready 2019). That medieval written texts were often intended for public rather than private reading is widely recognized (see e.g. Coleman 1996), yet there has been almost no consideration of how this relates to the written texts themselves (although cf. Quinn 1997). The present paper builds on these discussions by bringing into focus pragmatics of public reading and the dynamics of oral-literary interaction. I refer to this type of public reading as manuscript-based performance or manuscript performance for short. Old Norse poetry and so-called eddic poetry in particular forms the central empirical material considered, which is then extended to discuss other forms of oral-derived poetry and poetry that operated at intersections of orality and literacy.

The paper begins from perspectives on how people interacted with written texts of poetry (as well as prose) that are visible through the copying of these texts and variations introduced in that

process. It then proceeds to the material manuscripts of medieval Iceland. The manuscripts are first viewed in terms of the challenges posed to a reader generally, considered in relation to scribal errors in copying texts that illustrate such challenges. Then consideration is given to abbreviation practices specific to this poetry that make demands on a reader to learn and remember at least passages of the poetry that recur. Finally, passages that include metrically problematic lines and passages are considered, not from the perspective of the poem as a written text, but in terms of the oral performance of the poem and its reception and the assessment of that performance by an audience. Taken together, these factors predict variation between the written text and what is performed, which provides a foundation for theorizing manuscript performance as social practice. That problem passages were preserved in copying the poems and are for the most part also remain uncorrected by owners of the manuscripts leads back to considerations of how these relate to manuscript use. A complementary theory of how these written texts were conceived by the people who used them is outlined, introducing the term 'text ideology' to describe the conception of what texts 'are' as things in the world. The text ideology of poems combines with the principles for a predictive model of variation in manuscript performance. The result is a preliminary theory of manuscript performance, which is based on tradition-specific factors of written texts and their usage on the one hand combined with the knowledge and contemporary text ideology of the person or group engaging with those texts on the other. This theory predicts that lines and groups of lines that were not metrically well-formed in medieval manuscripts would, contingent on the knowledge/competence of the reader and that reader's text ideology, most likely be revised into well-formed lines in the course of manuscript performance.

"Deliberate Pause": Measuring Cadence in Iambic Pentameter

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Between 1880 and about 1930, scholars of English Renaissance drama spent uncounted hours in compiling tables of what they imagined were metrical statistics for Shakespeare and his contemporaries, for the purposes of determining chronology and attributing texts, but the project was eventually abandoned when it became clear that for the most part these writers were merely assembling elaborate records of their own subjective (and perhaps fugitive) impressions. The problem was that the early investigators lacked any sophisticated or systematic understanding either of English phonology and syntax or of English metre. In such circumstances, to attempt to quantify "light endings", "run-on lines", "schwebende Betonung", and so on, is to play croquet with

hedgehogs and flamingos: the terms of reference just won't stay still. Since the study of English metre took a linguistic turn in the 1960s, however, the project of metrical statistics has been successfully revived: the predictions as to dramatic authorship of Marina Tarlinskaja's 'Russian School' analyses and my own more elaborate Base-and-Template scansions (see, for example, my *Rhythm and Meaning in Shakespeare*, Groves 2013), though based on very different assumptions about the nature and function of metre, agree in apportioning various disputed scenes in Elizabethan drama not only with each other but with conclusions reached by entirely unrelated methods such as the word adjacency networks of Hugh Craig and others.

What I want to do in this paper is to investigate the forensic and predictive potential of a parallel system of versification that eighteenth-century theorists referred to as 'cadence', defined in Johnson's *Dictionary* as "[t]he flow of verses, or periods" (1755) and described by Milton (in a note prefixed to *Paradise Lost*) as "the sense variously drawn out from one Verse into another". Cadence, then, is about the management of the 'pause', and is thus about the relation between the caesura and enjambment. Since I have recently published a theory of the caesura (see Groves 2019) and am just completing a sister article on enjambment, I will draw upon both of these in my analysis of cadence as a stylistic system.

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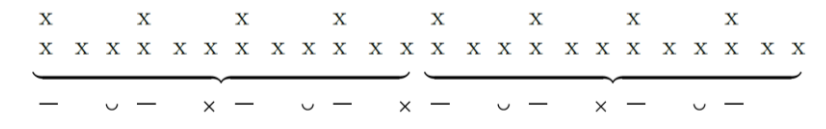
Maxent Grammars and a Language Model for Greek Metrics

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Standard presentations of ancient Greek meter (e.g. Maas 1966, West 1982) tend to focus on the identification of syllable-weight-based patterns in Greek poetry, offering elaborate systems of description but few answers for why just *these* patterns are found. In this talk, I will present an

alternative approach that tries to tackle this fundamental question by modeling the metrical behavior of poets in the framework of Maxent Grammar (Hayes et al. 2012, Hayes and Schuh 2019, Henriksson 2022), a branch of the research program of generative metrics (Halle and Keyser 1971, Kiparsky 1977, Hayes 1989). I will illustrate the approach through the analysis of selected meters of Greek drama.

Following much work in generative metrics, I assume that meter is an abstract rhythmic pattern that the phonological representations of actual verses are used to manifest. In this framework, meters are commonly represented with bracketed grids (Lerdahl and Jackendoff 1983, Prince 1989), where the rows of gridmarks display rhythmic beats and the columns their different strength, with brackets for metrical groups (metra, cola, etc.). The Greek trochaic tetrameter catalectic, for example, could be formalized as follows:

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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
└──────────────────────┘   └──────────────────────┘
—   ◡ —   ×   —   ◡ —   ×   —   ◡ —   ×   —   ◡ —
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The main goal of this approach is to devise the constraint system ("metrical grammar") that poets hypothetically obey in arranging phonological material to manifest the underlying grid. For example, the regular alignment of heavy (–) syllables with strong positions might be expressed in terms of Heavy → strong ("situate heavy syllables in strong gridmarks"). Assuming that poets generally avoid composing metrically complex verses (Halle and Keyser 1971, Hayes 2013), the violations of metrical constraints can be used as data for modeling frequency distributions over possible line types in a given meter. The goal, then, is to find a plausible set of constraints that can achieve predictive accuracy (i.e. maximizes the probability of observed line types). This is the problem that Maxent grammars can address, in particular when coupled with a means for model selection, such as AIC (Akaike 1973).

As I will try to demonstrate, several Greek meters can be straightforwardly modeled with Maxent using simple grids and a small number of intuitive metrical constraints. I will also introduce a method to incorporate the baseline lexical statistics of the poet's language in Maxent grammars, designed to factor out the a priori linguistic patterns from the metrical analysis. The proposed method, which is based on n-gram language models (Jurafsky and Martin 2021, Ch. 3), is a novel variant of the so-called "Russian Method" of using statistical tests for prose vs. prose comparisons in metrical analysis (e.g. Tarlinskaja and Teterina 1974, Gasparov and Tarlinskaja 1987, Biggs 1996, Hayes 2013, Blumenfeld 2015).

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Dactylic Hexameter in Livonian Humanist Poetry:

A Comparison of Daniel Hermann's and David Hilchen's Versification

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In the present paper, the comparative analysis of the versification of the poetry by Daniel Hermann (1539-1601) and David Hilchen (1561-1610), both humanistically educated authors and influential political figures, is presented. Hilchen, being born in Riga, received his versification skills from his studies at the Riga Dome School, Vilnius University and German universities 1570-1585 and wrote most of his poetry in exile on the important occasions of the court of the Polish-Lithuanian king and Jan Zamoyski's circle. Hermann, on the other hand, acquired his poetry techniques while studying in Prussia and Germany, polished these as a court secretary in Vienna and later working on the Polish-Lithuanian region, being connected to Riga in the last decades of his life (1582-1601). During the years 1585-1600 in Riga these two authors were closely acquainted and Daniel Hermann's dedicatory poem to Hilchen reveals their friendly relationship. While Hermann was an active poet during his entire life and the image of a poet was an important part of his persona, Hilchen was, first and foremost, a politician and a lawyer, the author of the Livonian Territorial Law (1599), for whom writing poetry was a diversion from his other obligations. In his lifetime, Daniel Hermann prepared three volumes of his collected works (published posthumously in Riga in 1614-1615), while David Hilchen's extant poems were collected and edited only the present year.

In the paper the rhythmical and prosodical structure of the dactylic hexameter of both authors will be studied and the results will be compared to the data of ancient Latin poetry. The paper will demonstrate the prosodic and rhythmic variety of the hexameter of both authors and reveal the main rhythmic tendencies and basic rhythmic patterns of their verse, as well as the commonalities and peculiarities in comparison with the classical Latin hexameter.

Secondary Meter

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The paper is dedicated to these verse forms where not one metrical scheme but two are realized in a text. The focus will be on the interference of the two meters and the emergence of new hybrid forms. In the history of Russian poetry, imitations of ancient stanzas are an example of such

forms. On the one hand, they attempt to implement the schemes of the ancient meters, but on the other hand, they are permeated by a simpler verse meter that is more easily recognisable to a Russian listener. Another example are Russian paeons, which on the one hand are quaternary meters, but on the other hand clearly betray the substrate of a binary meter. Finally, a few verse forms the metrical structure of which has not yet been satisfactorily described will be studied.

Sound Devices in Estonian Instagram Poetry

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After the gradual emergence of postmodernism during the second half of the 20th century, end rhymes started to disappear from Estonian poetry. In high poetry, they were used mainly (with some exceptions) with a comic function (for example, in parodies), as they were perceived as an outdated formal device. However, in the last decade, rhyming has started to emerge again in two popular types of poetry, which both have brought poetry back to a wider audience: firstly, in oral rap poetry, and secondly, in Instagram poetry, mostly in the works by Lauri Räpp. This paper analyzes the sound patterns in Estonian Instagram poetry: what kind of word and sound repetitions are used, and what is the occurrence of different kinds of end rhymes (full rhyme, and various types of deviations from it) as well as alliteration and assonance. The outcome is compared with the results of studies on sound devices in the previous periods of Estonian poetry.

Cursus in Dante's and Boccaccio's Latin Prose

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The term "prose rhythm" is used in ancient rhetoric to indicate rhythmical units at the end of sentences and clauses which in classic prose were called *clausulae*. The rhythm of classic prose was based on the quantity of syllables. Over centuries, the system of *clausulae* was simplified and, in addition to quantity, word stress became relevant. Medieval Latin prose rhythm was based on word stress and it was called *cursus*. There were four rhythmic patterns in the late Middle Ages: *cursus planus*, *cursus velox*, *cursus tardus* and *cursus trispondaicus*.

The aim of this presentation is to study the occurrence of *cursus* in Dante's and Boccaccio's Latin prose using the method of comparative-statistical analysis. Dante and Boccaccio both lived in the 14th century and the aim of this presentation is to study what kind of *cursus* occurs in Latin

prose of this period by example of following texts: *De Monarchia*, *De vulgari eloquentia*, *Questio de aqua et terra* and *Epistole* by Dante; *De mulieribus claris*, *De casibus virorum illustrium* by Boccaccio.

Russian Quantitative Formalism of the 1910–1930s as a Forerunner of Digital Humanities

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This paper approaches Russian Formalist theory from the perspective of the digital humanities and corpus-based computational study of verse. In 2011, Franco Moretti and his coauthors from the Stanford Literary Lab called their research method 'quantitative formalism' in contrast to old Russian Formalism, which, in their opinion, was 'qualitative'. However, the thesis of quantitative formalism's novelty is only partially true. To demonstrate this, the author focuses on the approaches to quantitative poetics developed by the members of the Moscow Linguistic Circle, such as Boris Tomashevsky (1890–1957) and Boris Yarkho (1889–1942), and shows how their methodologies can be applied in the present-day digital corpora.

On a Metric Dialect of the Southern Border of the Finnic Runosong Area: Versification in Seto Singing Tradition

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This paper introduces one example of the metric variability in oral poetic tradition – Seto runosong metre as a particular/peculiar regional version of the common Finnic poetic metre. My co-authors of the studies on Seto metre include Mari Sarv, Žanna Pärtlas, Sulev Iva and Andreas Kalkun. We have statistically analysed the structure of the verses based on sound recordings of performances, trying to understand the principles of versification characteristic of the local tradition. Our analysis has comprised three different structural levels: the musical rhythm structure of the performance that is tightly connected to the song text since a syllable usually corresponds to a structural musical rhythmic unit; the structure of the octosyllabic main line in the performance (without repetitions, additional syllables and addressing formulas/refrains); generalized or deeper level of the verse structure (without taking into account the most variable part of the performance).

The Seto region is located on the southern border of the Finnic runosong tradition area. The

Seto song metre shares similarities with but also has considerable differences from other metric dialects of Finnic runosong, including the tradition of the neighboring and linguistically very similar Southeast-Estonia. There are also differences within Seto region which can be understood as three versions of the local metre of the older runosong style (in addition to runosong, Seto oral singing tradition includes also early and later versions of accentual metre). These different versions of the metre are connected to three categories of songs: 1) the main corpus of runosongs with a stable line length; 2) the group of refrain songs with a varying line length; 3) the choral laments with a varying line length.

"Across the Whale Road": Verse Translations of "Beowulf" in Iberian Romances

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In the last decades, the Old English verse epic *Beowulf* has been translated and adapted into several Iberian Romances: Spanish, Galician-Portuguese and Catalan. Some of the versions are adaptations for children and for other media such as comic books. Literary translators, for their part, have sometimes offered prose versions, thus renouncing to reproduce the verse of the original, with its four ictus equally divided into two halves of varying syllabic lengths. Among those who have attempted verse translations, a few have resorted to a kind of free verse that can be difficult to distinguish from chopped-up prose. Most, however, have chosen kinds of metrical verse that, apart from the usual licence of final extrametricality, regulate the number of syllables in ways that are quite alien to the original: some translations rely on unified ten-position lines in which stresses are irregularly distributed; others, on lines divided by internal extrametricality, with each half featuring two ictus, a noticeable ternary rhythm and optional headlessness, or on divided lines in which each half has exactly five positions. Despite the allowed variations, all of these metrical versions impose a degree of formal rigidity that is absent from the Old English epic metre. In this sense, it is surprising, at least as far as Galician-Portuguese and Spanish are concerned, that no translator has ever exploited the possibilities afforded by the loose, dolnik metre known in both languages since the Middle Ages, whose advantages seem obvious: to begin with, it can present itself as, among other things, a divided line whose internal extrametricality increases the translator's freedom; moreover, the possibility of combining a precise number of ictus with internal syllabic fluctuation brings it closer to the original; lastly, it is flexible enough to permit more literal translation than strict metres.

A New Type of Vertical Alliteration in Latin poetry: Alliteration Ante/post Caesura

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Alliteration, conceived as the vowel, consonant or syllabic insistence that occurs at the beginning of two or more close or contiguous terms, is a rhythmic procedure widely used by Latin poets, especially those of the archaic period. In general, two types of alliteration are distinguished, according to the type of acoustic correspondence that occurs between the alliterative terms: horizontal alliteration, that is, the one that affects terms that belong to the same metric unit-syntactic (*O Tite tute Tati tibi tanta tyranne tulisti,* Enn. *Ann.* 62 Traglia) and vertical alliteration, one in which the alliterative terms are arranged occupying the same metric position, but in two or more successive syntactic metric units (at the beginning of two or more contiguous lines: ... *Colli |... Cursu |... CIentes |... CIrcum*, Lucr. 2.322-325; at the end of two or more contiguous lines: ... *Amore |... Amorum |... Aegram |... Amantem*, Verg. *Aen*. 1.350).

The objective of this paper is to analyze a new variant of vertical alliteration that takes place between words that occupy the position immediately before or after the caesura and which we have called alliteration *ante*/ *post* caesura, respectively. For this purpose, we use the works of archaic (Catullus), preclassic (Lucretius), classic (Vergil, Ovid, Tibullus, Propertius) and postclassic (Claudius Claudianus, Prudentius) Latin poets, in order to verify the existence of this new alliterative typology in Latin poetry of all literary periods.

A rough analysis of geographical variation of Finnic runosong meter on the basis of large data

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Finnic common runosong tradition that is featured by trochaic tetrametric verse lines, alliteration and parallelism has been documented extensively in previous centuries, in the long period of fading of the tradition from traditional daily use. Majority of runosong texts stored in Estonian and Finnish archives have been reworked into databases during last decades, and recently brought together into a joint database in the framework of FILTER project funded by Finnish Academy. The digital accessibility of this vast material in principle allows us to delve into various aspects of variation within this tradition with the help of computing. At the same time, extreme linguistic variation, archaic language mode, and biases in the material complicate the analysis.

The current paper aims to approach the whole corpus to shed a light into its metric variation with the help of rough and indirect methods, without sound metrical analysis that would consider linguistic, folkloric, musical, and performative variation. Despite of the scholarly interest in the runosong meter (so-called Kalevala-meter) in general, its variation in the Northern Finnic songs had remained unstudied. The research questions, and methods for solving them derive from Mari Sarv's research on metrical variation of Estonian runosongs that was based on limited text samples from each Estonian parish. Based on rough syllabification of the whole material, the average length of the syllables, and the percentage of verse structures typical of so called broken lines (where placement of stressed syllables violates the trochaic rhythm impression) the quantitative vs accentual nature of the verse lines in parish was estimated. Sarv's previous study (2008) had shown that in Estonia, through the innovation in prosodic structure of the language, the quantitative nature of meter became gradually replaced by accentual one. The results of the current study showed similar tendencies in the whole Finnic area in the direction from North-East towards South-West.

Metrical Ambiguity

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In most instances the meter of a Russian poem becomes clear virtually from the start, after a single line or just a few lines. In others, such as works employing logaoedic meters or compound meters, it may be necessary to look at a couple of stanzas or even the entire poem before a firm determination of the meter can be made. At the furthest extreme, we have free verse, in which metrical structure is absent. However, there are also poems for which the author is clearly providing a metrical structure to the verse lines, but the work nonetheless resists easy classification. Most often this phenomenon results from situations in which the poem bears some resemblance to more than one metrical type but does not precisely match the norms for either one. More rarely, a poem seems to fit under a specific metrical category but breaks one or two key rules for that meter, leading to the sense that it might be equally possible to classify the work differently. In this paper I examine several instances of metrical ambiguity in Russian verse and conclude that such poems should be treated as a distinct category when establishing the metrical repertoire of a given poet.

Simulating History of Poetic Forms in a Jar: Role of Imitation, Chance and Inequality in the Emergence of Association between Poetic Meter and Meaning

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The association between a poetic form and semantics – also known as "the semantic halo of meter" – remains one of the fundamental problems in verse studies. There is growing body of recent work that shows that persistent relationship between meter and meaning in modern poetic traditions is formally detectable (Orekhov 2019; Piperski 2017; Šeļa et al. 2020) across large and cross-cultural corpora of accentual-syllabic verse (Šeļa et al. 2022). At the very least, we are more confident that the distribution of meaning across meters is not random.

However, we are yet to have a good answer to the main question: why must this relationship form and how does it persist in time? There are many possible explanations: from mnemonic capacities of metrical forms, or specific literary conventions, to educational practices and literary canon that selects lucky few texts which are then imitated by a disproportionate amount of aspiring poets. Unfortunately, a historical corpus of poetic texts does not hold these answers in itself; experiments are also impossible (we cannot simply "switch off" one variable – e.g. memory or canonicity – and look at how poets will produce poetry in a controlled setting for generations).

The last remaining path (almost never taken in literary studies) is simulations and formal modeling: to understand an observable effect of a complex system (the "halo") we must first understand simple interactions that might lead to it (Acerbi et al. 2022; Romanowska et al. 2021). I will present a series of simple agent-based models that explicate and test basic assumptions about the relationship between time, form and meaning on the level of generations of individual poems.

While the effect of different moving parts of these models can dramatically differ, they show at least two important premises for the persistent form & meaning relationship: 1) small preference of a new poem to copy meaning within the observable past of the same meter and 2) unequal popularity of metrical forms which create formally different poem pools of variable sizes. In other words, the halo effect activates when memory ("follow the past") works together with chance ("this theme appeared in a rare meter A due to a sampling error, but now it won't go away"). I hope to show how simulations, while not providing any definitive answers, can push us to refine theories about complex historical processes.

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"A Lover's Complaint": not Shakespeare

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Outlining Shakespeare's canon is one of the most important problems of literary criticism. The poem "A Lover's Complaint" is still a mystery: was it written by Shakespeare or somebody else? And what is its date? Until the 1960s its attribution to Shakespeare was doubtful, but in the 1960s two scholars independent of each other, Kenneth Muir and MacDonald P. Jackson, analyzing the poem's vocabulary, firmly attributed it to Shakespeare; nowadays this poem is included into all Complete Shakespeare's folios. However, nobody had studied its rhythmic and metrical particulars. I have been studying this poem since 2004, and now I am writing a book about it. According to my rhythmical analysis, the poem was not written in the 1600s as Mac Jackson believes to this day, but in the early 1590s, and not by Shakespeare. If the poem is dated, say, 1592–1593, Shakespeare wrote his own 'complaint' at this time – it is entitled "The Rape of Lucrece". The rhythmical style of "A Lover's Complaint" makes me think that it was composed by an older poet who used an old-fashioned way of stressing, word boundaries distribution and other rhythmical features of a poetic text.

Quasi-hexameter in Contemporary Estonian Poetry (The Case of P. I. Filimonov)

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This paper aims to analyze the poem by modern Russophone Estonian poet P. I. Filimonov entitled "Hellenic Elegy, Ordinal Number Unknown" («Какая-то по счету эллинская элегия»). It consists of 14 metrical lines and two last lines written in free verse. This poem attracts attention with its classical antique coloring. The paper examines what its verse meter is and how it relates to the previous tradition at the level of form and semantics. It is customary to talk about formal-semantic derivation when imitating Greco-Roman meters in modern European languages. Contemporary poets rarely write proper classical hexameters but actively exploit this meter's semantic halo. It is the trend that P. I. Filimonov's poem follows. I call this type of verse quasi-hexameter.

The first part of the paper considers the rhythmic structure of the poem under analysis. Out of the 14 lines in the poem, only two are written in classical hexameter; all the others are various derivates of this verse meter. The main field of experiments for P. I. Filimonov is the anacrusis, whose length varies from zero to two syllables. At the same time, clausulae are a stronghold of tradition. All clausulae are feminine, as is characteristic for classical hexameter, and the last trochaic foot is not preceded by a dactylic foot in only two verses out of fourteen. The second part of the paper is devoted to the poem's semantics. The paper demonstrates that Greco-Roman antiquity interests P. I. Filimonov as a sign of the poetic style that entered the Russian poetic language in the early 19th century. It has been continually reinterpreted since then but has not lost its relevance until now. To test the viability of (quasi)hexameter, P. I. Filimonov collides it with vers libre at the end of his poem.

In conclusion, a question is posed: Can semantics be the anchor that makes a poetic text quasi-hexametric? The example of P. I. Filimonov's poem shows that even a minimal shade of antique coloring forces us to read the poem against the background of both the revisited classical antiquity and modern experiments with classical hexameter. But if a quasi-hexametrical rhythm enhances this shade, the impression intensifies. Therein lies a telling difference between classical hexameter and other poetic forms.

Czech "Anarchist" Poets in Russian Translations

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The paper is dedicated to metrical analysis of more than 130 Russian translations of four Czech poets (Karel Toman, 1877-1946; Fráňa Šrámek, 1877-1952; Viktor Dyk, 1877-1931; František Gellner, 1881-1914). The paper focuses on looking for motivations of structural or functional equivalents. It also compares the general image of these poets in Russia based on metrics of translations with the image in their homeland. Differences between the Russian and Czech metrical system are taken into account, as well as differences between the Russian and Czech verse theories (different concepts of free verse, different labelling – e.g. *dolnik*).

The Meaning of Form: the Case of Maria Stepanova

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The object of this paper is the metric structure of two anti-war poetic cycles: *Spolia* (2014) and *Voina zverei i zhivotnykh* (*War of the Beasts and the Animals*, 2015) by a Moscow poet Maria Stepanova (b. 1972). Triggered by Russia's aggression against Ukraine, both poetic cycles received immediate – albeit subdued – critical acclaim, and the former's intertextuality has already been subjected to a comprehensive scholarly analysis.

In this study, I shall combine a purely formal description of Maria Stepanova's verse with an overview of the poet's strategies towards quoting her predecessors. For example, Maria Stepanova preserved the original meter (*taktovik*) of Alexander Pushkin's "Ianko Marnavich" (1834) in the following quote: "vsego i vidno chto slaboe svechen'e // (*blizitsia ono k nashemu domu*)" (cf. in "Ianko Marnavich": "Vizhu ia na reke sian'e, / *Blizitsia ono k nashemu domu*"). At the same time, quoting "Proshchan'e" ("A Farewell," 1925) by Vladimir Mayakovsky, Maria Stepanova transformed the accentual verse of her predecessor's poem (cf. in "Proshchan'e": "Podstupai / k glazam, / razluki zhizha, / serdtse / mne / santimental'nost'iu raskvas'! / Ia khotel by / *zhit'* / i umeret' v Parizhe*, / Esli b ne bylo / takoi zemli – / M o s k v a") into a pair of rhymed lines of the iambic hexameter with feminine clausulae: "no ia umel by *zhit' i umeret' v Parizhe* / kogda by ne bylo chego-nibud' poblizhe." Why did it happen? To answer this question, I shall analyze the immediate metric context of both quotations and proceed to a brief overview of several similar instances. In conclusion, I shall address a broader question concerning the overall effect of the

cycles' metric diversity thus exploring the field, which Michael Wachtel aptly termed "the meaning of form" (cf. the afterword to his book *The Development of Russian Verse: Meter and Its Meanings*).